

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: BOOSTING THE MYTHIC AMERICAN WEST
AND U.S. WOMAN SUFFRAGE: PACIFIC
NORTHWEST AND ROCKY MOUNTAIN
WOMEN'S PUBLIC DISCOURSE AT THE
TURN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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This project examines how white women negotiated the mythic and gendered meanings of the American West between 1885 and 1935. Focusing on arguments made by women who were active in the public life of the Pacific Northwest and Rocky Mountain States, these analyses illustrate the ways the mythic West shaped the U.S. woman suffrage movement and how Western women simultaneously contributed to the meaning of the American West. Through four case studies, I examine the ways women drew on Western myths as they advocated for woman suffrage, participated in place-making the West, and navigated the gender ideals of their time.

The first two case studies attend to the advocacy discourse of woman suffragists in the Pacific Northwest. Suffragist Abigail Scott Duniway of Oregon championed woman suffrage by appropriating the frontier myth to show that by surviving the mythic trek West, Western women had proven their status as frontier heroines and earned their right to vote. Mountaineer suffragists in Washington climbed Mount Rainier for woman suffrage in 1909. By taking a "Votes for Women" pennant to the mountain summit, they made a political pilgrimage that appropriated the frontier myth and the turn-of-the-century meanings of mountain climbing and the wilderness for woman suffrage.

The last two case studies examine the place-making discourse of women who lived in Rocky Mountain states that had already adopted woman suffrage. Grace Raymond Hebard, a Wyoming historian and community leader, participated in the pioneer reminiscing practices of marking historic sites. Hebard's commemorations drew on the agrarian myth and Wyoming woman suffrage to domesticate Wyoming's "Wild West" image and place-make Wyoming as settled, civilized, and progressive. When Jeannette Rankin was elected as Montana's U.S. Representative in 1916, she introduced herself to the nation by enacting her femininity, boosting Montana's exceptionalism, and drawing on the frontier myth to explain Western woman suffrage. As I conclude with an analysis of Henry Mayer's "Awakening" cartoon, I illustrate the ways place-based arguments for woman suffrage and the boosting of Western woman suffrage worked together to construct the meaning of the West as a place of gender equality in the early twentieth century.

**Boosting the Mythic American West and U.S. Woman Suffrage: Pacific Northwest
and Rocky Mountain Women's Public Discourse at the Turn of the Twentieth
Century**

by

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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
2013

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Acknowledgements

I completed this project with the support of mentors, colleagues, friends, and family. I would most like to thank my advisor, Kristy Maddux, who worked with me as I began my first essay on Western women's rhetoric. Since then, she has edited numerous drafts, discussed Western women for many hours, and remained a fan of this project throughout its development. She helped make this manuscript better by pushing me to develop my ideas, offering her critical insight, and maintaining high expectations of me and my work. Finally, she has served as a tremendous model of a scholar, teacher, and critic. I have been very lucky to be her first advisee.

Second, my dissertation committee assisted in the development of this dissertation. James Klumpp, Shawn Parry-Giles, and Trevor Parry-Giles have encouraged this research from its earliest stages. Their interest in this topic, their feedback on drafts, and their thoughtful recommendations helped strengthen this manuscript. I also had the opportunity to take a wonderful course from Dr. Gay Gullickson, which expanded my understanding of gender history and shaped the development of my research questions.

The Department of Communication and the Graduate School at the University of Maryland supported this project by providing multiple research fellowships and teaching releases. Furthermore, a number of librarians and archivists assisted in my archival research. The archivists at the American Heritage Center, the Montana Historical Society, and University of Washington's Special Collections provided helpful assistance, especially Nicolette Bromberg at the University of Washington.

Sara Hayden introduced me to rhetorical criticism and taught my first course on women's rhetoric. Sara, as well as Valerie Manusov, Mike Peters, Steve Yoshimura,

Steve Schwarze, and other faculty at University of Montana have encouraged me in my research and graduate work all along. Finally, Cindy Koenig Richard's scholarly work on women's rhetoric in the Pacific Northwest served as an inspiration for this project.

My colleagues at University of Maryland have been invaluable. Lindsey Fox and Robin Scholz have been there through the thickest and thinnest of times. Terri Donofrio and Alyssa Samek have been tremendous colleagues and friends. I am also thankful for the academic and and personal support of Elizabeth Gardner, Ben Krueger, Steve Underhill, Tim Barney, Abbe Dupretis, Jim Gilmore, Artesha Sharma, Sean Leuchtefeld, Jade Olson, Yvonne Slosarski, and my other colleagues at University of Maryland.

Dear friends from around the country have supported me and my work for years now. I am thankful for friends from Seattle—Susan, Jenn, and Jessica; friends from Wyoming—Jenny and Emma; friends from Montana—Maria, Kira, and Brett; friends from DC—Lindsey, Tierney, Kelly Ann, and Mary Beth; and friends from NYC—Alyssa, Mary, Rachel, and Matt. These confidants and companions helped me weather the lows and celebrate the highs.

Finally, my parents have supported my academic pursuits, even as they have taken me far from home. They have modeled a love of learning and hardwork throughout my life, and their faith in me has never faltered.

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List of Abbreviations

AWSA	American Woman Suffrage Association
AYPE	Alaska Yukon Pacific Exposition
CUWS	Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage
DAR	Daughters of the American Revolution
NAWSA	National American Woman Suffrage Association
NWSA	National Woman Suffrage Association
OESA	Oregon Equal Suffrage Association
WCTU	Women's Christian Temperance Union
WESA	Washington Equal Suffrage Association
WOTC	Wyoming Oregon Trail Commission

Introduction

In 1914, Arizona citizens elected Frances Willard Munds to their state senate, making her their first female state officer.¹ As one of only three women in the United States then “wearing the honor of election to a seat in the upper house of a state legislature,” she had succeeded in political office during a time when women in the Eastern states were not yet able to vote.² This Western woman held special interest for Eastern audiences, for as *The Day Book* announced, “Arizona Woman Legislator is a Real Westerner; Not Afraid to Shoot.”³ The reporter commented on Munds’ feminine appearance, noting that she was “five feet tall” and wore “silk hosiery, buckled slippers and the most approved length in s[k]irts” even while she simultaneously kept “a revolver hanging in a belt on her bureau.” Senator Munds explained that the revolver was hers and assured the reporter, “and I know how to use it, too! I’m a real western woman.” Proclaiming her Western qualifications proudly, Munds navigated the divergent expectations of a white woman, a Westerner, and a politician.

At the time, Senator Munds was not new to political life. She had been active in the suffrage movement for seventeen years, served as chairwoman of Arizona’s Suffrage Central committee for seven years, and directed the campaign that won Arizona woman suffrage in 1912.⁴ Munds’ experience in the suffrage movement gave her the opportunity to campaign for political office. She successfully ran for Arizona State legislature the first year Arizona women could vote and led the entire democratic ticket as she defeated her republican opponent by over 600 votes. Once she was in political office, Munds earned the reputation of “the best housekeeper in Arizona.”⁵ Like many of the women involved in politics at this time, she was understood to be a “statehousekeeper” who was “cleaning house” in political office. As a “real western woman” who had succeeded in politics, she

traveled East to participate in national suffrage campaigns and while she was there, she touted the many assets of her Western life to her Eastern audiences.⁶

As Munds campaigned for suffrage and won political office, she used rhetorical strategies commonly used by other Western political women such as drawing on conceptions of Westernness and gender norms to construct herself as fit for political life. During the campaign they did “everything possible to cover the field in a general way” and “to reach every town in the State,” although it was “impossible.”⁷ Due to her success with suffrage, the National Council of Woman Voters appointed her as president of Arizona and the International Woman’s Suffrage Alliance appointed her as an official delegate.⁸ After the successful suffrage campaign, “speculation [was] rife regarding the part that Arizona women will play in the election next November, both as voters and candidates.”⁹ Once Arizona women won the ballot, Munds called on Western exceptionalism and state competition as she urged new women voters to “band yourselves together...so that our laws may be better, even than those of Colorado, what at present are the best in the world” [*sic*].¹⁰ Using language that was common in Western woman suffrage campaigns, she was also sure to publicly thank “the generous, progressive men of Arizona, who are the right sort of fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons.”¹¹ Always elevating the merits of Western life, Munds successfully navigated Western politics in suffrage advocacy and in political office.

Munds was only one of the many Western women who experienced unprecedented political success in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Decades before the United States ratified the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1920, women in Wyoming gained the right to vote in 1869. Utah women followed soon after in

1870, and Idaho and Colorado later enfranchised women in the 1890s.¹² By 1914, the only states to attain woman suffrage were West of the Mississippi. Not only did Western states establish woman suffrage prior to Eastern states, they also elected women to political office first. After Jeannette Rankin's successful election to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1916, Texas and Wyoming put into office the first female state governors in 1925, Seattle elected the first woman mayor of a sizeable American city in 1926, and North Dakota made a woman the speaker of its state House of Representatives in 1933.¹³

As scholars have attempted to explain Western women's early suffrage success, they have offered a number of explanations including men's economic and political motives, boosterism, and gender roles. In contrast, many Western scholars have been persuaded, as I have been, by Rebecca Mead's argument that three primary reasons explain woman's suffrage success in the West: fluid regional politics, women's innovative agitation tactics, and coalitions with the other political and labor reform movements.¹⁴ The first phase of women's suffrage successes—Wyoming Territory in 1869, Utah in 1870, and Washington Territory in 1883—are generally attributed to the fluidity of the “frontier's” political environment, as well as to the influence of Mormonism. When Western territories became states, they had to reformulate their policies, define their citizenship, and make decisions about their constitutions and electorates.¹⁵ So Western suffragists took advantage of the West's fluid political situation—marked by “small territorial legislatures, the statehood process, third-party challenges, and reform politics,” which made changing political traditions less complicated and woman suffrage more likely to pass.¹⁶ Utah citizens proposed woman

suffrage as a means for women to oppose polygamy, but Mormon elders knew otherwise and approved woman suffrage to help protect polygamous practices.¹⁷ The second and third phases of victories were produced more by woman suffragists' creative advocacy and their alliances with farm and labor reformers. A number of suffrage leaders worked in the West by writing newspaper articles, publishing pamphlets, lecturing, and traveling through Western states advocating woman suffrage.¹⁸ The second phase of successes, Colorado in 1893 and Idaho in 1896, were especially related to the populist energy. The third phase of successes, a result of progressive momentum, included Washington (1910), California (1911), Arizona, Alaska, Oregon (1912), Montana and Nevada (1914).

Whether using the meanings of the West to justify woman suffrage, boasting of the West's superior nature, or navigating the expectations of political leaders, women who were involved in Western public life negotiated the powerful myths of the West and the Western images of manhood and womanhood of their time. In the process, they participated in shaping the very meaning of the West as a place and American ideals of masculinity and femininity. By focusing on public arguments made by white women from the Pacific Northwest and Rocky Mountain West, this study attempts to illuminate how women constructed and navigated meanings of the American West and gender at the turn of the twentieth century. This project attempts to answer two research questions. First, this study examines: *How did the public arguments of select Western women negotiate the mythic meanings of the American West?* As participants in the creation of the West, how did these women active in the West's public life employ the rhetoric of place, specifically the rhetoric of the mythic West, in their political activity? Second, this project asks: *How did women who were active in the West's public life negotiate the*

dominant gender ideals of their time? As they both challenged and worked in collusion with common gender ideologies, what possibilities for masculinity and femininity did they articulate?

To answer my research questions, I conduct four case studies of public speeches, publications, and protests of women who lived and worked in the Rocky Mountain and Pacific Northwest states. Examining the time period at the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century allows for an analysis of the arguments women made to advocate for woman suffrage, justify their presence in political office, and place-make the American West. Each case highlights how these particular women drew on the meanings of the American West for their persuasive purposes and participated in remaking the mythic meanings of their region and gender ideologies in the West. These analyses examine the historical context of these women's political activity and the discourse they used to construct place and gender. First, this project understands these women's public discourse as contributing to the construction of the American West as a place.

Constructing the American West:

The Place-Making Discourse of Myth, Politics, and History

In 1895, Woodrow Wilson declared, "The West has been the great word of our history. The Westerner has been the type and master of our American life."¹⁹ Viewed as "representative of American character" and "part of [the American] psyche," the American West has symbolized "unlimited opportunities, freedom, and a place of refuge from difficult economic or social conditions."²⁰ Indeed, the narrative of Western exploration and settlement has supplied abundant evidence of an argument for American exceptionalism.²¹ The Edenic vision of the West motivated westward migration and is

still “enshrined in the imaginations” of Americans in the twenty-first century.²² In this project, I define the American West as a rhetorically created place that cannot be separated from its geographical boundaries, material reality, and mythic meaning. I argue that the place-making discourse of politics, history, literature, and performance has created the mythic meaning of the West. Furthermore, political and historical rhetoric has drawn on the constructed meaning of the West for a variety of persuasive purposes, and in the process, it has continually re-shaped its meaning.

Place-Making the American West

Places are particular geographic locations that are inseparable from both their material reality and symbolic meaning.²³ The geographic location of a place is semi-bounded because its boundaries are debated and changed.²⁴ As an example, Tim Cresswell explains that a church is a place with physical building materials for walls and a roof, as well as a belief system that has meaning to its worshippers.²⁵ Without both material and ideological elements, it is no longer a church building. Thus, place only exists when humans transform space into place by giving it meaning through discursive “place-making.”²⁶

Place is rhetorical in at least three ways.²⁷ First, people use discourse to construct meanings for places. Place-making discursively turns space into place by associating that particular location with symbolic meaning and memories. Keith Basso explains that the process of place-making, a “retrospective world-building,” involves recollection, remembrance, and historical imagination.²⁸ Place-making discursively constructs history, even as it revises and invents it. As place-making constructs the past, it also shapes personal and group identities as it provides different ways of seeing and responding to the

world.²⁹ For as the meaning of a place forms, the symbolic and ideological meaning of the place shapes the subject positions of those who interact in that place and promotes certain identities.³⁰

Second, places are rhetorical in that they are called upon in discourse to support arguments. Danielle Endres and Samantha Senda-Cook call these “place-based arguments” and argue that social movements commonly use them as a rhetorical tactic by “discursively invok[ing] images or memories of a place to support an argument.” Using the symbolic meaning of a particular place as a warrant for their claim, place-based arguments evoke “non-physically present places...through language and argument.”³¹ For example, as Endres and Senda-Cook point out, the Sierra Club calls on its members’ memories or experiences in national parks to motivate them to save those places. Thus, Sierra Club activists draw on the meaning of places that are not necessarily present to support their argument.

A third way places are rhetorical is that “places, imbued with meanings and consequences, are rhetorical performances.”³² Rather than viewing place as merely an external influence on discourse, a backdrop for rhetoric, the scene of Kenneth Burke’s pentad, or as part of the rhetorical situation, Endres and Senda-Cook argue that places act rhetorically and they call attention to the “power inherent in space.”³³ Place is a rhetorical artifact that is material, temporary, and embodied. Even as the meanings of these artifacts are continually being shaped and reshaped through discourse, these meanings function as persuasive messages. Endres and Senda-Cook refer to this understanding of the rhetorical nature of place as “place-as-rhetoric.” They argue that social movements also use place-as-rhetoric, through “bodies, signs, buildings, fences, [and] flags” to reconstruct the

meaning of a place of protest to challenge the status quo. Endres and Senda-Cook identify three different ways that places act rhetorically in social movements. Protesters can (1) draw on a “pre-existing meaning of a place,” (2) temporarily reconstruct the meaning of a place by challenging its dominant meaning, or (3) construct a new meaning of a place through repeated reconstructions over time.

Although Endres and Senda-Cook specifically articulate these ways that place is rhetorical in the context of social movements, places function rhetorically in other kinds of discourse as well.³⁴ Endres and Senda-Cook call for more theorizing about the way social movements tactically deploy the rhetoric of place. As they explain, “social movements contest and remake places while the places themselves contest and remake social structures.” Offering *place in protest* as a heuristic for studying social movement rhetoric, they push scholars to attend to the particular places in which protest rhetoric is situated. As social movements rhetorically reconstruct a place to challenge its dominant meanings, place becomes “a performer along with activists in making and unmaking the possibilities of protest.” I examine the role of place in the U.S. woman suffrage movement, as well as in other instances of white Western women’s political discourse, such as their arguments on Western boosterism and political office. While cultural geographers, anthropologists, and urban sociologists formed the study of place, rhetoric scholars have been analyzing the discourse of places such as museums, memorials, coffee shops, shopping areas, and highways related to collective memory, consumerism, urban and suburban living, and identity.³⁵ In this project I seek to contribute to our understanding of place by attending to the place-making of regions. Therefore, I take as a basic premise that as a material and symbolic place, the meaning of “the West” is under

constant negotiation. Greg Dickinson, Brian Ott, and Eric Aoki similarly argue that the American West is both a “material, geographic region and a textual construction—a set of memory images in the collective national imagination.”³⁶ By studying the way women drew on the meaning of the West and simultaneously shaped the meaning of the West, I hope to shed light on the way discourse has given meaning to the West’s geographical and political space.

As a place, the geographical boundaries of the West are not naturally determined but are instead “semi-bounded” in that they have changed many times and are still a matter of dispute. The geographical boundaries for the West are largely products of America’s colonial history, since they were politically created through the United States’ purchase of Louisiana in 1803, the acquisition of the Texas and Oregon territories in 1845 and 1846, the Mexican cession in the 1840s, and the Gadsden Purchase of 1854.³⁷ Indeed, the very term “West” presumes a European perspective of the North American continent,³⁸ because for Europeans coming from the Atlantic Coast, “the frontier *was* the West.”³⁹ The boundaries of the West are still being constructed in ongoing scholarly debate among Western scholars who contest the West’s geographical boundaries.⁴⁰ Basing the boundaries on meridians, rivers, state lines, climate, and land, scholars have argued for what areas they believe “are truly part of the West.”⁴¹ I generally define the West’s Eastern boundary, as many scholars do, as the 98th meridian because this meridian by and large marks the line between the arid plains to the West and the humid plains to the East.⁴²

The imagined boundaries of the West, however, have changed across time. At one point, every part of the country was “the frontier.” The Far West was at one time the

Virginia Piedmont, and then the Kentucky-Tennessee region, before it reached the Mississippi River or Rocky Mountains.⁴³ Although the borders of the West in the nation's imagination moved across the continent, the popular trans-Mississippi definition of the West would not even include Daniel Boone's Westward movement on the Kentucky frontier.⁴⁴ By 1900, residents of the Far West and Rocky Mountain West had developed an "increasing sense of their own special regionalism" and, Robert G. Athearn argues, "would have been horrified at the prospect of falling into the same class as the Midwesterner, whom they looked down upon and denigrated at every opportunity."⁴⁵ Thus, I examine the public discourse of four women who lived and worked in states that were considered "the West" by residents of the Far West and Rocky Mountain West in the early twentieth century: Oregon, Washington, Wyoming, and Montana. I do not, however, believe that their discourse was representative of all Western women's discourse, nor do I attempt to make claims that apply to all of the rhetoric of "the West," of "Western women," or even of "women in the Far West and Rocky Mountain" states. Rather, these four women's arguments are examples of how women drew on the meaning of the West in their advocacy and took part in constructing the meaning of "the West" in the national imaginary.

The Mythic Meaning of the American West

The fact that the West as a term and region has varied across time periods and communities demonstrates that the constructed meaning of "the West" entails much more than its geographic boundaries; it is also based on the mythological meaning of the West in American culture.⁴⁶ Although places are geographical locations, their material reality cannot be separated from their symbolic meaning. "The West" and "the frontier" are

imbued with the mythic meanings of continual conquest of land and people. As narratives of exceptional people doing exceptional things, myths serve as moral guides for action and carry social ideals.⁴⁷ Myths tell stories of heroes who are typically stronger, smarter, and more spiritual than others. As mythic heroes prove themselves by passing through some kind of rite of passage, they earn the audience's respect by acting exceptionally and giving their lives to something bigger than themselves.⁴⁸ In the process, these mythic heroes become models for motivation and action. Through these myths, communities hand down their collective values from generation to generation to "make the world understandable, support the social order, and educate the society's young."⁴⁹ As they articulate a community's origin, development, fundamental beliefs, and sense of identity, myths offer explanatory power to account for problems as they arise and explain why we do what we do and why we should continue our current actions.⁵⁰ Drawn from a society's real and imagined history, myths do not only include what happened in the past, but also what was said to have happened in the past.⁵¹ Thus, while they are shaped by history, they simultaneously shape history.⁵²

Symbolized by mythic explorers, pioneers, settlers, farmers, and cowboys, the meaning of the West as a place can only be understood by examining the myths of the American West, namely the frontier myth and the agrarian myth. The story of the frontier myth chronicles how individuals transformed into American heroes as they conquered the frontier. As the frontiersmen left the "civilized" east to explore the Western land, violently conquer American Indians, and survive the frontier, they proved their heroic nature.⁵³ The mythic agrarian farmers moved West to own their own property, work the land, and set up independent and permanent lives. While the frontier heroes gained their

heroic status through their survival and violence towards American Indians, the mythic agrarian farmer's heroism was also related to survival in the West, but agrarian heroes earned their heroic status by owning and working the land. The yeoman was mythologized for "his honest industry, his independence, his frank spirit of equality, his ability to produce and enjoy a simple abundance."⁵⁴ The myth was based on the idea that the yeoman hero was the "ideal man and the ideal citizen" and that rural life was inherently more virtuous and moral than urban life.⁵⁵

Discursively Creating the Mythic West

The mythic meanings of the West were created through discourse that circulated in and about the West. The meanings of the West were built through the rhetoric of Western boosters, historians, politicians, artists, writers, and performers. Westerners imagined the West into being by constructing and maintaining the idea of the mythic frontier West.⁵⁶ Drawing on myth as a "powerful rhetorical form," Americans participated in turning the location of the Western territories and states into the mythic West.⁵⁷ American politicians like Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin molded Western myths as the nation was forming and American presidents such as Theodore Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy, Ronald Reagan, and George Bush used and altered Western myths for their own rhetorical ends.⁵⁸ Western businessmen, commercial clubs, chambers of commerce, and railroad advertisers boosted a mythic image of the West as the "Garden of the World" to draw more residents and build commerce.⁵⁹

White Western women also took part in constructing the meaning of "the West" in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries through their novels about Western life, private letters and diaries, promotional literature, captivity narratives, travel accounts,

political advocacy, and participation in public ceremonies.⁶⁰ Annette Kolodny argues that in their private and public discourse, many white women depicted the West as a setting for a glorified domesticity and imagined the West as a wilderness to be transformed and domesticated. They described the West in terms of the agrarian myth and set themselves as the Eve in the “Garden of Eden.”⁶¹ Other scholars have noted that as white women wrote in and about the West, they drew on a rhetoric of Western expansion as they depicted the Western land as a place to be colonized, and discussed Western people of other races and classes as subjects to be dominated.⁶²

Some women’s novels, however, rhetorically constructed new roles for white women in the West. Frances Fuller Victor’s *The New Penelope*, for example, portrayed pioneer women as more independent and having more agency than was expected of Eastern women at the time.⁶³ Western women’s participation in Western public life also shaped ideas about women’s roles. Sara Hayden argues that Jeanette Rankin used feminine style as she advocated for woman suffrage to male audiences in Montana.⁶⁴ Likewise, when Eva Emery Dye and other women in the Pacific Northwest publicly participated in Portland’s Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition in 1905, Cindy Koenig Richards argues that they proved their leadership ability as they honored American women’s history.⁶⁵

Historians also altered the meaning of the West as they interpreted its role in American culture. Most famously, historian Frederick Jackson Turner presented his frontier thesis, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” at the World’s Columbian Exposition in 1893.⁶⁶ Turner’s thesis declared that the frontier was officially “closed” and echoed the Census Bureau announcement of 1890, which considered

Western land “settled” once its population had at least two people for every square mile of the land.⁶⁷ Turner’s thesis argued that the frontier had “explained America,”⁶⁸ but that as the American frontier disappeared, the meaning of America would no longer stay the same. He contended that “the existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development.”⁶⁹ To Turner, it was the process of Western expansion that decreased America’s dependence on England, “furnish[ed] the forces dominating American character,” and promoted “the formation of a composite nationality for the American people.” Thus, according to Turner, “free land” and Westward expansion shaped American identity and produced its exceptional democracy.⁷⁰ Central to the process of expanding westward was cultivating the “wilderness,” which included violently wresting the “free land” from Native Americans.⁷¹ Defining the frontier as the “meeting point between savagery and civilization,” Turner’s frontier was a process of conquering “savagery” with “civilization.”⁷² Turner’s thesis “achieved a rhetorical impact of mythic proportions upon our national psychology”⁷³ and became a “model for emulation” as his readers applied frontier ideals to issues such as economics, politics, and World War I.⁷⁴ Indeed, the impact of Turner’s thesis on the nation’s understanding of Western history “cannot be overestimated.”⁷⁵

As the West “closed,” the meaning of the “Wild West” was perpetuated in the Western shows, novels, art, and politics. Once many believed that the “reality of the frontier” was over, they romanticized it and “safely placed [it] in the realm of nostalgia.”⁷⁶ The mythic symbol of the cowboy was a “creation of the post-frontier mind” that represented the romance and adventure associated with the rugged frontier.⁷⁷

Beginning in the early 1880s, “Wild” Bill Cody and Annie Oakley’s “Wild West” shows colorfully played up the passing and mythic West. Making numerous tours across the United States, Britain, and Europe, they peaked in popularity during the 1890s and continued performing until 1913. Dime novels also weaved popular stories about Western “desperadoes, savage Indians, prospectors, Indian scouts and calvarymen, marshals or ‘regulators,’ saloonkeepers, dance-hall madames, cowpunchers, and a mob of townfolk.”⁷⁸ In 1902, Owen Wister wrote one of the most famous “cowboy novels,” *The Virginian*, which celebrated masculine freedom based on Western wildness and illustrated the importance of establishing social order in the West. Wister depicted the cowboy West as being made by individual men who always took care of themselves.⁷⁹ Wister contributed to making the Western one of the “most popular genre[s] of masculine adventure.”⁸⁰ This discourse of the “Wild West” maintained the East’s perception of the West as a place to experience “freedom, escape from social restraint, and closeness to nature.”⁸¹ The “Wild West” discourse made the cowboy one of the most enduring images of the West and marked parts of the West as “Cow Country.”⁸²

Scholarly Constructions of the West

Since the progressive era, historians and Western scholars have actively sought to reshape the traditional and mythic understandings of the West.⁸³ Through its representations of the West’s past, historical scholarship is a participant in the production of knowledge about the West in the present. By recollecting, remembering, and imagining the West’s past, it is also revised and invented.⁸⁴ The traditional Western history founded on Turner’s frontier thesis, which has been termed “Old” Western history, was both informed by and informed the mythic West and American

exceptionalism. Historian Gerald Nash explains that traditional Western history was entwined with the mythology of the West because the generation of historians that wrote between 1890 and 1920 were “overcome with a profound sense of loss, a feeling of nostalgia for the disappearance of a world which they had cherished, a world which had been the very center of the American dream, of the national mythology which Americans used to explain themselves to each other and to the rest of the world.”⁸⁵ In contrast, a “New” wave of revisionist Western history has attempted to shape the meaning of the West by challenging the accuracy, ideology, and ethnocentricity of Old Western history. While “Old” and “New” Western history are not completely contradictory, there have been times of “great animosity between the two.”⁸⁶ Historian William Devereill remarked that the effort to separate Western history “from the jealous grasp of myth call[ed] for fighting words.”⁸⁷

New Western history takes issue with Turner’s frontier thesis and other narratives of Old Western history on a number of counts. Addressing the accuracy of the traditional account, New Western histories debate whether the frontier ever actually “closed,” and if so, when, since there is little evidence that there was indeed a sharp break in Western American development. Instead, New Western historians argue that the West’s past should be viewed as an “‘unbroken,’ unheroic, and unbenign conquest of the region.”⁸⁸ Expressing “wariness and exasperation over supposedly Western distinctiveness and exceptionalism,”⁸⁹ New Western historians note that a frontier experience was not unique to the United States. Pointing to similar frontiering processes in “Russian Siberia, the Australian Outback, the Amazonian uplands, and the South African veldt,”⁹⁰ they

demonstrate that a frontier experience of conquest has shaped the national persona of other societies as well, so this process did not make the United States exceptional.

Highlighting the imperialist ideology of Old Western history, New Western histories sometimes refer to accounts like Turner's as "triumphalist history" because they depict America as progressing in culture, politics, and character the farther it moved the frontier line westward. New Western historian Richard White distinguishes between Old and New Western History as comedy and tragedy. He argues that Old Western History reads like a comedy with a happy ending because it tells a story about "a single set of occupants," the white pioneers, who complete their journey, overcome their challenge, transform their character, and live happily ever after. New Western histories, however, are more like tragedies about multiple groups of people in which, "Things don't end well."⁹¹

By defining the frontier as a process of conquering "savagery" with "civilization," Old history presented imperialism uniformly as a "great achievement," inherently progressive, and "something exceptional...that produced a unique American nation."⁹² Thus, much of the controversy between New Western History and Old Western History comes down to differing depictions of the West as either a process, a region, a product of conquest, or a meeting ground. Some argue that these views can still be compatible. Multiple Western scholars, including D.W. Meinig, Richard Etulain, and Hausladen have argued that the different approaches to studying the West as region and process are not dichotomous, but "complementary parts of the same whole."⁹³ Turner's later work also made a similar argument. Although Turner's frontier thesis depicted the frontier as a process, his subsequent work argued that in the twentieth century, the West should be

studied “as both place and process.”⁹⁴ Most New Western historians agree that the West should not be thought of as a process, but instead as a geographical and political place produced by conquest.⁹⁵ Patricia Limerick compares America’s legacy of conquest to its legacy of slavery. But she argues that while the subject of slavery permanently shaped the nation and became the domain of serious scholars and the occasion for sober national reflection, the subject of conquest has remained comfortably in the domain of mass entertainment and lighthearted national escapism.⁹⁶

By critiquing the power dynamics and implications of histories influenced by colonialism, New Western histories seek to replace and complicate the traditional accounts of the conflict that continue to shape the West’s social structures and geographical spaces.⁹⁷ New Western History tries to replace this single triumphalist view of the West with a “bundle of visions.”⁹⁸ These new accounts seek to recover forgotten voices, stories, and standpoints of people who lived in the West who were not white and male, and to contest the prevalent belief that the Western land was vacant prior to their settlement.⁹⁹ When Old Western history did include people who were American Indian, Hispanic, Asian, African-American, female, or children, it usually depicted them according to common stereotypes such as women as “passive gentle tamers” and American Indians as “spiritual,” “timeless,” and “representative of unchanging knowledge.”¹⁰⁰ Refuting the triumphalist narrative, scholars now emphasize the importance of race, gender, and class.¹⁰¹

As New Western scholars have identified the way myths have shaped Western history, some have chosen to use a different vocabulary. Richard White’s book, for example, made such an attempt to break from Old Western History that he did not use the

term “frontier” or refer to Turner once in his book on the American West. Dan Moos argues, however, that attempts to “undo the mythic West through the conscious rejection of its terms...disregard the reality of the myth itself.”¹⁰² The work of overturning the triumphalist narrative has been invaluable, but the answer is not to ignore the powerful role myth played in the construction of the West. Moos’s research illustrates that the imperialist and racist mythologies of the West were also used by the very people they were meant to subjugate.¹⁰³ Moos demonstrates that although African American and Native American men were by definition not frontiersmen, some commandeered the roles of pioneer, cowboy or noble savage to prove their connection to the West, and therefore, their belonging to the American nation. In similar ways, some women in the West also drew on the discourse of the mythic West as they participated in Western public life. Thus, this project rejects the ideology of the Old Western history while also taking the myths that informed it as powerful and worthy of study.

Studying Western Women

Participating in the effort to recover lost voices in the West’s history, scholars have worked to recover and study the lives and words of women who lived in the West. As they added women to the accounts of Western history, they were more likely to embrace the terms like “frontier.” Much of the early scholarship on Western women was more likely to add women to the triumphalist Old Western History rather than portray Western history as a “tragedy.” Recent work has examined white women’s roles in the colonial process. Since 1980, when Joan M. Jensen and Darlis A. Miller called for scholarship that examined non-white women in the West and also attended to their race, ethnicity, and class, much scholarship on Western women has taken up their call and published

collections that detail the lives of Western women who were European, Native American, African American, Chicana, Chinese, and Japanese. More recent scholarship has also examined women in the West in the contexts of mining towns, fur trade societies, cowboy art, marriage, literature, child rearing, prostitution, immigration, waitresses, suffrage, the borderlands, Mormonism, the tourist industry, welfare work, and activism, among others.¹⁰⁴ This work has redefined “frontiers as zones of cultural interaction,”¹⁰⁵ sought to study “women at cultural crossroads,”¹⁰⁶ and attended to the intersections of race, class, and gender in the West.¹⁰⁷ This scholarship has also been critiqued for its racist assumptions, multicultural agenda, and a discussion of non-white women only in relationship to white women.¹⁰⁸

Limerick reminds us that women in history were more complicated than simply victims or civilizers.¹⁰⁹ Most likely, they were both inspirational in their endurance in the West and loyal to their families and communities, while also hating Indians and participating in colonial activity. Writing scholarship on Western history requires the ability to take into account various points of view. Even while making her case that Western history is the product of conquest, Limerick reminds her readers that, “The dominant motive for moving West was improvement and opportunity, not injury to others.”¹¹⁰ As white Americans trespassed into the West, they did not view themselves as “criminals; rather, they were pioneers. The ends abundantly justified the means; personal interest in the acquisition of property coincided with national interest in the acquisition of territory, and those interests overlapped in turn with the mission to extend the domain of Christian civilization.”¹¹¹ There are almost always more than two sides of the story, and the sides cannot be divided simply into “good guys and bad guys” or “victims and

villains.”¹¹² Most groups of “good guys” and “good women” dealt with their own divisions and differences among themselves as well. Limerick concludes that the only way to gain a fuller understanding of white Western women is to hold all of these perspectives in tension.¹¹³

These continuing conversations demonstrate that it is impossible to meaningfully discuss “Western women” as a collective group or to tell a “single linear story of the West [that] can hold all the voices of the West.”¹¹⁴ This project does not attempt to “accurately” capture what life was “really” like for all women who lived in the West at the turn of the century or make claims about how “Western women” as a category participated in public life. Instead, as I attend to the discourse of a select number of women, I seek to understand how these women drew on Western discourse and arguments about the West to justify their public activity and the way these women’s participation in public life shaped the meaning of the West and negotiated the gender norms of their time.

Historical and Rhetorical Constructions of Gender

In studying the way these women navigated and constructed gender ideals, this project rests on the idea that gender is a “historical, ideological process.”¹¹⁵ As a social construct, gender norms are created, upheld, and challenged through discourse.¹¹⁶ Joan W. Scott argues that the discourse of gender constructs unequal power relations according to perceived differences between the sexes and is performed so consistently that it is often mistaken as a natural, coherent binary.¹¹⁷ As American discourse has constructed and shaped gender meanings, prevalent gender ideals have varied across American history and region.

Gender as Socially Constructed through Rhetoric

Understanding gender has often entailed distinguishing it from biological sex. Whereas sex refers to the anatomical differences between males and females, and gender refers to the knowledge about the meanings of bodily differences, they are both constructed through discourse.¹¹⁸ Distinguishing between sex and gender has offered feminist scholars a tool for opposing the belief that for women, the biological rhythm of childbirth and nurturance determines their unequal social power, status, and destiny.¹¹⁹ Yet the effort to distinguish between sex and gender can lead to false dichotomies and confine feminist analysis.¹²⁰ Rosi Braidotti argues that “sexual difference is irreducible to biology and irreducible to culture or to social construction.”¹²¹ Judith Butler also notes that “sexual difference is neither fully given nor fully constructed, but partially both.”¹²² These and other feminist scholars have rejected a clear gender/sex binary because biological sex differences are more complicated than a simple male/female binary.¹²³ The idea that there is a two-sex, male/female binary is itself constructed by discourses that help us view bodies as “naturally” male or female.¹²⁴

Gender is a culturally constructed set of relations that includes the “behaviors that code one as male or female” and the ideals and cultural prescriptions connected to those categories.¹²⁵ Anthony Rotundo, a historian of masculinity, argues that gender is a “human invention” that each culture constructs about what it means to be a man or a woman.¹²⁶ As cultural variables, gender ideals vary across culture, time, and space.¹²⁷ For example, in the mid-nineteenth-century United States, the ideal masculine body was lean and wiry. By the turn of the century, however, Americans came to view men who were much larger and muscular as more masculine.¹²⁸ Similarly, ideals of femininity also differ

according to context. Ellen Ross's analysis of motherhood, for example, has shown that even mothers who lived in the same country at the same time and were of the same race, still had different ideals of motherhood depending on their class.¹²⁹ Thus, masculinity and femininity are "never settled once and for all" but instead are continually being remade through rhetorical practice.¹³⁰

The discourse of gender attaches to the positions of men and women "social meanings, expectations, and identities."¹³¹ Scott maintains that the process of the gender system allows anatomy to stand for power and authority and gives social meaning to perceived physical differences between the sexes.¹³² The social meaning that gender gives to physical differences "render[s] two biological classes into two social classes."¹³³ Gail Bederman explains that gender discourse links genital anatomy to identity and specific positions of power and authority.¹³⁴ The discourse of gender has allowed men to "claim certain kinds of authority, based upon their particular type of bodies," so that men and women are positioned differently in the gender system that signifies power.¹³⁵

Although it is constructed and dynamic, gender usually appears natural and permanent because it is performed so consistently. The dominant ideas of gender often appear to have a "timeless permanence"¹³⁶ and are referred to as hegemonic because these constructions of masculinity and femininity often come to be seen as "natural," "normal," "how women are," or how "real men should be."¹³⁷ These ideals are given prominence, are associated with power and authority, and are held up as a model for all to measure themselves against.¹³⁸ Even when individuals are unaware that they are doing it, they are often performing and reiterating gender norms.¹³⁹ Gender norms have been so naturalized that men's masculinity and women's femininity appear as originals that

others copy and mimic.¹⁴⁰ Thus, the performative nature of gender is noticed more frequently in masculine women and feminine men. Men's masculinity and women's femininity, however, are just as constructed and performed as female masculinity or male femininity. Gender scholar Judith Halberstam explains that the difference is that men's masculinity and women's femininity have been socially sanctioned and "claimed the place of nature."¹⁴¹

Because performing gender is inherently a rhetorical act, it is through discourse that individuals and societies take part in both constructing and challenging gender norms. Rhetorical critics are interested in rhetoric's potential for negotiating and transforming gender ideologies. Gender critics are especially interested in the discourse that constructs gender's appearance as natural on both the cultural and individual level. Social critique of gender norms provides individuals with the potential resources for transforming gender performances and making social change possible.¹⁴² Because gender is a continual and dynamic process, gender norms are continually changing. The labels of "masculine" and "feminine" are "notoriously changeable," so we can trace the history of the meanings of both terms.¹⁴³

Public discourse plays a powerful role in shaping gender norms. Gender scholars such as Bonnie J. Dow and Brenda Cooper argue that discourse can function subversively to offer new articulations of femininity and masculinity and negotiate and transform gender ideologies and binaries.¹⁴⁴ Discourse can also, however, limit subversive gender performances and maintain traditional gender norms.¹⁴⁵ Even in cases of "gender trouble," when individuals subvert bi-gender normativity or confuse gender categories, public representations of gender trouble regularly maintain the masculine/feminine binary

in public discourse.¹⁴⁶ Discourse and performances that have the potential to trouble traditional gender norms can also be returned to a two-sex/gender schema for the purpose of “making sense” of gender troubling performances and disciplining gendered bodies.¹⁴⁷ This discourse often reconstructs gender as natural by re-articulating the seemingly biological distinctions between men and women’s bodies. Gender scholars such as John Sloop demonstrate that public argument often frames instances of gender trouble as aberrations in nature’s plan and therefore affirm traditional assumptions about gender. While cases of gender-norm transgression receive public attention, the way public discourse depicts them can reinforce normative gender beliefs.¹⁴⁸

Although gender ideology is constraining, it is not “totalizing” and does not preclude individuals’ agency.¹⁴⁹ Butler defines agency as the “‘capacity, invariably collective, to articulate an alternative, minority version of sustaining norms or ideals that enable [one] to act.’”¹⁵⁰ Scott and Bederman both posit that within gender processes and societal structures, there is still room for agency as individuals construct their lives and relationships—within certain limits.¹⁵¹ Actors are always constrained, even as they have a continual possibility of redefining and transforming gender.¹⁵² As they perform gender within existing structures, they can also work to alter, redefine, and negotiate existing gender structures. Individuals position themselves as men or as women by enacting masculinity or femininity in their everyday lives.¹⁵³ Discursively constructed identities can change because subjects possess critical capacities to refuse, reinterpret or partially accept dominant cultural gender norms.¹⁵⁴

Because men and women can shape gender norms, we can study the way individuals have been agents of change in history. Bederman provides the example of

Jack Johnson, an African-American prizefighter at the turn of the century, who laid claim to certain kinds of power through displays of masculinity.¹⁵⁵ Bederman illustrates the way that as a black man, brought up in poverty, and the son of a freed slave, Johnson was positioned by societal constructs of race, class, and gender. At the time, black men were not considered “real men,” as any white heavyweight champion would have been regarded. Johnson, however, positioned himself as an agent of change and an exemplary man by drawing upon symbols of masculinity such as the male body, male identity, and male power to lay claim to powerful manhood.

Women have also demonstrated their agency as they have played a part in the construction of gender. For example, Eleanor Roosevelt’s performance of the feminine ideal as first lady expanded norms of American femininity. Diane Blair argues that although Roosevelt reiterated and affirmed traditional gender norms of femininity, she also used the material circumstances of her time to expand the traditional ideals of femininity to include political participation and agency.¹⁵⁶ Though research often focuses on women’s roles in shaping ideas of femininity, women have also played a significant role in articulating ideals of masculinity.¹⁵⁷ Bederman’s examination of manliness at the turn of the century demonstrates the ways that both men and women have contributed to the constructions of modern masculinity.

Studying the Discourses of Gender

Understanding how gender ideals are transformed involves tracing the way the discourses of masculinity and femininity have been constructed over time.”¹⁵⁸ We can shed light on the “doing” and “undoing” of gender norms by studying the different ways rhetoric constitutes gender and questioning the symbols that explicitly or implicitly

invoke gender.¹⁵⁹ Rhetorical criticism allows us to “engage our thinking about the political implications of discursive practice” and “give presence to such possibilities, to articulate them in a way that can provide some insight into the world in which we all live and which shapes us in myriad ways.”¹⁶⁰ Dow defines gender criticism as examining how texts both construct and challenge dominant gender norms and expectations in the pursuit of gender justice. This research asks, “How does gender ideology function in this discourse and whose interests does it serve?”¹⁶¹

Examining discourses about gender requires continuing the important and incomplete work of recovering rhetoric by completing archival research, authenticating texts, and making them accessible to others.¹⁶² For example, in Zaeske’s examination of American women’s anti-slavery petitions and the Congressional debates that the petitions spurred, she argues that not only did the members of Congress from the North and South have differing views on the issue of slavery, they also had differing beliefs about what it meant to be a man or a woman. Zaeske analyzes the competing constructions of manhood and womanhood in the congressional debate surrounding anti-slavery petitions. She argues that the discourse of the women’s anti-slavery petitions and the speeches of Northern congressional leaders insulted the manhood and womanhood of Southerners. As the Southern members of Congress responded to the offense, they articulated a violent rhetoric that matched the code of honor expected of Southern manhood. Zaeske’s analysis of these differing constructions of manhood and womanhood in the public discourse surrounding the anti-slavery petitions sheds light on the South’s fierce response to the petitions. It also illustrates the centrality of gender norms to political rights of the day.¹⁶³

Gender as a Historical Category

By studying histories of gender, we can understand how the gender process works to naturalize one form of gender over another, and how these ideals of gender grow and transform.¹⁶⁴ Investigating the changing ideals of femininity and masculinity also sheds new light on American history.¹⁶⁵ For example, Michael Kimmel argues that American history, its wars, work, leadership, and growth, have been shaped by the efforts to prove masculinity. Similarly, in Dorsey's examination of antebellum reformers, he argues that we can only fully understand the lives and work of Americans who lived before the Civil War by examining gender as a whole and the ideas of manhood and womanhood of the time.¹⁶⁶ Historicizing gender involves unearthing the variable and contradictory meanings of femininity and masculinity in the past and demonstrating how these meanings have been developed, contested, and altered.¹⁶⁷ Because gender is a historical process, what it means to be a man or a woman has a history. Scholarship that analyzes these historical constructions of manhood and womanhood attests to the changeable nature of gender, and chips away at the idea that male dominance and women's subordination are natural.¹⁶⁸

As we expose and analyze the rival images of manhood and womanhood, we can see the intersectionality of gender as masculinity and femininity were enacted differently according to race, class, ethnicity, culture and region.¹⁶⁹ In different historical contexts, men and women have proved their masculinity and femininity by showing how they were not, for example, black, Irish, slaves, savages, American Indian, Mexican, or Chinese.¹⁷⁰ While a number of studies have examined Northern middle-class gender ideals, others have begun examining gender in other regions such as the Mid-Atlantic and the South.¹⁷¹

To date, however, the majority of literature on gender ideals in American history primarily focuses on the discourse of white, Northern, middle-class masculinity and femininity.¹⁷² As efforts have made to describe varying ideals of masculinity and femininity across time, labels have been applied that may make them sound more distinct than they actually were. These descriptions seek to understand how gender ideals have changed and “allow dissonance within grand narratives” without trying “to fit gender back into established chronologies and categories.”¹⁷³ In general, this project is concerned with the gender ideals enacted and espoused in public discourse rather than how (in)accurately the ideals described every day lives of most Western citizens.¹⁷⁴ As Bruce Dorsey argues, we must “not only investigate the experiences of both men and women reformers, but also to interrogate the ideological processes by which reformers invoked concepts and symbols of the masculine and the feminine to fashion an advance their reform agendas.”¹⁷⁵ Thus, the gender ideals I discuss in this project rarely reflected the “real” lives of most men and women, but they were well publicized in the public discourse of the time and spurred men and women into seeking to conform to them.¹⁷⁶

Early Americans’ gender ideals were shaped by British gender norms and the uniqueness of colonial life. Communal usefulness was the founding ideal of masculinity during the colonial era.¹⁷⁷ Manhood at the time was either based on owning land or having an independent craft such as artisanship, farming, or shopkeeping. Upper-class white colonial women were encouraged, according to upper-class British norms, to fulfill the “ornamental ideal” of femininity that involved being private, domestic, beautiful, stylish, well-mannered, and delicate, but they were believed to be less intelligent than men and more emotional.¹⁷⁸ Many colonial women’s lives, however, differed from these

ideals according to the demands of their new life as settlers in North America.¹⁷⁹ While colonial women may have idealized the qualities of the ornamental ideal, they were not always possible to practice and had to be loosened in the context of colonial life. As men and women depended on each other as partners earning income and performing trades together in the New World, the ideal of the woman help meet who was frugal and hardworking was also highly valued. Some of these women had a greater amount of freedom and principles of egalitarianism were more common. By sharing in their husbands' hardships as they sought to survive, women also had some voice in decision-making and public affairs.¹⁸⁰ During the Revolutionary War, women took on roles to support the war effort that had traditionally been understood as masculine.¹⁸¹ With more men in combat, women also gained more responsibility for business and homes. Therefore, the war conditions also contributed to a blurring of gender norms, and in the process, the work women did in support of the war effort became more valued in American culture.¹⁸²

After the Revolutionary War, ideals of femininity were largely influenced by the ideology of "republican womanhood."¹⁸³ This ideology valued women's role in the nation as wives and mothers while also keeping them in the domestic realm.¹⁸⁴ Thus, many of the traditional ideals of femininity remained the same (delicate, pure, loving, virtuous), but these same attributes were seen as their patriotic duty that contributed to the virtues of the new nation and the republic's citizens.¹⁸⁵ Republican womanhood encouraged women to use their virtuous character to influence their husbands, sons, and brothers to be good citizens. While women's roles were still idealized as remaining in the home, their role was valued and seen as instrumental in the larger community. Again,

there was a large “gap” between the “real experience of women” and the ideal of republican womanhood, but the construct of the republican woman circulated throughout the discourse of the time period.¹⁸⁶ By the early nineteenth century, republican womanhood ideology evolved into republican motherhood, which especially valued women as mothers. Republican mothers contributed to the nation and positively influenced society by dutifully raising patriotic citizens and morally influencing their husbands, even if they were not directly represented in political practices such as voting.¹⁸⁷

In the nineteenth century, however, the industrial revolution altered both the marketplace and Eastern gender ideals. As American men in the East faced more risk and potential reward in the new economy, they linked their definitions of themselves as men to their economic success in the volatile marketplace. A new ideal of Eastern masculinity emerged: the self-made man. This “self-made” manhood was attained through success in politics and business.¹⁸⁸ Since many white men were able to “earn comfortable livings as entrepreneurs, professionals, and managers” in this economic climate, they began to differentiate themselves as middle class by stressing gentility, restraint, self-mastery and respectability. They taught their sons to “build a strong, manly ‘character’ as they would build a muscle, through repetitive exercises of control over impulse.”¹⁸⁹ Self-mastery and strong character was “a source of men’s strength and authority over women and the lower classes.”¹⁹⁰ Amy Greenberg labels this nineteenth-century ideal of masculinity in the East as “restrained manhood” which was likely to support temperance, Christianity, and the ideal of women embodying true womanhood and functioning as moral centers of the home.¹⁹¹ Greenberg argues that in contrast to this restrained ideal of manhood, there was

an alternative, competing ideal of manhood during the mid-nineteenth century: martial manhood.¹⁹² Rather than valuing restraint and expertise, martial men were more likely to proudly drink in excess and to celebrate their physical strength, aggression, and violence as their means of dominating others. They were less likely than “restrained” men to attest to beliefs about women’s moral superiority and domesticity, but were more likely to embrace expansionist discourse and celebrate adventure, strength, and bravery.¹⁹³

Industrialization and urbanization also brought more restricted gender ideals. As industries separated some kinds of work from the home, domestic discourse envisioned women as pious nurturers who were devoted to keeping the home a safe refuge from the stresses and immorality outside of the home.¹⁹⁴ This ideology contributed to the discourse that made distinctions between the public sphere of commerce and politics, reserved for men, and private sphere of home and family reserved for women. Although the line between public and private was more a social ideal than a description of reality for most families of the time, the metaphor of the spheres is an interpretive tool for helping us closely read and understand the public texts of women’s speaking and writing.¹⁹⁵ Ideas of the nineteenth-century “true woman,” which valued “piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity,” grew popular in the East through magazines and novels for women, and are now commonly called “the cult of true womanhood.”¹⁹⁶ In these texts, women repeatedly blamed their femininity for their inferior abilities.¹⁹⁷ These cultural ideals of true womanhood allowed women’s participation in benevolent organizations that focused on attending to women and children, and at times, were used as a rationale for female activism.¹⁹⁸

At the turn of the twentieth century, the power and authority of middle-class men was being challenged as a rising number of women, immigrants, and working-class men began participating in politics.¹⁹⁹ The ideology of the “new woman” swayed gender ideals to allow for women’s increased participation in public affairs. The “new woman” ideology, often embodied by suffragists and career women, valued women who were independent, opinionated, and had progressive views on significant social issues.²⁰⁰ Furthermore, industrialization, the closing of the frontier, and the introduction of women and immigrants into the work force all challenged the traditional ideal of the “self made man.”²⁰¹ As the frontier came to an end, many assumed that an era of American manhood had also vanished.²⁰² Additionally, as multiple economic depressions led to bankruptcies, self-employment and independent entrepreneurship became less achievable and low-level clerical jobs began to increase. Performing manly self-denial no longer led to economic success and was therefore less sought after.²⁰³

All of these changes drove middle-class white men to become “unusually obsessed” with proving their manhood through other means.²⁰⁴ In response to the challenge of their authority from the laboring class and women between 1880 and 1910, men actively engaged in remaking manhood so that in addition to economic independence, it was also founded on virility, strenuous exercise, team sports, and muscular male bodies. As these men became reconciled to lowered career expectations, they sought their manly identity through leisure activities rather than economic independence and self-restraint. The ideals of primitive manhood, sometimes called “passionate manhood,” which emerged in the late nineteenth century, similarly valued many of the ideals of martial manhood.²⁰⁵ While aggression had previously been

understood as a necessary evil, it was now promoted as “macho” and indicative of “animal instincts.” Softness and tenderness became suspicious and manhood was defined in opposition to “womanishness.”²⁰⁶ Whereas the “perfect gentleman” would have been idealized in the mid-nineteenth century, “manly passion” was preferred at the turn of the century.²⁰⁷ Men began to celebrate all things male, opposed excessive femininity, and began appropriating working-class activities. Magician Harry Houdini and muscle man Eugen Sandow soared in popularity as they offered visions of male heroism, strength, and freedom.²⁰⁸ Manly ideals of the progressive era were especially based in whiteness, so many men drew on ideas of male authority and whiteness to explain why they should hold greater social power.²⁰⁹

Theodore Roosevelt also produced a “prescriptive ideal” for American men of the reform era.²¹⁰ Considered essential to America’s nationhood, this model of manhood that he presented in *Winning the West* defined violence, athletics, and political activity as central to masculinity at the time. According to Roosevelt’s *Winning the West*, America’s manhood required “primal fighting virtues.”²¹¹ Since most saw sports, bodily strength, and athletic games as crucial to manhood, Roosevelt advocated fostering manhood “by vigorous, manly out-of-door sports, such as mountaineering, big-game hunting, riding, shooting, rowing, football and kindred games.”²¹² For Roosevelt and many other men, “the tonic of ranch life in the West was the great restorative.”²¹³ Roosevelt also valued political participation. He argued that the quality of one’s manhood, along with their physical, moral, and mental strength, all depended on their participation in electoral politics. After asserting his own political power on the basis of his Western manhood,

Roosevelt's 1884 essay on "The Manly Virtues and Practical Politics" ushered in the belief that the new politician possessed masculine and "virile fighting qualities."²¹⁴

Gender as a Regional Category

Nineteenth-century gender ideals were also redefined through sectional conflict and Western expansion.²¹⁵ The civil war impacted men and women in the South differently than men and women in the Northern states. Scholars have suggested that the Confederate defeat following emancipation led to a "gender crisis" in the South as Southerners sought to attain or restore their status. Scholars of gender in the South have worked to understand how our insights into gender history can illuminate our traditional understanding of military service, victory, and the civil war narrative.²¹⁶ Even in the North, white and black abolitionists had differing ideas of manhood. Black male abolitionists in New England upheld their manhood within the framework of "respectability" while white male abolitionists were more likely to depict themselves as "insurrectionaries" who worked secretly to prevent fugitive slaves from capture. These distinct viewpoints affected the way both black and white men entered military service.²¹⁷

Gender ideals also diverged between the industrialized cities of the East and the frontier conditions in the West.²¹⁸ Greenberg argues that territorial expansion was especially appealing to "martial men" because the frontier was not domesticated but offered opportunities for heroism and individualism. The performance of urban manhood became increasingly "more subject to rationalization, [as] violence and license, were, symbolically and to some extent actually pushed out" to the frontier.²¹⁹ Gender dynamics further drove westward movement as white Americans frequently feminized Native Americans to legitimate their control of American land.²²⁰ As in the colonial East, many

traditional gender relations were interrupted in the West by unequal sex ratios. Ironically, the cultural idea of the American West as a “preserve for white masculinity” grew even as the population of the West ceased to be disproportionately male.²²¹ The construction of the West as masculine was part of the larger late-nineteenth-century “crisis of manliness” in the United States in “which older definitions of white, middle-class manhood that emphasiz[ed] restraint and respectability gave way to newer meanings that focus[ed] on vigor and raw virility.”²²² Many Americans understood the very activity of westward expansion as a male activity, and exploiting the American West as “a proving ground for the definition of American manhood.”²²³ Some historians considered the masculinity of the frontier “as obvious as the sun in the daytime” and Susan Armitage calls the region of the American West “Hisland.”²²⁴ The symbol of the frontiersman persists as a distinguishing feature of hegemonic masculinity, and Susan Faludi maintains that a frontier to be claimed remains one of the “time tested tenets of...the national male paradigm.”²²⁵

The traditional Western myths also denied women participatory, heroic roles, and instead positioned them in opposition to the values of the frontier—“adventure, independence, and freedom.”²²⁶ Western literature, however, provided a number of images of Western women.²²⁷ Dime store novels about the “Wild West” portrayed Western women as strong and dynamic.²²⁸ In these novels, Western women appeared as the “woman with the whip” or “she males,” who were defined as the “Western gal who acted the man’s part but is all the more alluring for it.”²²⁹ For example, Edward L. Wheeler created the character Calamity Jane, based on the life of Martha Jane Canary, and Frederick Whitaker’s novels repeatedly included a cross-dressing heroine who was

“a marvelous mixture of feminine gentleness and masculine firmness.”²³⁰ Alternatively, the image of the sun-bonneted “pioneer” woman as helpmate for the Western man, as Beverly Stoeltje argues, was described in Western literature as key to men’s success in the West.²³¹ The ideal female helpmate in the West was physically and emotionally strong, brave, enduring, nonsexual, took initiative and could handle the challenges of the frontier. The image of the Western woman helpmate has roots, Stoeltje argues, in the image of the “backwoods belle,” who frequently appeared in Davy Crockett almanacs and other Western texts as the Western man’s nonsexual comrade who provided for others, expected nothing for herself, and disdained Eastern ideals of femininity.

The image of the lauded Western helpmate was set in contrast to the image of the “refined lady” who fit the ideals of femininity in the East. The “refined lady” image symbolized women who failed to adapt to life in the West, were too sensitive and emotional to survive on the frontier, and were hindrances to Western men. Images of “bad” women in Western literature usually included depictions of women who were sexual, were associated with “rowdy living,” dance halls, alcohol, and gambling, or were simply not white.²³² The stereotypically “good” Native American woman followed the example of Pocahontas and assisted white men in conquering Native Americans. The varying images of Western women have, as Elizabeth Jameson argues, traditionally divided women into “good women” and “bad women.”²³³ The “bad women” of the West were usually the women who acted like “good men”: “sexual, competent, self-reliant, active, and adventurous.”²³⁴ Meanwhile, the “good” white women were stereotyped as either “oppressed drudges” or “suffocating civilizers.”²³⁵ Jameson argues that these stereotypes provided no way for women to succeed in the West, for to be a “good”

woman meant that one was not “man enough for the West” and remained in domestic roles.²³⁶

Scholars have repeatedly discussed whether life on the frontier liberated women from traditional gender roles. Female emigrants were required to complete work that did not fit traditional gender norms and they did not have access to the same religious and domestic spheres that Eastern women were expected to inhabit. Pioneer women’s hard work challenged the belief that women were weak and delicate, and literature often depicted Western women as having “influence and power,” being “spirited and resolute,” and bravely enduring the “danger, privations, and trails” of Western life.²³⁷ Guidebooks on the Overland Trail indicated that, in the West, women “needed male qualities—strength, resilience, and resourcefulness—to survive the trip and female qualities to sooth and socialize men and to ensure social stability on the way west.”²³⁸ Women pioneers often had to perform “men’s work” or men’s roles if their husbands died or became sick. It appeared that life on the “frontier, which for most women began as soon as they left home and friends,” had the potential to “blur distinctions” and undermine the cult of domesticity.

In separate analyses of emigrants’ diaries on the Overland Trail to California and Oregon, John Mack Faragher and Julie Jeffrey came to similar conclusions that although emigrant women’s work challenged gender norms, these women sought to recreate the domestic life and ideals of femininity they had known in the East.²³⁹ Women’s diary entries indicate that they still “hoped to resist the disintegrating forces of frontier life” and “shape the frontier into” the domestic world they knew and preferred. Jeffrey argues that women who moved West even seemed to strengthen in their commitment to

domestic ideals. Even though their “actual conduct” did not fit within the domestic realm, they held up domestic norms and ideals as goals to reach as markers of “respectability and middle class status.” Although their pioneer experience “defied a number of nineteenth-century stereotypes,” they did not “abandon the larger conception of women’s nature.”²⁴⁰ Rather, they sought to “replicate” the ideals of Eastern femininity in the West. At first it was impossible for pioneer women to perform the same ideals of womanhood they had learned in the East, but the longer they lived in the West, the more their performances of femininity started to “resemble those of relatives and friends in the East.” Furthermore, Jeffrey’s study challenges the perception that agrarian households’ gender norms were blurred as men and women “worked together” for she found that even on family farms, men were often still responsible for outdoor labor while women tended to the home, children, and garden.²⁴¹

The West’s Conquest, Settlement, and Reform Politics

To understand how women in Western public life navigated the mythic meanings of the West and contemporary gender ideals, it is important to trace the historical and political context in which these women were active. As I have just traced the historical constructions of the mythic American West and ideals of American masculinity and femininity, here I locate these women’s political advocacy in the context of the West’s conquest, settlement, and political reform movements. I begin by narrating the United States’ capture of the Western land, subjugation of American Indians, technological developments, and congressional action that all encouraged westward migration. After I detail the populations who moved West, I describe a number of challenges that emigrants faced and the ways they collectively resisted the corporate and political power that

dominated Western life. The droughts and economic depression of the 1880s and 1890s slowed Western settlement, but the turn of the century brought with it the West's biggest homesteading boom and a wave of progressive reformers.

Western Expansion

The federal government promoted Western expansion by commissioning agents to explore the Western land, developing natural resources, encouraging Western homesteading, using its armies to conquer the region, and “opening up” territory by seizing Western land, and pushing out other nations to make room for its own citizens. Between 1846 and 1848, the U.S. went to war with Mexico to acquire the territory that now includes the Southwestern states.²⁴² In 1830, Congress passed the Indian Removal Act and forced American Indians to emigrate “west of the river Mississippi.”²⁴³ President Andrew Jackson justified the act as a “benevolent policy of the Government” because it allowed the Indians to “pursue happiness in their own way and under their own rude institutions.”²⁴⁴ The Indian Removal Act established an Indian Territory in the Southwest and forced American Indians to abandon their social order and economy. The policy positioned American Indians as legally inferior to European Americans as it declared American Indians “both inside and outside the American polity: subject to its jurisdiction, but without rights of citizenship.”²⁴⁵ From then on, the military worked at keeping American Indians within the boundaries of the newly created territories under the guise of protecting American Indians from assaults by U.S. citizens.²⁴⁶

Removing American Indians was motivated in part by the United States' desire for Western settlement and an expanded national economy. Once American Indians were relocated to reservations, there was more land available for settlers to occupy. Congress

passed the Homestead Act of 1862 to encourage settlement and “to secure homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain,” rather than American Indians.²⁴⁷ The Homestead Act defined settlers as “citizens of the United States, or who shall have filed his declaration of intention to become such, as required by the naturalization laws of the United States.” The Homestead Act in 1862 granted “settlers” up to 160 acres of land for “one dollar and twenty five cents per acre” and then granted the settlers full title to the land if they farmed it for five continuous years.²⁴⁸ The Homestead Act also, for the first time, allowed single women over the age of 21 to claim land independently. The act was supported for two primary purposes: to open up land for white homesteaders and to “rapidly break up tribal organizations and Indian communities.”²⁴⁹

The years following the Civil War saw intensified fighting between American Indians and European Americans.²⁵⁰ Relocating American Indians made them more dependent on bison for food, so as the bison population was wiped out, it further forced American Indians to settle on reservations and accept food rations from the American government.²⁵¹ Between 1865 and 1889, the newly built railroads reduced reservations even further in size. In 1868, an “Indian Peace Commission” was sent to induce American Indians to abandon their lifestyles in exchange for a “protected” existence on reservations. The commission affirmed that if “the white and the Indian must mingle together...we will declare authority” and remove them “to a southern district.”²⁵² Although the official policy of the U.S. “stopped short of extermination; it settled for abolishing native ways of life,” forced American Indians onto reservations, and “proposed membership in American society in exchange for a repudiation of Indian ways.”²⁵³

As more and more settlers arrived in the West, the U.S. government made room for them by taking land away from reservations that had previously been designated for American Indian nations. In 1887, Congress passed the General Allotment Act (also known as the Dawes Severalty Act), which reduced the size of reservations and sought to make Indians into Americans through education and landownership.²⁵⁴ In exchange for “voluntarily” giving up nomadic hunting and adopting the sedentary “habits of civilized life,” the act gave male American Indians up to eighty acres of agricultural land, which was often too arid to farm, or up to one hundred and sixty acres of grazing land.²⁵⁵ The government articulated this policy in paternalistic terms, explaining that allotment was for the “best interests” of American Indians.²⁵⁶ The effort to force American Indians into a “civilized” lifestyle of living with their individual nuclear families on private family farms shaped the United States’ Indian policy until 1934.²⁵⁷ When Turner presented his frontier thesis in 1893, he spoke of American Indians as “savages” that represented the opposite of “civilized society.”²⁵⁸

Removing and Americanizing Indians also contributed to the nation’s economic development as more Western homesteaders would increase agricultural production, create a larger “domestic market for manufactured goods,” and create an “agricultural ‘safety valve’ for surplus or discontented urban workers.” Thus, the U.S. government also promoted settlement through large-scale efforts to transform the arid Western land into farmable land and develop transcontinental transportation.²⁵⁹ The Timber Culture Act of 1873 granted 160 acres to settlers who used a quarter of their land to plant trees within ten years.²⁶⁰ The Desert Land Act of 1877 granted cheap land to settlers who worked to irrigate the land within three years.²⁶¹ Congress also established the Department of

Agriculture and passed acts to encourage agricultural development, such as the Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890, which gave land to states and the Hatch Act of 1887, which funded agricultural research.²⁶² The transcontinental railroads, which were aided by federal funding and the Pacific Railroad Acts (1862-1866) promoted settlement everywhere it went.²⁶³ As railroad companies competed with each other for customers, they advertised the West and drew numerous more settlers.²⁶⁴

Between the 1840s and the 1870s, anywhere from a quarter to half a million individuals emigrated to the West on the Overland Trail. Many of these pioneers emigrated as a means for “economic improvement” as Oregon and California had cheap land and reportedly abundant lands for farming.²⁶⁵ In addition to a chance for economic mobility, settlers also moved west to join family members or to live in a climate they hoped would improve their health with milder winters and an evasion of malarial chills and fever. During the fur trade, emigrants on the Overland Trail were primarily male, but in the 1840s, families joined, and by the early 1850s, the trail was made up of single male miners and farming families.²⁶⁶ Usually leaving from the Missouri River, families began their trek in the spring and traveled up to eight months to cover the 2,000 miles to Oregon and California.

The nineteenth-century American West was primarily settled by miners, ranchers, and farmers.²⁶⁷ Miners first established the West’s mountain towns as most farmers passed over mountainous terrain in favor of better land. From the 1840s through the 1870s, the discovery of gold, silver, copper, and lead drew prospectors to California, Colorado, Nevada, Montana, Idaho, South Dakota, and Arizona. Congress encouraged the mining efforts with the Mining Law of 1866 (amended in 1870 and 1872), which

granted miners property rights for \$5 an acre along mineral deposits.²⁶⁸ Most prospectors were men who moved to the mountains from the Pacific Coast, so the “the mining frontier moved from west to east.”²⁶⁹ Ranchers and cowboys also began migrating to the West in the late 1860s as Texas had cheap grazing land and ideal weather for raising cattle. In the 1870s, ranchers began driving cattle north for better grass to feed on, and by the 1870s, ranchers chose to let cattle wander freely on the open range rather than taking them on the long drive north.

Once mountain regions developed a population of speculators, prospectors, and miners, farmers moved to the area to feed and service mining towns. Farmers faced many challenges, but still remained the most permanent of the Western pioneers. In the last 30 years of the nineteenth century, “Americans opened more family farmland...than in all the nation’s previous history.”²⁷⁰ When settlers first arrived in the West, they often built their first homes by digging out a hole in the side of a hill and adding a wall made of turf and sod. Their second homes were usually a sod house built with turf and wood.²⁷¹ To settle and farm the arid Western land required adaptations in farming methods as well as attitude. The idea of the “great American desert” had to be replaced by “the myth of the garden.”²⁷² Scientific discoveries and new inventions, such as dry farming and the twine binder allowed farmers to produce wheat and grain on land that would not have been farmable previously, and the production of wheat increased drastically in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

Challenges of Life in the West

As Westerners set up lives in the West, one of their many struggles was their relationship to the East and the federal government. Although Western life was often

perceived as independent and self-reliant, in reality, it begrudgingly relied on the federal government, Eastern banks, and Eastern corporations.²⁷³ As Richard White argues, Westerners in the nineteenth century “usually regarded the federal government much as they would regard a particularly scratchy wool shirt in winter. It was all that was keeping them warm, but it still irritated them.”²⁷⁴ The West had little political power to resist the East due to its weak political parties, the large federally owned land within the Western region, and the West’s economic dependence on the East. Prior to statehood, the federal government “controlled the government of the territories and withheld from their citizens rights and privileges held by American citizens elsewhere.”²⁷⁵ Western territories could not pass their own laws or elect their highest officials without federal approval. Many citizens of the Western territories remembered what it was like to be a citizen in an established state, and resented the loss of their rights to self-government that most white males enjoyed while living in those states.²⁷⁶ It was common for Westerners to compare their condition to the thirteen colonies prior to independence. Yet Westerners still expected the government to take action to find a solution to economic and social problems, and they also needed the federally funded railroads and irrigation systems. Furthermore, Western political representatives struggled to be taken seriously in the East when the West was primarily depicted as a place of adventure and romance.²⁷⁷

Although the American frontier was not officially declared “closed” until the 1890 census, as early as the 1870s Americans were voicing concerns that much of the Western land had been settled or bought. The perception that the frontier was closing aroused “frontier anxiety” because the presence of the frontier had for so long been “regarded as a crucial component of the American way of life” and now it seemed that a major era in

American life was passing.²⁷⁸ Since its formation, American identity had rested on the ideal of an American agrarian paradise, or “Garden of Eden,” and that ideal no longer seemed sustainable. In 1890, the census explained that the frontier was closed because there were at least two non-Indian people per square mile in the West and there was no longer a clear line that marked the difference between the frontier and settlement.²⁷⁹ The announcement declared:

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 settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line. In the discussion of its extent, its westward movement etc., it can not, therefore, any longer have a place in the census reports.²⁸⁰

The assertion that there was no more open land, western expansion had been finished, and Manifest Destiny had been realized had a “considerable psychological effect” on U.S. citizens, but it crystallized an anxiety that Americans had been concerned about for over a decade.²⁸¹ The depression of the 1890s further undermined the characterization of the United States as an agrarian civilization made up of steady yeomen-farmers.

Nineteenth-century homesteaders dealt with the many challenges of farming in the West. Farming is always a “risky, uncertain, and sometimes heartbreaking business,” and it was especially true in the West as farmers faced substantial expenses, the pressure to plant a first crop quickly, natural disasters, delays before the first crop, and the inequitable treatment by banks and railroads.²⁸² Banks also discriminated against Western farmers who borrowed money to plant their crops, and railroads demanded such unfair prices that they ended up taking much of Western farmers’ income.²⁸³ The Homestead

Act promised cheap land, but all land was not equal and the land guaranteed by the Homestead Act was not always suited for farming. Furthermore, 160 acres may have been enough land to sustain a family in the East, but it was not always enough to support farming families in the trans-Mississippi West.²⁸⁴ Even if farmers attained good land, they also needed nearly \$1,000 to front the “cost of a house, draft animals, wagon, plow, well, fencing, and seed grain.”²⁸⁵ Many farmers mortgaged their homesteads to buy farm machinery and survive until their first harvest. Unfortunately, it often led to a cycle of debt as “Newcomers to the West mortgaged their homesteads to buy farm machinery, mortgaged the farm machinery to provide money until the first crop was harvested, [and] mortgaged the first crop to carry the family through the winter.”²⁸⁶ If farmers faced any delays or natural disasters waiting for their first crop, they would go bankrupt.

Western farmers in the 1880s and 1890s faced an extended agricultural depression, and it seemed to Westerners that the federal government was to blame. The West’s economy was further destabilized when the government retired “greenbacks” for legal tender.²⁸⁷ To reduce the inflation caused by the “greenbacks”—green paper notes used for legal tender during the civil war which could not be redeemed by the U.S. Treasury for silver or gold—banks retired the greenbacks, which made farmers, and anyone in debt, make less money on their products and required them to repay loans with dollars that were worth more than the dollars they had originally borrowed. Furthermore, the federal government granted the best Western land to railroad companies and states, and the Homestead Act “permitted land grabbing by speculative companies and the eventual concentration of large tracts in private hands.”²⁸⁸ So instead of creating a region of yeoman farmers, the Homestead Act encouraged the privatization of Western land as

Congress gave millions of acres to railroad companies, mining and timber interests, and private companies that extracted natural gas, oil, coal, iron, and other minerals. Most farmers bought quality land directly from land or railroad companies or gave up on becoming independent farmers and became day laborers for Eastern-owned companies. Rather than encouraging individual business owners, the federal government encouraged the growth of large companies. In the end, “perhaps only a tenth of the new farms settled between 1860 and 1900 were acquired under the Homestead Act.”²⁸⁹

Agrarian Revolt

As Western farmers’ actual experiences did not match the agrarian myth or the promises of Western boosters, their disillusionment led to the farmer revolts and agrarian social movements of the 1880s and 1890s.²⁹⁰ Western farmers developed a “powerful collective consciousness” as they organized as Grangers, the Farmer’s Alliance, and Populists, and sought help from the government to support them amidst the natural disasters and market fluctuation.²⁹¹ The Grange organized “non-political” picnics for farmers and their families to gather and motivated Midwestern farmers with the rhetoric of class, the agrarian myth, and the inheritance of the American Revolution.²⁹² The Grange’s advocacy eventually led to the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, which was the first railroad regulation implemented by the federal government.²⁹³ The Farmers Alliance also organized picnics, camp meetings, and educational efforts to support farm families, but they focused more on politics and helped form the People’s Party, known as the Populists, which joined other labor movements including “silver rights,” Greenbackers, and the Knights of Labor. Westerners were more likely to join the Populist movement if they faced economic difficulties, geographical isolation, and alienation from other

political organizations. The Populist Party was a significant regional movement that called attention to the economic subordination of the West to the Northeast's organized capital and demanded the federal government intervene and regulate the exploitation by the railroads, extractive corporations, and banks.²⁹⁴ Populists also called for democratic reforms that became associated with the larger progressive movement like the initiative, the referendum, and popular election of political representatives. They advocated for an eight-hour working day, immigration restriction, and a graduated income tax in efforts to attract Easterners to their party. Populist advocates, according to Thomas Burkholder, drew on the agrarian myth to justify their importance for American society and support from the government.²⁹⁵

Women also took an active role in the agrarian protests by writing, speaking, and organizing for the Grange and the Farmers' Alliance.²⁹⁶ Mary Elizabeth Lease was especially well known for her speeches on agrarian reform. As she traveled around the country advocating for reform, she grounded her arguments in the agrarian myth to assert the importance of the yeoman farmers to the nation.²⁹⁷ Some historians have noted how women's involvement in these farm groups facilitated women's political progress as it allowed them to participate in politics and gain support for woman suffrage.²⁹⁸ But many also note that women's involvement was subordinate to men's and did not "challenge the basic position of women in the agrarian ideal" or the "political dictum that placed 'the man' at the center of injustices toward farmers."²⁹⁹

A number of Western scholars, including Turner and John D. Hick, argued that the agrarian depression began because the frontier "closed" and there was no longer any "free" land for new settlers.³⁰⁰ Turner explained, "The frontier opportunities are gone.

Discontent is demanding an extension of governmental activity in its behalf.” In his history of *The Populist Revolt*, John D. Hick argued that the agrarian revolt was created when “the frontier was gone [and] this safety valve was closed....It was only as the West wore out and cheap lands were no longer abundant that well-developed agrarian movements began to appear.”³⁰¹ But the Granger movements of the 1870s began decades before the frontier “closed” in 1890. Hofstadter explains that Western populism grew after the land boom of the 1870s collapsed in the mid-eighties. Part of the land boom was based on the high prices of farm produce prior to the massive agricultural growth in the West, but by 1885 those prices were artificially inflated.³⁰² In response to the late nineteenth-century depression, many Western farmers moved eastward or to the cities.

Early Twentieth-Century Land Boom

The twentieth century, however, brought an even larger land rush as more lands were settled under the Homestead Act in the first two decades than during the entire nineteenth century. Hundreds of thousands of settlers were drawn to the trans-Mississippi West by cheap land, encouragement from the federal government, and good weather. Congress continued to coax settlers to the West by working to transform the arid land to support farming and modifying the Homestead Act for the post-1900 land boom through the Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909, the Three Year Homestead Act of 1912, and the Stock-Raising Homestead Act of 1916.³⁰³ Furthermore, the development of “scientific” farming technology, such as irrigation and dry-land farming, made more land available for farming. From 1900 to 1910, land sold quickly, and the value of farmland increased by 100 percent. There were still financial and farming hardships with the Panic of 1907 and a drought, which led some to leave, but the many homesteaders who stayed were

fairly prosperous in the second decade of the twentieth century, especially due to good weather and growing wartime prices for food.³⁰⁴

Cowboys resisted the West's turn-of-the-century transition from "Cow Country" to land of homesteaders. During the days of the cattle drives and open range, "cowboys were kings of the road."³⁰⁵ And these men did not welcome the arrival of homesteaders. Cowboys dismissed "sodbusters" as "lesser beings" and "invading, unwelcome clods" that threatened the open range.³⁰⁶ The overstocking of the open ranges, in addition to droughts, led to the thinning of the available pastures for grazing. As cowboys drove cows north in search of better grazing, there was an "out migration of both cows and cowboys." Especially as more and more homesteaders hoped to use the Western land more intensively, cowboys were no longer able to compete. The turn of the century brought with it murmurings about the passing of the open range, "an end to the famed outfits," and by 1910, it was said that the cowboy had all but disappeared. Soon the countryside was filled with people who were more interested in plowing the land. Although cowboys and many Easterners romanticized the "Old West" and bemoaned the coming "plow chasers," homesteading farmers contested that characterization of the West and presented themselves as establishers of civilization and modernity who rescued the West from its more primitive frontier days. In Colorado, one "small-town newspaper suggested doing away with the word *ranch* on the ground that the term had done more to 'repel the home-loving farming people of the East and to deter them from settling among us, than any other thing.'"³⁰⁷

The change of population transformed the culture of the trans-Mississippi West as well. As new residents settled permanent homesteads, they brought with them a sense of

community and “civilization.” As these new communities stabilized economically and the residents became more settled, new residents to the West referred to the 1890s as the West’s “adolescent period” and viewed the first two centuries of the twentieth century as a time of “growing up.”³⁰⁸ Western homesteaders depicted themselves as the “tamers” of the West as they were more “morally clean, progressive, and civic-minded” than any previous Western residents. Settlers may have perceived that the agrarian West was more “mature” because it was more similar to the life they had known in the East. Furthermore, many of the Westerners who arrived in the 1900s were professionals who had moved from Eastern cities rather than farms, and set up in towns that worked to support the farms surrounding them. Urban residents were drawn to the West as the Western farm life no longer appeared as dangerous, lonely, or difficult, and new technology had improved the ease and comfort of life in the West. In these decades Americans became increasingly interested in rurality and country life. Rural America was perceived as more moral, in contrast to dirty and corrupt cities. President Roosevelt chartered the country life movement in 1908, the Boy Scouts were founded in 1910, and numerous outdoor clubs began to help nature enthusiasts experience nature through gardening, hiking, and bird watching, and exploring the wilderness.³⁰⁹

Early Twentieth-Century Progressive Politics

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, Westerners enthusiastically supported progressivism and progressive reform.³¹⁰ Early-twentieth century progressivism was a national movement that worked on local, state, and federal levels of government to respond to corruption in politics, regulate corporate interests, and support a host of issues including labor rights, prohibition, woman suffrage, and social welfare

agencies.³¹¹ Progressives sought to keep politics and business free from corruption and sustain the public good.³¹² Although some progressive leaders started out in the populist movement, especially in the West and South, many others were completely disconnected from populism and some even opposed it. Progressivism and populism shared some of the same aims, but progressivism was less radical in its responses to capital and corporate power and usually “surfaced initially in urban politics” while populism did not gain as much traction in urban areas.³¹³

Of the many issues progressives addressed, direct legislation was one of the most popular tools Western progressives advocated to increase popular control of the government. Western progressives argued that direct legislation was the best means of limiting corporate power, resisting monopolies, and decreasing government corruption.³¹⁴ The leaders of the direct democracy movement of the early twentieth century focused on reforms such as the initiative, the referendum, and the recall, to increase the power of “the people” and the state, and thereby limit the power of monopolies and corporate influence on governmental and political leaders. The initiative enabled voters to pass laws directly by ballot, the referendum allowed voters to directly repeal laws by ballot, and the recall allowed voters to directly remove public officials through the ballot. These progressive reforms assumed that if ordinary American citizens had more input and more access to political participation, the government would have to respond to popular will, and democracy would cure governmental corruption and corporate power.³¹⁵

Although reformers across the country publicized and advocated direct legislation, direct democracy reforms were most successful in the American West as the Western states were the first to enact them and very few of Eastern and Southern states were able

to implement them. Although not every Western state enacted all of these reforms, they were most common in the West. All states West of the Mississippi, except for Texas, Kansas, Minnesota, Iowa, and Wisconsin have either the initiative or referendum. Much like the woman suffrage movement, the national leaders of the direct democracy movement lived in the Northeast and they based the national organizations for direct legislature in the Northeast. Due to “the dominant role of the Northeast in American publishing and politics,” the national leaders effectively promoted and won support for the initiative and referendum in the East and across the country, but direct democracy was more successfully implemented in the Western states.³¹⁶ Once Oregon adopted the initiative and referendum in 1902, the reforms “swept the West” in the first decade of the twentieth century. Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, and Washington initiated direct democracy reforms by 1912, and North Dakota enacted them in 1914. By 1912, direct legislation had become such a fixture in Western politics that it served as “a litmus test of Progressive political sentiments”³¹⁷ and both Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson supported it in their presidential campaigns.

Perhaps direct democracy flourished better in the West because, as Goebel argues, the Western states had “weaker political parties,” a “stronger anti-party spirit, and more effective nonpartisan reform movements” than the Eastern states.³¹⁸ Furthermore, the antimonopoly sentiment of the 1890s West “carried over into western Progressivism,” fueled the direct democracy movement in the West, and encouraged “a much greater hostility to corporations and trusts” than in the East.³¹⁹ After the depression of the 1890s, Westerners were more aware of the control Eastern corporations, monopolies, utility companies, and the railroads had over their economy.³²⁰ Between 1898 and 1904, 235

trusts formed with a capitalization of over six billion dollars. As progressives saw the trusts' influence over state governments, they worked to limit their influence in state legislatures. In California, progressives campaigned to "Kick the Southern Pacific out of politics." In Colorado, the progressives focused more on the utility companies' power in the state legislature. As with woman suffrage, the Western states' success with direct democracy may also have been due to the timing of their admission to the Union.³²¹ The states that developed around the turn of the century had "malleable political cultures" and "new ways of legislating [that] were codified in state constitutions emerging from political flux."³²² While states in the Northeast and South had "entrenched constitutional traditions" by the 1890s, citizens in the West were creating new states and constitutions, which made it easier to enact new legislation.³²³ Progressivism's direct democracy movement served as the backdrop, if not a key agent, for many Western women's public advocacy of woman suffrage, prohibition, and political reform.

Project Details

Scholarship on the discursive creation of the American West has often examined the discourse of well-known figures in Western history such as Frederick Jackson Turner, Teddy Roosevelt, Buffalo Bill, Owen Wister, and Frederic Remington.³²⁴ This project's examination of select women's discourse in the West challenges this dominant and often Eastern-based narrative, illustrates other ways Westerners shaped the meaning of the West for themselves, and highlights the roles women played in constructing the image of the West. These case studies also help complicate the meaning of the West by examining the unique character Western states crafted as they competed to demonstrate their distinctness from and superiority over other Western states. Furthermore, this project

seeks to add to the ongoing scholarship on the rhetoric of the woman suffrage movement. Contributing to the recovery project in women's rhetoric and public address, this project follows in the tradition of Campbell's landmark recovery of nineteenth-century women's rights rhetoric.³²⁵ Since the body of scholarship on nationally known suffragists has grown, scholars like Cindy Koenig Richards, Sara Hayden, Randall Lake, Casey Kelly, Carmen Heider, and Susan Zaeske have begun examining women's regional advocacy discourse.³²⁶ This project aims to add to this effort.

I attempt to shed new light on the arguments white women used as they advocated for woman suffrage and shaped the meaning of the West. Rather than trying to uncover and explicate Western women's "authentic" lives, I am instead interested in their public discourse—specifically their arguments about the American West. As I analyze the texts, I attend to the ways the texts interacted with the historical context and negotiated the mythic meanings of the West and contemporary gender norms. Before analyzing the texts, I first recovered, selected, and authenticated texts of Western political women by consulting primary sources and archives. Focusing on public speeches, essays, and protests, I located these texts in newspapers, personal papers, and archives located at the Library of Congress, the University of Washington's Special Collections, the Montana Historical Society, University of Wyoming's American Heritage Center, and the New York Public Library.

In selecting rhetorical artifacts to analyze, there were numerous texts, events, political careers, campaigns, publications, and images from which to choose. As each state had its own suffrage campaigns, collectively they had multiple generations of suffrage and political leaders. After recovering a number of texts, I selected case studies

according to my research questions. Therefore, I have chosen texts that exemplify the concepts of gender, Western myth, and place. Hal Fulmer and Carl Kell argue that studies of regional rhetoric should start with “an inductive examinations of texts” rather than limiting studies to “static geographic lines, obvious regional rhetors, and deductively-concluded regional topics.”³²⁷ Thus, I began this project by first locating the texts of women who lived and worked in Western American public life. Many of these texts made repeated appeals to the meanings of the West and appropriated Western discourse. Thus, I have organized these case studies around various Western myths and Western discourses that Western women appropriated. I have also purposely chosen not to examine arguments that did not directly attend to Western myths and regional gender ideals. This project analyzes four cases of public arguments, made by women who lived in the Pacific Northwest or Rocky Mountain states, which drew on the meaning of the West for their political purposes or contributed to the construction of the meaning of the West.

I have also limited my case studies according to time period, location, genre, and availability. *Chronologically*, the texts I have chosen fall between 1889 and 1933. This time period does not include many of the first generation of Western woman suffrage leaders who laid important groundwork for the Western woman suffrage movement. Nor does this time period allow for a careful examination of the earliest Western woman suffrage victories that took place without extended political campaigns. This time period does, however, allow for an analysis of arguments women made to gain woman suffrage, to shape the memory of the West, to boost the West to the East, and to justify their presence in political office. *Geographically*, I look at the discourse of women who lived and worked in the states and territories of the Rocky Mountains and Pacific Northwest.

By the turn of the century, people in the Far West and Rocky Mountain West considered themselves Westerners and saw themselves as distinct from Midwesterners.³²⁸

Generically, I am primarily examining public discourse rather than diaries or personal letters, although diaries and personal letters inform my understanding of the texts and context. The *availability* of texts also played a role in my text selection. Between the politics of the archive and the prevalence of stump speeches given without notes, many texts of female activists and politicians of this time were not saved.³²⁹ While much of their discourse cannot be recovered, authenticated, and studied, the case studies chosen here have a large enough body of resources and texts to allow for an in-depth investigation.

Text Authentication

Prior to analyzing these texts, I worked to authenticate the texts and establish their reliability. Following Robert N. Gaines's method of text authentication, I went through the steps of authentication that were possible for each case study: (1) collection of texts, (2) analysis of texts, (3) selection of a composition-text, (4) refinement of the composition-text, and (5) explanation of the refined text.³³⁰ For the case studies on Abigail Scott Duniway and Grace Raymond Hebard, I collated as many representations of their speeches as possible, and then chose to analyze the representations that were published in newspapers. Of the texts I analyze in this project, all of Duniway's speeches and most of Hebard's speeches were published in newspapers, but I also analyze some of Hebard's un-authenticated texts that appear to be pre-delivery speech notes located in her personal papers. For the case study on The Mountaineers' summit of Mount Rainier, I did not choose a composition text, as the text is a performance, but I collated and analyzed as

many representations of the performance as possible, including photographs, trip reports, and newspaper articles.

Because Jeannette Rankin's 1917 Carnegie Hall address on "Democracy and Government" received national attention, there were numerous representations of her speech that allowed me to document all of the authentication steps and construct a critical edition of the speech.³³¹ I began authenticating Rankin's speech by collecting any materials that referenced Rankin's speech performance. In total, I collated nine representations of Rankin's "Democracy and Government" speech: one pre-delivery draft and eight newspaper accounts of the speech.³³² Second, I analyzed each text instance to determine their similarities. Third, I chose the pre-delivery draft of the speech as the "composition-text," which Gaines defines as the "concrete exemplar of the text that may serve as the basis for a refined text," because the pre-delivery draft is the only extant text of the speech.³³³ The pre-delivery draft was located in the papers of Jeannette Rankin's brother, Wellington Rankin, at the Montana Historical Society because following the Carnegie Hall address, Wellington mailed the pre-delivery draft to Jeannette and suggested that she use it for her upcoming address at the national meeting of the Nonpartisan League.³³⁴ Fourth, to confirm that the pre-delivery draft was the speech text that Rankin delivered that night in Carnegie Hall, I completed the fourth step and compared the pre-delivery draft to the eight newspaper accounts of Rankin's speech.³³⁵ Although the quotes, summaries, and descriptions of Rankin's speech in newspaper articles do not match the composition draft verbatim, they corroborated the ideas, arguments, and themes in the composition text of the speech. The close parallels between the newspaper reports and the composition text confirmed that the pre-delivery draft

provided a reliable representation of the speech Rankin delivered. Fifth, I explained this authentication process and documented the reliability of the text in a critical edition of the speech, included in the Appendix.³³⁶

Outline of Chapters

In the first case study, I examine Abigail Scott Duniway's use of the frontier myth in her suffrage advocacy. Duniway (1834-1915) lived in Oregon and Idaho and became known as the "representative" of all Western suffragists after publishing a suffrage newspaper, advocating for woman suffrage across the West, and speaking at national suffrage conventions. I argue that as Duniway appropriated the frontier myth for woman suffrage, she resisted the concept of the male frontier hero as she included Western women as frontier heroines who earned their right to vote by surviving on the frontier. Duniway celebrated Western women's heroic accomplishments on the frontier, enacted the epitome of the ideal frontier heroine, and depicted the West as a place of inherent freedom. Duniway's advocacy did not include American Indian women or Eastern women in her frontier myth, which maintained ideals of white citizenship and contributed to her turbulent relationship with Eastern suffragists. Even as Duniway included white Western women in the frontier myth, she featured masculinity as essential to political participation and the frontier hero, and dismissed the traditional, Eastern ideals of true womanhood.

In the second case study, I examine The Mountaineer suffragists' ascent of Mount Rainier in 1909. As the suffragists joined the Seattle Mountaineers club to summit Mount Rainier for the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, the suffragists appropriated the summit for woman suffrage. I examine their climb as a political pilgrimage that placed their

appeal for voting rights before the Pacific Northwest and signaled that these women had earned their suffrage rights by reaching the mountain summit. The mountain climb appropriated the various meanings of mountaineering and the wilderness at the turn of the century: the imperial symbolism of mountain summiting declared that the women mountaineers were independent and free, the belief that the wilderness functioned as the last frontier suggested that the climbers had conquered the mythic frontier, and mountaineering as a sport demonstrated women's equality to men as athletes. These masculine discourses of imperialism, the frontier myth, and sport were flexible enough for the suffragists' use because in the early twentieth century, the wilderness also symbolized ideals of purity and piety, which fit traditional ideals of femininity. Furthermore, the women Mountaineers enacted the "New Woman" ideal of femininity and they climbed with men, which allowed them to enact a freedom from some gender norms and suggest that Western men willingly supported woman suffrage. The mountaineering women marked the summit of Mount Rainier as a place for woman suffrage and drew on its meaning for women's rights.

In the third case study, I examine Grace Raymond Hebard's (1861-1936) commemorative markings of Wyoming's historic sites. Joining the pioneer reminiscers who collectively reflected on their westward migrations by marking the trails they took to the West, Hebard placed markers and held public ceremonies to commemorate events from Wyoming's past. I argue that Hebard's commemorative discourse resisted the governing perception of Wyoming as the "Wild West" and domesticated Wyoming's image by drawing on the agrarian myth, celebrating Wyoming's male homesteaders as heroes, and constructing Wyoming as "civilized." Hebard tamed Wyoming's history of

racial conquest by making it appear natural and celebrated signs that Wyoming was settled. Hebard also drew on Wyoming's status as the first woman suffrage state and its association with Sacagawea to shape the meaning of Wyoming as a leader of progress. Even as Hebard celebrated Wyoming's suffragists, she de-politicized them and depicted them according to ideals of true womanhood. In contrast, Hebard's commemorations of Sacagawea celebrated the American Indian woman according to the ideals of the traditionally masculine Western hero.

In the last case study, I examine the rhetoric Jeannette Rankin (1880-1973) used to introduce herself to the nation after she was successfully elected as one of Montana's U.S. Representatives. To explain her monumental achievement as America's first female member of Congress to a national audience in 1917, she began writing articles in national newspapers and beginning in New York, she went on a twenty-city lecture tour throughout the Northeast that featured Montana as the promised land for agricultural, economic, and democratic success. Rankin adopted the rhetoric of Western boosterism and accounted for her political success and Montana woman suffrage according to Montana's numerous natural and political advantages. I argue that Rankin minimized the nation's anxiety about having a female member of Congress by enacting traditional femininity. At the same time, Rankin's boosting of Montana's resources, direct democracy, and woman suffrage shaped the meaning of Montana and demonstrated her political competence. Rankin enacted her preparedness for political office by describing her own political experience, displaying her breadth of knowledge on direct legislation and political reform, and exploiting the familiar discourse of Western boosterism. Finally, as Rankin explained Western woman suffrage according to the traditional frontier myth

and natural rights, she also assured her audience that Eastern woman suffrage was surely close at hand.

In the conclusion, I compare and contrast the differing ways the discourse studied in these four case studies drew on the mythic discourses of the West, participated in place-making the meaning of the West, and articulated possibilities for femininity and masculinity in the West. I also identify arguments and themes that appear across these four cases. As these Western women promoted woman suffrage and contributed to the meaning of the West, they made similar arguments. Across the different case studies, we see “earned rights” arguments for woman suffrage, an emphasis on the Western land that depicted events in the West as natural, arguments made through enactment, and representations of American Indians and Eastern suffragists. Finally, I examine Henry Mayer’s 1915 political cartoon, “The Awakening” to illustrate how these Western women’s arguments also contributed to national discourses of Western woman suffrage. Mayer’s cartoon, which was published in New York City, depicted woman suffrage and the American West in ways that were similar to the women’s discourse studied in this project and suggests how widespread these depictions of Western woman suffrage were in the early twentieth century.

When considered together, these cases illuminate the various ways that white women negotiated ideas of gender and the West as they ascended to political and civic leadership at the turn of twentieth century. The first two case studies attend to the way Western women’s discourse drew on the meanings of the West to advocate for woman suffrage. The last two case studies examine how Western women drew on Western women’s rights to shape the meaning of their Western states. In each case, however, we

see that the public discourses of Duniway, *The Mountaineers*, Hebard, and Rankin drew on the myths and discourses of the West, including the frontier myth, the agrarian myth, Western boosterism, discourses of the wilderness and mountaineering, pioneer reminiscences, and direct democracy. In the process, these women participated in place-making the American West: Duniway and *The Mountaineers* depicted the West as a space for women's freedom and liberty and Hebard and Rankin portrayed the West as a place of settled, progressive, and "civilized" communities that had led the nation in woman suffrage reform. As they navigated the gender ideals of the West, Duniway celebrated Western women who enacted masculine norms of violence and conquest and *The Mountaineers* balanced their masculine discourses of imperialism and the frontier myth with the "New Woman" ideal of the early twentieth century. In contrast, Hebard feminized white Western suffragists as domestic "true women" and Rankin celebrated the Western ideal of the female helpmate even while Rankin herself enacted the "refined lady" ideal of the East. Duniway, *The Mountaineers*, and Rankin depicted Western men as happy supporters of Western women's rights and liberties. These analyses of turn-of-the-century Western women's discourses illustrate how the myths of the West shaped the woman suffrage movement and how Western women simultaneously contributed to the meanings of the West.

Notes: Introduction

¹ Born in California, raised in Nevada, educated in Maine, she became a teacher and married in Arizona. "Arizona's Woman Senator," *The Semi-Weekly Tribune*.

² Gertrude M. Price, "Arizona Woman Legislator is a Real Westerner; Not Afraid to Shoot," *The Day Book*, November 30, 1915, 9.

³ Price, "Arizona Woman," 9.

⁴ Frances W. Munds, "Denies She's For Ling," *Mohave County Minter*, September 5, 1914; "Arizona Senator is State's Best Housekeeper," no date, no publication title.

⁵ "Arizona Senator is State's Best Housekeeper"; "Woman Elected to Legislature," *The Graham Guardian*, November 13, 1914, 1.

⁶ "Arizona Senator to Aid Suffrage Cause in the East," *The Ogden Standard*, June 15, 1915, 1. Once in office, Munds also served as chairperson of the committee on education and public institutions. She was invited by other members of the senate to be president of the upper house, but turned it down to "give her entire time in the legislature to committee work." "Arizona Senator is State's Best Housekeeper," newspaper article.

⁷ Frances Munds, "A Reminder to Women," *The Graham Guardian*, November 1, 1912, 1.

⁸ "Arizona Woman is Accorded Honors," *Bisbee Daily Review*, January 23, 1913, 1.

⁹ "Women for Office: May Be Candidates for the State Legislature as Well as for Other Offices," *The Graham Guardian*, December 19, 1913, 1.

¹⁰ “Greetings to Arizona’s New Citizens, The Women,” *The Coconino Sun*, November 15, 1912, 1.

¹¹ “Greetings to Arizona’s New Citizens,” 1.

¹² Also see Carolyn Stefanco, “Networking on the Frontier: The Colorado Women’s Suffrage Movement, 1876-1893,” in *The Women’s West*, ed. Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987).

¹³ Michael P. Malone and Richard W. Etulain, *The American West: A Twentieth-Century History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 61-62.

¹⁴ Rebecca J. Mead, *How the Vote was Won: Woman Suffrage in the Western United States, 1868–1914* (New York: New York University Press, 2004).

¹⁵ Beverly Beeton, “How the West was Won for Woman Suffrage,” in *One Woman, One Vote: Rediscovering the Woman Suffrage Movement*, ed. M. S. Wheeler (Syracuse, NY: New Sage Press, 1995).

¹⁶ T. A. Larson, “Woman Suffrage in Western America,” *Utah History Quarterly* 38 (1970): 7–10; Karen M. Morin, “Political Culture and Suffrage in an Anglo-American Women’s West,” *Women’s Rights Law Reporter* 19 (1997): 17–37; Mead, *How the Vote Was Won*, 2.

¹⁷ Mead, *How the Vote Was Won*, 43.

¹⁸ Some of the Western suffragists include Clarina Howard Nichols in Kansas, Caroline Nichols Churchill in Colorado, Emmeline B. Wells in Utah, Emma Smith Devoe in Washington, Jeannette Rankin in Montana, and Abigail Scott Duniway in Oregon. Sandra L. Myres, *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience, 1800–1915*

(Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1982); Richard White, *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A New History of the American West* (Tulsa, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991); Mead, *How the Vote Was Won*.

¹⁹ Woodrow Wilson, "The Proper Perspective of American History," *Forum* 19 (1895): 544–59.

²⁰ Dan Moos, *Outside America: Race, Ethnicity, and the Role of the American West in National Belonging* (Lebanon, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2005), 2; Gary J. Hausladen, "Introduction," in *Western Places, American Myths: How We Think About the West*, ed. Gary J. Hausladen (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2003), 1; Gerald D. Nash, *Creating the West: Historical Interpretations, 1890-1990* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 197.

²¹ Historian Gary J. Hausladen maintains that "there is no arguing" that the American West is "an important part of our geographical history and an essential element in the view of ourselves as a nation." Hausladen, "Introduction," 4-5.

²² Nash, *Creating the West*, 197-198.

²³ While some scholars distinguish between the terms "place" and "space" to indicate different relationships to the physical environment, other scholars use them "in somewhat indistinguishable ways." Although these two concepts are "fundamentally interrelated," the definitions of the terms and their relationship to each other are still an ongoing matter of scholarly dispute. In general though, Danielle Endres and Samantha Senda-Cook argue that the relationship between place and space is "one of particular to general" and Jessie Stewart and Greg Dickinson clarify that "place" has a "stronger sense

of human intervention.” The symbolic meaning of a place demonstrates the difference between space and place. Thomas Gieryn argues that when a place loses its distinct meanings and values, it becomes space. Space is a broader understanding of the way spatial thinking guides cultures and social practices. As examples of spatial thinking, Endres and Senda-Cook discuss the concepts of some spaces being understood as public or private, “green,” or gendered. These broader understandings of space influence and are influenced by places. So a place cannot exist outside of its larger spatial system that links its specific geographical location to “broader social structures and practices.” Although the concept of space is more general than place, space is also socially constructed and has meaning—it is not “natural” or “empty.” Space, like place, is also a social product that is constructed and reconstructed through human intervention. Thus, space and place are always influencing each other. Jessie Stewart and Greg Dickinson, “Enunciating Locality in the Postmodern Suburb: FlatIron Crossing and the Colorado Lifestyle,” *Western Journal of Communication* 72 (2008): 280-307; Danielle Endres and Samantha Senda-Cook, “Location Matters: The Rhetoric of Place in Protest,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 97 (2011): 259-260; Theresa Ann Donofrio, “Ground Zero and Place-Making Authority: The Conservative Metaphors in 9/11 Families’ “Take Back the Memorial” Rhetoric,” *Western Journal of Communication* 74 (2010): 150-169; Thomas F. Gieryn, “A Space for Place in Sociology,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 26 (2000): 463–96; Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson Smith (Malden, MA: Blackwell Press, 1974).

²⁴ Endres and Senda-Cook, *Location Matters*, 259.

²⁵ Tim Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology and Transgression* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

²⁶ Stewart and Dickinson, *Enunciating Locality*, 283; Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 5; Donofrio, "Ground Zero," 151-152.

²⁷ Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place*; Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*; Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Raymie McKerrow, "Space and Time in the Postmodern Polity," *Western Journal of Communication* 63 (1999): 271-90; Thomas J. St. Antoine, "Making Heaven Out of Hell: New Urbanism and the Refutation of Suburban Spaces," *Southern Communication Journal* 72 (2007): 127-44; Doreen Massey, *For Space* (London: Sage Publications, 2005); Donovan Conley and Greg Dickinson, "Space, Matter, Mediation, and the Prospects of Democracy [special issue]," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 27 (2010); Sonja Modesti, "Home Sweet Home: Tattoo Parlors as Postmodern Spaces of Agency," *Western Journal of Communication* 72 (2008): 197-212.

²⁸ Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*, 5.

²⁹ Donofrio, "Ground Zero," 153; Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*, 7; Stewart and Dickinson, *Enunciating Locality*.

³⁰ Bryan Hubbard and Marouf A. Hasian, Jr., "Atomic Memories of the Enola Gay: Strategies of Remembrance at the National Air and Space Museum," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 1 (1998): 369-70; Donofrio, "Ground Zero."

³¹ Endres and Senda-Cook, *Location Matters*, 265.

³² Endres and Senda-Cook, *Location Matters*, 260.

³³ Endres and Senda-Cook, *Location Matters*, 260; McKerrow, "Space and Time," 271.

³⁴ Endres and Senda-Cook, *Location Matters*, 258-261.

³⁵ Greg Dickinson, "Memories for Sale: Nostalgia and the Construction of Identity in Old Pasadena," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 83 (1997): 1-27; Greg Dickinson, "Joe's Rhetoric: Finding Authenticity at Starbucks," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 32 (2002): 5-27; Greg Dickinson, Carole Blair, and Brian Ott, eds., *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2010); Greg Dickinson, Brian L. Ott, and Eric Aoki, "Memory and myth at the Buffalo Bill Museum," *Western Journal of Communication* 69 (2005): 85-108; Stewart and Dickinson, "Enunciating Locality"; Greg Dickinson, Brian L. Ott, and Eric Aoki, "Spaces of Remembering and Forgetting: The Reverent Eye/I at the Plains Indian Museum," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 3 (2006): 27-47.

³⁶ Dickinson, Ott, and Aoki, *Memory and Myth*, 31; John Darwin Dorst, *Looking West* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

³⁷ White, "It's Your Misfortune," 4.

³⁸ Virginia Scharff, "Else Surely We Shall All Hang Separately: The Politics of Western Women's History," *Pacific Historical Review* (1992): 535-555; Joan M. Jensen and Darlis A. Miller, "The Gentle Tamers Revisited: New Approaches to the History of Women in the American West," *Pacific Historical Review* 49 (1980): 173-213.

³⁹ Not only does it ignore the first Indian people in the area, it erases the perspective of the Asian migrants who moved East to California, the Canadians who moved South to Montana and the Dakotas, and the Latino settlers that moved North. Hine and Faragher, *The American West*, 10–11.

⁴⁰ In part, this problem of defining the region is not unique to the West, since there are not exact boundaries on other American regions such as “the South,” “the Midwest,” or “the East.” Hausladen, “Introduction.”

⁴¹ While some Western scholars place the Eastern boundary of the West at the Mississippi or the Missouri River, others place it East of the Great Plains, while others place it at the Rocky Mountains. Although scholars such as Limerick define “the West” according to present day state lines, others debate whether the Eastern boundary of the West should be at the 95th, 97th, 98th, or 99th meridian. Limerick defines “the West” as the “present day states of California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Texas, Montana, Wyoming, North Dakota, and South Dakota and, more changeably, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, in Louisiana.” Malone and Etulain define the West as all states that embrace “the 98th meridian, including their eastern portions, since state boundaries do not coincide with geographic boundaries and since it makes no sense to speak openly of the western and less populous portions of those states, states that are truly part of the West.” Walter Nugent, “Where is the American West? Report on a Survey,” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 42 (1992): 2-23; Patricia Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1987), 26;

Robert V. Hine and John Mack Faragher, *The American West: A New Interpretive History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 10-11; Robert G. Athearn, *The Mythic West in Twentieth-Century America* (Lawrence, KS, 1986); Malone and Etulain, *The American West*, 9.

⁴² Historians Walter Webb, Patricia Limerick, and others have argued that with few exceptions, the most basic characteristic that distinguishes the American West as a region is aridity. Yet Richard White maintains that geography does not define the boundaries of the West. Pointing to the areas of Western Washington, Western Oregon, and Northern California, he argues that although aridity marks large portions of the West, it also divides the West itself and makes the West's current environment appear natural, obscuring the ways it has been shaped by the human beings who have used and lived on it. Malone and Etulain, *The American West*.

⁴³ John Walton Caughey, *The American West: Frontier and Region* (Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1969), 6; Hine and Faragher, *The American West*, 10-11.

⁴⁴ Spurgeon, *Exploding the Western*, 6.

⁴⁵ Athearn, *The Mythic West*, 48.

⁴⁶ Sara L. Spurgeon, *Exploding the Western: Myths of Empire on the Postmodern Frontier* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2005), 6.

⁴⁷ James Oliver Robertson, *American Myth, American Reality* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1980).

⁴⁸ Leroy G. Dorsey and Rachel M. Harlow, "'We Want Americans Pure and Simple': Theodore Roosevelt and the Myth of Americanism," *Rhetoric and Public*

Affairs 6 (2003): 55-78; Leroy G. Dorsey, "The Frontier Myth in Presidential Rhetoric: Theodore Roosevelt's Campaign for Conservation," *Western Journal of Communication* 59 (1995): 1-19.

⁴⁹ Janice Hocker Rushing and Thomas S. Frenz, "'The Rhetoric of Rocky': A Social Value Model of Criticism," *Western Journal of Speech Communication* 42 (1978): 63-72.

⁵⁰ Leroy G. Dorsey, *We are All Americans, Pure and Simple: Theodore Roosevelt and the Myth of Americanism* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2007); Dorsey and Harlow, "We Want Americans Pure and Simple"; Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Atheneum, 1992); Northrop Frye, "Literature and Myth," in *Relations of Literary Study*, ed. J. Thorpe (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1966), 27-28.

⁵¹ Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, 1992; Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1973); Frye, "Literature and Myth," 1966.

⁵² Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence*.

⁵³ Dorsey, *We Are All Americans*; Dorsey, "The Frontier Myth," 4; Janice H. Rushing, "The Rhetoric of the American Western Myth," *Communication Monographs* 50 (1983); Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*; Mary E. Stuckey, "The Donner Party and the Rhetoric of Westward Expansion," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 14 (2011): 229-260.

⁵⁴ Hofstadter, *Age of Reform*, 23.

⁵⁵ Hofstadter, *Age of Reform*, 24.

⁵⁶ David M. Wrobel, *Promised Lands: Promotion, Memory, and the Creation of the American West* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2002), 4.

⁵⁷ Dorsey, *We are All Americans*, 190.

⁵⁸ Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Compiled by W. Peden (New York: Norton, 1787/1982), 164-165; Benjamin Franklin, "Letter to Benjamin Vaughan, July 26, 1784," in *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Albert H. Smyth (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907), accessed April 2, 2013, books.google.com; John F. Kennedy, "Special Message to the Congress on Urgent National Needs," Washington, DC (1961); John Jordan, "Kennedy's Romantic Moon and Its Rhetorical Legacy for Space Exploration," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 6 (2003).

Not only did Reagan play a cowboy in film and proclaim his love for riding horses and chopping wood on his California Ranch, he used American Western imagery to justify U.S. foreign and domestic policies. He inherited Roosevelt's title of "cowboy president," and called on the frontier myth in his 1980 presidential campaign to point to American's distinctness as people who "had the courage to uproot themselves and leave hearth and homeland and come to what in the beginning was the most undeveloped wilderness possible." George W. Bush also attested to his Western roots by regularly sported his cowboy boots. In response to the events on September 11, 2001, he proclaimed that Osama bin Laden was America's enemy by declaring, "I want him—I want justice. And there's an old poster out West, as I recall, that said 'Wanted: Dead or Alive.'" Evoking American's ideas about "Old West justice and cowboy vigilantism," Bush drew on American Western imagery as president. Moos, *Outside America*; Robert

V. Hine, and John Mack Faragher, *The American West: A New Interpretive History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000, 528-530. Karrin Vasby Anderson and Kristina Horn Sheeler, *Governing Codes: Gender, Metaphor, and Political Identity* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2005).

⁵⁹ Western promotional material was often written or produced by newspaper and journal editors, commercial clubs, chambers of commerce, boards of agriculture, real estate agents, and railroad advertisers. Promoters also boosted Western black towns and promoted land specifically to freed slaves as a refuge from persecution and Jim Crow laws, in addition to the opportunities for agriculture and business. Capitalizing on the opportunity for economic gain, founders of these black towns encouraged migrant populations to move West for a better quality of life. Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 2.

⁶⁰ Martha M. Allen, *Traveling West: 19th Century Women on the Overland Routes* (El Paso, TX: Texas Western Press, 1987); Susan J. Rosowski, *Birthing a Nation: Gender, Creativity, and the West in American Literature* (Omaha, University of Nebraska Press, 1999).

⁶¹ Annette Kolodny, *The Land Before Her: Fantasy and Experience of the American Frontiers, 1630-1860* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984).

⁶² Brigitte Georgi-Findlay, *The Frontiers of Women's Writing: Women's Narratives and the Rhetoric of Western Expansion* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1996); Karen M. Morin, *Frontiers of Femininity: A New Historical*

Geography of the Nineteenth-Century American West (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2008).

⁶³ Frances Fuller Victor, *The New Penelope* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, Printers, 1877); Casey Ryan Kelly, "Women's Rhetorical Agency in the American West: *The New Penelope*," *Women's Studies in Communication* 32 (2009): 203-231.

⁶⁴ Sara Hayden, "Negotiating Femininity and Power in the Early Twentieth-Century West: Domestic Ideology and Feminine Style in Jeannette Rankin's Suffrage Rhetoric," *Communication Studies* 50 (1999): 83-102.

⁶⁵ Cindy Koenig Richards, "Inventing Sacagawea: Public Women and the Transformative Potential of Epideictic Rhetoric," *Western Journal of Communication* 73 (2009): 1-22.

⁶⁶ Fredrick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" (presentation, American Historical Association, Chicago, IL, 1893); Fredrick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, ed. F. Mood. (Madison, WI: The Society, 1894). Turner later published this paper as a book: Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920).

⁶⁷ Harold Simonson, introduction to *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*, by Frederick Jackson Turner (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1963).

⁶⁸ Harold P. Simonson, *Beyond the Frontier: Writers, Western Regionalism and a Sense of Place* (Fort Worth, TX: Texas Christian University Press, 1989), 16.

⁶⁹ Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier," 31.

⁷⁰ Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier"; Moos, *Outside America*, 48.

⁷¹ Moos, *Outside America*, 49; Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982).

⁷² Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest*, 26; Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier," 1893.

⁷³ Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*; Ronald Carpenter, "Frederick Jackson Turner and the Rhetorical Impact of the Frontier Thesis," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 63 (1977): 129.

⁷⁴ Carpenter, "Frederick Jackson Turner," 128.

⁷⁵ Hausladen, "Introduction," 3-4.

⁷⁶ Spurgeon, *Exploding the Western*, 7.

⁷⁷ Wrobel, *The End of American Exceptionalism*, 91-92.

⁷⁸ Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*, 23.

⁷⁹ Owen Wister, *The Virginian: A Horseman of the Plains* (1902; reprint, New York: Penguin Books, 1988); John F. Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man: The White Male Body and the Challenge of Modernity in America* (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 2001), 180.

⁸⁰ Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man*, 181.

⁸¹ Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*, 24.

⁸² Athearn, *The Mythic West*, 24.

⁸³ For a discussion on the rhetorical nature of history, see essays on rhetorical history collected by Kathleen J. Turner, ed., *Doing Rhetorical History: Concepts and Cases* (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 1998).

⁸⁴ Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*, 5-7.

⁸⁵ Nash, *Creating the West*, 198.

⁸⁶ Deverell, "Fighting Words," 32.

⁸⁷ William Deverell, "Fighting Words: The Significance of the American West in the History of the United States," in *A New Significance: Re-envisioning the History of the American West*, ed. Clyde Milner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 32.

⁸⁸ Wrobel, *The End of American Exceptionalism*, vii; Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest*.

⁸⁹ Deverell, "Fighting Words," 32.

⁹⁰ Hausladen, *Western Places*, 4.

⁹¹ White, "Trashing the Trails," 33.

⁹² The concept of the "frontier" is especially tied to Old Western History. Some scholars, however, have defined the frontier as a meeting place between different cultures that became tied into the same history. In this way, scholars such as Annette Kolodny and Sara Spurgeon have defined the frontier as "the meeting place between two or more cultures encountering each other for the first time, often in a landscape perceived as dangerous and unfamiliar to at least one of the cultures involved." Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest*, 26; Alan G. Bogue, "The Course of Western History's First Century," in *A New Significance: Re-Envisioning the History of the American West*, ed. Clyde A. Milner

II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 16; Hausladen, "Introduction," 3; Spurgeon, *Exploding the Western*, 6; Kolodny, *Land of Her Own*; Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); White, *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own*.

⁹³ Hausladen, "Introduction," 1; Etulain, "Prologue," 2; Hausladen, "Introduction," 6-7; D.W. Meinig argued in 1972 that the "West" are both regions and processes, Richard Etulain has differentiated between scholarship that studies "to the West" and "in the West," and Hausladen distinguishes between frontiering and regional historiography.

⁹⁴ Hausladen, "Introduction," 6-7; Richard W. Etulain, "Prologue," in *The American West: A Twentieth-Century History*, eds. Michael P. Malone and Richard W. Etulain (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 2.

⁹⁵ Richard White defines the American West as "a product of conquest and of the mixing of diverse groups of peoples." White, "It's Your Misfortune," 4. It is also "a place undergoing conquest and never fully escaping its consequences." Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest*, 26; John R. Wunder, "What's Old about the New Western History?" *Western Legal History* 10 (1997): 52.

⁹⁶ Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest*.

⁹⁷ Influenced by environmental movements, revisionist critics also examine the way colonial representations of the American West have caused ecological damage as the West was portrayed as "empty land." Jordan Finnegan, *Narrating the American West: New Forms of Historical Memory* (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2008), 7-8.

⁹⁸ Deverell, "Fighting Words," 32.

⁹⁹ Finnegan, *Narrating the American West*, 8; Antonia I. Castaneda, "Women of Color and the Rewriting of Western History: The Discourse, Politics, and Decolonization of History," *Pacific Historical Review* 61 (1992): 501-533.

¹⁰⁰ Glenda Riley, "The Future of Western Women's History," *The Historian* 66 (2004): 539-545; Finnegan, *Narrating the American West*, 7.

¹⁰¹ Hausladen, "Introduction," 3-4.

¹⁰² Moos, *Outside America*.

¹⁰³ Moos, *Outside America*.

¹⁰⁴ See Glenda Riley, "The Future of Western Women's History"; Georgi-Findlay, *Frontiers of Women's Writing*; Jensen and Miller, "The Gentle Tamers Revisited"; Myres, *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience*; Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson, eds., *Writing the Range: Race, Class, and Culture in the Women's West* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997); Gordon M. Bakken and Brenda Farrington, eds., *The Gendered West* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2000); Mary Ann Irwin and James F. Brooks, *Women and Gender in the American West* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2004); William Forrest Sprague, *Women and the West: A Short Social History* (New York: Arno Press, 1972); Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Frontier Women: The Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-1880* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1979).

¹⁰⁵ Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge*, 1987.

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- ¹⁰⁶ Peggy Pascoe, "Western Women at the Cultural Crossroads," in *Trails: Toward a New Western History*, eds. Patrician Nelson Limerick, Clyde A. Milner II, and Charles E. Rankin (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas, 1991), 43-44.
- ¹⁰⁷ Jameson, "Bringing It All Back Home," 188.
- ¹⁰⁸ Jameson, "Bringing It All Back Home," 189.
- ¹⁰⁹ Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest*, 54.
- ¹¹⁰ Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest*, 54.
- ¹¹¹ Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest*, 54.
- ¹¹² Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest*, 54.
- ¹¹³ Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest*, 54.
- ¹¹⁴ Jameson, "Bringing It All Back Home," 193.
- ¹¹⁵ Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880 - 1917* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 7; Bruce Dorsey, *Reforming Men and Women: Gender and the Antebellum City* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), 4.
- ¹¹⁶ John M. Sloop, *Disciplining Gender: Rhetorics of Sex Identity in Contemporary U.S. Culture* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004); Judith Butler, *Undoing Gender* (New York: Routledge, 2004); Shannon L. Holland, "The Dangers of Playing Dress-Up: Popular Representations of Jessica Lynch and the Controversy Regarding Women in Combat," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 92 (2006): 27-50.

¹¹⁷ Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History, Revised Edition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 42.

¹¹⁸ Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*.

¹¹⁹ Butler explains that this distinction helped disconnect women from the “biologically narrow notion of reproduction as women’s social fate.” Understanding that gender is constructed suggests the potential for altering oppressive gender norms and unequal gender relations. Since gender is “open to continual remaking,” its adaptable nature indicates the ability to transform constricting and patriarchal gender norms. As Butler argues, “Sexual difference is inevitable and fundamental, but its form as patriarchal is contestable.” Butler, *Undoing Gender*, 9-10, 186, 204; Laura Lee Downs, *Writing Gender History* (New York: Hodder Arnold’s, 2004), 45.

¹²⁰ Although the concepts of sex and gender are distinct, there is not an “ironclad division between biology and culture.” Anne Fausto-Sterling, *Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 21-27; Downs, *Writing Gender History*, 3; Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990); Mary Midgley, “On Not Being Afraid of Natural Sex Difference,” in *Feminist Perspectives in Philosophy*, eds. Morwenna Griffiths and Margaret Whitford (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1988).

¹²¹ Personal interview with Braidotti cited in Butler, *Undoing Gender*, 185; Rosi Braidotti, *Metamorphoses: Towards a Materialist Theory of Becoming* (Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 2002).

¹²² Butler, *Undoing Gender*, 185-186.

¹²³ Yet there are physical differences in material bodies. As Fausto-Sterling clarifies, “There *are* hormones, genes, prostates, uteri, and other body parts and physiologies that we use to differentiate male from female.” Bernice Hausman also argues that differences “between vagina and penis are not merely ideological.” Yet it is more complex than a simple “either/or.” Butler suggests that we move past “the framework of sexual difference...into multiplicity” by naming and noticing multiple variations of sex. Kathleen Canning, *Gender History in Practice: Historical Perspectives on Bodies, Class and Citizenship* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 22; Judith Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998); Jay Prosser, *Second Skins: The Body Narratives of Transsexuality* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); Butler, *Undoing Gender*, 197; Fausto-Sterling, *Sexing the Body*, 3-4, 22.

¹²⁴ Butler notes that cultural framing informs even our understandings of “anatomy” and “sex.” Gender norms repeatedly push individuals into a two-sex, heterosexual system so that subjects are only intelligible if they fit this binary. Rarely does an individual reject “its” positioning in the male/female system by identifying “itself” as neither a man or a woman. Bederman describes the social pressure on individuals to act upon these social meanings, “to accept or reject them, adopt or adapt them—in order to be able to live their lives in human society.” As people act, speak, dress, and urinate in ways to enact gender norms, they make their gender performance appear natural and mark their bodies’ “true” sexual essence to fit into the male/female binary. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York:

Routledge, 1990); Holland, “The Dangers of Playing Dress-Up; Sloop, *Disciplining Gender*; Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 7; Butler, *Undoing Gender*, 43.

¹²⁵ Rotundo defines biological sex as “the division of animal forms into male and female according to basic differences of anatomy.” Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 1; Canning, *Gender History in Practice*, 4-5; Downs, *Writing Gender History* 3; Joan Wallach Scott, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” *The American Historical Review* 91 (1986): 1053–1075; Michael S. Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*, 2nd ed (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 2.

¹²⁶ Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 1.

¹²⁷ Kimmel, *Manhood in America*.

¹²⁸ Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*.

¹²⁹ Ellen Ross, *Love & Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

¹³⁰ R. W. Connell, *Gender* (Malden, MA: Polity, 2002), 4; Bonnie J. Dow, “Feminism and Public Address Research: Television News and the Constitution of Women’s Liberation,” in *The Handbook of Rhetoric and Public Address*, eds. Shawn Parry-Giles and J. Michael Hogan (West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2010); Butler, *Undoing Gender*, 9-10.

¹³¹ Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 7.

¹³² Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 7; Harriet Whitehead, “The Bow and the Burden Strap: A New Look at Institutionalized Homosexuality in Native North America,” in *Sexual Meanings: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality*, eds. Sherry Ortner and Harriet Whitehead (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Downs, *Writing Gender History*, 45; Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, 2.

¹³³ Whitehead, “The Bow and the Burden Strap.”

¹³⁴ Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 7.

¹³⁵ Although men generally “benefit from the inequalities of the gender order, they do not benefit equally.” Many men who do not fit the dominant ideals of masculinity suffer from discrimination and violence. Connell, *Gender*, 6; Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 7; Canning, *Gender History in Practice*, 5; Scott, “Gender.”

¹³⁶ Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*; Downs, *Writing Gender History*, 93.

¹³⁷ Connell, *Masculinities*; R. W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept,” *Gender and Society* 19 (2005): 829-859; Judith Kegan Gardiner, “Introduction” in *Masculinities Studies and Feminist Theory*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2002, 11.

¹³⁸ Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 4.

¹³⁹ Butler, *Undoing Gender*; Bonnie J. Dow, “Introduction of Part IV: Gender and Communication in Mediated Contexts,” in *The SAGE Handbook of Gender and Communication*, eds. Bonnie J. Dow and Julia T. Wood (London: SAGE Publications, 2006), 263-272.

¹⁴⁰ The gender system repeatedly pulls individuals into a two-gender system, made up of the masculine/feminine binary, and hides the multiple variations of gender. But gender is not a coherent binary that always and only means “masculine” or “feminine.” Susan Johnson, a gender historian, argues that the construction “man” or masculinity will not always emerge in male bodies, and the construction “woman” or femininity will not always follow from female bodies. As seen in cases of female masculinity and male femininity, Judith Butler notes that both masculinity and femininity are possible in both male and female bodies. American society, however, remains committed to maintaining the masculine/feminine binary by failing to name, notice, or accept other genders or gender variation. Gender scholars such as Butler and Rosi Braidotti call for us to move beyond the masculine/feminine binary so we can be freed from a constricting, singular gender norm, the “demand to be one thing,” so that femininity and masculinity can have multiple possibilities. Susan Lee Johnson, “‘A Memory Sweet to Soldiers’: The Significance of Gender in the History of the ‘American West,’” *Western Historical Quarterly* 14 (1993): 495-517; Butler, *Undoing Gender*, 197; Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, 27; Braidotti, *Metamorphoses*.

¹⁴¹ Butler, *Undoing Gender*, 209; Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, 77.

¹⁴² Butler, *Undoing Gender*, 7.

¹⁴³ Butler, *Undoing Gender*, 9-10.

¹⁴⁴ Bonnie Dow, *Primetime Feminism: Television, Media Culture, and the Women’s Movement since 1970* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996); Brenda Cooper, “*Boys Don’t Cry* and Female Masculinity: Reclaiming a Life and

Dismantling the Politics of Normative Heterosexuality,” *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 19 (2002): 54.

¹⁴⁵ Bonnie Dow, *Primetime Feminism: Television, Media Culture, and the Women’s Movement Since 1970* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996).

¹⁴⁶ Butler, *Gender Trouble*; Sloop, *Disciplining Gender*, 7; Kate Bornstein, *Gender Outlaw: On Men, Women, and the Rest of Us* (New York: Vintage, 1994).

¹⁴⁷ Holland, “The Dangers of Playing Dress-Up.”

¹⁴⁸ Sloop, *Disciplining Gender*; Holland, “The Dangers of Playing Dress Up.”

¹⁴⁹ Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 10; Butler, *Undoing Gender*, 15.

¹⁵⁰ Butler, *Undoing Gender*, 3.

¹⁵¹ Scott, “Gender,” 1067.

¹⁵² Butler, *Undoing Gender*, 3.

¹⁵³ Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 7; Connell, *Gender*, 4.

¹⁵⁴ Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex”* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Diane Marie Blair, “‘I Want You to Write Me’: Eleanor Roosevelt’s Use of Personal Letters as Rhetorical Resource,” *Western Journal of Communication* 72 (2008): 418.

¹⁵⁵ Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 7-10.

¹⁵⁶ Blair, “I Want You to Write Me,” 427.

¹⁵⁷ Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, 46.

¹⁵⁸ Joan W. Scott, “The Evidence of Experience,” *Critical Inquiry* 17 (1991): 773-797.

¹⁵⁹ Blair, "I Want You to Write Me," 418; Scott, "Gender," 1074.

¹⁶⁰ Bonnie Dow, *Primetime Feminism*.

¹⁶¹ Dow, "Feminism and Public Address Research," 353.

¹⁶² Zaeske and Jedd, "From Recovering Women's Words," 194.

¹⁶³ Susan Zaeske, "'The South Arose as One Man': Gender and Sectionalism in Antislavery Petition Debates, 1835-1845," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 12 (2009): 341-368.

¹⁶⁴ Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 7.

¹⁶⁵ Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, 48; Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 2.

¹⁶⁶ Dorsey, *Reforming Men and Women*, 2.

¹⁶⁷ At any historical moment, the definitions of manhood and womanhood are complex, contradictory, and vary across social context. Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 6; Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, 110; John Tosh, "What Should Historians Do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Britain," *History Workshop Journal* 38 (1994): 179-202; Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 14; Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 1-4; Downs, *Writing Gender History*, 3; Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, 10; Dorsey, *Reforming Men and Women*, 5; Scott, "Gender," 1067; Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 1.

¹⁶⁸ Downs, *Writing Gender History*, 3; Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, 10.

¹⁶⁹ Dorsey, *Reforming Men and Women*, 6; Canning, *Gender History in Practice*, 4-5; Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, 14; Johnson, "A Memory Sweet to Soldiers," 106-107; Elsa Barkley Brown, "Polyrhythms and Improvisation: Lessons for Women's History," *History Workshop Journal* 31 (1991): 85-90.

¹⁷⁰ Dorsey, *Reforming Men and Women*, 4-5; Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*; David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London: Verso, 1991).

¹⁷¹ These studies show that gender ideals in the eighteenth century varied between New England and the middle Atlantic, but then converged to become more similar in the nineteenth century and even more distinct from the South. Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 1, 296-296; Craig Thompson Friend and Lori Glover, eds., *Southern Manhood: Perspectives on Masculinity in the Old South* (Athens, GA: the University of Georgia Press, 2004), XIV; David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 854-859.

¹⁷² Rotundo, *American Manhood*; Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffin, *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1990); David Pugh, *Sons of Liberty: The Masculine Mind in Nineteenth-Century America* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983); Lisa Wilson, *Ye Heart of the Man: The Domestic Lives of Men in Colonial New England* (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 1999); Steven M. Frank, *Life with Father: Parenthood and Masculinity in the Nineteenth Century American North* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns

Hopkins University Press, 1998); Roberts L. Griswold, *Fatherhood in America: A History* (New York: Basic Books, 1993).

¹⁷³ Canning, *Gender History in Practice*, 61.

¹⁷⁴ Similarly, Kimmel explains in his book on masculinity that his “book is less about what boys and men actually did than about what they were told that they were supposed to do, feel, and think.” Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 7.

¹⁷⁵ Dorsey, *Reforming Men and Women*, 2.

¹⁷⁶ Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 4.

¹⁷⁷ Rotundo, *American Manhood*.

¹⁷⁸ Ruth H. Bloch, “American Feminine Ideals in Transition: The Rise of the Moral Mother, 1785-1815,” *Feminist Studies* 4 (1978): 100-126; Linda K. Kerber, “Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman’s Place: The Rhetoric of Women’s History,” *The Journal of American History* 75 (1988): 9-39.

¹⁷⁹ Louise M. Young, “Women’s Place in America Politics: The Historical Perspective,” *The Journal of Politics* 38 (1976).

¹⁸⁰ Young, “Women’s Place in America Politics,” 300-301.

¹⁸¹ Sara M. Evans, *Born for Liberty* (New York: Free Press Paperbacks, 1997).

¹⁸² Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty’s Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980).

¹⁸³ Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

¹⁸⁴ Jan Lewis, "The Republican Wife: Virtue and Seduction in the Early Republic," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 44 (1987): 689-721; Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, 7-8.

¹⁸⁵ Norton, *Liberty's Daughters*.

¹⁸⁶ Margaret A. Nash, "Rethinking Republican Motherhood: Benjamin Rush and the Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia," *Journal of the Early Republic* 17 (Summer 1997): 175. For more information on what women did at home, see Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812* (New York: Knopf, Inc., 1990).

¹⁸⁷ First Ladies, especially, have enacted the ideology of the republican mother as they were expected to model their domestic and maternal expertise to the nation. As first ladies conformed to these ideals, they legitimated their activism in social welfare public issues and made their political involvement more acceptable. Kerber, *Women of the Republic*; Shawn J. Parry-Giles and Diane M. Blair, "The Rise of the Rhetorical First Lady: Politics, Gender Ideology, and Women's Voice, 1798-2002," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 5 (2002): 565-600.

¹⁸⁸ Rotundo, *American Manhood*.

¹⁸⁹ Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 11.

¹⁹⁰ Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 12.

¹⁹¹ Greenberg; *Manifest Manhood*.

¹⁹² Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeomen Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Local Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

¹⁹³ Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, 12-13; Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct*.

¹⁹⁴ Siobhan Moroney, "Widows and Orphans: Women's Education Beyond the Domestic Ideal," *Journal of Family History* 25 (2000): 26-38; Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (1966): 151-174; Mary Ann Irwin, "Going About and Doing Good: The Politics of Benevolence, Welfare, and Gender in San Francisco, 1850-1880," in *Women and Gender in the American West*, eds. Mary Ann Irwin and James F. Brooks (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 236-253; Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catherine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven, NJ: Yale University Press, 1973).

¹⁹⁵ Cheryl R. Jorgensen-Earp, "Lilies and Lavatory Paper: The Public and the Private in British Suffrage Archives," in *The Handbook of Rhetoric and Public Address*, eds. Shawn Parry-Giles and J. Michael Hogan (West Sussex, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2010), 229-249; Mary Ann Irwin, "Going About and Doing Good: The Politics of Benevolence, Welfare, and Gender in San Francisco, 1850-1880," in *Women and Gender in the American West*, eds. Mary Ann Irwin and James F. Brooks (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 249.

¹⁹⁶ Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood."

¹⁹⁷ Norton, *Liberty's Daughters*.

¹⁹⁸ Irwin, “Going About and Doing Good,” 238-248. For example, Frances Willard advocated woman suffrage by reconceptualizing woman suffrage as “home protection.” Dow argues that the “home protection” euphemism allowed Willard to relate suffrage to the traditional values of home and family and the ideals of true womanhood. This argument emphasized how suffrage could benefit society by allowing women to safeguard the home rather than emphasizing women’s natural rights to political representation. Much of Willard’s audience rejected the notion of equality between men and women in the public sphere, but they accepted the idea of women’s superiority in the private sphere. By making reform part of woman’s unique nature, Willard avoided the criticism directed toward suffragists who argued from women’s natural rights. Dow, “The Womanhood”; Amy R. Slagell, “‘Making the World More Homelike’: The Reform Rhetoric of Frances E. Willard,” in *The Rhetoric of Nineteenth-Century Reform, vol. 5: A Rhetorical History of the United States*, eds. Martha S. Watson and Thomas R. Burkholder (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2008).

¹⁹⁹ Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 13.

²⁰⁰ Some suffragists in the early twentieth century, such as Alice Paul and the National Woman’s Party, enacted the ideals of femininity prescribed by the new woman ideology as a way to make their political protests more acceptable. Stillion Southard, “Militancy, Power, and Identity”; Martha H. Patterson, *Beyond the Gibson Girl: Reimagining the American New Woman, 1895-1915* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005).

²⁰¹ Kimmel, *Manhood in America*.

²⁰² Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man*, 69.

²⁰³ Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 12-13.

²⁰⁴ Kimmel, *Manhood in America*; Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 11.

²⁰⁵ For more on the distinction between primitive manhood and martial manhood, see Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 227.

²⁰⁶ Several have argued that manliness is not simply understood as in opposition to femaleness or even to femininity. Rather, it is usually defined in terms of “a dangerous proximity to effeminacy.” So to be manly is usually defined as being the opposite of “unmanly” or “effeminate,” illustrating that manhood is as much based on relationships with men as it is on power over women. Throughout history, masculinity has been constituted as the binary opposite of femininity and vice versa, so that being masculine is defined by demonstrating that one is not feminine. Stefan Dudink, “Masculinity, Effeminacy, Time: Conceptual Change in the Dutch Age of Democratic Revolutions,” in *Masculinities in Politics and War* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2004), 78; Dorsey, *Reforming Men and Women*; Rotundo, *American Manhood*; Kimmel, *Manhood in America*.

²⁰⁷ Rotundo, *American Manhood*.

²⁰⁸ Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man*.

²⁰⁹ Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 4-5.

²¹⁰ Kevin P. Murphy, *Political Manhood: Red Bloods, Mollycoddles, and the Politics of Progressive Era Reform* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 2, 67.

²¹¹ Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, 4 vols. (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1889-96).

²¹² Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 186; Theodore Roosevelt, "Value of an Athletic Training," *Harper's Weekly* 37 (23 December 1893): 1236.

²¹³ Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man*, 162.

²¹⁴ Roosevelt, "The Manly Virtues and Practical Politics," *Forum* (July 1894): 551-57.

²¹⁵ Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber, eds. *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Nina Silber, "Introduction: Colliding and Collaborating: Gender and Civil War Scholarship," in *Battle Scars: Gender and Sexuality in the American Civil War*, eds. Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 7.

²¹⁶ Silber, "Introduction," 9, 15-16. Craig Friend and Lori Glover argue that not only were masculine ideals in the nineteenth-century South different than the nineteenth-century North, but that traditional understandings of Southern masculinity often oversimplified and overemphasized ideals of honor and mastery. Friend and Glover note that some works have challenged this dominant framework of southern masculinity, including: John Mayfield, "'The Soul of a Man!': William Gilmore Simms and the Myths of Southern Manhood," *Journal of the Early Republic* 15 (1995): 477-500; Janet Moore Lindeman, "Acting the Manly Christian: White Evangelical Masculinity and Revolutionary Virginia," *William and Mary Quarterly* 57 (2000): 393-416; Anya Jabour, "Male Friendship and Masculinity in the Early National South," *Journal of the Early*

Republic 20 (2000): 83-111; Daniel Kilbride, "Southern Medical Students in Philadelphia, 1800-1861: Science and Sociability in the 'Republic of Medicine,'" *The Journal of Southern History* 65 (1999): 697-732; Jim Cullen, "'I's a Man Now': Gender and African American Men," in *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War*, eds. Nina Silber and Catherine Clinton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

²¹⁷ Stephen Kantrowitz, "Fighting Like Men: Civil War Dilemmas of Abolitionist Manhood," in *Battle Scars: Gender and Sexuality in the American Civil War*, eds. Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 19-40.

²¹⁸ R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1995), 194; Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, 13.

²¹⁹ Connell, *Masculinities*, 194.

²²⁰ Smith-Rosenberg, "Dis-Covering the Subject of the 'Great Constitutional Discussion,' 1786-1789," *The Journal of American History* 79 (1992): 841-873; Richard Drinnon, *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian Hating and Empire Building* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990); Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, 22.

²²¹ Johnson, "A Memory Sweet to Soldiers," 90.

²²² Johnson, "A Memory Sweet to Soldiers," 91.

²²³ Georgi-Findlay, *Frontiers of Women's Writing*, ix.

²²⁴ Richard Bartlett, *The New Country: A Social History of the American Frontier, 1776-1890* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 343; Susan Armitage, "Through Women's Eyes: A New View of the West," in *The Women's West*, eds. Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 9.

²²⁵ Susan Lee Johnson argues that the “overdetermined maleness of the West,” along with its “overblown rhetoric of white masculinity” needs to be marked as such so that we can begin to understand the lives of those who were not white and male in the American West. Johnson calls for scholars to ask “what studying gender can do for the history of the West and what studying the West can do for the politics of gender.” Johnson, “A Memory Sweet to Soldiers,” 93; Susan Faludi, *Stiffed* (New York, NY: Perennial, 1999), 26; Trujillo, “Hegemonic Masculinity on the Mound.”

²²⁶ Georgi-Findlay, *Frontiers of Women’s Writing*, 6.

²²⁷ Western historians have critiqued the common images of Western women in American history because the images do not accurately reflect the lives of women who really lived in the West. Furthermore, traditional Western history only included images of white Western women and ignored the many other Indian, Hispanic, and Asian women. Western women’s historians have sought to question the generalizations about Western women and instead use a multi-cultural framework. Jensen and Miller and Jameson argue that Western stereotypes have infiltrated Western historian’s understandings of the West and have obscured our understandings of Western women’s real lives. Specifically, Jameson notes that historian’s understandings of the Cult of True Womanhood and Turner’s frontier thesis also influenced the stereotypes that they brought with them as they sought to study Western women. Jensen and Miller, “The Gentle Tamers Revisited”; Elizabeth Jameson, “Bringing It All Back Home: Rethinking the History of Women and the Nineteenth-Century West,” in *A Companion to the American West*, ed. William Deverell (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2004); Elizabeth Jameson, “Women as

Workers, Women as Civilizers: True Womanhood in the American West,” *Frontiers* 7 (1984): 1–8.

²²⁸ Schackel defines the category of “Western woman” as “shorthand for that most generalized of creatures, a female who lives in the Western region of the United States.” Schackel, “Introduction,” 5. Scharff notes that it is impossible to “describe any woman as captive to something as totalized as ‘the West.’” Virginia Scharff, “Lighting Out for the Territory: Women, Mobility, and Western Place,” in *Power and Place in the North American West*, eds. John M. Findlay and Richard White (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1999), 291.

²²⁹ Hine and Faragher, *The American West*, 478-480.

²³⁰ Frederick Whittaker, “The Mustang Hunters; or, The Beautiful Amazon of the Hidden Valley. A Tale of the Staked Plains,” *Dime Novels* 226 (1871); Albert Johannsen, *The House of Beadle and Adams and Its Dime and Nickel Novels: The Story of a Vanished Literature*, 3 vols. Norman, OK, 1950-62, 1:4; Hine and Faragher, *The American West*, 478.

²³¹ Stoeltje primarily examined the cultural images of women in the West that appeared in Western novels, songs, cowboy lore, Davy Crockett almanacs, etc. Beverly Stoeltje, “A Helpmate for Man Indeed: The Image of the Frontier Woman,” *Journal of American Folklore* 88 (1975): 27-31; Sandra K. Schackel, “Introduction,” in *Western Women’s Lives: Continuity and Change in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Sandra Schackel (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 1.

²³² Jameson, "Bringing It All Back Home," 184; Rayna Green, "The Pocahantas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture," *Massachusetts Review* 16 (1976): 698-714; Stoeltje, "A Helpmate for Man Indeed."

²³³ Jameson, "Bringing It All Back Home," 184; Stoeltje, "A Helpmate for Man Indeed"; Jameson, "Women as Workers, Women as Civilizers."

²³⁴ In 1987, Jameson carefully clarified that these popular images of Western women in literature did not necessarily offer an accurate description of Western women's daily lives. She noted that they were usually only true of white women, and they were obscured by historian's understandings of Turner's frontier thesis and the Cult of True Womanhood. Jameson, "Women as Workers, Women as Civilizers"; Jameson, "Bringing It All Back Home," 184.

²³⁵ The drudges were the "reluctant pioneers" who were dragged to the West by the men in their life, were strong and uncomplaining "helpmates" in the West, and lost their individuality in the process of becoming "a work worn superwoman." The "civilizers" were the "refined ladies" who came as missionaries, teachers, or merely genteel women with "civilized" tastes to close saloons, set up schools, and make rowdy men behave. Armitage, "Through Women's Eyes," 13; Jameson, "Women as Workers," 184.

²³⁶ Jameson, "Bringing It All Back Home," 184.

²³⁷ Jeffrey, *Frontier Women*, 27, 30.

²³⁸ Jeffrey, *Frontier Women*, 25.

²³⁹ John Mack Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail, Second Edition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); Jeffrey, *Frontier Women*.

²⁴⁰ Jeffrey, *Frontier Women*, 80.

²⁴¹ Jeffrey, *Frontier Women*, 13.

²⁴² Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848, in *Treaties and Conventions between the United States of America and Other Power since July 4, 1776* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1871).

²⁴³ Indian Removal Act of 1830, 21 Stat. 1.

²⁴⁴ Andrew Jackson, "State of the Union, December 6, 1830," accessed on April 2, 2013, <http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/historicspeeches>.

²⁴⁵ Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*, 30.

²⁴⁶ Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*, 30.

²⁴⁷ The Homestead Act, May 20, 1862, 37th Congress, 2d session, Chapter 75.

²⁴⁸ The Homestead Act, May 20, 1862, 37th Congress, 2d session, Chapter 75.

²⁴⁹ Columbus Delano, "Report of the Secretary of the Interior, November 23, 1874, House Executive Document no. 1, part 5, 43-2, serial 1639, pp. v, vii.

²⁵⁰ Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*, 12.

²⁵¹ Sean Dennis Cashman, *America in the Gilded Age: From the Death of Lincoln to the Rise of Theodore Roosevelt, Third Edition* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 295-296.

²⁵² Report of the Indian Peace Commission, January 7, 1868, in House Executive Document no. 97, 40th Congress, 2d session, serial 1337, 15-17.

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- ²⁵³ Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*, 33.
- ²⁵⁴ General Allotment Act (Dawes Act) of 1887, in U.S. Statutes at Large 24 188: 388-391.
- ²⁵⁵ Hans Konig, *The Conquest of America: How the Indian Nations Lost their Continent* (New York: Cornerstone, 1993).
- ²⁵⁶ General Allotment Act (Dawes Act) of 1887, in U.S. Statutes at Large 24 188: 388-391; Jason Edward Black, "Remembrances of Removal: Native Resistance to Allotment and the Unmasking of Paternal Benevolence," *Southern Communication Journal* 72 (2007): 185-203;
- ²⁵⁷ Indian Reorganization Act (Wheeler-Howard Act), June 18, 1934, U.S. Statutes at Large, 48: 984-988.
- ²⁵⁸ Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier*.
- ²⁵⁹ William Deverell, "Politics and the Twentieth-Century American West," in *A Companion to the American West*, ed. William Deverell (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 443.
- ²⁶⁰ U.S. Statutes at Large, vol. 17, p. 605. Forty-second Congress Sess. II. Ch. 274-277, 1873.
- ²⁶¹ Desert Land Act, U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 19, Forty-fourth Congress, Sess. II. Ch. 107, 377.
- ²⁶² Act of July 2, 1862 (Morrill Act), in U.S. Statutes at Large, Thirty-seventh Congress, Chapter 129, 503; Act of August 30, 1890 (Second Morrill Act), Chapter 841, 26 Stat. 417; Hatch Act of 1887, Chapter 314, 24 Stat. 440.

²⁶³ Pacific Railroad Act of 1862, 12 Stat. 489; Pacific Railroad Act of 1863, 12 Stat. 807; Pacific Railroad Act of 1864, 13 Stat. 356; Pacific Railroad Act of 1865, 13 Stat. 504; Pacific Railroad Act of 1866, 14 Stat. 66.

²⁶⁴ Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest*, 125–126.

²⁶⁵ A majority of the settlers were poor farmers from the Mississippi Valley. Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail*, 13-20.

²⁶⁶ Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail*, 34-35.

²⁶⁷ Cashman, *America in the Gilded Age*, 284.

²⁶⁸ Mining Law of 1866, 39th Congress, H.R. 365; General Mining Act of 1872, 42nd Congress, Chapter 152, 17 Stat. 91.

²⁶⁹ Cashman, *America in the Gilded Age*, 285.

²⁷⁰ Hine and Faragher, *The American West*, 337.

²⁷¹ Cashman, *America in the Gilded Age*, 290.

²⁷² Hine and Faragher, *The American West*, 338.

²⁷³ White, “*It’s Your Misfortune*,” 57, 354; Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest*, 84.

²⁷⁴ White, “*It’s Your Misfortune*,” 57.

²⁷⁵ White, “*It’s Your Misfortune*,” 58, 155.

²⁷⁶ Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest*, 80.

²⁷⁷ Malone and Etulain, *The American West*, 6.

²⁷⁸ Wrobel, *The End of American Exceptionalism*, viii, 97.

²⁷⁹ Cashman, *America in the Gilded Age*, 282.

²⁸⁰ Eleventh Census, 1890. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892.

²⁸¹ Wrobel, *The End of American Exceptionalism*, 30; Cashman, *America in the Gilded Age*, 283.

²⁸² Gilbert Fite, *The Farmers' Frontier* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966); Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest*, 125-126.

²⁸³ Hine and Faragher, *The American West*, 348–349; James P. Young, *Reconsidering American Liberalism: The Troubled Odyssey of the Liberal Idea* (Boulder, CO: Perseus Books Group, 1996), 138.

²⁸⁴ Cashman, *America in the Gilded Age*, 288.

²⁸⁵ Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest*, 125–126.

²⁸⁶ Cashman, *America in the Gilded Age*, 291.

²⁸⁷ Hine and Faragher, *The American West*, 348–349.

²⁸⁸ Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*, 22.

²⁸⁹ Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*, 22.

²⁹⁰ Wrobel, *The End of American Exceptionalism*, viii, 4-5, 11-12; Hine and Faragher, *The American West*, 493; Smith, *Virgin Land*; Nash, *Creating the West*, 207–208; Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest*, 128.

²⁹¹ Hine and Faragher, *The American West*, 349–350; Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest*, 139–140; Michael Allen Chambers, “Traditional Values and Progressive Desires: Tensions of Identity in the Rhetoric of the Granger Movement in Illinois, 1870-1875” (PhD diss., University of Maryland, College Park, 2008).

²⁹² Chambers, “Traditional Values and Progressive Desires”; Hine and Faragher, *The American West*, 349–350.

²⁹³ Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, Chapter 104, 24 Stat. 379.

²⁹⁴ White, “*It’s Your Misfortune,*” 370-373; Malone and Etulain, *The American West*, 3; Hine and Faragher, *The American West*, 350-351.

²⁹⁵ For example, “Sockless” Jerry Simpson and Mary Elizabeth Lease were nationally recognized speakers. Hine and Faragher, *The American West*, 352; Burkholder, “Kansas Populism”; Solon J. Buck, *The Agrarian Crusade: A Chronicle of the Farmer in Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920), 125-93; Chambers, “Traditional Values and Progressive Desires.”

²⁹⁶ Fink, *Agrarian Women*, 23.

²⁹⁷ Thomas R. Burkholder, “Mary Clyens Lease,” in *Women Public Speakers in the United States, 1800-1925*, ed. Karlyn Kohrs Campbell (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), 111-124; Thomas R. Burkholder, “Kansas Populism, Woman Suffrage, and the Agrarian Myth: A Case Study in the Limits of Mythic Transcendence,” *Communication Studies* 40 (1989): 292-307.

²⁹⁸ Joan Jensen, *With These Hands: Women Working on the Land* (Old Westbury, NY: Feminist Press, 1981), 144.

²⁹⁹ Fink, *Agrarian Women*, 24.

³⁰⁰ John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt: A History of the Farmer’s Alliance and the People’s Party* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1931); Fredrick Jackson Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History” (presentation, American Historical Association, Chicago, IL, 1893).

³⁰¹ Hicks, *The Populist Revolt*.

³⁰² Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*, 56-57.

³⁰³ Enlarged Homestead Act of 1909; Three Year Homestead Act of 1912; Stock-Raising Homestead Act of 1916.

³⁰⁴ Athearn, *The Mythic West*, 37.

³⁰⁵ Cashman, *America in the Gilded Age*, 287.

³⁰⁶ Athearn, *The Mythic West*, 25-26.

³⁰⁷ Athearn, *The Mythic West*, 30.

³⁰⁸ Athearn, *The Mythic West*, 43-44.

³⁰⁹ Wrobel, *The End of American Exceptionalism*, 87-88.

³¹⁰ William Deverell argues that the Western “region’s embrace of progressivism and progressive reform...is an undeniably important chapter in the political history of the nation.” Noting that the regional progressive reform has remained understudied, Deverell argued in 2004 that “American historical scholarship sorely needs a scholar, or set of scholars, to tackle ‘progressivism and the American West.’” Deverell, “Politics and the Twentieth-Century American West,” 444.

³¹¹ Thus progressives sought to “build the authority of the state” to address social issues. Young, *Reconsidering American Liberalism*, 150-151; Malone and Etulain, *The American West*, 55.

³¹² Deverell, “Politics and the Twentieth-Century American West,” 444.

³¹³ Malone and Etulain, *The American West*, 57.

³¹⁴ Direct democracy reforms primarily appeared in Western states during the progressive era, beginning with South Dakota in 1898. Following the example of

Switzerland's initiative and referendum, twenty-two states adopted the referenda into their constitutions between 1898 and 1918. Direct democracy was popular because it appealed to the numerous reform groups working in the 1890s: populism, woman suffrage prohibition, single tax, the AFL, labor unions, and farmers organizations like the granges. All of these groups endorsed direct democracy "as a way to expand their repertoire of political strategies" and as a means to achieving their various ends. Linking all of these groups together gave them much more leverage as they worked to advance their differing political agendas and submit them "directly to the people." Persily, "The Peculiar Geography of Direct Democracy," 40; Goebel, *A Government by the People*, 5-6, 69, 75-79; Malone and Etulain, *The American West*, 56.

³¹⁵ Persily, "The Peculiar Geography of Direct Democracy," 13; Goebel, *A Government by the People*, 4; Deverell, "Politics and the Twentieth-Century American West," 446.

³¹⁶ Goebel, *A Government by the People*, 46.

³¹⁷ Goebel, *A Government by the People*, 83, 90, 112-125.

³¹⁸ According to Goebel, political parties in the East were stronger and more "rooted in distinct ethnocultural milieus, and much better positioned to deny reformers access to the political arena only in situations when the party system was temporarily destabilized." The reforms were not successful in the South either because of "the one-party rule of a Democratic Party focused on preserving white supremacy. Calls for direct democracy were labeled as attempts to weaken white domination, a charge that reformers were not able to counter." Goebel, *A Government by the People*, 5-6.

³¹⁹ As populism subsided, progressives recognized the referendum, initiative and recall as a means of accomplishing their goals of removing corrupt influence from the political system and direct democracy “formed an integral part of the Progressive movement.” Persily, “The Peculiar Geography of Direct Democracy,” 24; Goebel, *A Government by the People*, 6, 70-71.

³²⁰ Persily, “The Peculiar Geography of Direct Democracy,” 24, 28-33; Goebel, *A Government by the People*, 111-112.

³²¹ Each state enacted direct democracy reforms through different means: some states succeed through factionalism in parties, other states had direct democracy reformers take over the political parties, and others succeeded through well organized reform advocacy. Goebel, *A Government by the People*, 20, 79. Also see Charles M. Price, “The Initiative: A Comparative Analysis and Reassessment of a Western Phenomenon,” *Western Political Quarterly* 28 (1975): 243, 248.

³²² Every state that was admitted after 1870, except for Hawaii, instituted the referendum, and all of those states except for New Mexico adopted the initiative. Many of these states used the referendum to establish their constitutions and choose their capital cities. Persily, “The Peculiar Geography of Direct Democracy,” 20-21.

³²³ Persily, “The Peculiar Geography of Direct Democracy,” 18. Also see Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*, 5-6.

³²⁴ Leroy G. Dorsey, *We are All Americans, Pure and Simple: Theodore Roosevelt and the Myth of Americanism* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2007); Ronald H. Carpenter, “Frederick Jackson Turner and the Rhetorical Impact of the

Frontier Thesis,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 63 (1977): 117-129; Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press); Alexander, Nemerov, *Frederick Remington and Turn-of-the-Century America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995); Jennifer S. Tuttle, “Rewriting the West Cure: Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Owen Wister, and the Sexual Politics of Neurasthenia,” in *The Mixed Legacy of Charlotte Perkins Gilman*, ed. Catherine J. Golden and Joanna Schneider Zangrando (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2002).

³²⁵ Martin J. Medhurst, “The Contemporary Study of Public Address: Renewal, Recovery, and Reconfiguration,” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 4 (2001): 495-511; Kathleen J. Ryan, “Recasting Recovery and Gender Critique as Inventive Arts: Constructing Edited Collections in Feminist Rhetorical Studies,” *Rhetoric Review* 25 (2006): 22–40; Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak For Her, Volume 1 & 2: A Critical Study of Early Feminist Rhetoric* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1989).

³²⁶ Randall Lake, “‘She Flies With Her Own Wings’: The Collected Speeches of Abigail Scott Duniway,” asduniway.org, accessed April 2, 2013; Susan Zaeske, “‘The South Arose as One Man’: Gender and Sectionalism in Antislavery Petition Debates, 1835-1845,” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 12 (2009): 341-368; Carmen Heider, “Suffrage, Self Determination, and the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union in Nebraska, 1879-1882,” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 8 (2005): 85-107; Kelly, “Women’s Rhetorical Agency in the American West”; Hayden, “Negotiating Femininity and Power”; Richards, “Inventing Sacagawea.”

³²⁷ Hal W. Fulmer and Carl L. Kell, "A Sense of Place, A Spirit of Adventure: Implications for the Study of Regional Rhetoric," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 20 (1990): 227.

³²⁸ Athearn argues that by 1900, residents of the Far West and Rocky Mountain West had developed an "increasing sense of their own special regionalism" and "would have been horrified at the prospect of falling into the same class as the Midwesterner, whom they looked down upon and denigrated at every opportunity." Athearn, *The Mythic West*, 48.

³²⁹ Forum: "The Politics of Archival Research," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 9 (2006): 113-151; Barbara A. Biesecker, "Of Historicity, Rhetoric: The Archive as Scene of Invention," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 9 (2006): 124-131.

³³⁰ Robert N. Gaines, "The Processes and Challenges of Textual Authentication," in *The Handbook of Rhetoric and Public Address*, eds. Shawn J. Parry-Giles and J. Michael Hogan (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2010).

³³¹ Rankin gave her speech on "Democracy and Government" at Carnegie Hall on March 2, 1917 and in nineteen other cities in the Northeast in the following weeks.

³³² Jeannette Rankin, "Democracy and Government," Pre-Delivery Speech Draft, Wellington Rankin Papers, Montana Historical Society, MC 288, Box 4, Folder 17: Jeannette Rankin; "Miss Rankin Addresses 3000," *The Woman's Journal*, March 10, 1917; "Jeannette Rankin Cheered by 3,000 For Speech Here," *New York Tribune*, March 3, 1917; "'Lady from Montana' Talks," *New York Times*, March 3, 1917; "First Woman M.C. Makes Her Bow to New York," *Irish World*, March 3, 1917; "Lady from Montana

Makes Her Bow Here,” no publication title, no date, Jeannette Rankin Papers, Schlesinger Library, Folder 203; “Lady Congressman Knows Everything,” *N.Y.C. Mail*, March 3, 1917; “Miss Rankin Urges Direct Vote to Elect President,” *New York American*, March 3, 1917; “Woman Member of Congress Has Rousing Welcome,” *New York City Herald*, March 3, 1917.

³³³ Gaines, “The Processes and Challenges,” 141.

³³⁴ Letter from Wellington Rankin to Jeannette Rankin, August 1917, Jeannette Rankin Papers, Montana Historical Society; Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 109-110. Furthermore, in the most authoritative biography of Rankin, James J. Lopach and Jean A. Luckowski argue that the speech was written by Jeannette’s brother, Wellington Rankin, and that it exemplified Wellington Rankin’s usual style in that it “was moderate in tone, balanced in structure, and was written out.”

³³⁵ It was unclear whether Jeannette delivered the pre-delivery draft at Carnegie Hall because contemporary newspaper accounts report that Jeannette Rankin did not use any notes during her Carnegie Hall address. However, on the day of Rankin’s speech, Wellington sent a telegram to their mother, Mrs. John Rankin, reporting that Jeannette was “well prepared” for her speech, suggesting that Jeannette did prepare ahead of time with Wellington’s pre-delivery speech draft. “‘Lady from Montana’ Talks,” *New York Times*, March 3, 1917; Telegram from Wellington Rankin to Mrs. John Rankin, March 2, 1917, Jeannette Rankin Papers, Schlesinger Library.

³³⁶ Jeannette Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” Carnegie Hall, New York, 2 March 1917. Ed. Tiffany Lewis.

Chapter 1: Abigail Scott Duniway's Masculine Frontier Myth for Woman Suffrage

In 1871, Susan B. Anthony accompanied Abigail Scott Duniway (1834-1915) on a woman's suffrage lecture tour that covered two-thousand miles of the "most rugged of frontier territory."¹ They took wagons, canoes, steamers, and stagecoaches through the Pacific Northwest's mud and rain to stay in primitive tents and frontier hotels. Even Anthony, who was accustomed to travelling frequently by train and stagecoach to lecture every day, described parts of the ten-week trip as "mortal agony."² Duniway expressed her pride to have given Anthony "a taste of pioneering under difficulties that remained with her as a memory to her dying day."³ When the trip concluded, Anthony had not raised the money she intended and wrote home that she was "tired, tired," but her Pacific Northwest tour and her mentoring relationship with Duniway jumpstarted Duniway's career as the Western voice of woman suffrage.⁴

Abigail Scott Duniway was a writer, editor, clubwoman, lecturer, and the "hardiest and most tireless suffrage worker the Western states produced."⁵ Originally from a farming community in Groveland, Illinois, Duniway and her family joined the Oregon Trail migration of 1852, and eventually settled in Portland where she assumed the position of breadwinner for her six children and injured husband, Ben Duniway.⁶ After reading Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony's suffrage publication, the *Revolution*, and watching Wyoming and Utah women gain the right to vote, Duniway and two close friends founded the first suffrage organization in 1870, which became the Oregon Equal Suffrage Association in 1873.⁷ In 1871, Duniway traveled to a woman suffrage convention in San Francisco, where she met California suffrage leaders Laura DeForce Gordon and Emily Pitts Stevens and was inspired to buy a printing press and start her own woman suffrage newspaper, the *New Northwest*.⁸ Duniway addressed the

New Northwest to a female audience and discussed woman suffrage and economic and social injustices, including the discrimination of women, American Indians, and Chinese residents of the West.⁹ By paying her children to help her publish the *New Northwest*, Duniway grew her paper and publishing company into her family's main financial support.¹⁰ Duniway began to travel around the country to speak on women's rights and sell subscriptions to her paper.

After speaking at the conventions of the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) and the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), Duniway earned a national reputation so great that Eastern suffragists sponsored an East Coast lecture tour for her and elected her as one of five NWSA vice-presidents at large.¹¹ Many Eastern suffragists viewed Duniway as "the representative of all Western women"¹² and Lucy Stone, a leader of the AWSA, considered her "the pioneer woman suffragist of the great Northwest."¹³ Duniway's relationship with Eastern suffragists was strained, however, by her reluctance to support the temperance movement. Although the two movements worked in tandem for many years, Duniway argued that this relationship weakened the suffrage movement by arousing the opposition of the liquor interests. Duniway's vocal resistance to the suffrage movement's connections to the temperance movement caused discord with Eastern suffragists, but they enjoyed hearing Duniway's colorful depictions of the American West.

In this chapter, I claim that Duniway navigated the mythic and masculine meanings of the American West in her suffrage advocacy by appropriating the American frontier myth for woman suffrage. Fundamental to American identity, and even more so to the pioneers who had left their homes and families for life in the West, the frontier

myth shaped the actions and beliefs of the nation-state and permeated America's identity.¹⁴ Duniway drew on the symbolism of the mythic Western heroes as she advocated for her cause, and, in the process, she successfully led the Western woman suffrage movement and participated in the rhetorical creation of the American West. Duniway's speeches illustrate how the frontier myth shaped the U.S. suffrage movement.

I argue that as Duniway set the frontier myth to work for Western woman suffrage, she challenged the maleness of the myth by expanding the frontier hero concept to include women, while also reinforcing the masculine and white notions of the frontier myth and U.S. citizenship. According to Duniway's frontier myth, white women, like white men, who had travelled West had earned their citizenship through their struggles on the frontier. Following a brief overview of the frontier myth and woman suffrage advocacy in American history, I discuss how Duniway employed three major strategies: she depicted Western women as frontier heroines deserving of suffrage; she embodied the ultimate Western woman; and she characterized Western land as a naturally free space. In the end, I demonstrate how Duniway's frontier myth failed to include non-white women in the West and all women in the East. I conclude by discussing the implications of Duniway's "earned rights" argument for suffrage scholarship, how it buttressed her conflict with Eastern suffrage leaders, and how it affirmed the masculine assumptions of U.S. citizenship.

This analysis examines five speeches that exemplify Duniway's frontier myth in a variety of venues: two speeches given in the Pacific Northwest and three speeches delivered at national suffrage conventions. Local newspapers printed the texts of her speeches and Duniway also included these five speeches in her autobiography, *Path*

Breaking.¹⁵ She gave “Equal Rights for All” at the Idaho Constitutional Convention in 1889, “Woman in Oregon History” at the celebration of Oregon’s fortieth year of Statehood in 1899, and “Ballots or Bullets” at the 1889 NWSA convention.¹⁶ She also gave two of these speeches at different NAWSA conventions: “How to Win the Ballot” in 1899 and “Success in Sight” in 1900.¹⁷

The Masculine Myth of the West

Of all of our myths, the frontier myth remains among the oldest and most characteristically American.¹⁸ Considered the “the quintessential American plot,”¹⁹ the Western frontier myth significantly influenced the creation of American character, consciousness, and spirit.²⁰ The frontier myth explains how the challenge of facing and conquering the frontier, a place perceived as mysterious and endless, “turns some individuals into martial heroes who, because of their epic struggles, come to symbolize American values such as progress and prosperity.”²¹ Americans have celebrated the pioneer spirit of discovery and exploration in the “promised land, the New World, [and] the untamed frontier.”²² Just as European settlers transformed into “complete Americans”²³ who were “rugged, upright, progressive, and democratic,”²⁴ and pioneers evolved into superhuman heroes on the frontier, the myth depicts the path to becoming an American through exploring new territory and enduring hardship.

Although the frontier myth can be traced throughout American history at least as early as the European colonizers, Frederick Jackson Turner’s frontier thesis famously articulated the traditional frontier myth soon after the 1890 census announced that the frontier had closed. In his lecture at the World’s Columbian Exposition in 1893 and in his book published in 1920, *The Frontier In American History*,²⁵ Turner argued the

“existence of an area of free land...and the advance of American settlement westward, explain[ed] American development.”²⁶ Turner’s rationale drew on the traditional frontier myth as he explained that the frontier was the “most rapid and effective Americanization” because it was the frontier that “furnish[ed] the forces dominating American character.” Turner’s frontier thesis told of how the European colonist arrived in the wilderness as “a European in dress, industries, tools, modes of travel, and thought...and the frontier...environment [wa]s at first too strong for the man.” Turner narrated how the newly arrived European realized that he “must accept the conditions which it furnishes, or perish, and so he fits himself into the Indian clearings and follows the Indian trails.”

Turner’s account of the frontiersman’s transformation follows the plot of the frontier myth:

[The frontier] takes [the European] from the railroad car and puts him in the birch canoe. It strips off the garments of civilization and arrays him in the hunting shirt and the moccasin. It puts him in the log cabin of the Cherokee and Iroquois and...Before long...he shouts the war cry and takes the scalp in orthodox Indian fashion.²⁷

According to Turner, it was the process of struggling with the wilderness, facing the challenges of the frontier, and violently killing American Indians that evolved the European into a “complete American.”²⁸ Turner proclaimed that as the European frontiersman “transforms the wilderness,...the outcome is not the old Europe...Here is a new product that is American.” The new American exemplified the qualities of the masculine frontier hero, which Turner described as “coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find

expedients; that masterful grasp of material things,...that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil, and withal that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom.” Thus, for Turner, the end product of the frontier struggle was the heroic, masculine, and exceptional American man.

Since Turner delivered his frontier thesis, political leaders have also used and altered the frontier myth for their own rhetorical ends. Theodore Roosevelt’s use of the frontier myth, for example, prevails as one of the most famous. According to Leroy G. Dorsey, Roosevelt used the frontier myth to persuade the American people to accept his political agenda. Specifically, he employed the frontier myth to improve the status of immigrants in American culture and link progress to conservation of the environment.²⁹ Furthermore, Roosevelt went so far as to perform the role of cowboy, further legitimizing his arguments about the frontier.³⁰ In his essay on “The Manly Virtues and Practical Politics,” Roosevelt explicitly instructed voters that Americans needed physical and moral strength, as well as willingness to sacrifice for the American good.³¹ The American public widely accepted his explicitly masculine politics, and feminist scholars have argued that his emphasis on “manly virtues” created an obstacle for the public’s acceptance of women in political roles.³² Not only did he establish these “manly virtues” as the essential qualities for American citizens, but as he demonstrated in his best-selling book, *The Winning of the West*, men could best gain these virtues on the American frontier.³³ Thus, he likely further contributed to the already established masculine notions of the frontier hero, just as he did to politics. Following in Roosevelt’s tradition, John F. Kennedy also drew upon the myth’s power to justify the goal of landing a man on the

moon.³⁴ According to John W. Jordan, Kennedy characterized space as the next frontier to be approached with the innate “pioneering spirit of American adventurism.”³⁵

Historians have considered the masculinity of the frontier “as obvious as the sun in the daytime.”³⁶ The symbol of the frontiersman persists as a distinguishing feature of hegemonic masculinity, and Susan Faludi maintains that a frontier to be claimed remains one of the “time tested tenets of...the national male paradigm.”³⁷ Americans have understood the very activity of Westward expansion as a male activity, and exploiting the American West as “a proving ground for the definition of American manhood.”³⁸ Told from the male point of view, the frontier myth persists as a “basically patriarchal story.”³⁹ It features the narrative of a blameless male who escapes Eastern civilization to “become a man” in the “Wild West.”⁴⁰ If Western expansion is a solely male adventure, denying women participatory, heroic roles, the frontier myth has instead positioned them as “scenery rather than actors”⁴¹ and as oppositional to the values of the frontier— “adventure, independence, and freedom.”⁴² The frontier myth also consigns women the role of the “hero’s other,” who symbolically thwarts the freedom of the male hero.⁴³ In addition, Annette Kolodny has illustrated how American land—this “virgin land”— meant for men to forge, conquer, and own, has often been depicted as metaphorically feminine.⁴⁴ The masculine notions of the frontier made Western women’s success with woman suffrage paradoxical. Yet Duniway reconciled the traditionally masculine myth with women’s status in the West by appropriating the masculine frontier myth for woman suffrage and expanding the mythos of the frontier hero to include women.

Discourse of the U.S. Woman Suffrage Movement

The national woman suffrage movement in the U.S. largely grew out of women's participation in other reform movements. As women sought to involve themselves in movements for abolition and temperance, they found that they were denied participation from male organizations and realized that they needed their own rights before they could be heard on other reform issues. According to suffrage leaders Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Coffin Mott, the U.S. woman's rights movement began when they and three other women were denied seats at the 1840 World Anti-Slavery Convention in London. Their experience in London inspired them to organize the first American woman's rights convention in Seneca Falls, New York in 1848. After the 1848 convention, they continued to hold women's rights conventions nearly every year, apart from the Civil War years, which allowed them to build a solid base of supporters, solidify commitment to their cause, and encourage the movement's advocates.⁴⁵ Conventions also enabled suffragists to collectively construct their movement's key tenets, share new justifications for the cause, and draw public attention. To share these arguments and ideas with women who could not attend the conventions, suffragists also began writing and publishing woman suffrage periodicals, which were especially helpful for women who were isolated or in more rural areas.⁴⁶

Since the nineteenth amendment to the U.S. Constitution guaranteeing women the right to vote was not adopted until 1920, suffrage advocates developed suffrage arguments for 72 years. Women's rights activists responded to theological, biological, and sociological rationales for refusing women the right to vote, and overcame cultural barriers to women's speaking in public, legal barriers to women's political activity, and

gender ideals of women as domestic and submissive.⁴⁷ While documenting and analyzing the history and discourse of these activists, scholars have commonly identified justifications for woman suffrage as either arguments from “expediency” or “natural rights.” Aileen S. Kraditor explains that natural rights arguments emphasized the similarities between men and women and claimed that because men and women equally bore the responsibilities of life, they equally deserved their own rights as well.⁴⁸ In contrast, expediency arguments focused on the differences between men and women and rested on claims that women’s votes would improve society.⁴⁹ Natural rights arguments were the most popular at the beginning of the suffrage movement and the expediency arguments were used most in the 1870s and at the height of the temperance movement, but many suffrage advocates throughout the movement drew on both natural rights and expediency arguments in their discourse.⁵⁰

Natural rights arguments were grounded on the premise that women were first and foremost people, and therefore, their personhood guaranteed them all the political rights of a citizen. The concept of natural rights was articulated by eighteenth-century philosophers like Thomas Hobbes and John Locke as the self-evident and inalienable rights that all humans are guaranteed in nature.⁵¹ The Declaration of Independence drew on these “Laws of Nature” as justification that all men are “endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights” such as “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” Suffragists drew on natural rights philosophy to reason that men and women were equal in the state of nature, and, therefore, deserved to have equal rights in the eyes of the law. Suffragists’ natural rights arguments insisted on their personhood, claimed their government’s protection of their inalienable rights, and declared that there were no

differences between the sexes in law or politics.⁵² The natural rights argument for woman suffrage was articulated clearly in the movement's "manifesto," the Declaration of Sentiments, which they ratified at the 1848 Seneca Falls convention. The Declaration of Sentiments followed in the footsteps of the American Anti-Slavery Society to appropriate the Declaration of Independence's language, structure, and logic of natural rights. As the suffragists replaced the British King in the Declaration of Independence with "man," the Declaration of Sentiments detailed the rights women had been denied and the discrimination they had experienced. The Declaration of Sentiments also called on the "the laws of nature" to argue that women too were "endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights," and they added to this list of natural rights the "inalienable right to the elective franchise." Asserting that men and women should be treated the same in the eyes of the law, the Declaration of Sentiments declared, "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal."

Although the suffrage resolution passed by a slim majority at Seneca Falls, delegates at the first convention were still split on the issue of woman suffrage in 1848. Women's voting rights became a key issue after the civil war and natural rights arguments were a main staple in their suffrage advocacy discourse. In 1872, Susan B. Anthony illegally registered and voted in the federal election. When she was arrested, she pled guilty, and then publicly defended her illegal vote in her speech "Is it a Crime for a U.S. Citizen to Vote?" In this speech, Anthony used natural rights argument by reminding her audience of the natural rights that were the foundation of the American government. She argued, "Our democratic-republican government is based on the idea of the natural right of every individual member thereof to a voice and a vote in making and

executing the laws.”⁵³ Likewise, in Elizabeth Cady Stanton’s 1892 farewell address to NAWSA, she delivered “The Solitude of Self,” which is considered Stanton’s “rhetorical masterpiece.”⁵⁴ Stanton’s speech argued that the most important reason for a woman’s autonomy and self-governance was the solitude and personal responsibility of her own individual life, what Stanton called “the individuality of each human soul.” When proving women’s natural rights, she argued that outside of society or government, “in a world of her own,” a woman has a natural right to “use all her faculties for her own safety and happiness.” And even though America’s founding documents claimed a belief in natural rights, the U.S. government “robbed [woman] of her natural rights” so that women were “handicapped by law and custom at every turn.”

In contrast, expediency arguments for woman suffrage were based on the premise that men and women are fundamentally different. Rather than founding arguments for woman suffrage on women’s personhood, they emphasized women’s womanhood. Expediency arguments drew on cultural beliefs that women were more moral, pure, domestic and altruistic than men and claimed that women’s participation in political life would benefit society, purify politics, and better serve the home.⁵⁵ Thus, these arguments often justified women’s political activity as a “means to an end” for reform efforts to abolish slavery, to prohibit the manufacturing and selling of alcohol, and to address political corruption.⁵⁶ Frances Willard, who helped found and eventually served as president of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, the largest women’s organization in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century,⁵⁷ advocated for woman suffrage according to women’s difference. Willard justified woman suffrage as a means for “home protection” because it would allow women influence over the laws,

such as loose liquor regulations, that threatened the sanctity of the home. Willard asserted, “through equal suffrage women will help to protect both the external and the internal interests of the home.”⁵⁸ By having the vote, she reasoned, women can “directly influence” the laws and politicians “by [their] instincts of self-protection and home protection.”⁵⁹

Bonnie Dow argues that as Willard fit woman suffrage with the domestic ideals of true womanhood, Willard made woman suffrage more palatable to her audiences that disagreed with men and women’s equality, but believed in women’s superior morality and expertise on domestic matters.⁶⁰ In contrast to Dow and Campbell’s depictions of Willard’s discourse, Slagell argues that domestic appeals do not insure an argument’s conservativeness, and at times have been used to achieve radical reform. Slagell demonstrates that Willard’s rhetorical appeals worked effectively because she “couch[ed] her ideas in ‘acceptable forms’ in order to adapt her appeals” to her audience.⁶¹ Willard, for example, drew on the home to justify women’s involvement in civic affairs, advocate for political and educational reform, and challenge the doctrine of spheres for men and women.

Ever since Kraditor first articulated the framework of natural rights and expediency arguments, it has dominated the study of women’s rights ideology and arguments. Campbell claimed that the tension between arguments of personhood and womanhood defined American feminism since its advent.⁶² Jamieson also built on this dichotomy in her work on women in leadership, referring to them as arguments based on women’s difference and sameness in relation to men.⁶³ Following these studies, the majority of literature on women’s rights rhetoric has referred back to this same binary.⁶⁴

Much of this scholarship on suffrage discourse, however, attended to Eastern suffragists as the national women's rights leaders typically lived in the East, founded the movement in the East, and had better funded organizations in the East. Yet studying the activism of Western suffragists complicates this history of suffrage advocacy as Duniway's arguments do not easily fit the natural rights and expediency framework. Duniway deviated from these strands of suffrage arguments as she employed the logic of "earned rights." Thus, study of Duniway's discourse presents important insight into the diversity of suffrage arguments as she confronted the masculinity of the West and navigated the pervasive frontier myth.

Abigail Scott Duniway's Frontier Myth for Woman Suffrage

As rhetors before and after her used the frontier myth for their own causes, Duniway exploited the traditional frontier myth to shape Americans' beliefs about woman suffrage. Duniway's retelling of the frontier myth, however, challenged its traditional maleness to set the power of the myth to work to enfranchise women. Expanding the conventional frontier hero to include women also, Duniway urged her listeners to view white women as engaged in the frontier pilgrimage, thereby recognizing that women, like men, had earned their citizenship and become "complete Americans." As the traditional frontier myth expressed the belief that freedom resided in the Western land, Duniway's altered myth specified that women's liberty also inhabited the frontier terrain. Thus, Duniway's rendering of the frontier myth both justified women's rights according to the frontier myth while maintaining the masculine premises of U.S. citizenship.

Western Heroines and Heroes

Typically stronger, smarter, and more spiritual than others, mythic heroes earn the audience's awe and respect by acting exceptionally and giving their lives to something bigger than themselves.⁶⁵ Dorsey characterized the traditional frontier heroes as the "trappers, farmers, Indianhunters, and others who left civilization to establish communities in a barbaric wilderness."⁶⁶ Their ability to survive the uncharted wilderness alone and to transform it through their efforts into an outpost of civilization made the frontier heroes so exceptional. Mythic heroes proved themselves by passing successfully through a rite of passage.⁶⁷ Rushing explains, "a hero is not of truly mythic proportions unless his struggle is difficult and his success is wrought from sacrifice."⁶⁸ The narrative of the frontier myth demonstrated how the frontier tested the hero who triumphed by "illustrat[ing] the principles that the culture should follow."⁶⁹

In Duniway's West, men did not struggle alone on the frontier; women too had become true Americans through the struggle and sacrifice of their pilgrimage. In her Oregon address she established a comparison:

The women of Oregon...have they not nobly and bravely borne their part as did the men?...It is now my grateful privilege to recognize woman's part, often more difficult and dangerous, because accompanied by the added terrors of maternity, and always as important as man's in building up a state from its crude beginnings into such fruition as we now behold.⁷⁰

Every step of the way, women bravely trekked across the West with men. But a dimension of even greater sacrifice and difficulty existed for women. Only women bore

the “terrors of maternity” that were an essential step to civilization on the difficult frontier, thus making their risks even more dangerous.

Beyond the dangers of maternity, however, Duniway illustrated the struggles Western women experienced while taming the wilderness. Just as trappers and hunters had led the mythic way into the wilderness, the women of the frontier also fought back the darkness as lonely individuals. She recalled such a hero to her Oregon audience:

We cannot forget the faithful bravery of the lone woman in her rough log cabin in the beautiful hills of Southern Oregon, who, when her husband lay dead at her feet, from the treacherous aim of a cruel savage, kept the howling despoilers of her home at bay with her trusty rifle until daylight came, and brought her succor from the neighboring hills.⁷¹

Here Duniway presented a woman every bit as equipped as any male frontier hero. Gun in hand she defended civilization against the savage. And from her personal trial, she triumphed over the land.

This woman’s brave and violent stand against the despoilment of her home and family proved her heroism. Slotkin explains that the frontier myth hinges on violence.⁷² The myth “relates the achievement of ‘progress’ to a particular form or scenario of violent action.”⁷³ According to Slotkin, the “mythic significance we have assigned” to violence has characterized it as “distinctively ‘American.’”⁷⁴ Using the frontier episode most indelibly written on the collective memory of the Northwest, Duniway reminded her audience in Oregon, “We cannot forget the heroism of the women of the Whitman party, who were both victims and survivors of that horrible and historic massacre.”⁷⁵ But once again, Duniway alluded to a special violence, central to civilization, unique to

womankind. In her speech on “How to Win the Ballot,” she reminded the NAWSA convention that women fought by “giving existence to the soldiers, and suffer[ing] their full share of the penalties and perils of existence, equaling all the horrors of war.”⁷⁶ She quoted the Oregon poet, Joaquin Miller, to support her claim to Oregonians that “The bravest battles that ever are fought...twas fought by the mothers of men.”⁷⁷ Duniway waved the bloody shirt as effectively as any politician of her day in declaring at NAWSA that “These women...have royally earned their liberties by toiling to feed and comfort the soldiers” to whom women had given life, exhibiting such largeness of liberty and such statesmanship in administration of the army affairs.⁷⁸

Beyond favorably comparing the women of the West with the mythic frontier male, Duniway transformed the frontier myth into a narrative about a West made by men and women working together in mutual appreciation of each other’s contributions to the civilizing of the wilderness. In her “Worth of Civilized Woman” NAWSA address, she emphasized that the Western man recognized the oneness of husband and wife in this story:

Men have had opportunities, in our remote countries, to see the worth of the civilized woman, *who came with them, or among them*, to new settlements...And they have seen her, not as the parasitic woman who inherits wealth, or the equally selfish woman who lies in idleness upon her husband’s toil, but as their helpmates, companions, counselors and fellow-homemakers, rejoicing with them in the homes *they have earned together*.⁷⁹

Rhetorically, she elevated the Western man as “a noble lot of freemen,” the political force to which Duniway needed to appeal to achieve her rhetorical goal.⁸⁰ These men saw not

the woman projected by the opponents of suffrage, a dependent creature, weak of body and character, leaning on the stronger sex for economic and social position. Rather, they recognized the contrasting memory of the women who with them transformed the wilderness into civilization. They recognized the Western women “proving themselves as strong in endurance and as intrepid in danger as their fathers, husbands and sons.”⁸¹

Duniway connected the heroic status of Western men to their willingness to grant women suffrage. She stated in her Idaho address, “the freedom-loving spirit of our Western men is our proudest boast.”⁸² She reported to her Eastern audience at NAWSA, “In our Pacific Northwest, the majority of the voters stand ready to grant us the ballot whenever we demand it on the broad basis of individual and collective liberty for ourselves.”⁸³ Duniway depicted these male heroes as weary of sexual inequality and appreciative of women’s presence in the West. In her “Worth of Civilized Woman” NAWSA address, Western men had grown “tired of seeing their wives and daughters rated in the political category of idiots, insane persons, criminals and Chinamen.”⁸⁴ The male heroes of Duniway’s frontier myth acknowledged women’s work and role in the Northwest and believed that the women should have freedom, suffrage, and land. Duniway boasted to NAWSA women in Michigan of Pacific Northwestern men who noticed and appreciated women’s presence in the West so much that they:

wonder how they had endured the old conditions, before the women joined them.

Now, quite naturally, they are learning to apply this rule to politics; and so our men of the Pacific Coast are not alarmed, as many men are in other states.⁸⁵

Not only did drawing on Western men’s heroic status add legitimacy to Duniway’s argument for woman suffrage, her argument also established that men of the Pacific

Northwest deserved their heroic status for how they treated women. Thus, the logic of the myth now motivated the recognition of women as full citizens of the civilization created through the struggle of the frontier.

Men and women alike had earned their status as citizens through their triumph in the right of passage that brought them West to found a new civilization. With women now a part of the performance of the myth, the denial of their access to complete citizenship desecrated the promise of the myth. Duniway reminded her Oregon audience, “Those mothers in Oregon, whose patient endurance of poverty, hardship and toil brought them naught of public and little of private recompense.”⁸⁶ She posed the full quandary to the men in her audience in Idaho, “Shall we, the women of this border land, who have shared alike your trials and your triumphs—shall we not be permitted to go up to the national capital bearing aloft the banner of our freedom?”⁸⁷ To now turn their back on their partners in the making of the West would deny the just completion of the triumph.

Thus, Duniway’s discourse featured a Western woman whose place in the reality of the settling of the West was permanently inscribed on the Western consciousness. After surviving the trials and tests of the pilgrimage West and the violent defense of the land against its despoilers, the Western women had proved their true American identity. To deny them suffrage not only deprived them of their rights guaranteed by the Declaration of Independence; to refuse these women citizenship violated the sacred promise of the frontier myth.

Duniway’s Embodiment of the Frontier Heroine

In addition to depicting all white women who survived the mythic quest West as heroines deserving of the ballot, Duniway also personified herself the ultimate Western

heroine of the frontier myth. According to her retelling of the frontier myth, she epitomized the ideal frontier heroine and earned her citizenship through her own mythic trek West, her extensive work on the frontier, and her return to the East. Moreover, by exemplifying the frontier heroine and “incarnating” her argument, she attested to the veracity of her myth.⁸⁸ Duniway’s enactment of the frontier heroine functioned as proof that women could indeed attain elevated status.⁸⁹

As her experience in the West became her authority, Duniway drew on her ethos as the frontier heroine to persuade her audience. In her 1889 address at the NWSA convention she stated,

It is a matter of history that for fifteen years...your humble speaker had traveled alone, over Oregon, Washington and Idaho, enduring toil, hardship, privation, ridicule, sneers and vituperation, and steadily overcoming all sorts of obstacles.⁹⁰

Like the frontier hero, she told her story of her lone accomplishment and frontier testing. Employing what Campbell has termed “explicit enactment,” Duniway “point[ed] out to auditors that she is an *exemplar* of the argument she is making” to enhance her message’s urgency to her audience.⁹¹ To a convention accustomed to honoring those who fought for suffrage, she established her credentials reflected in the frontier myth by travelling “alone” as the frontier hero does, enduring “toil, hardship, privation” as those who made the West did, and overcoming the “obstacles” she had faced as a suffragist to demonstrate the mettle that earns suffrage. Duniway’s confrontation with the earthly wilderness, as well as with the “ridicule, sneers and vituperation,” marked her accomplishment of the frontier hero. And, to make certain her audience did not miss the point, she marked the

states of the Northwest as her track. By personifying the true rugged hero, she built her ethos on the model of frontier triumph.

Duniway also used “implicit enactment” by embodying her argument for the heroic status of the frontier through her actions and practices.⁹² By migrating West as one of the early Oregon settlers and surviving the trials of life on the frontier, Duniway embodied her “publicly expressed arguments by the way that [s]he lived.”⁹³ For 16 years, Duniway spent more than half of every year traveling around the Pacific Northwest giving speeches. She lectured three to five evenings a week and led women’s clubs, all while publishing, editing, and writing articles for her newspaper, the *New Northwest*.⁹⁴ The years of work and sacrifice Duniway invested in the West qualified her as the ultimate Western woman.

She also implicitly enacted the Western heroine by completing the “cosmogonic cycle” of the frontier hero. The frontier myth required that after they experienced their adventure in the new world, the protagonists returned home and passed on their new knowledge to those they left behind. The “cosmogonic cycle” has endured as a central feature of the American frontier myth and it consistently appears in many of the world’s mythic traditions and sacred writings across continents and cultures.⁹⁵ Duniway completed this cosmogonic cycle in several ways. For example, during her mythic trek West, she kept the daily journal of the trip to send back as a guide for future travelers.⁹⁶ She also completed this cycle by returning to the East and sharing with Eastern suffrage conventions the lessons she learned on the frontier. She reminded her NAWSA audience of “the Paradise of the Pacific Northwest, from whose summer lands and sun-down seas I have traveled four thousand miles to greet this brilliant gathering.”⁹⁷ She noted that

NAWSA asked her to speak to the audience about “the progress made during the century by the mothers of the race, in the far-off corner of our continent from which I come.”⁹⁸ By returning to the East, and speaking to the national suffrage associations, she shared with them the lessons she learned by working for suffrage in the West, and therefore completed the cosmogonic cycle of the American frontier myth. By personifying the ultimate heroine of the West, the frontier myth authenticated Duniway’s authority, elevated the credibility of her suffrage arguments, and served as evidence that women could undeniably fill the role of frontier heroine.

Beyond embodying her arguments through her actions, Duniway also employed implicit enactment through her rhetorical form and style.⁹⁹ A reporter for the *Oregonian* described Duniway’s performance at a NWSA convention in Washington, D.C.:

There had immediately preceded her a Boston lady, a speaker whose words were carefully chosen, her modulation smoother, her a’s and ew’s given a scientifically correct sound, her gesticulations measured, her poise studied. Mrs. Duniway, being the next speaker, . . . began her address in an off-hand manner that at once delighted her audience. Here was somebody novel to them. Force was substituted for excessive polish. As she proceeded, speaking in an unaffected, incisive, earnest, at times humorous manner, the audience cheered lustily. They were especially struck with her unique comparisons, the incidents of Western life that she related.¹⁰⁰

The reporter’s account conveyed the rough and tumble rawness of Duniway’s Western narratives, the distinctive nature of Duniway’s regionalist themes and style, and the appreciation of her audience for her uniqueness. Thus, Duniway’s style, manner, and

content all indicated that she was distinct from the Eastern women. Through her form and style, she implicitly enacted her Western independence, her difference from Eastern women, and her heroic nature as frontier heroine.

Naturalization of Women's Liberty in the West

Beyond embodying the frontier woman, the logic of Duniway's myth also implied that women's liberty existed naturally in the West. The frontier myth rests on the premise that freedom abides in the land. Duniway's myth specifically depicted the frontier as a naturalizing force for women's citizenship by portraying women's freedom as derived from the frontier. She naturalized women's liberty in the West by arguing that women's presence in the frontier transformed them into women deserving of citizenship. Thus, through her emphasis on scene, Duniway absolved herself and other frontier women from their transgressive entrance into political participation.

Duniway added to the popular booster rhetoric that Western promoters used to draw populations to Western states and territories. She often spoke of "land fever" when she travelled and proclaimed the room available in Oregon for thousands of farmers.¹⁰¹ She once printed a two-page, eight-column description of the "scenery, soil, climate, productions, prospects and possibilities" of the Pacific Northwest, encouraging potential immigrants to invest in the Northwest.¹⁰² But Duniway's boosterism was not limited merely to the agricultural and economic opportunities in the Northwest.

When speaking to Eastern NAWSA audiences, Duniway consistently portrayed the Pacific Northwest as a naturally equal and free space for women. She stated confidently that "nowhere else, upon this planet, are the inalienable rights of women as much appreciated as on the newly settled borders of these United States."¹⁰³ She referred

to the Northwest as “the free, young, elastic West” and the “great galaxy of new and vigorous young states...which need claim no higher distinction than to be forever known as the original land of the Free and the Home of the Brave.”¹⁰⁴ Duniway drew on Western women’s proximity to attaining suffrage by reminding her 1899 NAWSA audience that of all the states represented, hers prevailed as the only one with an Equal Suffrage Amendment pending. Duniway accounted for her claim by explaining that the lessons of equality reside in the West. She stated:

There are lessons of liberty in the rock-ribbed mountains... There are lessons of freedom in our broad prairies... There are lessons of equality in the gigantic, evenly-crested forest trees... There are lessons of truth and justice in the very air we breathe, and lessons of irresistible progress in the mighty waters.¹⁰⁵

Duniway’s description of the West implied that the motivation for equality of the sexes materially existed in the land of the West. Significantly, Duniway’s depiction contrasted starkly with the traditional understanding of Western land as metaphorically feminine and as a place for men to conquer.¹⁰⁶

Thus, although Duniway portrayed Western women as earning their equality in their mythic journey West, her emphasis on scene suggested that the naturalizing space of the West transformed women from pampered and weak women into strong and “awakened” women who deserved citizenship. This description undercut the agency of the Western heroines and naturalized it in the physical location instead. Janice Hocker Rushing explains that the traditional frontier myth focused on the scene to the extent that that the frontier functioned as a main controlling factor to the hero’s actions.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, Dorsey observes that “when rhetors focused on the mythic frontier as a

principle motivating force for human behavior, heroes were essentially absolved of any wrongdoing; their interaction with the frontier was being determined for them by the scene itself.”¹⁰⁸ Likewise, in Duniway’s myth, her focus on scene seemed to exonerate the women and men of the Pacific Northwest from instigating sexual equality and placed the responsibility for equality on the Western land. Thus, Duniway’s naturalization of women’s liberty on the frontier helped deflect criticism for women’s political involvement in the West.

Defining Western Heroines Through Boundaries

Further drawing on the power of the frontier myth, Duniway characterized Western women according to the boundaries that defined the mythic hero of the West: conflict with American Indians and conflict with “civilization.” As Duniway relied on these premises of the frontier myth, these distinctions strengthened her mythic argument that Western women did indeed fit the criteria for full citizenship. However, these premises also perpetuated negative beliefs about American Indians and generated conflict with the “civilized” suffragists in the East.

Duniway drew on the frontier myth as she constructed Western heroines as distinct from both American Indians and Eastern civilization. Slotkin explains that Americans defined American Indians as one boundary of American identity by delineating that “‘though we were a people of ‘the wilderness,’ we were not savages.”¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, heroes of mythical quests had to “know Indians,” meaning that heroes’ “experiences, sympathies, and even allegiances fall on both sides of the frontier.”¹¹⁰ Heroes also had to feature their dissimilarity to their civilized counterparts. Originally, conflict with “civilization” existed between the American colonies and Britain. For the

American West, this conflict pitted “regional concerns of the ‘borderers’” with “those of American metropolitan regimes.”¹¹¹ Therefore, the frontier myth freed the true Western hero from both the “savages” of the West and the “authoritarian politics and class privilege” of the civilization in the East.¹¹²

Like the traditional frontier myth, Duniway also configured Western women as complete Americans through these distinctions. First, Duniway’s frontier myth contrasted her heroic frontier women with American Indians. While boasting about Western women at NAWSA, Duniway claimed:

The dusky wife of the aboriginal man [would not] be tempted to populate the new world with half-caste children, to become the Ishmaelites of new generations, like the son of one Argonaut I have in mind, who, when asked, after being convicted of murder, to state sentence of death should not be pronounced upon him, turned savagely upon his pious father and cursed him roundly for having married an Indian woman.¹¹³

Here Duniway illustrated that women in the West did indeed know American Indians so well that they could live life side by side with them. However, Duniway’s heroines decided against being so “disturbed.” Instead, Duniway refuted the idea that Western white women had sunk to the level of “savages,” illustrating that Western white women would not even consider American Indians as potential partners in the Western life. In the process, she diminished Indian women as inferior and their children as unwanted. She went so far as to blame such interracial marriage as the cause of some forms of corruption in the West.

In addition to characterizing Western women as separate from American Indians, Duniway also set Western women apart through conflict with Eastern civilization. Duniway contrasted herself and Western suffragists with the national suffrage associations based in the East. For example, she stated at NAWSA that the people in Oregon “do not like professional agitators, but they love liberty.”¹¹⁴ To Duniway, professional agitators and well-funded suffragists from the East had no place in the frontier myth, yet they insisted on interfering with her suffrage tactics in the West. For example, in her 1889 NWSA address, she singled out and blamed the failure of a Washington Territory campaign on “the untimely invasion of Mrs. Clara B. Colby and other self-imported Eastern Suffragists.”¹¹⁵ According to Duniway’s frontier myth, women earned their liberty through the struggle in the frontier, depicting Eastern suffragists’ equality as un-earned and irrelevant to the freedom of Western women. She also clearly delineated the differences between Western and Eastern women in her 1899 NAWSA address when she said:

Women under normal conditions, are evolutionists, and not revolutionists, as is shown by their conduct, as voters, in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho. Your ideal, hysterical reformer, whose aim in life is to put men in leading strings, like little children, doesn’t hail from any state where women vote.¹¹⁶

Duniway portrayed the Western women who had suffrage as “normal,” while she drew on the gendered stereotype of women to portray Eastern women as emotional and irrational. Not only had Duniway’s Eastern suffragists not yet “earned” their vote, they had also attempted to limit the freedom of men rather than expand liberty, contradicting the values of the frontier. By grounding her suffrage arguments in the frontier myth,

Duniway successfully portrayed Western white women as heroines, deserving of suffrage, but in the process, she also depicted them as superior to American Indians and instigated conflict with Eastern suffragists.

Conclusions and Implications

Duniway drew on the power of the frontier myth to work for woman suffrage, characterizing white Western women as frontier heroines who had earned their citizenship out West. Along with elevating women on the frontier, the myth also influenced woman suffrage by imagining white women's racial superiority and setting Western and Eastern suffragists in opposition. Duniway's speeches challenged the maleness of the traditional frontier myth by expanding the definition of the frontier hero to include heroines and naturalized women's rights in the Western land, thus, reconciling the masculine myth of the West with woman suffrage. Therefore, Duniway's myth of the West provides another competing explanation for the early success of woman suffrage on the masculine frontier.

When they finally achieved suffrage in 1912, Oregonians honored Duniway by allowing her to be the first woman to register to vote in Oregon.¹¹⁷ Duniway's legacy reveals that although Westerners remember her fondly, she experienced much conflict with national suffrage leaders (other than Anthony) and remained a controversial figure in the suffrage movement. Duniway consistently viewed Eastern suffragists as "invaders" in the West. She wrote in her autobiography about being "side-tracked...by Eastern invaders [with] ways that are dark and tricks that are vain."¹¹⁸ Duniway believed that Western women may have won woman suffrage sooner "if left to themselves" rather than being "dominated" by the Easterners who took much of the money they raised.¹¹⁹ She

reported to her son, Clyde, that she gave the Easterners “a plain but courteous talk about combing the West of its cash in its hours of trial. I think they won’t invade my bailiwick any more except by invitation.”¹²⁰ Duniway had faith that, “The fatal mistake of the leaders in Oregon was that they imported the Eastern speakers, who took charge of the campaign.”¹²¹

Much of the conflict between Duniway and Eastern suffragists, however, concerned agitation tactics. In addition to resisting the connection between suffrage and temperance, Duniway advocated the “still hunt” method of interpersonal political maneuvering and one-on-one persuasion rather than the “hurrah” campaign of parades and events that she worried would stir up opposition.¹²² Eastern temperance women accused Duniway of selling out to liquor, censured her for bringing “disgrace on the woman suffrage cause” and undermined Duniway’s “still hunt” method by hiring prohibitionists to campaign for suffrage in the Northwest without Duniway’s knowledge.¹²³ After Duniway’s protest of prohibition in her 1889 NWSA convention speech, there was an “intrigue” of women against her at following conventions and the national leaders treated her as though she was unwanted and unnecessary.¹²⁴ Clara Colby sought to remove Duniway from her leadership position by organizing a “secret conclave” and Duniway exchanged negative words with multiple Eastern suffrage leaders.¹²⁵ In a letter to Anna Howard Shaw, Duniway called Colby a “fool” and an “old tramp,” and accused Shaw, “You and your ex-officers and agents are evidently working for organization, glory and salary. I am working for success.”¹²⁶ Duniway went so far as to threaten that if Shaw “again set foot in Oregon,” Duniway would make her “face the legal consequences” for her lies about Duniway and her confiscation of suffrage

campaign funds.¹²⁷ Thus, some histories of the suffrage movement cast Duniway in a negative light and blame her for the numerous suffrage defeats in the Pacific Northwest.¹²⁸ Although Duniway had no use for the sentimentality of “eastern poetesses” who knew nothing about of the “Women of the Border,” she hoped that someday history would appreciate the “unknown heroines” of the West.¹²⁹

Thus, much of Duniway’s conflict with Eastern suffragists revolved around clashing methods of agitation, but her use of the frontier myth also contributed to the tension between Eastern and Western suffragists. Duniway’s depiction of liberty residing in the West promoted regionalized suffrage, enfranchising only a portion of the nation’s women according to location, and rendered Eastern suffragists practically helpless to work for their rights. Although the women who went West emerged as heroines, the majority who stayed in the East had no opportunity for this liberty due to their failure to conquer the frontier.

Therefore, Duniway’s frontier myth implied that women’s rights were not natural rights, but that women’s rights must be earned. Not only do “earned rights” arguments have dangerous implications, they should also interest scholars of suffrage rhetoric because they do not fit neatly into either of the two recognized categories of suffrage arguments—expediency and natural rights. While Duniway rejected the logic of expediency arguments, she shared the assumption of “sameness” basic to natural rights arguments, often pointing out how men and women had endured the same trials and triumph, participated in the same violence, and bore the same responsibilities. Nevertheless, Duniway’s frontier myth promoted *earned* rights rather than natural rights. Instead of founding her arguments on men and women’s common humanity, she built her

arguments on merit. Although Duniway mentioned the inalienable rights of women and referred to the logic of the Declaration of Independence, both central premises of the natural rights ideology, her arguments implied a test for women to pass for citizenship: the “rite of passage” through the frontier. Duniway still appealed to a sense of justice, but she depicted women’s lack of rights in terms of the injustice of work unrewarded rather than universal rights denied. Thus, Duniway’s frontier myth offered an altered natural rights argument, revealing that in the West, suffragists like Duniway employed different types of arguments. Her myth demonstrates the tendency of the long-standing dichotomy of suffrage arguments to obscure and ignore alternative suffrage arguments.

The logic of Duniway’s earned rights argument and her negative attitudes towards Eastern suffragists may have had a lasting impact on the movement years later. In 1914, the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage (CUWS) sent organizers to the nine woman suffrage states in the West to campaign against the Democratic presidential candidates as punishment for not enfranchising women. However, Western voters protested “outside interference” from Easterners.¹³⁰ Ultimately, the re-election of President Wilson, a Democrat and the only candidate who did not publicly endorse woman suffrage, symbolized a large failure for the CUWS’s strategy in the West.¹³¹ The Easterners’ inability to marshal Western women’s support for this campaign may have had roots in Duniway’s region-based suffrage arguments.

Furthermore, Duniway’s speeches championed masculinity and degraded traditional feminine characteristics in her assertion of women’s citizenship. When celebrating Western women as deserving of suffrage, she described them according to their masculine characteristics related to violence and conquering the frontier. In contrast,

she depicted Eastern women who performed traditionally feminine roles in particularly negative terms by referring to them as “hysterical reformers” and suggesting that they were “parasitic,” “selfish,” and “idle” as they relied on their husbands’ work, rather than earning their homes together with their husbands.¹³² Duniway’s positive depictions of masculine Western women challenged the “cult of true womanhood” by demonstrating women’s capability of participating in the rituals of manhood and making space for American women to live outside the restrictions of “true womanhood.” However, her demeaning caricatures of Eastern femininity disparaged “true women” as being unfit for political participation. By characterizing politically equal women as masculine and denouncing the femininity of women with fewer rights, she reinforced the culturally constructed relationship between politics and masculinity, in addition to elevating traditionally masculine characteristics in general.

As Duniway implied that only the women who could “prove their manhood” had the right to political equality, she encouraged women desiring suffrage to become more like men and less like traditionally weak women. Her myth suggested that the American frontier helped masculinize Western women in order to prepare them for citizenship, reifying the masculine assumptions of U.S. citizenship. Consequently, she did not work to destabilize the bedrock of U.S. nationalism—masculine ideals of citizenship; instead, she condemned traditional notions of true womanhood.

Notes: Chapter 1

¹ Ruth Barnes Moynihan, *Rebel for Rights: Abigail Scott Duniway* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 93.

² Ida Husted Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, vol. 1. (Indianapolis: Bowen-Merrill Co., 1899,) 399-400.

³ Abigail Scott Duniway, *Path Breaking: An Autobiographical History of the Equal Suffrage Movement in Pacific Coast States* (New York: Source Book Press, 1970), 46.

⁴ Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, 391.

⁵ Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (New York: Atheneum, 1968).

⁶ Beverly Beeton, "How the West was Won for Woman Suffrage," in *One Woman, One Vote: Rediscovering the Woman Suffrage Movement*, ed. Marjorie Spruill Wheeler (Syracuse, NY: New Sage Press, 1995); Moynihan, *Rebel for Rights*, 1983, 83.

⁷ Moynihan, *Rebel for Rights*, 83.

⁸ Sheree Keith, "Abigail Scott Duniway: The Rhetoric of Intervention and the New Northwest," *Texas Speech Communication Journal* 30 (2006): 146-157; Ruth Barnes Moynihan, "Abigail Scott Duniway: Mother of Woman Suffrage in the Pacific Northwest," in *Grit and Grace*, eds. Glenda Riley and Richard W. Etulain (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 1997).

⁹ Moynihan, "Abigail Scott Duniway," 182. The motto of the paper was "Free Speech, Free Press, Free People." Later, she revamped her masthead to read: "Alive to all

Live Issues and Thoroughly Radical in Opposing and Exposing the Wrongs of the Masses.”

¹⁰ Moynihan, *Rebel for Rights*, 89.

¹¹ Throughout this project I reference three suffrage organizations. The American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA) was led by Lucy Stone and Julia Ward Howe. The National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) was started by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. In 1890, the two organizations merged into the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) and Stanton was elected the first president. Duniway’s involvement in suffrage began in NWSA and continued in NAWSA. Flexner, *Century of Struggle*.

¹² Haarsager, *Organized Womanhood*; Moynihan, “Abigail Scott Duniway,” 174.

¹³ Lucy Stone, “One Faithful Worker,” *The Woman’s Journal*, 1886.

¹⁴ Ronald H. Carpenter, “Frederick Jackson Turner and the Rhetorical Impact of the Frontier Thesis,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 63 (1977): 117-129; Janice Hocker Rushing, “The Rhetoric of the American Western Myth,” *Communication Monographs* 50 (1983): 14-32.

¹⁵ Abigail Scott Duniway, *Path Breaking: An Autobiographical History of the Equal Suffrage Movement in Pacific Coast States* (New York: Source Book Press, 1970). Four of the five speeches printed in her autobiography matched the versions of the speeches that were printed in the newspapers. However, the version of her address at the Idaho Constitutional Convention in her autobiography only included edited excerpts of the speech printed in the Idaho Statesman. This analysis used the newspaper version of

the speech. All of these speeches can also be accessed at Randall Lake's digital repository of Duniway's speeches that includes a rhetorical biography of Duniway, and authenticated and annotated versions of over 50 speeches. Randall Lake, "'She Flies With Her Own Wings': The Collected Speeches of Abigail Scott Duniway," asduniway.org, accessed April 2, 2013.

¹⁶ Duniway delivered "Equal Rights for All" at the Idaho Constitutional Convention in Boise City on July 17, 1889: "Woman suffrage: An enthusiastic advocate of the subject," *Idaho Weekly Statesmen*, July 20, 1889. Duniway delivered "Woman in Oregon History" at the fortieth anniversary celebration of Oregon's admission to statehood on February 14, 1899: "Admission Day Observed at Salem: Governor Geer Presided—Principal Addresses were by George H. Williams, W. P. Lord, L. B. Cox and Mrs. Duniway," *Morning Oregonian*, February 15, 1899. Duniway delivered "Ballots or Bullets" on January 23, 1889 at the 21st National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) convention in Washington DC. "Ballots or Bullets" was reprinted seventeen years later in the *Morning Oregonian*: "Mrs. Duniway, Equal Suffrage and W.C.T.U.," *Morning Oregonian*, September 9, 1906.

¹⁷ Duniway delivered "How to Win the Ballot" at NAWSA's convention in Grand Rapids, Michigan on May 2, 1899: "How to Win the Ballot: Mrs. Duniway's Address to the Women Suffragists," *Morning Oregonian*, May 3, 1899. Duniway delivered "Success in Sight" at NAWSA's convention in Washington, D.C. on February 12, 1900: "Her Eightieth Birthday: Celebration of Susan B. Anthony's Four-Score Years," *Morning Oregonian*, February 13, 1900.

¹⁸ Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Atheneum, 1992), 10.

¹⁹ Brigitte Georgi-Findlay, *The Frontiers of Women's Writing: Women's Narratives and the Rhetoric of Western Expansion* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1996), 6.

²⁰ Robert V. Hine, *The American West: An Interpretive History* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1973), 321; Harold P. Simonson, *Beyond the Frontier: Writers, Western Regionalism and a Sense of Place* (Fort Worth, TX: Texas Christian University Press, 1989), 1.

²¹ Dorsey, Leroy G. "The Frontier Myth in Presidential Rhetoric: Theodore Roosevelt's Campaign for Conservation," *Western Journal of Communication* 59 (1995): 2.

²² Janice H. Rushing, "Mythic Evolution of 'The New Frontier' in Mass Mediated Rhetoric," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 3 (1986): 265.

²³ This spelling of "compleat Americans" is consistent with how it is spelled in other literature on the frontier myth. Dorsey and Harlow, "'We Want Americans Pure and Simple,' 63-64; Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, 11.

²⁴ Dorsey and Harlow, "'We Want Americans Pure and Simple,' 63-64.

²⁵ Fredrick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" (presentation, American Historical Association, Chicago, IL, 1893); Fredrick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, ed. F. Mood (Madison, WI: The Society,

1894). Turner later published this paper as a book: Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920).

²⁶ Turner, "Significance of the Frontier."

²⁷ Turner, "Significance of the Frontier."

²⁸ Moos, *Outside America*, 49; Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982).

²⁹ Leroy G. Dorsey, *We are All Americans, Pure and Simple: Theodore Roosevelt and the Myth of Americanism* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2007); Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West: An Account of the Exploration and Settlement of our Country from the Alleghanies to the Pacific*, in *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt* (national ed.) (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926); Leroy G. Dorsey, "The Frontier Myth in Presidential Rhetoric: Theodore Roosevelt's Campaign for Conservation," *Western Journal of Communication* 59 (1995): 1-19.

³⁰ H. W. Brands, "Politics as Performance Art: The Body English of Theodore Roosevelt," in *The Presidency and Rhetorical Leadership*, ed. Leroy Dorsey (College Station, TX: Texas A & M University Press, 2002), 115-128; "Mr. Roosevelt Sees a Cowboy Festival," *New York Times*, April 26, 1903, 1; "President calls for a Larger Navy," *New York Times*, May 23, 1903, 2; "The President Talks on the Philippines," *New York Times*, April 8, 1903, 3.

³¹ Theodore Roosevelt, "The Manly Virtues and Practical Politics," *Forum*, July 1894.

³² Rebecca Edwards, *Angels in the Machinery: Gender in American Party Politics from the Civil War to the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 155-157.

³³ Theodore Roosevelt, "The Winning of the West: An Account of the Exploration and Settlement of Our Country from the Alleghanies to the Pacific," in *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926).

³⁴ John F. Kennedy, "Special Message to the Congress on Urgent National Needs." Washington, DC, 1961.

³⁵ John W. Jordan, "Kennedy's Romantic Moon and Its Rhetorical Legacy for Space Exploration," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 6 (2003), 221.

³⁶ Richard Bartlett, *The New Country: A Social History of the American Frontier, 1776-1890* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 343.

³⁷ Nick Trujillo, "Hegemonic Masculinity on the Mound: Media Representations of Nolan Ryan and American Sports Culture," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 8 (1991): 290-308; Susan Faludi, *Stiffed* (New York, NY: Perennial, 1999), 26.

³⁸ Georgi-Findlay, *Frontiers of Women's Writing*, ix.

³⁹ Georgi-Findlay, *Frontiers of Women's Writing*, 6.

⁴⁰ Georgi-Findlay, *Frontiers of Women's Writing*, 6.

⁴¹ Laura McCall, "Introduction," in *Across the Great Divide: Cultures of Manhood in the American West*, eds. Matthew Basso, Laura McCall, and Dee Garceau (New York: Routledge, 2001), 5.

⁴² Georgi-Findlay, *Frontiers of Women's Writing*, 6.

⁴³ Georgi-Findlay, *Frontiers of Women's Writing*, 6.

⁴⁴ Kolodny, *The Land Before Her*.

⁴⁵ Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak For Her, Volume 1: A Critical Study of Early Feminist Rhetoric* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1989). The suffragists held annual conventions from 1850 to 1860, except for 1857. After the Civil War was over, they resumed their annual conventions in 1866.

⁴⁶ Martha Watson, *A Voice of Their Own: The Woman Suffrage Press, 1840-1910* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1991); Rebecca J. Mead, *How the Vote was Won: Woman Suffrage in the Western United States, 1868-1914* (New York: New York University Press, 2004).

⁴⁷ Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak For Her, Vol. 1*.

⁴⁸ Aileen Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962); Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak For Her, Vol. 1*.

⁴⁹ Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman*.

⁵⁰ Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak for Her, Vol. 1*, 14-15.

⁵¹ Thomas Hobbes defined these rights as the rights individuals enjoy in a state of nature outside of any government or organized political community. John Locke argued that God laid down natural laws for humans, just as rulers establish laws for their citizens, and thus they were natural because they were not “artificial” or “man made.” John Locke, *The Two Treatises of Civil Government*, 1689, retrieved November 22, 2010, from <http://oll.libertyfund.org>; Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. M. Oakeshott (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957).

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- ⁵² Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak for Her*, Vol. 1, 15.
- ⁵³ Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak For Her*, Vol. 2, 280.
- ⁵⁴ Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak for Her*, Vol. 2, 371.
- ⁵⁵ Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak for Her*, Vol. 1, 14.
- ⁵⁶ Susan Zaeske, *Signatures of Citizenship: Petitioning, Antislavery, and Women's Political Identity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak For Her*, Vol. 2, xxi.
- ⁵⁷ Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak for Her*, Vol. 1, 122.
- ⁵⁸ Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak For Her*, Vol. 2, 319.
- ⁵⁹ Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak For Her*, Vol. 2, 328.
- ⁶⁰ Bonnie J. Dow, "The Womanhood Rationale in the Woman Suffrage Rhetoric of Frances E. Willard," *Southern Communication Journal* 56 (1991): 298-307.
- ⁶¹ Amy R. Slagell, "'Making the World More Homelike': The Reform Rhetoric of Frances E. Willard," in *The Rhetoric of Nineteenth-Century Reform*, vol. 5, *A Rhetorical History of the United States*, ed. Martha S. Watson and Thomas R. Burkholder (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2008), 162. Also see Amy R. Slagell, "The Rhetorical Structure of Frances E Willard's Campaign for Woman Suffrage, 1876-1896," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 4 (2001): 1-23.
- ⁶² Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, "Femininity and Feminism: To be or not to be a Woman." *Communication Quarterly* 31 (1983): 101-108.
- ⁶³ Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Beyond the Double Bind: Women and Leadership* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

⁶⁴ Bonnie J. Dow, "The 'Womanhood' Rationale in the Woman Suffrage Rhetoric of Frances E. Willard," *Southern Communication Journal* 56 (1991): 298-307; Kristy Maddux, "The *Da Vinci Code* and the Regressive Gender Politics of Celebrating Women," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 25 (2008): 225-248; Sheryl Hurner, "Discursive Identity Formation of Suffrage Women: Reframing the 'Cult of True Womanhood' Through Song," *Western Journal of Communication* (2006): 234-260; 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); Amy R. Slagell, "The Rhetorical Structure of Frances E. Willard's Campaign for Woman Suffrage, 1876-1896," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 4 (2001): 1-23; Carmen Heider, "Suffrage, Self-Determination, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union in Nebraska, 1879-1882," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 8 (2005): 85-107; Angela G. Ray & Cindy Koenig Richards, "Inventing Citizens, Imagining Gender Justice: The Suffrage Rhetoric of Virginia and Francis Minor," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 93 (2007): 375-402.

⁶⁵ Dorsey and Harlow, "We Want Americans Pure and Simple,"; Dorsey, "The Frontier Myth in Presidential Rhetoric."

⁶⁶ Dorsey, "The Frontier Myth," 4.

⁶⁷ Dorsey and Harlow, "We Want Americans Pure and Simple."

⁶⁸ Rushing, "American Western Myth," 19.

⁶⁹ Dorsey, "The Frontier Myth in Presidential Rhetoric," 2.

⁷⁰ "Admission Day."

⁷¹ “Admission Day.”

⁷² Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*.

⁷³ Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, 11.

⁷⁴ Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, 11.

⁷⁵ “Admission Day.”

⁷⁶ “How to Win the Ballot.”

⁷⁷ “Admission Day.”

⁷⁸ “Her Eightieth Birthday.”

⁷⁹ “Her Eightieth Birthday,” emphasis added.

⁸⁰ “How to Win the Ballot.”

⁸¹ “Her Eightieth Birthday.”

⁸² “Woman Suffrage: An Enthusiastic Advocate.”

⁸³ “How to Win the Ballot.”

⁸⁴ “Her Eightieth Birthday.”

⁸⁵ “How to Win the Ballot.”

⁸⁶ “Admission Day.”

⁸⁷ “Woman Suffrage: An Enthusiastic Advocate.”

⁸⁸ Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Form and Genre:*

Shaping Rhetorical Action (Falls Church: Speech Communication Association, 1978), 9.

⁸⁹ Campbell and Jamieson, *Form and Genre*.

⁹⁰ *Morning Oregonian*, “Mrs. Duniway.”

⁹¹ Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, "Enactment as a Rhetorical Strategy in The Year of Living Dangerously," *Central States Speech Journal* 39 (1988): 260.

⁹² Suzanne M. Daughton, "The Fine Texture of Enactment: Iconicity as Empowerment in Angelina Grimke's Pennsylvania Hall Address," *Women's Studies in Communication* 18 (1995): 19-43; Campbell, "Enactment as a Rhetorical Strategy."

⁹³ Campbell, "Enactment as a Rhetorical Strategy," 260.

⁹⁴ Duniway, *Path Breaking*.

⁹⁵ Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (Novota, CA: New World Library, 2008).

⁹⁶ Abigail Scott Duniway, "Journal of a Trip to Oregon," David C. Duniway Collection. Salem, Oregon, (1852).

⁹⁷ "Her Eightieth Birthday."

⁹⁸ "Her Eightieth Birthday."

⁹⁹ Campbell, "Enactment as a Rhetorical Strategy," 261; Kenneth Burke, *The Philosophy of Literary Form* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

¹⁰⁰ "Woman Suffrage: An Enthusiastic Advocate."

¹⁰¹ Moynihan, *Rebel for Rights*, 161.

¹⁰² Abigail Scott Duniway, "Editorial Correspondence," *The New Northwest*, December, 22, 1881.

¹⁰³ "Her Eightieth Birthday."

¹⁰⁴ "How to Win the Ballot."

¹⁰⁵ "How to Win the Ballot."

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- ¹⁰⁶ Kolodny, *The Land Before Her*.
- ¹⁰⁷ Rushing, "Mythic Evolution," 265-266.
- ¹⁰⁸ Dorsey, "The Frontier Myth in Presidential Rhetoric," 14.
- ¹⁰⁹ Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, 11.
- ¹¹⁰ Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, 14.
- ¹¹¹ Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, 19.
- ¹¹² Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, 11.
- ¹¹³ "Her Eightieth Birthday."
- ¹¹⁴ "Her Eightieth Birthday."
- ¹¹⁵ Duniway, *Path Breaking*, 195.
- ¹¹⁶ "How to Win the Ballot."
- ¹¹⁷ Mead, *How the Vote was Won*; Moynihan, "Abigail Scott Duniway."
- ¹¹⁸ Duniway, *Path Breaking*, 67.
- ¹¹⁹ Abigail Scott Duniway, "Letter to Clyde Duniway." Duniway Papers, Box 32, November 18, 1896.
- ¹²⁰ Abigail Scott Duniway, "Letter to Clyde Duniway." Duniway Papers, Box 32, November 18, 1896.
- ¹²¹ Duniway, *Path Breaking*, 259.
- ¹²² Moynihan, *Rebel for Rights*, 177.
- ¹²³ Abigail Scott Duniway, "Editorial Correspondence," *The New Northwest*, September 30, 1886; Moynihan, *Rebel for Rights*.
- ¹²⁴ Duniway, *Path Breaking*, 203.

¹²⁵ Duniway, *Path Breaking*, 227.

¹²⁶ Abigail Scott Duniway, "Letter to Anna Howard Shaw," Duniway Papers, September 18, 1906.

¹²⁷ Abigail Scott Duniway, "Letter to Anna Howard Shaw," Duniway Papers, September 18, 1906.

¹²⁸ Sarah A. Evans, "Oregon," in *History of Woman Suffrage, Volume 6*, ed. I. H. Harper (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1922), 538-549.

¹²⁹ Abigail Scott Duniway, "Editorial Correspondence," *The New Northwest*, November 20, 1874.

¹³⁰ Ethel Smith, *Testimony from Western States on Anti-Party Policy of the Congressional Union*, NAWSA Collection, Reel 33 (n.d.); Mead, *How the Vote was Won*.

¹³¹ Christine A. Lunardini and Thomas J. Knock, "Woodrow Wilson and Woman Suffrage: A New Look," *Political Science Quarterly* 95 (1981): 655-671.

¹³² "Her Eightieth."

Chapter 2: Washington Woman Suffragists' Appropriation of Mountaineering and the Wilderness for Woman Suffrage

On August 3, 1909, the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* headline announced, "Suffrage Pennant on a Snowy Peak: 'Votes for Women' Banner is Taken Up Rainier Side to Summit."¹ At an elevation of 14,526 feet, Dr. Cora Smith Eaton and other suffragists placed "the pennant of the suffrage movement...at the uttermost peak of Mount Rainier...while climbing with the Mountaineers,"² a Seattle-based outdoors club. These suffragists were proud to "know that no political or equality plea was ever carried to greater heights on the American continent."³ By reaching "the highest peak" of Mount Rainier, which they believed was the tallest mountain in the lower forty-eight states, the climbers made history as "the Largest Party Ever" to "successfully ascend the towering peak" through an "entirely new route to the summit" up the south side of the mountain.⁴ With "a party of seventy-nine Mountaineers," the majority of whom were women, "sixty-two...successfully ascended the towering peak" and all of the women climbers summited.⁵ The *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* reported that because of the suffragists' feat, "the green pennant of the suffrage movement...is now wafting its message in the eternal silences and purpling shadows that wrap the peaks about."⁶

These suffragists completed this venture by joining The Mountaineers' climb that was commissioned by the Alaska Yukon Pacific Exposition (AYPE), the world's fair that was held in Seattle in 1909. The exposition organizers charged The Mountaineers to plant the exposition's banner at the "loftiest point" of the mountain.⁷ This mountain ascent was one of the many AYPE events suffragists appropriated to advocate for woman suffrage. The AYPE ran for 138 days during the summer of 1909 and drew close to four million visitors.⁸ The exposition planners envisioned the AYPE as "Seattle's coming-out party

that would advertise the city's social, economic, and cultural assets to potential settlers and investors.”⁹ Highlighting the Pacific Northwest as an ideal location for facilitating trade with Alaska and other Pacific Rim countries, they promoted their region as “a gateway to the Orient and economic prosperity, a land of freedom, and a place of magnificent natural wonders.”¹⁰ To depict Seattle as “the jewel of the Pacific Northwest,” they transformed two hundred and fifty-five acres of the University of Washington campus into a miniature representation of the world.¹¹ Washington citizens used the AYPE to put Seattle on the national map and gain worldwide attention. Likewise, Washington suffragists used the AYPE and the Mount Rainier climb to draw large-scale attention to the Washington suffrage campaign.

Although the AYPE took place during “the doldrums” of the American woman suffrage movement—a period of fourteen years when no states passed woman suffrage—Washington State approved woman suffrage the year after Washington women's advocacy at the AYPE.¹² The suffrage work at the AYPE “paved the way” for a successful Washington campaign that enfranchised tens of thousands of Washington women and “galvanized suffrage workers across the country.”¹³ The Washington win “launched a tidal wave of similar victories in other western states”¹⁴ as they were soon followed by “victories in California in 1911, Oregon in 1912, and most of the Western states by the end of 1914.”¹⁵ When explaining how Washington women won the vote, Eaton recalled, Washington suffragists “used the great Alaska Yukon exposition as a medium of publicity, maintaining a permanent exhibit, holding open air meetings and gaining friends from the vast multitudes which thronged to this great enterprise of the

Northwest.”¹⁶ The exposition offered a prominent platform for the suffragists to garner public attention.¹⁷

After reviewing Washington woman suffragists’ use of the AYPE for their suffrage advocacy, this essay specifically analyzes suffragists’ involvement in the Mount Rainier ascent that took the AYPE flag to the summit of the mountain. By joining the Mountaineers’ trip and taking the “Votes for Women” pennant to the summit of Mount Rainier, the Washington suffragists navigated Western myths by appropriating the meanings of the wilderness and mountaineering for woman suffrage. In light of Rebecca Solnit’s argument that “mountaineering is exertion with only symbolic results, but the nature of that symbolism dictates everything,”¹⁸ this essay examines the symbolism, meanings, and persuasive messages of the Washington suffragists’ Mount Rainier summit for woman suffrage. To understand how the mountain summit functioned rhetorically, this essay analyzes reports and photographs of the Mount Rainier climb found in Washington newspapers, suffragists’ archival records, The Mountaineers’ trip report, mountaineering publications from the time period, and the AYPE records.

The Mountaineer suffragists’ ascent of Mount Rainier was a political pilgrimage. Rebecca Solnit argues that mountaineering is almost always accompanied by the idea of pilgrimage:

There is a symbiosis between journey and arrival in Christian pilgrimage, as there is in mountaineering. To travel without arriving would be as incomplete as to arrive without having traveled. To walk there is to earn it, through laboriousness and through the transformation that comes during a journey. Pilgrimages make it

possible to move physically, through the exertions of one's body, step by step, toward those intangible spiritual goals that are otherwise so hard to grasp.¹⁹

Traditionally, a pilgrimage was a spiritual trip in the name of "disease and healing of self or loved ones," but rather than "appealing for divine intervention or holy miracle," political pilgrimages demand "political change, making the audience no longer God or the gods, but the public."²⁰ The collective walk makes "an appeal to temporal rather than spiritual powers" as it "adapt[s] a religious form, the pilgrimage, to carry political content."²¹ Collectively walking for a political cause, as the Washington Mountaineers did for woman suffrage, displays strength and conviction and places an appeal or demand before the public.

Activists have made pilgrimages for a variety of political purposes. In 1930, Gandhi led Indian citizens to walk a 200-mile Salt March to the sea to make their own salt as an act of independence from British law and taxes.²² In 1953, Mildred Lisette Norman adopted the name of "Peace Pilgrim" and walked across the United States for peace.²³ In 1965, Martin Luther King, Jr., led civil rights marchers from Selma to Montgomery for voting rights. And in 1966, Cesar Chavez led striking migrant workers on a 250-mile pilgrimage from Delano to Sacramento to for Farm Workers' rights.²⁴ The suffragists who climbed Mount Rainier for woman suffrage also enacted a pilgrimage of political purposes. Climbing Mount Rainier together enacted their fortitude and determination as they brought their demand for woman suffrage before the Pacific Northwest. A key ingredient of the pilgrimage is "the *earning* through suffering or at least exertion."²⁵ Like Duniway's arguments for woman suffrage, the Mountaineer suffragists' ascent functioned as an "earned rights" argument for woman suffrage.

Ascending Mount Rainier and taking the suffrage flag to the peak implied that they earned their right to vote through their labor and suffering.

I argue that as Washington suffragists joined The Mountaineers to summit Mount Rainier, they appropriated numerous turn-of-the-century meanings of mountaineering and the wilderness: mountaineering as an imperial conquest, the wilderness as the mythic and masculine frontier, mountaineering as a sport, the wilderness as a pure and moral place, and walking in the wilderness as an act of freedom. Claiming the summit of Mount Rainier for woman suffrage symbolized women's autonomy and political power, enacted the masculine virtues of the frontier hero, and inserted women into Western recreation as men's athletic peers and valued equals in the sport. Although mountaineering and the wilderness were associated with masculinity, they were flexible discourses for women's appropriation for three reasons: First, the meaning of the wilderness at the turn of the century also symbolized morality and purity, which were traditional ideals of womanhood. Second, mountaineering clubs commonly included men and women as members. Third, walking in the wilderness enacted the freedom associated with walking, the wilderness, and the "New Woman" ideal of their time. By climbing Mount Rainier with men, their climb depicted Western men as happy supporters of women's right to vote and participate in the wilderness. I begin by overviewing the history of the AYPE and the Washington woman suffrage movement.

Boosting Seattle at the Alaska Yukon Pacific Exposition

Seattle's AYPE was one of the United States' many World's Fairs. In the forty years between 1867 and 1916, about one hundred million people attended these expositions across the country.²⁶ World expositions and multi-day civic celebrations were

popular tools for American cities to boost their economies and stimulate local improvements.²⁷ These fairs, such as Philadelphia's 1876 Centennial Exposition, the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, the Buffalo' Pan-American Exposition in 1901, St. Louis's Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904, and Portland's Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition in 1905, celebrated historical anniversaries of (white) humankind's progress.²⁸ Although other fairs commemorated events in history, the AYPE asserted that it was unique because it was a celebration of the future.²⁹ Rather than be "commemorative" or have "historical significance" or commemorate "great names and deeds," the AYPE was supposed to be "prophetic" and "anticipative."³⁰ Furthermore, some of these other fairs, such as the Philadelphia and Chicago expositions, originated in Congress and Congress sponsored them by appropriating money and appointing exposition commissions. In contrast, local boosters and city leaders initiated and organized the fairs in Seattle and Portland with much less national support, making their success especially impressive.

While the AYPE became "a great international commercial exposition" to celebrate Seattle's financial possibilities as a trade center.³¹ The exposition planners sought to "announc[e] Seattle to the world" and gain national attention for the city's beauty, natural resources, industries, and culture.³² Henry Alberts McLean, president of the Washington State Commission for the Exposition, hoped that the AYPE would give Washington its "proper place among the great states of the republic" and give Washington worldwide recognition.³³ They were especially pleased that the AYPE could help them "gain recognition for [Washington] state by members of Congress" and bring "scores of prominent visitors to the fair who never understood the size and possibilities of this city

and the surrounding territories.”³⁴

The idea for the AYPE began as the idea of an Alaskan trade exposition in Seattle that would promote Alaskan products and Seattle commerce.³⁵ As the leaders of the exposition realized the commercial opportunities of the exposition, they proposed, “Why not make it a fair for the advertisement of the vast and multifold resources of the great West and Northwest as well as the North?”³⁶ So the regional Alaskan exposition grew to be a World’s Fair titled the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition. They added the Pacific Rim countries and islands because they were another ideal trade market for Seattle. Although the fair was initiated to advertise Alaska’s trade resources, the exposition “evolved into a vehicle for the development of Seattle” and the local boosters sought “to help position Seattle as the center of a large new market for trade expansion.”³⁷ Visitors to the fair also noticed that “the primary purpose of the fair was to teach Americans about the Pacific Coast, and only secondarily to teach them a little of Alaska, a little of Japan, and a little of the Philippines.”³⁸

Thus, the AYPE was “a booster campaign from beginning to end.”³⁹ The *Seattle Times* headline read: “Exposition is Best Advertiser: Seattle’s Biggest Advertising Project” and the article described the AYPE as “the biggest advertisement Seattle has ever carried out.”⁴⁰ The AYPE sought to increase trade, bring more industries and investors to the region, change the image of Seattle, and to compete with other West Coast cities.⁴¹ Jane Northam and Jack Berryman argue that “from its inception, the Seattle fair was essentially a business proposition.”⁴² The AYPE organizers hoped the fair would launch commercial and industrial growth that would make Seattle the leading trade center of the Pacific Rim and make “the Pacific...be to the commerce of the world

what the Atlantic is and has been.”⁴³ Washington’s Senator, Samuel H. Ples, explained that the purpose of the exposition was “to stimulate our commerce in the Pacific Ocean countries, and to make known the wonderful resources of Alaska and our island possessions and the probabilities of that Great Western country.”⁴⁴ Even President Taft commented in his congratulatory telegram to the exposition on opening day that the exposition was “designed...to exploit the natural resources and marvelous wealth of Alaska and the development of trade and commerce on the Pacific slope.”⁴⁵

Seattle specifically sought to change the nation’s image of Seattle to “demonstrate that Seattle had grown up and was not an unrefined western backwater [sic].”⁴⁶ Like other Western cities in the early twentieth century, Seattle “struggled to cast off its frontier image and gain commercial dominance and urban distinction against other West Coast ports.”⁴⁷ Reverend Stephen Penrose, President of Whitman College in Washington, predicted that the exposition would prove that Seattle was no longer a frontier town and would change Easterners’ misconception that the typical Westerner “is a flamboyant individual, loud in his self-assertion, arrogant, and grasping...careless of art as of law...in fine, a crude, good-souled, but noisy giant, with an ineffable local conceit and no sense of proportion.”⁴⁸ Henry Alberts McLean, president of the Washington State Commission for the exposition, proclaimed: “The pioneer days, the days of adventure, the days of uncertainty, the days during which we have been practically unknown to the great body of the people of the nation, will, when the exposition is over, be ended forever.”⁴⁹ The exposition was meant to depict Seattle as mature and cultured, and encourage the East to appreciate the West.⁵⁰ Seattle city leaders did not want any social

problems, such as prostitution, to “confirm eastern perceptions of the wild and untamed West.”⁵¹

Seattle, just like most Western cities in the nineteenth century, was used to promoting itself and competing with other Western cities for capital, new residents, and visitors.⁵² Seattle had long competed with Tacoma for trade, but once the railroad came through Seattle and Seattle gained the lead in Puget Sound trade, Portland grew to be its key competitor for foreign commerce in the Pacific Northwest.⁵³ The AYPE “grew out of [this] new rivalry with Portland” when “in 1905, Portland hosted the Lewis and Clark Exposition, the first of its kind West of the Rockies.”⁵⁴ Thus, the AYPE was fueled “by a spirit of urban competitiveness” to “shift attention from Portland...and hoped the fair’s success would help Seattle edge out San Francisco in foreign commerce.”⁵⁵ The AYPE promoted the West Coast as the most important region for the nation’s future because of its access to trading in the Pacific Rim, and promoted Seattle as the most important city on the Pacific Coast.⁵⁶ With the nation’s attention on the AYPE, Washington woman suffragists took advantage of the event to advocate for their cause.

Washington Woman Suffrage Advocacy

By the time Seattle hosted the AYPE in 1909, Washington women already had a storied history of woman suffrage rights. Following in the footsteps of Wyoming and Utah, Washington was the third territory to pass woman suffrage. In November 1883, Washington women gained suffrage when the Washington territorial legislature passed a bill enfranchising them and Governor William Newell signed it into law.⁵⁷ Just four years later in 1887, however, the Washington territorial Supreme Court nullified the 1883 equal suffrage act by declaring it unconstitutional.⁵⁸ In 1889, Washington voters reaffirmed that

decision as they approved their new state constitution and refused equal suffrage for women.⁵⁹ As Washington women sought to reinstate woman suffrage through the 1898 referendum, they worked with the Washington Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), who advocated woman suffrage as a tool for prohibition, but by "tying prohibition directly to woman suffrage, the WCTU jeopardized the referendum's chances."⁶⁰ After a second defeated campaign in 1898, woman suffrage got little attention in Washington State until Emma Smith DeVoe and May Arkwright Hutton reanimated the movement in 1906 and played key roles in the Washington suffrage movement until woman suffrage was passed in 1910.⁶¹ These two leaders disagreed about the best advocacy tactics, however, and they had such intense conflict with each other that the *Seattle Times* referred to the feud between Hutton and DeVoe as "the most bitter internal fight that has yet to feature the cause of equal suffrage in this county." The NAWSA leadership eventually became involved and "were livid when called upon to referee the internal conflict."⁶²

In 1910, the Washington woman suffrage campaign succeeded and made Washington the fifth woman suffrage state. The key contributing factors to the success of the Washington suffrage campaign were "the innovative tactics developed by a new generation of suffragists."⁶³ Like many of their counterparts around the country, "the women of Washington adopted modern methods of advertising and realized that publicity was their main staff."⁶⁴ Indeed, Eaton claimed, "scientific advertising placed the fifth star upon the woman's suffrage flag and gave citizenship to 175,000 women."⁶⁵ When describing their effective uses of publicity, Eaton specifically referenced the suffragists' advocacy at the AYPE.⁶⁶ Suffragists took advantage of the national limelight the AYPE

provided to champion their cause by holding suffrage events on the exposition grounds and displaying suffrage promotions all around the AYPE.

Since the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) regularly held their national conventions at the World's Fairs, the Washington Equal Suffrage Association hosted NAWSA's national convention on the AYPE fair grounds. Seattle was also a strategic choice for their convention because the year of the AYPE, a woman suffrage amendment was pending in the state legislature.⁶⁷ The National American Woman Suffrage Association's forty-first conference, "which lasted eight days, brought to the city 600 delegates, including a 'who's who' of American feminists."⁶⁸ To transport the national suffrage leaders to the AYPE for the NAWSA convention, and make the most of the AYPE's publicity, Washington suffragists created a "Suffrage Special" train and took the suffrage leaders on a whistle-stop campaign across Washington State.⁶⁹ The Suffrage Special began in Spokane, Washington, where DeVoe met the NAWSA officers and delegates to swim, take auto rides, and enjoy a banquet before they boarded the "Suffrage Special."⁷⁰ The suffragists decorated "the seven coaches of the suffragist special...with long streamers of yellow, the association colors," and the rear platform with "flags and yellow banners calling for "Votes for Women."⁷¹

Washington suffragists also hosted "Woman Suffrage Day" at the AYPE on July 7th, the closing day and "culminating feature" of the NAWSA convention. To celebrate Woman Suffrage Day, they held a large well-advertised meeting on the fair grounds. The *Seattle Daily Times* announced that "more than 600 of the visiting suffragists" attended the exposition for Woman's Day and the *Seattle Star* reported that the "Woman Suffrage Day at the exposition drew hundreds of women to the fair grounds."⁷² On the morning of

Woman Suffrage Day, the suffragists held a meeting in the “well filled” auditorium that sat 2,500 people to hear greetings and speeches from John E. Chilberg, the President of the AYPE, Reverend Anna Shaw, Alice Stone Blackwell, Florence Kelley, Harriet Taylor Upton, Laura Clay, and Charlotte Perkins Gilman.⁷³ In *Progress*, the official organ of NAWSA, Upton described the festive atmosphere of the exposition and declared it “a great success.”⁷⁴

The suffragists transformed the appearance of the fairgrounds to mark it as a place in support of woman suffrage.⁷⁵ Journalists commonly noted how suffragists physically marked every facet of the fair for woman suffrage with green “Votes for Women” banners, badges, balloons, and pennants.⁷⁶ The *Seattle Times* observed that the suffragists “succeeded in pinning the green emblem of the association [a green suffrage badge] upon the person of about everybody within the gates. Even the exposition guards were thus decorated.”⁷⁷ Although yellow was the American suffragists’ “official color,” the suffrage badges at the AYPE Woman Suffrage Day were bright green “in honor of our Evergreen State.”⁷⁸ When Louis W. Buckley, the Assistant Director of Exploitation, spoke in their morning meeting that day “on Militant Publicity,” he commented on “the badges, the kites, streamers and...balloons” at Woman Suffrage Day and stated that Seattle women “had done the best advertising that had been done by any Association.” The Washington suffragists’ advertising included two large “Votes for Women” banners that decorated the entrance gates of the exposition and “loftily soared...2,000 feet above the fair grounds” between two kites.⁷⁹ “A novel feature of the decorations” included green, yellow, red, and white “tiny balloons” that bore the “Votes for Women” emblem.⁸⁰ The *Washington Post* reported that “every toy balloon sold on the grounds yesterday bore

the familiar ‘Votes for Women.’”⁸¹ They also flew a “dirigible balloon, a feature of the exposition, [that] carried a large silken banner inscribed Votes for Women.”⁸² Thus, the suffragists used balloons, signs, badges, and ribbons, to mark the fairgrounds as a place for woman suffrage.

In addition to marking the fairgrounds as a pro-suffrage space, the Washington suffragists sought to take their woman suffrage emblem to Mount Rainier and mark the summit with their “Votes for Women” pennant. As the Washington suffragists publicly climbed and summited Mount Rainier, they participated in the turn of the century “wilderness cult.” Americans’ fascination with and devotion to the wilderness was at an all-time high, and mountains were the first areas that the “United States initially and officially established as wildernesses.”⁸³ Thus, the Mountaineer suffragists’ ascent of Mount Rainier appropriated the meaning of the wilderness for woman suffrage. As they joined The Mountaineers, they employed the meanings of mountains, the wilderness, and the act of mountain climbing for woman suffrage.

Suffragists Participated in the Wilderness Cult

Although people often think of the wilderness as a natural place, free of human impact, the “wilderness” is a political creation.⁸⁴ While *mountains* are geographical places, humans have socially constructed the concept of the *wilderness*.⁸⁵ Interest in the outdoors—which people also consider natural—is a cultural taste dependent on historical context.⁸⁶ For most of human history, the concept of the “wilderness” did not exist because people who lived nomadic lives of hunting and gathering were consistently in such an environment. Only when people began owning and settling land did they begin drawing distinctions between the “wilderness” and controlled space, such as farms,

towns, and private property.⁸⁷ In North America, political legislation further constructed the wilderness by removing native people from places and designating them for recreation, “scientific study, [or] aesthetic inspiration.”⁸⁸

Today, people still perceive the wilderness as any place that is “barely imprinted by human beings,” but the various meanings and values associated with the wilderness have changed over time.⁸⁹ Most people living on the frontier in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries viewed the wilderness as a place to fear, conquer, and eradicate.⁹⁰ While Europeans and city residents considered the wilderness a novelty, frontierspeople in North America lived so closely to the wilderness that they viewed it as a threat to their safety, food, and shelter. In addition to endangering their physical survival, the wilderness often symbolized the immoral. Frontiersmen saw the wilderness as a villain to fight and subdue, and took the heroic role of conquering the wilderness to bring “progress.”⁹¹ Frontiersmen primarily investigated mountains only as a means for fighting an enemy.⁹² Thus, Americans’ “appreciation of wilderness began in the cities” and grew as their cities expanded. City dwellers experienced the wilderness as a relief from civilization, and therefore took much more interest in outdoor pursuits than those who interacted with the wilderness on a daily basis for survival.⁹³ Once the wilderness was no longer a reality that most Americans dealt with regularly, many began appreciating nature as an ideal and developed a “taste for ruins, mountains, torrents, for situations provoking fear and melancholy, and for artwork about all these things.”⁹⁴

A number of factors contributed to Americans’ increasing interest in the wilderness in the nineteenth century, including romanticism, primitivism, sublimity, and Americans’ desire for uniqueness and distinction. The Romantic tastes that idealized

natural landscapes, wild places, and solitary walks in remote places, in addition to primitivism, the belief that people's happiness and health decreased the more time they spent in civilization, both contributed to the idea that people benefited from retreats to the wilderness and made the wilderness more appealing.⁹⁵ The concept of sublimity also encouraged the association of wild nature and beauty with God as the Creator of the universe.⁹⁶ At the same time that industries grew and cities began to be viewed as immoral, the desire for nature's "purity" and the wilderness's "morality" drew city residents to the mountains for vacation.⁹⁷ Furthermore, Americans especially sought to capitalize on the wildness of the New World as "an American asset" that made them distinctively and uniquely "American."⁹⁸

By the turn of the century, the enthusiasm for the wilderness was so strong in the United States that Nash referred to it as a "national cult."⁹⁹ As Americans grew to appreciate the wilderness, they formed numerous organizations for enjoying the outdoors together. Theodore Roosevelt organized the Boone and Crockett Clubs in 1888 as an "opportunity for modern Americans to experience wilderness."¹⁰⁰ The Boy Scouts organization, following its predecessors such as *The Sons of Daniel Boone* and the *Boy Pioneers*, was founded in 1907 to encourage boys to spend time outdoors.¹⁰¹ Much of the outdoor movement centered around mountain climbing and wilderness camping.¹⁰² In the tradition of the British Alpine Club, Americans formed numerous mountaineering clubs, including the Appalachian Mountain Club in 1876, California's Sierra Club in 1892, Portland's (OR) Mazamas in 1894, and Seattle's Mountaineers in 1906.¹⁰³ Clubs formed as a means of enjoying mountaineering for both social and explorative purposes, and some of the clubs also functioned as preservation societies. The Sierra Club's founders,

including John Muir, “believed that those who spent time in the mountains would come to love them, and that that love would be an active love, a love willing to go into political battle to save them.”¹⁰⁴ The Sierra Club’s leaders wanted to use their hiking club as a means for change.

Inspired by John Muir’s Sierra Club and founded as an auxiliary to Portland’s Mazamas, The Mountaineers club formed in 1906 as a Seattle-based outdoor club for exploring the wilderness.¹⁰⁵ Its founding members included Asahel Curtis, an accomplished photographer in the Pacific Northwest, Eaton, a “well-known physician,” and Dr. Henry Landes, a geology professor at the University of Washington.¹⁰⁶ Within one year of their founding, they had 192 members made up of teachers, librarians, businessmen, college professors, physicians, surgeons, attorneys, photographers, and bankers. The Mountaineers’ stated object was: “to explore the mountains, forests and water-courses of the Pacific Northwest, and to gather into permanent form the history and traditions of this region; to preserve, by protective legislation or otherwise, the natural beauty of the Northwest Coast of America; to make frequent or periodical expeditions into these regions in fulfillment of the above purposes. Finally, and above all, to encourage and promote the spirit of good fellowship and comradry [sic] among the lovers of outdoor life in the West.”¹⁰⁷ In addition to organizing local walks every two weeks during the winter, they had an annual outing every summer that involved a longer trip that lasted several weeks. In 1909, the year of the AYPE, they made their annual outing an ascent of Mount Rainier.

Washington suffragists decided to participate in the Mountaineers’ ascent of Rainier. Eaton, a founding member of the Mountaineers, was also treasurer of the

Washington Equal Suffrage Association (WESA).¹⁰⁸ Eaton graduated from medical school in Boston, and practiced medicine as the first female doctor in North Dakota, but after attending Portland's 1905 woman suffrage convention and climbing Mount Hood, she moved her medical practice to Seattle and began climbing Washington's major mountain peaks.¹⁰⁹ Eaton invited suffragists across the country to join the Mount Rainier trip by posting an announcement in *Progress*, the NAWSA publication: "Among the many attractive side trips which may be taken [at the NAWSA convention at the AYPE], one of the most alluring is the ascent of Mount Rainier. The Mountaineers' Club will take its annual outing on this peak, July 17 to August 7. The dunnage will go by a pack train of horses, the Mountaineers on foot, through the flowery meadows and in and out of the rugged canyons, the trip reaching its climax in an ascent to the summit by the way of the White Glacier."¹¹⁰ With forty dollars and an application to Asahel Curtis, suffragists from around the country could enlist in The Mountaineers' Rainier ascent. Many Washington women and some suffragists from other states in the West and the East took part in the trip. As these suffragists joined the Mount Rainier trip and participated in the wilderness cult, multiple meanings of the wilderness and mountaineering shaped the message of their suffrage advocacy, including the meaning of mountaineering as imperial conquest.

Mountaineering as Imperial Conquest

In the early twentieth century, mountains symbolized empire and Europeans and Americans climbed mountains as an expression of "expansionism in the modern period."¹¹¹ Imperial conquest often motivated alpine exploration.¹¹² Imperialism refers to "the extension of sovereignty or control, whether direct or indirect, political or economic, by one government, nation or society over another together with the ideas justifying or

opposing this process.”¹¹³ The meaning of the term imperialism at the turn of the century, however, was “more neutral” than it is today—sometimes imperialism was read as evil, or an act done for financial gain, but other times it was believed to be motivated by benevolence, such as the effort to bring freedom to other nations, or it was “motivated by symbolic political and national abstraction.”¹¹⁴ Mountaineering was “seen as a pure form of the imperial mission” because it involved the skills, abilities, and heroic beliefs surrounding imperialism without any of the related “material gains or oppositional violence.”¹¹⁵

At the turn of the century, as the United States, Britain, and France “gradually shifted from acquiring new territories to consolidating control of the overseas conquests that they had already made,” there was “a renewed sense of rivalry between imperial powers and an increasingly abstract political symbolism, often expressed in terms of and embodying attitudes about geography.”¹¹⁶ As the only remaining “blank spaces on the map,” adventurers and explorers turned to the mountains as a place to prove their sovereignty.¹¹⁷ Mountain peaks functioned as powerful emblems of national and imperial identity.¹¹⁸ Mountains such as Everest and Denali were “national icons” that nations competed to summit before other nations and claim for their own. In addition to being motivated by imperial conquest, modern-era mountaineering served as an outlet for “fulfilling the imperial desires.”¹¹⁹ In the nineteenth century, mountaineering was considered a “leisure pastime of English gentlemen.” It was a sport that, for upper class males, was believed to produce and display “imperial masculinity.”¹²⁰ George Mallory, a famous British mountaineer, articulated this motivation when he was asked why he wanted to climb Mount Everest and he answered, “We hope to show that the spirit that

built the British Empire is not yet dead.”¹²¹ This motivation continued into the 1930s, when German mountain climbers worked to place Nazi flags on the summits of mountains that had not yet been climbed.¹²² Americans and Europeans viewed mountain climbing as a modern-era “intellectual conquest” that was only “characteristic of civilized nations.”¹²³ By climbing mountains internationally, these countries could affirm the health and strength of their nations.

Just as citizens summited mountains to claim them symbolically for their nations, the AYPE commissioned Seattle’s Mountaineers to climb Mount Rainier to claim it for Seattle and the AYPE. Given the popular interest in the wilderness at the time, the exposition worked to show off the proximity of Seattle to the wilderness and emphasize the natural beauty of the Pacific Northwest. The AYPE planners sought to capitalize on Mount Rainier’s size and beauty by asserting Seattle’s ownership of the mountain.¹²⁴ Seattle featured the exposition’s location surroundings as an “unmarred nature—the virgin forests, the snow-capped peaks, and the natural watercourses.”¹²⁵ Exposition advertisements touted that from the fairgrounds “the Cascade Mountains are frequently seen, [and] the beautiful Mt. Rainier less frequently, but a clear view of its snowy cap well repays eager watchfulness.”¹²⁶ To give prominence to Seattle’s natural beauty, and Mount Rainier specifically, the exposition’s landscape architects made Mount Rainier “the centerpiece of the fair grounds.”¹²⁷ It was common, according to the Beaux Arts style used at other expositions like Chicago’s 1893 World’s Fair, to make the focal point of the grounds a building or monument, but these designers instead manipulated the exposition plan “to focus its major axis and vista on the looming southerly prominence of Mount Rainier.”¹²⁸ The Olmsted brothers, instead, made Mount Rainier “the primary

design control to which the rest of the plan was subservient.”¹²⁹ At the center of the fair grounds was Rainier Vista, “a broad axis that went through the grounds” and led toward Mount Rainier.¹³⁰ Even “the landscape gardening...supplement[ed] the magnificent mountain.”¹³¹ Highlighting Rainier at the AYPE was one of the many ways the exposition and Seattle citizens relied on the meaning and beauty of its location to boost their city’s beauty and recreation opportunities.



Figure 2.1. The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition. Photograph by Frank Nowell.

Another way the AYPE featured the Northwest’s beauty and claimed Mount Rainier as Seattle’s was to commission the Mountaineers to ascend Mount Rainier and place an AYPE flag at the summit. The AYPE leaders had a yellow silk flag with the exposition’s emblem “made especially for [the] purpose” of marking the summit of Rainier as the AYPE’s.¹³² The *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* referred to the flag as the “Banner of Seattle’s Pride.”¹³³ The sheer size of the eight-foot by twelve-foot flag, with its thirty-foot flagstaff that had to be carried in three sections, testified to the exceptional

feat. Before departing for the trip, the flag “was presented to the exposition officials...for their signatures.”¹³⁴ The exposition officials met in President Chilberg’s office for “the matter of signing the big yellow banner.” The flag that was taken up Rainier bore in “indelible ink” the autographs of the AYPE’s leaders.¹³⁵ The Director of Exploitation, James A. Wood, also sent a message with the flag to be read at the summit as a “form of a greeting to any who may hereafter reach the same height, and contains some complimentary remarks about the exposition.”¹³⁶ The leader of the Mountaineers, Asahel Curtis, “promised the exposition officials to see that [the flag] is planted at the very highest point that can be reached.”¹³⁷ Once the climbers reached the summit, the exposition “flagstaff was planted firmly in the perpetual snows” of Columbia Crest, the highest peak of the mountain.¹³⁸ The *Seattle Times* reported that “mid the cheers of the party Asahel Curtis, the leader of the Mountaineers, unfurled the A.-Y.-P. E flag on a silken banner” while “F. Ormond Morrill, the bugler, sounded the notes of victory.”¹³⁹ And with this act, the Seattle Mountaineers symbolically claimed Rainier for the AYPE, proved Seattle’s sovereignty over the Pacific Northwest’s mountains and wilderness, and demonstrated itself as an independent and self-governing civilization.



Figure 2.2. Mountaineers with the AYPE flag near the summit of Mount Rainier. Photograph by Asahel Curtis.

Just as the AYPE laid claim to Mount Rainier by planting their flag at the summit, the suffragists claimed Mount Rainier for woman suffrage. Once the AYPE flag was planted, suffragist Eaton then “tied the green pennant of the suffrage movement...to the flag staff bearing the words, ‘Votes for Women.’”¹⁴⁰ By placing their “Votes for Women” pennant on the summit of Mount Rainier, the suffragists appropriated the imperial meaning of mountain summiting. Their mountain summit functioned as a symbol of their “sovereignty or control,” indicating that those who had reached the peak and had possession of it were autonomous, free from external control, and self-governing. By taking part in an act that symbolized liberty, power over a body politic, and controlling influence, the suffragists’ appropriation of the act signified their self-determination, freedom, independence, and political power. Furthermore, they claimed the Rainier summit as a symbol of women’s autonomy and temporarily designated the mountaintop as a place for women’s rights and the territory of woman suffrage. The

suffragists' summit drew meaning from the act of summiting, the meaning of the mountaintop, and the height of the mountain.

The height of a mountain also added symbolic significance to the AYPE and suffragists' imperial triumph for being at the "top" of the world. As a "metaphorical and symbolic space," Solnit argues "there is no more clear geographical equivalent to the idea of arrival and triumph than the topmost peak beyond which there is no farther to go."¹⁴¹ For when you are on the top of a mountain, as Edward Whymper said when he summited the Matterhorn, "There is nothing to look up to; all is below... The man who is there is somewhat in the position of one who has attained all that he desires—he has nothing to aspire to."¹⁴² As a symbol of imperial power, taller mountains were more desirable for proving power, masculinity, and domination of the natural environment.¹⁴³ For the Mountaineers, reaching the top of Rainier proved their triumph and success partly because for many years, Northwest Alpinists believed that the summit of Mount Rainier was the "highest point in the United States south of Alaska."¹⁴⁴ The reports of the Mountaineer's ascent emphasized the importance of the flag being placed "at the top" of Mount Rainier, the "pinnacle of the highest peak in the United States proper."¹⁴⁵ The "lofty summit of the Mount Rainier" was referred to as the flag's "proud position."¹⁴⁶ The *Seattle Times* explained that "leav[ing] the silken emblem" at the summit would "mark the fact that the Seattle organization has ascended the peak."¹⁴⁷ Wood, the Director of Exploitation, remarked on "how fitting it is that the exposition which, in its beauty, has reached the highest point among the expositions of the country, should have its flag floated higher probably than any flag has ever floated in the United States."¹⁴⁸ Wood "reinforced the peak's import" and the height of the flag as signifying the exceptional

nature of the AYPE and its climbers. Similarly, having the green “Votes for Women” flag placed at the top of the mountain articulated the idea that there was nowhere further for the woman suffragists to aspire to, they had reached “the top,” and their triumph indicated that they had achieved all that could be desired.

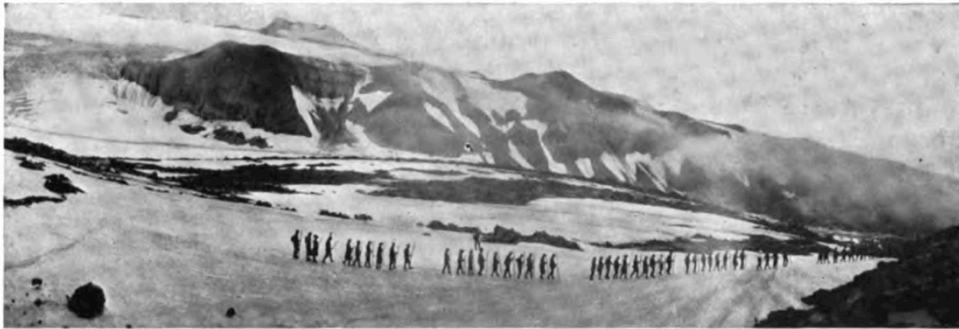


On the Summit, showing Columbia's Crest, the great mound of snow that has, most curiously, formed on this wide, wind-swept platform. This, the actual top of the Mountain, is 14,363 feet above sea level.
COPYRIGHT, 1909, BY ASAHEL CURTIS.

Figure 2.3. Mountaineers at the Summit of Mount Rainier. Photograph by Asahel Curtis.

The Mountaineers and suffragists also appropriated the imperial meaning of mountain summiting by enacting the role of the military soldier participating in an imperial mission.¹⁴⁹ Multiple accounts of the trip explained that the Mountaineers’ difficult ascent was only possible with “military discipline.” Describing the Mountaineers’ difficult route up Rainier that had never before been taken, the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* contended that “walls of rock and ice forbade any save daring climbers, under *military discipline*, to make the ascent.”¹⁵⁰ Likewise, Curtis, the trip leader, “attribute[d] the party’s immunity to the strict military discipline that prevailed throughout the journey.”¹⁵¹ Multiple photographs of the trip show the climbers hiking in long, single-file lines, divided “into companies,” a military unit, and in military style had “an experienced alpinist at the head of each.” The women Mountaineers were similarly depicted militantly. A picture of the female climbers on the trip showed them lined up in

a row like soldiers standing at attention, their hiking staffs in place of weapons.¹⁵² Thus, the Mountaineer suffragists enacted the military role of soldiers as they participated in the imperial act of the mountain summit. As they summited Mount Rainier, reached the “top” of the United States, and enacted their militancy, they declared their sovereignty, triumph, and power.



Crossing Carbon Glacier. On the ice slopes, it is customary to divide a large party into companies of ten, with an experienced alpinist at the head of each. Note the medial moraines on the glacier.

Figure 2.4. Mountaineers hiking in companies. Photograph by Asahel Curtis.



Figure 2.5. Women Mountaineers standing at attention. Photograph by Asahel Curtis.

Mountaineers as the Mythic Frontier Myth

Enacting the imperial motivation for mountaineering, United States citizens focused on climbing mountains to conquer America’s “last frontier.”¹⁵³ As the 1890

census and Frederick Jackson Turner declared the American frontier “closed,” Americans deemed their mountains the new frontier and the American wilderness “came to embody the national frontier myth.”¹⁵⁴ Since most of the “lower 48” had been explored and mapped by white Americans, mountains were some of the last places left for white Westerners to explore. Mountains were seen as “an important extension of the frontier, for they offered an imaginative proving ground to relieve...anxieties concerning the closing of the frontier.”¹⁵⁵ Many Americans believed that as the frontier closed, they were losing their national character and they needed a frontier to “regenerate the national vitality.”¹⁵⁶ Americans began to “associate wilderness with America’s frontier past” and believed that the wilderness was responsible for America’s “unique and desirable national characteristics.”¹⁵⁷ They thought that the “wilderness was essential to pioneering” because it produced the “admirable qualities that contact with wilderness were thought to have produced.”¹⁵⁸

When Frederick Jackson Turner insisted on the importance of the frontier for America’s national character, he explained that the frontier is “determined by the reactions between wilderness and the edge of expanding settlement.”¹⁵⁹ In 1896, Turner claimed that it was Americans’ “wilderness experience” that made them superior to Europeans.¹⁶⁰ He advocated that Americans had created their democracy by living in the wilderness, “return[ing] to primitive conditions,” and “foster[ing] individualism, independence, and confidence in the common man that encouraged self-government.”¹⁶¹ Turner taught that “the very fact of the wilderness appealed to men as a fair, blank page on which to write a new chapter in the story of man’s struggle for a higher type of

society.”¹⁶² Therefore, he associated “wild country” like mountains with democracy and “sacred American virtues.”¹⁶³

Constructed as a frontier wilderness, mountains were associated with the mythic and masculine meaning of frontier ideals and a place where men could “resurrect the manly virtues of the frontier hero.”¹⁶⁴ Just as the frontier was believed to have been a place for proving one’s masculinity, the mountain wilderness was now perceived to be a source of virility and toughness. Progressive-era Americans considered the wilderness to be a source of masculine virtues embodied by the virile frontiersmen. Without a frontier to conquer, Roosevelt worried that American men were getting “overcivilized,” “flabby,” and had lost “the great fighting, masterful virtues.”¹⁶⁵ Theodore Roosevelt argued that for the sake of the nation, men needed to enact the frontier hero in the wilderness. Roosevelt taught that American men must live a “life of strenuous endeavor” by “keeping in contact with the wilderness” and re-enacting the frontier experience through activities like mountaineering and the Boy Scouts.¹⁶⁶ In 1889, Roosevelt wrote in *The Winning of the West* that it was “under the hard conditions of life in the wilderness” that immigrants to the New World “lost all remembrance of Europe” and became new men “in dress, in customs, and in mode of life.”¹⁶⁷ Roosevelt instructed that living in the wilderness promoted “that vigorous manliness for the lack of which in a nation, as in an individual, the possession of no other qualities can possibly atone.”¹⁶⁸ He urged American men to develop the “fundamental frontier virtues” through hunting and camping trips in the wild country, and following his example of living the frontiersman’s life.¹⁶⁹ This philosophy led to Roosevelt’s work establishing wilderness preserves as he believed that America needed the wilderness as “remnants of the pioneer environment” and as a “perpetual

frontier” so they could continue to “develop hardihood, resolution, and the scorn of discomfort and danger.”¹⁷⁰

Turner and Roosevelt were not the only advocates of teaching manliness in the wilderness. Stewart Edward White, an early twentieth-century author, declared in 1903, “the man in the woods” braved the wilderness as “a test, a measuring of strength, a proving of his essential pluck and resourcefulness and manhood, and assurance of man’s highest potency, the ability to endure and to take care of himself.”¹⁷¹ Similarly, American author Washington Irving wrote that “nothing could be more beneficial to young men than the ‘wild wood life...of a magnificent wilderness.’” Irving contrasted the practice of sending “youth abroad to grow luxurious and effeminate in Europe” to the “manliness, simplicity, and self-dependence” that boys could learn in the American West.¹⁷² The 1910 Boy Scouts *Handbook* explained that the loss of the frontier and the growth of industries and cities had caused the “degeneracy” of Americans that must be cured by retaining the influence of the wilderness by immersing American boys in “Outdoor Life.” As the *Handbook* sold “an alleged seven million copies in the United States,” the Boy Scout movement offered an answer for the loss of America’s “frontier roots,” which were believed to be the source of their exceptional character.¹⁷³ These authors and texts posited that by temporarily immersing oneself in “the ruggedness of the mountains,” one could turn “from a weakling into a man.”¹⁷⁴

Not only did authors, politicians, and organizations advise young men to spend time in the wilderness, narratives of heroic men exploring mountains became popular in American magazines, novels, and journals. Magazines such as *Scribner’s*, *Harpers*, and the *Saturday Review* featured heroic stories of mountaineers and outdoor explorers, what

Peter Brooks referred to as “male plots of ambition.”¹⁷⁵ Romanticized heroes such as Daniel Boone, Kit Carson, Zebulon Pike, and Natty Bumppo served as “manly exemplars” that defined what the American man should emulate. American narratives of mountain ascents in the early twentieth century “helped to create these heroic masculine figures” through “romantic portrayals of heroic masculinity” as they “creat[ed] and valoriz[ed] the white male imperial adventure hero.”¹⁷⁶ These adventurous mountaineering narratives of “heroic frontier tales reminded Anglo-Saxon males of the supposed natural masculine virtues they had to mirror if U.S. masculinity were to remain healthy.” Promoting the mountaineering frontier heroes as “rugged, resourceful, masculine individualis[ts]” responded to the fears of “overcivilization,” neurasthenia, and the fear that white American males were being feminized.¹⁷⁷ Heroic accounts of major summits almost always emphasized “bodily suffering, survival through sheer will, and the grisly details of frostbite, hypothermia, high-altitude dementia, and fatal falls.”¹⁷⁸ Nash notes that wilderness trips were often valued for their masochism because they allowed mountaineers to “accept punishment, struggle, and hopefully, triumph over the forces of raw nature.”¹⁷⁹

By appropriating the Mount Rainier ascent for woman suffrage, these Washington suffragists drew on the Western ideals of the frontier myth and enacted the role of the masculine frontier hero. Since mountaineering and summiting were symbols of frontier ideology, the Mount Rainier ascent proved that Western women also deserved heroic status in the West for their physical endurance and bravery. Although the frontier was “closed,” the suffragists could prove their heroic nature and Western suitability in the mountains. By participating in the adventures of mountaineering, Washington suffragists

displayed the independence, strength, and bravery that were associated with the hero of frontier mythology.¹⁸⁰ The Washington suffragists that climbed Mount Rainier symbolically embodied the traditional “mountain man” frontier hero who fulfilled his heroic role by surviving in an uncharted wilderness, exploring new territory, conquering land, and manifesting a pioneer spirit of discovery and exploration.¹⁸¹ As they climbed Mount Rainier, they enacted “the manly virtues of the frontier hero.”¹⁸²

The women’s participation in this trip depicted woman suffragists as strong and admirable. Not only was Mount Rainier and its summit held in high esteem, those who were able to ascend it were admired for being strong and courageous.¹⁸³ In the letter sent by the AYPE’s Director of Exploitation to be read by the Mountaineers on Rainier’s summit, Wood asked that the letter be left with the flag on the summit “where those who are brave and persevering may read it.”¹⁸⁴ Although the Mountaineers’ route had previously “been avoided by climbers and tourists because of its mystery, precipitous slopes and difficult passages,” the Mountaineers succeeded in reaching the summit.¹⁸⁵ The papers reported their “scrambling, exhausting effort” and their “feats of daring and endurance.”¹⁸⁶ The climb was so difficult that “snow was rubbed on two or three young men who gave out.”¹⁸⁷ In the trip leader’s report of the climb, Curtis recalled “the discomforts of the long marches,” “days when, storm bound, [they] lay inactive,” and “the fierce wind that swept down into our faces.”¹⁸⁸ To illustrate how few “could have endured the strain of breaking steps in the hard snow,” and how dangerous the trip was, he recounted how “at 12,500 feet, Dr. Van Horn at the head of Company D...recognized me and he said: “Curtis, this is no place for the father of eight children.”¹⁸⁹ Similarly, Williams stated that in order to ascend Rainier, one must have “good muscles and

wind,...a competent guide and grit.” According to Williams, only one who “can stand the punishment of a long, steady, up-hill pull, over the ice and loose rocks... may safely join a party for the summit.”¹⁹⁰

By participating in the Rainier trip, woman suffragists challenged the common belief that women were physically frail. While describing the challenge of the trip, *The Seattle Times* reported “several young men of the party giving out before they reached the summit and had to be revived with snow before continuing the climb.” They commented, however, that “none of the women who were in the majority, gave out till after the start was made back to the temporary camp.”¹⁹¹ Similarly, a report in the *Post Intelligencer* included the report of “Mr. Hurd, who was one of the party of five who returned yesterday, [who] said that the women seemed to stand the high altitudes better than the men.”¹⁹² Thus, not only did women mountaineers survive the arduous climb, they appeared to hold up better than the male participants. Photographs of the trip both include images of the women mountaineers on precipitous slopes and perilous positions, scrambling on rocks, hiking steep terrain, walking in a large snow cave, and relishing views from towering cliffs. The women mountaineers are shown adeptly accomplishing the dangerous climb alongside the men. Thus, because mountains embodied the frontier myth, as the suffragist Mountaineers climbed Mount Rainier, they demonstrated their physical endurance and frontier virtues, and proved their heroic nature, as they enacted the masculine, strong, and brave frontier hero. Enacting their frontier heroism was further proof that they had earned their right to vote and that Western women deserved woman suffrage. Their physical endurance on the climb also inserted the woman suffragists into the sport of mountaineering.



Crossing a precipitous slope on White Glacier. Little Tahoma in distance.

Figure 2.6. Mountaineers on Rainier. Photograph by Asahel Curtis.

Mountaineering as a Sport

Just as mountaineering derived its meaning from imperial conquest and the American frontier myth, mountaineering also had meaning as a sport. As the mountaineer suffragists participated in the climb they enacted their equality as peers in multiple aspects of mountaineering: as capable athletes and as valued comrades. Athletes are known for making records and mountaineers are known for being the first to summit a mountain or climb a route.¹⁹³ Mountaineering trips are recorded according to “firsts, fastest, and mosts.”¹⁹⁴ Solnit notes that “the highest peaks and worst disasters are the best known aspects of mountaineering, along with all the records—first ascent, first ascent by the north face, first American, first Japanese, first woman, [and] fastest.”¹⁹⁵ The 1909 Mountaineers ascent was no different. The Mountaineers laid claim to their triumphs and their firsts: they climbed the *tallest* mountain in the lower forty-eight, they

climbed the “*highest peak*” of Mount Rainier, they made history as “the *Largest Party Ever*” to “successfully ascend the towering peak,” and they were the *first* to take an “entirely new route to the summit” up the south side of the mountain.¹⁹⁶ The AYPE’s Director of Exploitation, James Wood, congratulated The Mountaineers for taking the AYPE flag to the “highest point among the Expositions of the country” and floating it “higher probably than any flag has ever floated in these United States.”¹⁹⁷

Therefore, the woman suffragists who joined the Rainier climb not only appropriated the meanings of the mountain ascent as a demonstration of triumph, power, and heroicism, they also participated in Western sports as fellow athletes and inserted women into Western recreation as equals. The numerous pictures of the women participating in the climb that were included in newspapers, trip reports, and books on Mount Rainier depicted women mountaineers as natural and equal partners in the outdoors.¹⁹⁸ The photos showed women climbing, summiting, enjoying the views, scrambling over the rocks, studying the plant life, lunching on the snow, picnicking at base camp, wearing regular mountain gear, and performing feats of difficulty right alongside men. Furthermore, the pictures of the women mountaineers depicted them as adept climbers and an integrated part of the mountaineers. These key representations of Western recreation on Mount Rainier glorify the mountain, its climbers, and along with it, these Western women. Thus, these suffragists incorporated women’s athletic capability and strength into the meaning of the West.

The Mountaineer suffragists also enacted their roles as peer athletes in the mountains, not only by proving their strength, but also by enjoying the fun and camaraderie of the trip. Solnit notes that most mountain climbing narratives detail

cheerful memories and vivid stories of “minor and major excursions, from friendships, freedoms, love of mountains, refinement of skill, low ambition, and high spirits.”¹⁹⁹ Descriptions of the Rainier ascent depicted the Mountaineers’ trip as enjoyable and amiable. For the Mountaineers, even “the discomforts of wet garments” did not prevent their “happy party” from “gathering around the first campfire.”²⁰⁰ Trip reports included descriptions of “nightly camp fires and jollity,” “happy days spent in the flower-strewn parks or on the higher ice-clas slopes,” “happy nights around the great campfires,” “the well-earned, well-enjoyed rest, and of the life-long friendships that here found birth.”²⁰¹ The *Post-Intelligencer* announced that “story telling, songs, recitations, burlesque prize fights with pillows for boxing gloves, a reproduction of the Pay Streak and other elements of fun brightened the evenings about the campfire.”²⁰² Katherine Reed’s account of the trip in *The Mountaineer* referenced their “happy camp” and asserted, “each day was...delightful to experience and recall.”²⁰³

The pictures also show the female Mountaineers participating in the fun of camp life. *The Mountain that Was God* has photographs of women playing games like tug-of-war and a photo of men and women standing in a circle playing games.²⁰⁴ Many photos show men and women having a picnic meal, smiling, and relaxing together. The Rainier trip that these women participated in embodied the founding object of the Mountaineers “to encourage and promote the spirit of good fellowship and comradry [sic] among the lovers of outdoor life in the West.”²⁰⁵ Thus, by fully participating in all aspects of the mountaineering sport, including the social aspect, they enacted the role of peer mountaineers who were accepted, valued, and enjoyed by male mountaineers as equals.

This performance of equality in the mountains inserted women into Western recreation and shaped the meaning of the West and Western gender norms.



Figure 2.7. Women Mountaineers playing tug of war in camp. Photograph by Asahel Curtis.

Negotiating the Masculine Discourses of Mountaineering

As discussed earlier, many Americans viewed these Western discourses of mountaineering, the wilderness, the frontier myth, and sport as masculine discourses. Mountaineering and the wilderness were consistently used as places to display masculinity and mountaineering was generally a male sport. Although it was not unheard of for women to participate in mountaineering, “with few exceptions mountaineering was a male enterprise.”²⁰⁶ I argue, however, that the discourse of mountaineering and wilderness were flexible enough for women’s participation as the meaning of wilderness also symbolized morality and purity, which were traditional ideals of womanhood. The mountaineering suffragists also negotiated the barriers for women’s participation by completing the mountain ascent with male mountaineers, and enacting the freedom associated with walking, the wilderness, and the “New Woman” ideal of their time.

Wilderness as a Place of Morality

Although the women Mountaineers' Rainier ascent enacted the masculine frontier hero, it also involved spending time in the wilderness that was also associated with feminine ideals of purity, faith, and morality. Reflecting the Romantic beliefs from earlier centuries, many believed that the wilderness was marked by "innocence, purity, cleanliness, and morality."²⁰⁷ Since many Americans at the turn of the century began believing that cities were corrupt, dirty, and artificial, they welcomed "the idea of wilderness as something pure, beautiful, and delicate."²⁰⁸ Walking in nature, or in rural areas, has long been believed to be "virtuous," and many people have walked "to portray themselves as wholesome, natural, a brother to all man and nature."²⁰⁹ Numerous American authors discussed spending time in nature in terms of morality and spirituality. James Fenimore Cooper, famous American author of the Leather Stocking stories and other novels about the American frontier, featured the wilderness as "a moral influence" and "a source of beauty."²¹⁰ Joe Knowles articulated an idea that became very popular: "My God is in the wilderness, the great open book of nature is my religion. My church is the church of the forest."²¹¹ And John Muir taught that wild nature was full of "divine beauty," "harmony," and "spiritual power," and encouraged Americans to view objects in nature as "the terrestrial manifestations of God."²¹²

The discourse of the wilderness may have been ideal for women suffragists to appropriate because many Americans associated the wilderness and nature "as a source of beauty and spiritual truth," a place of values, a place "for contemplation and worship," and a "resuscitator of the faith."²¹³ Given the traditional expectations of women as pious and pure, the idea of the wilderness as a virtuous place for worshipping God fit well

within ideas of traditional femininity. Thus, spending time in the wilderness also allowed mountaineering women to perform purity, morality, and religiosity that Americans expected of traditional womanhood. Some mountaineers emphasized these aspects of the wilderness as they wrote articles on the flora for *The Mountaineer* and posed for pictures near pretty flowers. Winona Bailey wrote a eight page article in for the trip report on the “Flowers of the Mountain” in which she detailed “all the flower friends [they] had made” on the trip.²¹⁴ Thus, the variety of meanings associated with mountaineering, from imperial conquest to purity and morality, made the discourse of the wilderness readily adaptable for woman suffragists.



A fair Mountaineer at the timber line. Note her equipment, including shoe calks.

Figure 2.8. A female Mountaineer kneeling near the flora at the timberline. Photograph by Asahel Curtis.

Mountaineering with Men

The Washington suffragists also negotiated gender ideals by performing the mountain ascent with the Mountaineers, a group of men and women, rather than on their

own as group made up of only woman suffragists. Many of these mountaineering clubs included women as members. From the time the Appalachian Mountain Club formed in 1876 for Bostonians, it aimed for “the training of both men and women to climb and to walk easily distances of a considerable number of miles at a stretch—an accomplishment that the Americans, especially American women, rarely possess.”²¹⁵ Only ten percent of the AMC’s founding members were women, but 30 to 40 percent of their new members for the next 30 years were women. Following in their footsteps, the Sierra Club, the Mazamas, the Mountaineers, and the Colorado Mountain Club welcomed women mountaineers and included them in their trips. Robertson argues that as these organizations welcomed women’s participation, they influenced Americans’ attitudes towards women in the outdoors.²¹⁶ Like other mountaineering clubs, close to half of the members of The Mountaineers were women and “from the beginning, women helped determine club policies, arranged trips and programs, kept records, and edited publications.”²¹⁷ Although the men of the group generally held the leadership positions and made the important decisions and women were often given “subordinate positions,” many women in the Mountaineers were able to participate in first ascents of the mountains of the Pacific Northwest.

Climbing with the Mountaineers club also shaped the meaning of the summit. Other woman suffragists, namely the Kangley sisters—Helen, Gertrude, Louise, and Lucy—had attempted to climb Mount Rainier for woman suffrage in 1908, but the Kangley sisters attempted the climb on their own and made the primary focus of the trip on their achievement for woman suffrage. In contrast, the Washington suffragists who joined the Mountaineers made a different argument about the meaning of Western

woman suffrage and Western gender relations. The Mountaineer suffragists participated in The Mountaineers club and the AYPE, which were both focused on enjoying and promoting the West's resources and natural beauty. By participating in these groups, causes, and events, the suffragists demonstrated their involvement in the community and Western public life and displayed their effort to help those organizations succeed. Furthermore, by climbing Rainier for woman suffrage *with men*, they affirmed the idea that in the West, the men were different. This Rainier ascent for suffrage rearticulated the argument that Duniway and other Western suffragists made that Western men also wanted woman suffrage and that Western men were a part of the solution, rather than a force to be resisted. The Mountaineers' climb, therefore, depicted Western women working with the Western men, not against them.

Walking in the Western Wilderness as Freedom

As they negotiated the gendered meanings associated with climbing, the female mountaineers also articulated a freedom from the restrictions of gender roles. By climbing Mount Rainier, and walking in its "natural wilderness," the suffragists enacted a symbol of freedom. For the most part, mountaineering is the act of walking.²¹⁸ And since antiquity, walking has been related to freedom, independence, and thought. In Solnit's history of walking, which she claims is also "a history of freedom," Solnit argues that "walking is related to both thinking and freedom," for learning to walk has freed humans "to travel to new places, to take up new practices, [and] to think."²¹⁹ Solnit argues that walking held symbolic power in literature as solitary walks expressed "the independence that literally takes the heroine out of the social sphere of the houses and their inhabitants, into a larger, lonelier world where she is free to think."²²⁰ As an "expressive medium,"

walking allows one “to exert body and imagination”²²¹ and “articulate both physical and mental freedom.”²²²

Not only has walking been a symbol of freedom, but for the wilderness cult, walking in the wilderness was especially associated with freedom. John Muir told readers to go to the mountains for they will “save you from deadly apathy, set you *free*, and call forth every faculty into vigorous, enthusiastic action.”²²³ Henry David Thoreau’s essay on “Walking,” a “manifesto for wilderness” that became well known at the turn of the century, “was officially a celebration of bodily and mental freedom.”²²⁴ Thoreau referred to “nature” as “absolute freedom and wildness” and “instructed [his readers] on how to be free.”²²⁵ Wilderness at the turn of the century stood “for the wild freedom of America’s past.”²²⁶ And for Thoreau, the walking that always led to freedom and wilderness was walking toward the West. In his “Walking” essay, he says that he always chooses to walk to the West, for “the future lies that way to me...Eastward I go only by force; but westward I go free.”²²⁷ The Washington suffragists, as they walked in the wilderness up Mount Rainier, performed their freedom through their independent physical freedom and their enjoyment of the Western wilderness.

Their participation in the trip also enacted a freedom from social restrictions and hierarchies. That these mountaineering women took the liberty “to have gone wherever they liked, with whomever they liked, in the mountains...at a time when a woman could hardly go unchaperoned around London,” Solnit commented, “says something for the freedom of the West Coast or the club.”²²⁸ Reed, a female mountaineer on the trip, claimed that “Almost every kind of vocation was represented among us; ‘doctor, lawyer, merchant, chief;’ mothers and fathers, bachelors unabashed, single ladies quite content, a

merry widow, a lover or two, and a bonnie lass and laddie to complete our family circle.”²²⁹ Reed explained this freedom from social norms according to the “spirit of the people” and to the spirit of the West. She mused:

I suppose that only in the West would a person start off up a mountain with seventy-two people, half a dozen of whom only she had been hastily introduced to; the other sixty-six she was to become acquainted with, without even knowing their names, for several days or a week. Not the least interesting of train impressions was the friendliness at once evident...The ride to Fairfax was full of this delightful freedom.²³⁰

Reed depicted the Western wilderness as place free of the social norms that would keep women from enjoying the wilderness with men or prevent strangers from being of friends, regardless of vocation or sex. She also indicated that spending time in the wilderness allowed them to be free. Perhaps it was the nature of pilgrimage that allowed them this freedom, as Solnit argues that on pilgrimages, walkers “left behind the complications of one’s place in the world—family, attachment, rank, duties—and become a walker among walkers, for there is no aristocracy among pilgrims save that of achievement and dedication.”²³¹

The Mountaineer women also demonstrated their freedom from gender norms through their dress. One barrier for women to participate in mountaineering was that traditional women’s clothing interfered with the movements and skills necessary for mountain climbing. Long skirts and corsets made it more difficult to participate in active sports, as it often required “shallow breaths, short steps, [and] precarious balance.”²³² Skirts with wool bloomers underneath could “weigh up to 15 pounds dry, let alone

wet.”²³³ The women mountaineers often dealt with the expectations for women’s dress by wearing skirts over their bloomers at lower altitudes, and then slipping the skirts off once they reached higher elevations. The Washington suffragists provided “costume and outfit suggestions” for women mountaineers in the *Washington Women’s Cook Book* (which also promoted woman suffrage) that they had published.²³⁴ Eaton recommended that women mountaineers wear skirts in camp, but exchange the skirts for bloomers when climbing.²³⁵ Pictures of the Mountaineers on Mount Rainier show women mountaineers wearing bloomers when they hiked in higher altitudes, but wearing skirts and hats when they relaxed in camp and during some parts of the hiking. Thus, the women mountaineers negotiated the clothing expectations by wearing bloomers when “necessary” for climbing, but balanced this masculine performance by wearing traditional women’s clothes at other times.

Enacting this freedom from gender roles also enacted the New Woman ideology at the turn of the century. The New Woman was often understood to be more sexually and socially liberated and to be more cynical about traditional women’s roles than women from previous generations. Robert E. Reigel defined the New Woman as a “woman who was better educated and trained than the women of the past; willing and able to earn her living frequently in a job formerly monopolized by men and hence under less pressure to marry; holding independent views on all sorts of subjects, including national and international affairs; and who, above all, was less dependent upon men, both economically and intellectually.”²³⁶ The image of the New Woman redefined the ideal woman to allow for women’s increased participation in public affairs. The independent attitudes of the New Woman were often symbolized through popular sports of the day

like swimming and bicycling, but Schrepfer argues that mountaineering represented the New Woman even more clearly because mountain sports “courted danger in powerful and remote places,” making women who “shinnied up rocks and slipped down slopes...rebels.”²³⁷ Thus, as Washington women mountaineers walked in the wilderness, they performed the ideals of New Womanhood and enacted a freedom from restricting gender roles.

Conclusion

In this chapter I argue that Washington suffragists appropriated the Mountaineers’ summit of Mount Rainier for woman suffrage. Their climb functioned as a political pilgrimage that laid their petition for woman suffrage before the public and implied that the mountaineering suffragists had symbolically earned their right to vote by reaching the summit of Mount Rainier. Their summit functioned persuasively as it appropriated multiple meanings of mountaineering and the wilderness in the early twentieth century for woman suffrage: the imperialist meaning of mountaineering made their trip a symbol of women’s independence and freedom, the frontier meanings of the wilderness made their summit an enactment of the frontier myth, and the athletic meanings of mountaineering made their performance an athletic feat that proved their capabilities as athletes and men’s equals. Although these discourses of mountaineering, imperialism, wilderness, and sport were primarily associated with masculinity, they also worked well for women’s appropriation because the wilderness was also associated with purity and piety—which were aspects of traditional femininity, mountaineering clubs often included women members, and walking in the wilderness symbolized freedom, which allowed Western woman suffragists to enact a freedom from some gender norms. Overall, the

climb for woman suffrage laid claim to the summit of Mount Rainier for woman suffrage, depicted Western women as strong, brave partners, and portrayed Western men as happy supporters of woman suffrage. It also marked mountaineering as a place for women's rights.

As woman suffragists made numerous arguments for their cause, the form the Mountaineers' argument took was mountain climbing. Solnit explains that the meaning of mountaineering is informed by the idea of pilgrimage because for both mountaineering and pilgrimage, the process of traveling is just as important as arriving at the destination. Through the traditional spiritual pilgrimage, the believer could take physical step after physical step to reach the "intangible spiritual goals that are otherwise so hard to grasp." The suffragist mountaineers did not make their pilgrimage for divine action, but to publicly appeal to the male citizens of the Pacific Northwest for political change. As this political goal was "so hard to grasp," their collective, political pilgrimage used their bodies to physically enact their strength and conviction and demand political action. Their pilgrimage embodied their fortitude and determination to attain woman suffrage in the Pacific Northwest.

The Mountaineer suffragists' summit implied that by successfully reaching the mountain peak, the women had "earned" the right to vote through their labor and their suffering. The key feature of the pilgrimage is "the earning through suffering or at least exertion."²³⁸ In both pilgrimages and mountaineering, Solnit argues, "To walk there is to earn it, through laboriousness and through the transformation that comes during a journey."²³⁹ The Mountaineer suffragists' ascent therefore functioned as an "earned rights" argument for woman suffrage, much like Duniway's. Duniway's frontier myth

had asserted that Duniway and other Western women had earned woman suffrage by enduring the pilgrimage through the American frontier. According to Duniway, Western women who completed their rites of passage, by enacting the violence of the frontier and surviving in the wilderness, were transformed into frontier heroines who deserved their citizenship rights in exchange. Thus, the logic of Duniway and the Mountaineer's arguments both asserted that the women had earned their suffrage rights by physically surviving on the frontier. But the Mountaineer suffragists earned their rights on a symbolic frontier. Rather than migrating across the continent and surviving on the American frontier, The Mountaineers demonstrated their physical stamina in the twentieth century's symbolic frontier: the mountain wilderness. Rather than enacting the violence and racial conquest of the nineteenth-century frontiering process, the Mountaineers symbolically claimed their conquest and sovereignty by summiting the mountain.

This climb for woman suffrage also implied that women were "fit" for citizenship according to their physical ability. Their mountain ascent was a testament to women's strength and implied that because women's bodily fortitude and endurance were equal to men's, then their legal rights should also be the same. This ability-based argument implied that physical strength was a requirement of U.S. citizenship. Therefore, climbing Mount Rainier helped women prove their autonomy and independence and resist the idea that women were dependent on men, and in the process, it suggested that suffrage was a right of those who were physically able, rather than as a natural right for all.²⁴⁰

When the Mountaineers returned to Seattle, still "dressed in their climbing costumes and carrying heavy marching knapsacks...they denied that they were fatigued

and all were elated at the achievement of the trip of exploration.”²⁴¹ Pacific Northwesterners also agreed that the Mountaineers had achieved a special feat, for when the Mountaineers returned to Seattle by “special train,” their “friends met the men and women climbers at the train, and they were warmly greeted by more than 500 people.”²⁴² After the Mountaineers’ summit of Rainier, Eaton and other suffragists continued to participate in the Mountaineers. In 1910, they climbed Glacier Peak in the Cascade Mountain Range and in the record book at the summit of Glacier Peak, an elevation of 10,436 feet, Eaton wrote “Votes for Women” after her name, making a statement for woman suffrage at the same time she succeeded as the first “White woman to summit Glacier Peak.”²⁴³

Five months after they turned from Rainier, the suffragists were still proud of their accomplishment as Eaton hosted, “a Mountaineers campfire for the benefit of the woman suffrage amendment campaign fund.”²⁴⁴ The newspaper reported that “about fifty Mountaineers attended” the social, including Asahel Curtis, the leader of the Rainier ascent. At the campfire fundraiser, they held a “blindfold contest” that required “putting the flag on the summit of a big wall sketch of Mount Rainier,” and “Miss C. E. Hartman was winner over the most expert mountain climbers.” They also held a “mock election” on the woman suffrage amendment in “which men and women voted on equal terms [and] woman’s suffrage was carried almost unanimously.”²⁴⁵

A handful of suffragists followed in the footsteps of the suffragist Mountaineers. Later in the summer of 1909, the Kangley sisters tried to repeat the Rainier summit for suffrage, but a blizzard kept them from doing so. In fall 1909, Mrs. La Reine Helen Baker, a suffragist of Spokane Washington, repeated their feat by climbing and planting a

“Votes for Women” flag on the summit of Mount Rainier and on the summit of Pikes Peak, a mountain in Colorado. When asked why she “underwent such a task, one which many brave men would shrink from, Mrs. Baker said briefly that it was due not only to her great interest in the suffrage movement, but to be sure that a woman planted those flags, and that it was her ambition to plant the flag on the highest peaks all over the world, not only in America, but abroad.”²⁴⁶ She said the accomplishment was “dangerous, yes, but think of the joy of the achievement.” In 1912, Fanny Bullock Workman climbed the 21,000-foot Siachen glacier in the Himalayas and has a photo of her at the summit reading a newspaper with a headline that reads “VOTES FOR WOMEN.”²⁴⁷ In 1912, Annie E. Peck planted a suffrage flag on Coropuna Peak at 21,000 feet above sea level in the Andes Mountains of Peru. She also explained she had chosen Coropuna Peak because “she had been told that it was higher than any other mountain in South America.”²⁴⁸ Enough women combined suffrage activism and mountaineering that in 1918, when Anne Martin ran for U.S. Senate, the *New York Tribune* claimed that Martin “upset illusions because she doesn’t fit the common idea of a mountain climbing, militant suffragist.”²⁴⁹ Thus, as the Washington suffragists climbed Mount Rainier for woman suffrage, they marked the sport of mountaineering as a place for women’s rights for years to come.

Notes: Chapter 2

¹ “Suffrage Pennant on a Snowy Peak,” *Ellensburg Record*, August 5, 1909;
“Suffrage Pennant on a Snowy Peak,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, August 3, 1909.

² “Suffrage Pennant on a Snowy Peak.”

³ “Suffrage Pennant on a Snowy Peak.”

⁴ Frances M. Bjorkman, “Women’s Political Methods: A New Style of Approach in the Fight for the Equal Ballot,” *Collier’s*, August 20, 1910, 22-24; “Exposition Flag Flying on Rainier,” *The Seattle Daily Times*, August 2, 1909.

⁵ Nicolette Bromberg, *Picturing the Alaska Yukon Pacific Exposition: The Photographs of Frank H. Nowell* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 34; “Exposition Flag Flying on Rainier”; “Doesn’t Believe They Made Ascent,” *The Seattle Sunday Times*, August 8, 1909.

⁶ “Suffrage Pennant on a Snowy Peak.”

⁷ Bjorkman, “Women’s Political Methods,” 22-24.

⁸ John C. Putman, *Class and Gender Politics in Progressive-Era Seattle* (Reno, NV: University of Nevada Press, 2008), 55-56.

⁹ Putman, *Class and Gender Politics*, 100.

¹⁰ Putman, *Class and Gender Politics*, 4.

¹¹ Putman, *Class and Gender Politics*, 27; Shelley S. Lee, “The Contradictions of Cosmopolitanism: Consuming the Orient at the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition and the International Potlatch Festival, 1909-1934,” *The Western Historical Quarterly* 38 (2007), 282.

¹² Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), 256; Rebecca J. Mead, *How the Vote was Won: Woman Suffrage in the Western United States, 1868-1914* (New York: New York University Press, 2004), 97.

¹³ Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, 263.

¹⁴ Putman, *Class and Gender Politics*, 71.

¹⁵ Mead, *How the Vote was Won*, 98.

¹⁶ Cora Smith Eaton, "How Washington Women Won the Vote," *The Forecast*, 350-353, in Cora Smith Eaton: 1910-1912 (Scrapbook 1), 182. Washington State Library Manuscripts, MS 171, Box 15.

¹⁷ Although this paper focuses on the explicit suffrage activism of women at the fair, women also participated in the fair through a number of non-suffrage related means. Women helped create three women's buildings to service women who visited the fair, host receptions, lectures, meals, and display women's achievements, talents, and expertise: the American Women's League Building, the Washington State Women's Building, and the Young Women's Christian Association Building. Other women's groups also held their conferences at the AYPE, including the Washington State Federation of Women's Clubs and the National Council of Women. Bromberg, *Picturing the Alaska Yukon Pacific Exposition*, 27; Karen Blair, "The Limits of Sisterhood: The Women's Building in Seattle, 1908-1921." *Frontiers* 8 (1984): 46.

¹⁸ Rebecca Solnit, *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (New York: Penguin Books, 2000), 139.

¹⁹ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 50.

²⁰ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 57.

²¹ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 57-58.

²² Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 58.

²³ Peace Pilgrim, *Peace Pilgrim: Her Life and Work in Her Own Words* (Santa Fe: Ocean Trees Books, 1991).

²⁴ Solnit suggests that when the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) held their event at the Lincoln Memorial on May 17, 1957, on the anniversary of the Supreme Court ruling in favor of desegregating schools, they called it a “prayer pilgrimage” to “make it sound less threatening,” for “a pilgrimage makes an appeal while a march makes a demand.” Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 58.

²⁵ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 60.

²⁶ Terrence Cole, “Promoting the Pacific Rim: The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition of 1909,” *Alaska History* 6 (1991): 19.

²⁷ Lee, “The Contradictions of Cosmopolitanism,” 279-280.

²⁸ For example, at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo in 1901, President William McKinley stated, “Expositions are the timekeepers of progress. They record the world’s advancement. They stimulate the energy, enterprise, and intellect of the people and quicken human genius...Every exposition, great or small, has helped this onward step.” “President McKinley Favors Reciprocity,” *The New York Times*, September 6, 1901, 1; George Frykman, “The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, 1909,” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 53 (1962): 89; Jane A. Northam and Jack W. Berryman, “Sport and

Urban Boosterism in the Pacific Northwest: Seattle's Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, 1909," *Journal of the West* 17 (July 1978): 53.

²⁹ Just as these fairs commemorated historical events, the AYPE planners intended to have their fair in 1907 to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Klondike Gold Rush and the "decade of prosperity" that it brought to Seattle. Yet because Jamestown, Virginia was holding a fair that year on the three hundredth anniversary of its founding, the AYPE organizers postponed the AYPE to 1909. Frykman, "The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition," 89; Frank H. Scott, "Personal Impressions of Seattle and the Fair," *Century Magazine* 79 (1909): 153-55; Cole, "Promoting the Pacific Rim," 20; Northam and Berryman, "Sport and Urban Boosterism," 53; Bromberg, *Picturing the Alaska Yukon Pacific Exposition*, 12-13; Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, *Alaska-Yukon-Pacific General History* (Seattle, 1909); Putman, *Class and Gender Politics*, 27.

³⁰ When visiting the AYPE, Governor Hughes of New York stated, "Other expositions have been commemorative, this is prophetic; other expositions have had historical significance, have by fitting ceremonies commemorated great names and great deeds; this is an exposition not commemorative of any one event or any one great deed, but bids us look to the future." *Sunset Magazine* reported "Other expositions have been commemorative... The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific will be anticipative. It is not to be the day that was, but for the day that is to be." Robert A. Reid, *The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition and Seattle the Beautiful Exposition City* (Seattle, WA: Robert A. Reid, Publisher, 1909), 12; W. H. Raymond, "Uncle Sam's Next Big Show," *Sunset Magazine*, May 1909, 449.

³¹ Bromberg, *Picturing the Alaska Yukon Pacific Exposition*, 13; Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, *Alaska-Yukon-Pacific General History*, Seattle, 1909.

³² The exposition planners wanted to educate the country and “impart instruction to many thousands of people who otherwise might never learn anything about the Northwest and Alaska.” Henry Alberts McLean, president of the Washington State Commission for the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, hoped that the AYPE would give Washington its “proper place among the great states of the republic” and give Washington worldwide recognition. The AYPE organizers were especially pleased that the AYPE could help them “gain recognition for [Washington] state by members of Congress” and bring “scores of prominent visitors to the fair who never understood the size and possibilities of this city and the surrounding territories.” Reid, *The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition*, 2; Bromberg, *Picturing the Alaska Yukon Pacific Exposition*, 12; Northam and Berryman, “Sport and Urban Boosterism,” 53; Lee, “The Contradictions of Cosmopolitanism,” 281; Henry Alberts McLean, “An Address,” June 1, 1907, Seattle A.Y.P. Exposition Miscellany, Pacific Northwest Collection, University of Washington; Frykman, “The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition,” 90; *Seattle Star*, August 27, 1909.

³³ *Seattle Times*, June 2, 1907; McLean, “An Address”; Frykman, “The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition,” 90.

³⁴ *Seattle Star*, August 27, 1909.

³⁵ After the Klondike Gold Rush of 1897, Seattle fostered and profited from an economic relationship with Alaska. The Seattle Chamber of Commerce ran a publicity campaign in the East that convinced the majority of travelers to Alaska to begin their

Alaskan journey in Seattle. Branding Seattle as “The Gateway to Alaska and the Orient,” Seattle city leaders “worked diligently to capture the gold trade and make Seattle synonymous with Alaska.” Even after the gold rush subsided, Seattle was interested in maintaining their economic relationship and suggested hosting an Alaska trade exposition to promote Alaskan and Seattle resources and products. Cole, “Promoting the Pacific Rim,” 30; Putman, *Class and Gender Politics*, 32; Bromberg, *Picturing the Alaska Yukon Pacific Exposition*, 10-11. Also see Lisa Mighetto and Marsha Babcock Montgomery, *Hard Drive to the Klondike: Promoting Seattle During the Gold Rush* (Seattle: Northwest Interpretive Center in association with University of Washington Press, 2002).

³⁶ “Chealander Talks Fair,” *Alaska-Yukon Magazine*, August 1907, 528.

³⁷ John Barrett, Director of the Bureau of American Republics, noted, “The real exposition is the City of Seattle.” *Seattle Star*, August 27, 1909; Cole, “Promoting the Pacific Rim,” 30; Bromberg, *Picturing the Alaska Yukon Pacific Exposition*, 12-13.

³⁸ Although the “Seattle city fathers envisioned the AYPE as a ‘gigantic advertisement’ for Alaska, the Pacific Coast, and especially the Port of Seattle...most of the official publicity heralded Seattle as exhibit Number One.” The attention given to promoting Seattle over Alaska contributed to the “cold reception” many Alaskans gave to the AYPE. Cole, “Promoting the Pacific Rim,” 25-26; “The A-Y-P Exposition,” *World’s Work*, August 1909.

³⁹ Northam and Berryman, “Sport and Urban Boosterism,” 54.

⁴⁰ “Exposition is Best Advertiser,” *Seattle Times*, July 11, 1909.

⁴¹ Terrence Cole referred to the exposition as an “advertising extravaganza-- recognized from the start as the fair’s main purpose.” Cole, “Promoting the Pacific Rim,” 30.

⁴² Northam and Berryman, “Sport and Urban Boosterism,” 53.

⁴³ Raymond, “Uncle Sam’s Next Big Show,” 449; Frykman, “The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition,” 89; Cole, “Promoting the Pacific Rim,” 19; “Exposition is Best Advertiser,” *Seattle Times*, July 11, 1909.

⁴⁴ Samuel H. Piles, “Speech in the Senate of the United States,” Washington, DC, February 3, 1908.

⁴⁵ “First Day’s Attendance Close to 90,000 People,” *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, June 2, 1909, 1.

⁴⁶ Bromberg, *Picturing the Alaska Yukon Pacific Exposition*, 13; Frykman, “The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition,” 90.

⁴⁷ Lee, “The Contradictions of Cosmopolitanism,” 279-280.

⁴⁸ Stephen Penrose, “The Glory of the Northwest,” *Outlook* XCII (1909): 695-696.

⁴⁹ Putman, *Class and Gender Politics*, 55; McLean, “An Address”; John E. Chilberg, “How the Exposition Was Made Possible,” *Argus*, February 20, 1909.

⁵⁰ Bromberg, *Picturing the Alaska Yukon Pacific Exposition*, 13; Edmond S. Meany, “What It All Means: The Great West, Its History, and the Yukon Exposition,” *Collier’s* 43 (September 18, 1909): 14-15; Putman, *Class and Gender Politics*, 100.

⁵¹ Putman, *Class and Gender Politics*, 100.

⁵² Northam and Berryman, "Sport and Urban Boosterism," 53-54.

⁵³ Bromberg, *Picturing the Alaska Yukon Pacific Exposition*, 12; Frykman, "The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition," 89-90.

⁵⁴ Northam and Berryman, "Sport and Urban Boosterism," 54.

⁵⁵ Lee, "The Contradictions of Cosmopolitanism," 281.

⁵⁶ Lee, "The Contradictions of Cosmopolitanism," 281; Putman, *Class and Gender Politics*, 100.

⁵⁷ Putman, *Class and Gender Politics*, 16.

⁵⁸ Putman, *Class and Gender Politics*, 21.

⁵⁹ Putman, *Class and Gender Politics*, 89.

⁶⁰ Putman, *Class and Gender Politics*, 90-91; Mead, *How the Vote was Won*, 97.

⁶¹ Middle-class women developed women's clubs into a national federation that played a key role in Seattle's political culture at the end of the nineteenth century. Although these women's clubs often began as self-improvement clubs, they grew to address relevant economic and social issues and offered women a method of developing organizational and leadership skills that they later used in their suffrage advocacy. The women's club movement also helped maintain interest in suffrage over the years that Washington women were disenfranchised and provided much of the organizational structure and resources for the suffrage campaign. As Washington women sought to reinstate woman suffrage through the 1898 referendum, they worked with the Washington Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) who advocated woman suffrage as a tool for prohibition, but by "tying prohibition directly to woman suffrage,

the WCTU jeopardized the referendum's chances." Putman, *Class and Gender Politics*, 90-91; Mead, *How the Vote was Won*, 97.

⁶² "Suffragists End Work Today," *Seattle Times*, July 6, 1909, AYPE Papers, University of Washington Special Collections; Mead, *How the Vote was Won*, 109.

⁶³ Mead, *How the Vote was Won*, 97.

⁶⁴ Eaton, "How Washington Women Won the Vote," 350-353.

⁶⁵ Eaton, "How Washington Women Won the Vote," 350-353.

⁶⁶ Bjorkman, "Women's Political Methods," 22-24.

⁶⁷ Anna Howard Shaw explained that they chose to hold the annual convention in Seattle to draw on the publicity of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition and because Washington State had a pending woman suffrage amendment that had been submitted to the legislature. "Rear Platform Suffrage Talk Draws Crowds," *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, June 30, 1909, 3.

⁶⁸ Blair, "The Limits of Sisterhood," 48.

⁶⁹ "Rear Platform Suffrage Talk Draws Crowds."

⁷⁰ Harriet Taylor Upton, "The Seattle Convention," *Progress*, August 1909, 1; Jennifer M. Ross-Nazzari, *Winning the West for Women: The Life of Suffragist Emma Smith Devoe* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2011), 127-128.

⁷¹ "Rear Platform Suffrage Talk Draws Crowds," 1; Ross-Nazzari, *Winning the West for Women*, 127-128.

⁷² "Suffragists at the Fair," *Seattle Star*, July 7, 1909.

⁷³ The *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* announced that the “elaborate programme [sic]” would be followed by music, a reception in the Washington State Building afternoon, and an “Open Air Dinner Will Be Farewell Feature of Visit of Equal Rights Advocates.” “Women to Spend Day at the Fair,” *The Seattle Post Intelligencer*, July 7, 1909, 4.

⁷⁴ Upton also reported, “The Exposition band was playing on the steps and the people were crowding in [to the auditorium]... When the National officers, State presidents and speakers were on the stage, the band then inside played “in the Sweet Bye and Bye,” and one of the National officers thanked the band for the music but added, “It may be in the sweet bye and bye for us back East, but not for Washington.” Upton, “The Seattle Convention,” 1.

⁷⁵ Margaret M. Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture and Votes for Women* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1999), 45-46.

⁷⁶ With these goods, suffragists creatively brought their message to mass audiences and helped create a dramatic and energetic spectacle. These suffrage goods were considered “modern methods” of marketing suffrage and were part of “suffragists’ new commitment to public spectacle” and “advertising.” Adapting to the modern commercial era and consumer culture, suffragists developed these modern marketing techniques and believed that they symbolized the movement’s progress and legitimized their movement. Suffrage badges and ribbons emerged in the late 1880s and by the time the Nineteenth Amendment passed in 1920, they were common across the country and “tied to the celebration of commercialism and material abundance.” Before the 1910s, however, these suffrage goods were more likely to “express a rebelliousness that

challenged traditional meanings of public and private life and that proclaimed a new political role for women. They sent a message of defiant unity and confidence to both suffragists and society at large.” Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage*, 112-124, 138.

⁷⁷ “Suffragists Have Program at Fair, *Seattle Daily Times*, July 7, 1910, 5. “Every incomer at the gates was decorated with the label of the suffrage cause.” The suffragists announced ahead of time that every visitor to the exposition on Suffrage Day would “be presented at the gates with suffragist badges, as it is the aim of the organization to induce as many persons as possible to wear the society emblem.” “Suffragists Fly Banners at Fair,” *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, July 8, 1909; “Suffragists in America are Not ‘Suffragettes’, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, June 28, 1909, 2.

⁷⁸ They sold the green ribbon campaign badges through their headquarters for 25 cents. They were bright green ribbons that announced the AYPE Woman Suffrage Day, listed the schedule of the day’s events and locations, and proclaimed, “Votes for Women.” “Letter fragment from Emma Smith DeVoe to Delegates about the AYPE Woman Suffrage Day,” Cora Smith Eaton: 1910-1912 (Scrapbook I), 179, Washington State Library Manuscripts, MS 171, Box 15; Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition Woman Suffrage Day ribbon, Accession Number C2008.0.30, Washington State Historical Society.

⁷⁹ “Suffragists Fly Banners at Fair.”

⁸⁰ “Suffragists Have Program at Fair,” 5.

⁸¹ “Suffragists Fly Banners at Fair.” The *Seattle Times* surmised that the inscribed “small gas bags” demonstrated “the enterprise” of the suffragists. “Suffragists Have Program at Fair,” 5.

⁸² Ida Husted Harper, *History of Woman Suffrage, Volume 6* (New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1922), 678.

⁸³ Susan R. Schrepfer, *Nature’s Altars: Mountains, Gender, and American Environmentalism* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2005), 1-2.

⁸⁴ Schrepfer, *Nature’s Altars*, 2.

⁸⁵ Schrepfer, *Nature’s Altars*, 2.

⁸⁶ Nash argues that the turn of the century “wilderness cult” was based on three meanings of the wilderness: (1) the wilderness as America’s frontier and source of America’s unique and pioneer traits, (2) the wilderness as a source of masculine qualities such as virility and strength, and (3) the wilderness as a moral place for contemplation and worship. Roderick Frazier Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 4th edition (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1967/2001), 145.

⁸⁷ Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, xi.

⁸⁸ Schrepfer, *Nature’s Altars*, 2.

⁸⁹ Schrepfer, *Nature’s Altars*, 2.

⁹⁰ Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 2-3.

⁹¹ Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 24-25, 40-43.

⁹² Reuben J. Ellis, *Vertical Margins: Mountaineering and the Landscapes of Neo-Imperialism* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), 47.

⁹³ George S. Evans, "The Wilderness," *Overland Monthly* 43 (1904): 33; Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 153.

⁹⁴ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 91.

⁹⁵ Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 44, 47-48; Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 85-86.

⁹⁶ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 85-86; Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 44-46.

⁹⁷ Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 143.

⁹⁸ Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 67.

⁹⁹ Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 139-140.

¹⁰⁰ Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 152; Theodore Roosevelt and George B. Grinnell, eds., *American Big Game Hunting: The Book of the Boone and Crockett Club* (New York: Forest and Stream Publishing Co., 1893).

¹⁰¹ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 147-148.

¹⁰² Foster Rhea Dulles, *America Learns to Play: A History of Popular Recreation* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940), 202; Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 153.

¹⁰³ Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 154.

¹⁰⁴ In 1890 John Muir and his friends began "meeting to discuss defending Yosemite National Park from the developers." In 1892, Muir and 26 other men "formed the Sierra Club and dedicated it to 'exploring, enjoying, and rendering accessible the mountain regions of the Pacific Coast'" and they took their first trip in 1901. Nash notes that "Muir made exploring wilderness and extolling its values a way of life" and "as a

publicizer of the American wilderness Muir had no equal.” Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 122, 132; Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 150-151.

¹⁰⁵ Jim Kjeldsen, *The Mountaineers: A History* (Seattle, WA: The Mountaineers, 1998), 9-10.

¹⁰⁶ “Woman Physician Would Enjoin Husband,” *The Seattle Daily Times*, June 15, 1907; Mead, *How the Vote was Won*, 109.

¹⁰⁷ “The Object of the Club,” *The Mountaineer* 2 (1909): 1. “Notes,” *The Mountaineer* 2 (1909): 64; Charles M. Farrer, “Secretary’s Report,” *The Mountaineer* 2 (1909): 72; Lulie Nettleton, “Local Walks,” *The Mountaineer* 2 (1909): 61. Kjeldsen, *The Mountaineers*, 13.

¹⁰⁸ Shanna Stevenson, *Women’s Votes, Women’s Voices: The Campaign for Equal Rights in Washington* (Tacoma, WA: Washington State Historical Society, 2009); Paula Becker, “Suffragists join The Mountaineers’ Club 1909 Outing to Mount Rainier and Plant an A-Y-P Exposition Flag and a “Votes For Women” Banner at the Summit of Columbia Crest on July 30, 1909,” *History Link* (2008). Accessed January 8, 2012. <http://www.historylink.org>.

¹⁰⁹ Eaton eventually summited all six of Washington’s major peaks and was the first white woman to reach the East Peak of Mount Olympus in the Olympic National Park in 1907.

¹¹⁰ “Seattle Convention,” *Progress*, Vol. VIII, April 1909, 1.

¹¹¹ Ellis, *Vertical Margins*, 41.

¹¹² Ellis, *Vertical Margins*, 15, 21; Schrepfer, *Nature’s Altars*, 3.

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- ¹¹³ Ellis, *Vertical Margins*, 41-42.
- ¹¹⁴ Ellis, *Vertical Margins*, 42.
- ¹¹⁵ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 138.
- ¹¹⁶ Ellis, *Vertical Margins*, 19.
- ¹¹⁷ Peter L. Bayers, *Imperial Ascent: Mountaineering, Masculinity, and Empire* (Boulder, CO: University of Colorado, 2003).
- ¹¹⁸ Bayers, *Imperial Ascent*, 5; Schrepfer, *Nature's Altars*, 5.
- ¹¹⁹ Ellis, *Vertical Margins*, 21, 41-42; Bayers, *Imperial Ascent*, 2-4.
- ¹²⁰ Ellis, *Vertical Margins*, 13-15; Janet Robertson, *The Magnificent Mountain Women: Adventures in the Colorado Rockies* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 1; Bayers, *Imperial Ascent*, 5.
- ¹²¹ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 138.
- ¹²² Ellis, *Vertical Margins*.
- ¹²³ Schrepfer, *Nature's Altars*, 4; Charles E. Fay, "Annual Address of the President," *Appalachia* 2 (1879): 6-7.
- ¹²⁴ They depicted Seattle as a "fairylnd" and made the AYPE the "World's Most Beautiful Exposition" by "rely[ing] upon the splendid capabilities of nature." Norman Johnston, "The Olmsted Brothers and the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition: 'Eternal Loveliness,'" *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 75 (1894): 57.
- ¹²⁵ Penrose, "The Glory of the Northwest."
- ¹²⁶ Reid, *The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition*, 15.

¹²⁷ Johnston, “The Olmsted Brothers,” 52; Bromberg, *Picturing the Alaska Yukon Pacific Exposition*, 25.

¹²⁸ Johnston, “The Olmsted Brothers,” 52; Bromberg, *Picturing the Alaska Yukon Pacific Exposition*, 25.

¹²⁹ Johnston, “The Olmsted Brothers.”

¹³⁰ Bromberg, *Picturing the Alaska Yukon Pacific Exposition*, 25.

¹³¹ Reid, *The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition*, 15.

¹³² “Rainier to Fly Exposition Flag,” *Seattle Post Intelligencer*, July 17, 1909, 1, second section.

¹³³ “Rainier to Fly Exposition Flag.”

¹³⁴ “Mountaineers to Plant A.-Y.-P Flag on Rainier,” *Seattle Times*, July, 16, 1909.

¹³⁵ The leaders included the President of the Exposition, the Secretary W. M. Sheffield, Director of Exploitation James A. Wood, Chairman of the Finance Committee, Will H. Parry and Director of Works Frank P. Allen. “Rainier to Fly Exposition Flag.”

¹³⁶ “Rainier to Fly Exposition Flag.”

¹³⁷ “Rainier to Fly Exposition Flag.” They also planned for the climb to “be watched by students of the University of Washington” at the exposition by using “the big telescope...in hope of being the first in the city to see the flag floating in the breeze.” “To Place Flag on Mount Rainier,” *The Seattle Daily Times*, July 27, 1909.

¹³⁸ “Suffrage Pennant on a Snowy Peak.”

¹³⁹ “Exposition Flag Flying on Rainier.” Although “the climbers had planned a little dedicatory ceremony” involving reading James Wood’s letter from the AYPE, “the cold winds chilled the Mountaineers to the bone, and they were forced to carry the message below to the camp fire and amid the songs of the Alpine climbers to complete the official function.” The wind was so strong—Curtis claimed it was blowing forty-five miles an hour—that “the gale broke the flagstaff short off.” As Curtis explained to the *Seattle Times* and in his trip report published in *The Mountaineer*, the broken flag was “rescued by Maj. E. S. Ingraham” and replanted inside the crater. Curtis concluded that “Maj. Ingraham brought another staff and set it firmly in the rocks at the crater, and there we left it, waving in the wind.” “Mountaineers are Back From Rainier,” *The Seattle Post Intelligencer*, August 8, 1909, section 2, page 3; Asahel Curtis, “Mountaineers’ Outing to Mount Rainier,” *The Mountaineer* 2 (1909): 9.

¹⁴⁰ “Suffrage Pennant on a Snowy Peak”; “Exposition Flag Flying on Rainier.”

¹⁴¹ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 136.

¹⁴² Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 137.

¹⁴³ Bayers, *Imperial Ascent*, 5.

¹⁴⁴ Although in 1909, government geographers had already found that Mt. Whitney, in California, was taller than Rainier, Seattle citizens believed that “No California peak, hidden away behind the Sierra, can vie in majesty with the Mountain that rises in stately grandeur from the shores of Puget Sound.” John Harvey Williams, *The Mountain that was “God”*: *Being a Little Book about the Great Peak Which the Indians*

Called "Tacoma", But Which is Officially Named Rainier (New York, NY: G.P.

Putnam's Sons, 1910), 31, 81.

¹⁴⁵ "Rainier to Fly Exposition Flag"; "Mountaineers to Plant A.-Y.-P Flag."

¹⁴⁶ "To Place Flag on Mount Rainier"; "Rainier to Fly Exposition Flag."

¹⁴⁷ "Mountaineers to Plant A.-Y.-P Flag."

¹⁴⁸ "Letter from James A. Wood to Asahel Curtis," July 16, 1909, in the Asahel Curtis Papers, Accession Number 4058-4, Box 1, Folder 12, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries.

¹⁴⁹ Major E. S. Ingraham and a party of four signal corp of the Washington National Guard accompanied the Mountaineers to the summit "to establish heliographic communication with the exposition grounds." Although their message did not reach the AYPE, their presence added to the militant image of the trip. "Exposition Flag Flying on Rainier," 3.

¹⁵⁰ "Mountaineers are Back From Rainier."

¹⁵¹ "Mountaineers are Back From Rainier."

¹⁵² Asahel Curtis, "A Group of Women Mountaineers on Mount Rainier, 1909," Photograph. Washington State Historical Society.

¹⁵³ Bayers, *Imperial Ascent*, 4, 10-11.

¹⁵⁴ Schrepfer, *Nature's Altars*, 1-2; William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 1996), 78; Bayers, *Imperial Ascent*.

¹⁵⁵ Bayers, *Imperial Ascent*, 19.

¹⁵⁶ Bayers, *Imperial Ascent*, 10.

¹⁵⁷ Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*.

¹⁵⁸ Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 145. Americans worried that as populations moved to the cities, they were losing their “pioneer qualities.” Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 147; G. S. Dickerson, “The Drift to the Cities,” *Atlantic Monthly* 112 (1913): 349-53, George Bird Grinnell, *Trails to the Pathfinders* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1911), 11-12.

¹⁵⁹ Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of Sections in American History* (New York, 1932), 183.

¹⁶⁰ Frederick Jackson Turner, “The Problem of the West,” *Atlantic Monthly*, September 1896.

¹⁶¹ Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 146.

¹⁶² Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920), 2, 213, 311.

¹⁶³ Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 146.

¹⁶⁴ Bayers, *Imperial Ascent*, 10.

¹⁶⁵ Bayers, *Imperial Ascent*, 18; Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 150; Theodore Roosevelt, “The Strenuous Life,” in *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1926).

¹⁶⁶ Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 150.

¹⁶⁷ Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West, The Works of Theodore Roosevelt* (23 volumes, New York, 1924-26), 10, 101-102.

¹⁶⁸ Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 150; Theodore Roosevelt, *The Pioneer Spirit and American Problems* (New York: The Outlook Company, 1910), accessed April 2, 2013, books.google.com.

¹⁶⁹ Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 150; Theodore Roosevelt, *African Game Trails: An Account of the African Wanderings of an American Hunter Naturalist* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), accessed April 2, 2013, books.google.com; Roosevelt, *The Pioneer Spirit and American Problems*.

¹⁷⁰ Theodore Roosevelt, "Wilderness Reserves: The Yellowstone Park," in *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926); Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 149-151.

¹⁷¹ Stewart Edward White, *The Magic Forest: A Modern Fairy Story* (New York, NY: Grosset & Dunlap Publishers, 1903), 5; Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 154.

¹⁷² Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 73.

¹⁷³ Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 148; William D. Murray, *The History of the Boy Scouts of America* (New York, 1937).

¹⁷⁴ Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 153.

¹⁷⁵ Ellis, *Vertical Margins*, 41; Schrepfer, *Nature's Altars*, 5.

¹⁷⁶ Bayers, *Imperial Ascent*, 3.

¹⁷⁷ Bayers, *Imperial Ascent*, 3.

¹⁷⁸ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 143-144.

¹⁷⁹ Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 154.

¹⁸⁰ Bayers, *Imperial Ascent*, 18; Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 18.

¹⁸¹ Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950).

¹⁸² Bayers, *Imperial Ascent*, 10-11.

¹⁸³ In *The Mountain that was God*, Williams explained that the images included in the book feature “stupendous scenes that await the adventurer who penetrates the harder trails and climbs the greater glaciers of the north and east slopes. No book will ever be large enough to tell the whole story. That must be learned by summers of severe though profitable toil.” Thus, as majestic as the mountain was, it could only be known by those who climbed it. Williams, *The Mountain that was “God,”* 102-103.

¹⁸⁴ “Letter from James A. Wood to Asahel Curtis.”

¹⁸⁵ “Mountaineers are Back From Rainier.”

¹⁸⁶ “Exposition Flag Flying on Rainier”; “Mountaineers Making Trail Over Foot of Carbon Glacier,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, August 4, 1909, 1, Second Section.

¹⁸⁷ “Exposition Flag Flying on Rainier.”

¹⁸⁸ Curtis, “Mountaineers’ Outing to Mount Rainier,” 8-9.

¹⁸⁹ Curtis, “Mountaineers’ Outing to Mount Rainier,” 8.

¹⁹⁰ Williams, *The Mountain that was “God,”* 102-103.

¹⁹¹ “Exposition Flag Flying on Rainier.”

¹⁹² “Fair Flag Flies at Rainier’s Top,” *The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, August 2, 1909, as cited in the Alaska Yukon Pacific Exposition Scrapbooks, Seattle Papers, Special Collections, University of Washington.

¹⁹³ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 138.

¹⁹⁴ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 139.

¹⁹⁵ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 138.

¹⁹⁶ Bjorkman, “Women’s Political Methods, 22-24; “Exposition Flag Flying on Rainier.”

¹⁹⁷ “Letter from James A. Wood to Asahel Curtis.”

¹⁹⁸ *The Mountaineer* 2 (1909); Williams, *The Mountain that was “God.”*

¹⁹⁹ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 144.

²⁰⁰ Curtis, ““Mountaineers’ Outing to Mount Rainier,” 6.

²⁰¹ “Mountaineers are Back From Rainier”; Curtis, ““Mountaineers’ Outing to Mount Rainier,” 4.

²⁰² “Suffrage Pennant on a Snowy Peak.”

²⁰³ Katherine Reed, “Eastern Impressions of the Mountaineers,” *The Mountaineer* 2 (1909): 46.

²⁰⁴ Williams, *The Mountain that Was God*, 56.

²⁰⁵ “The Object of the Club.”

²⁰⁶ Bayers, *Imperial Ascent*, 4; Ellis, *Vertical Margins*; Robertson, *The Magnificent Mountain Women*, 1. For example, Julia Archibald Holmes climbed Pikes

Peak in 1858, Anna Dickinson climbed Longs Peak in 1873, and Isabella Bird climbed Longs Peak in 1873. Agnes Wright Spring, *A Bloomer Girl on Pike's Peak 1858* (Denver: Denver Public Library, 1949); Isabella Bird, *A Lady's Life in the Rocky Mountains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1879/1960).

²⁰⁷ Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 157; Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness," 78; Bayers, *Imperial Ascent*, 10.

²⁰⁸ Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 158.

²⁰⁹ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 125.

²¹⁰ James Fenimore Cooper, *The Pioneers, or the Sources of Susqhehanna; A Descriptive Tale* (New York, NY: Charles Wiley, 1823); Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 76.

²¹¹ Joseph Knowles, *Alone in the Wilderness* (Boston: Small, Maynard & Company Publishers, 1913), 224-25.

²¹² Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 125.

²¹³ Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 145, 157.

²¹⁴ Winona Bailey, "Flowers of the Mountain," *The Mountaineer* 2 (1909): 29-37.

²¹⁵ Robertson, *The Magnificent Mountain Women*, 24.

²¹⁶ Robertson, *The Magnificent Mountain Women*, 24.

²¹⁷ Kjeldsen, *The Mountaineers*, 14-16.

²¹⁸ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 133.

²¹⁹ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 48, 100.

²²⁰ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 100.

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- ²²¹ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 101.
- ²²² Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 100.
- ²²³ John Muir, *The Mountains of California* (New York: The Century Co., 1907), 79.
- ²²⁴ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 122.
- ²²⁵ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 122.
- ²²⁶ Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness," 78.
- ²²⁷ Rebecca Solnit, *Savage Dreams: A Journey into the Hidden Wars of the American West* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1994), 109.
- ²²⁸ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 153.
- ²²⁹ Reed, "Eastern Impressions," 46-47.
- ²³⁰ Reed, "Eastern Impressions," 44.
- ²³¹ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 51.
- ²³² Robertson, *Magnificent Mountain Women*, 2; Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 168.
- ²³³ "Women Alpinists Hastened Era of Equality," *The Mountaineer: The Monthly Publication of the Mountaineers* 103 (2009).
<http://www.scribd.com/doc/34907566/August-2009-Mountaineers-Newsletter>.
- ²³⁴ Cindy Koenig Richards, "The Awakening: Rhetoric and the Rise of New Women in the New Northwest, 1868-1912" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 2008).
- ²³⁵ Washington Women's Cookbook compiled by Linda Deziah Jennings (Seattle: Washington Equal Suffrage Association, ca. 1908).

²³⁶ Robert E. Riegel, *American Women: A Story of Social Change* (Teaneck, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1970), 240.

²³⁷ Schrepfer, *Nature's Altars*, 74.

²³⁸ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 60.

²³⁹ Solnit, *Wanderlust*, 50.

²⁴⁰ Heidi Temple has argued that as women in the woman suffrage movement resisted the idea that women were “dependents,” they employed disability rhetoric, which has had long-lasting negative implications for women with disabilities. Heidi Temple, “Dependency, Discourse, Disability Rhetoric and Expediency Arguments—A Genealogy of the Relationship between Feminism and Eugenic Philosophy,” Presentation given at The International Association of Women Philosophers Symposium, University of Western Ontario, June 28, 2010.

²⁴¹ “Mountaineers are Back From Rainier,” 3.

²⁴² “Mountaineers are Back From Rainier,” 3.

²⁴³ “Women Alpinists Hastened Era of Equality.”

²⁴⁴ “Mountaineers Guests at Suffragists’ Social,” No publication title, December 19, 1909, in Emma Smith Devoe Papers, page 94, of Scrapbook H, Smith Devoe: 11/7/1909-2/27/1910.

²⁴⁵ “Mountaineers Guests at Suffragists’ Social.” The paper also reported, “When the refreshments were ready, the company formed in line and marched in a continuous circle past the serving table, in true mountaineers style, drinking their cocoa or cider out of tin cups and refilling at each round. Miss May Baptie, with sixty-nine items, and Dr.

H. B. Hinman, of Everett, with a practical response, won prizes for the best list of “uses for a bandana in the mountains,” and Miss Mollie Leckenby and Dr. Maud Parker for the best list of “uses for a tin cup in the mountains.”

²⁴⁶ “Woman to Plant Suffragette Flag on Mount Shasta,” *The Inland Herald*, Spokane, WA, February 13, 1910. The newspaper article states that she climbed Rainier in September 1909 and Pikes Peak in November 1909.

²⁴⁷ Alexandra Lapierre and Christel Mouchard, *Women Travelers, A Century of Trailblazing Adventures, 1850-1950* (New York: Flammarion/Rizzoli, 2007).

²⁴⁸ “Miss Peck Returns from Andean Climb,” *The New York Times*, February 5, 1912. Miss Peck also depicted her accomplishment as singular and mentioned that parts of it seemed “too much for one lone woman to do it all,” however, she was accompanied to the peak by Indian mountain guides. She claimed that the Indians guides were afraid to go to the summit, but she urged them to continue.

²⁴⁹ “Anne Martin, First Woman Candidate For U.S. Senate, Has Fighting Record,” *New York Tribune*, March 5, 1918.

Chapter 3: Grace Raymond Hebard's Domestication of Wyoming through Trail Marking and the Agrarian Myth

On July 1, 1911, near Laramie, Wyoming, “perhaps fifty” Wyoming citizens congregated to “remember and honor . . . those first pioneers who marked the broad but now almost obliterated [Overland Trail] across a mighty continent.”¹ Gathered to unveil a monument “placed in the center of the old and still dimly discernible trail,” men, women, “modern automobiles, [and] a few carriages and horses” formed a semi-circle around “a solid block of grey granite.”² For the unveiling of this marker, Wyoming citizens met there for a dedication service that “consisted of religious, patriotic, and historical exercises, prayer, national songs,” and “the excellent historical address given by Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard.”³ This commemorative event was one of many unveiling ceremonies led by Grace Raymond Hebard (1861-1936), a Western historian, booster, and suffragist. Between 1913 and 1920, Hebard traveled over 800 miles to mark and commemorate the route of the Oregon Trail through the state of Wyoming. Collaborating with the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (D.A.R.) and the Wyoming Oregon Trail Commission (W.O.T.C.), she placed a variety of polished granite monuments, engraved slate slabs, and “natural rocks,” as she held ceremonies to mark trails, forts, battle sites, pioneer graves, and locations of women’s political participation in Wyoming.⁴ Hebard’s dedication ceremonies were community events for Wyoming locals to celebrate Wyoming’s past and then enjoy a luncheon, picnic, or reception.

Hebard’s efforts to mark America’s westward trails were part of the larger discursive effort to place-make the American West. One of the many ways settlers transformed the space west of the Mississippi into the mythic American West was through their “retrospective world-building”—they selected aspects of their history to

remember and associate with particular locations.⁵ To seize and inhabit the land in the West, European Americans required a “usable past” that justified their presence and provided a sense of memory, significance, and national orientation.⁶ As David M. Wrobel demonstrates in his study of pioneer reminiscences, the settlers of the American West who reminisced about the frontier were key to constructing the West.⁷ Hebard and other trail markers constructed the meaning of Wyoming by selecting people and events from the past to commemorate and shape Wyoming’s image. Constructing a vision of the West sharply at odds with the more famous images popularized by Owen Wister, Frederic Remington, William “Buffalo Bill” Cody, and Theodore Roosevelt, these Westerners tended to imagine themselves not as cowboys, but as homebuilders and farmers who settled the land, raised families, and brought civilization to the West. Although Wyoming citizens eventually embraced the “Cowboy State” identity, Hebard provides an important example of how they resisted it discursively in the early twentieth century.⁸

Easterners played a significant role in constructing Wyoming’s cowboy image. Through their writing and art, Western novelist Owen Wister and Western artist Frederic Remington depicted Wyoming as the symbol of America’s “Wild West”—a “wide-open” and unsettled land of rugged, individualist cowboys.⁹ As “the prototype of the modern Western,”¹⁰ Wister’s novel, *The Virginian*, described the adventurous life of a Wyoming cowboy who lived on a cattle ranch, fought in gun battles, enforced frontier justice, and romanced the new schoolteacher. Similarly, Remington’s art featured naturalistic images and sculptures of mythical cowboys riding horses and fighting American Indians. Eastern elites like Wister and Remington disparaged the idea of a West that had been settled and

farmed.¹¹ For Wister, the settlers bringing civilization to Wyoming with their wagons and families were “a miserable population” and he made them “the villains in his narrative of the West.”¹² Liza Nicholas argues that Wister and Remington’s idealized vision of the West was “Turnerianism interrupted, a West in which Frederick Jackson Turner’s famous, and inevitable, march of civilization, settlement, and progress proceeded only so far.”¹³ While Wister and Remington valued white civilization, their “ideal Wyoming conveniently paused right after the Indians had been subdued and before the settlers and their civilizing agenda invaded their pure and sanctified space.”¹⁴

These Easterners resisted the settling of the West for multiple reasons. First, as out-of-state cattle barons who were drawn to Wyoming during the cattle boom of the 1880s, Remington, Wister, and other wealthy Easterners profited from Wyoming land that remained unsettled, public ranges for their cattle.¹⁵ Second, Wister, Remington, and many other Americans discussed America and its cities as endangered by increasing immigration and the growing labor movement. They viewed the “untouched” and “uncorrupted” space of Wyoming as a solution to the problems in the “over civilized,” “cultivated, crowded, and corrupt” East.¹⁶ Third, the unsettled West held cultural appeal for Easterners because, as the “antithesis” of the East, it provided a place that men could visit to prove their masculinity. Doctors often prescribed the “West Cure” to “citified” men in the East, like Wister, who suffered from the effects of too much time in civilization. Over civilized Eastern men went to Wyoming to regain their masculinity and virility in the “wild,” “natural,” and “uncivilized” West.¹⁷ Fourth, Remington and Wister’s reverence for the cowboy and frontiersman relied on the conception of the West articulated by Turner’s frontier thesis and popularized by Roosevelt: the “free land” in

the West was the “true America,” and the process of leaving “civilization” and surviving in the West “furnish[ed] the forces dominating American character.”¹⁸ Remington explained that if pioneers settled Wyoming, Americans would no longer have the “elemental conditions of the frontier” that “would restore the Anglo-Saxon martial spirit.”¹⁹ Easterners like Wister and Remington advocated for the West to remain a “wilderness” so that it could continue to produce “true Americans.”

Wister and Remington’s image of Wyoming, however, conflicted with the work of Wyoming citizens to settle the land and build permanent lives in their new state. Most settlers who migrated to the West to set up homes defined progress as “democracy, free land, more opportunity for the masses, and settlement.”²⁰ Rather than depicting Wyoming as the “Wild West,” they imagined Wyoming as a progressive place to build a home, settle down, and start a farm. White Wyoming residents were more likely to survive and prosper if the land was settled, so Wyoming citizens viewed cowboys as “a phase of the West’s childhood that they were all too anxious to outgrow” and “vilified [the cattle barons] as ‘capitalists.’”²¹ Seeking the benefits that came with “civilization” in the East, Wyoming citizens worked to develop Wyoming so that it would no longer be the rugged “last bastion of primitivism in an increasingly modern world.”²² Instead of constructing Wyoming as distinct from the East, as Wister and Remington had done, Wyoming citizens worked to show their similarity to the East and establish themselves as equals to their Eastern counterparts. Marguerite S. Shaffer argues, “Just as Southerners and Midwesterners were engaged in inventing a shared public history in the aftermath of the Civil War...so Westerners sought to fuse their history and identity with that of the modern nation-state.”²³ Faced with the economic subordination of the West by the

Northeast's organized capital, railroads, and banks, Westerners struggled against Eastern exploitation.²⁴ As they worked for equal social and economic status with those who lived in the Northeast, settlers worked to make Wyoming into an ideal home for families and businesses in the West.²⁵

Building on the trail-marking tradition of pioneer reminiscers and the Daughters of the American Revolution, Grace Raymond Hebard marked events from Wyoming's past to shape the meaning of the state. In this chapter, I argue that Hebard's trail-marking discourse challenged the dominant narrative of Wyoming as America's unsettled "Wild West" and domesticated the meaning of Wyoming by capitalizing on agrarian mythology, establishing Wyoming's male homebuilders as Western heroes, and depicting Wyoming as a civilized and ideal home. Further taming Wyoming's image, Hebard naturalized Wyoming's history of violence towards American Indians and celebrated symbols of Wyoming's domestication like Christianity, technology, and women. Hebard also asserted Wyoming's progress by celebrating its exceptional status as the first woman suffrage state and home of Sacagawea's burial site. As Hebard held events to honor women in Wyoming's history, she depicted Wyoming suffragists according to traditional gender norms and drew on Wyoming woman suffrage to position Wyoming as a leader in progressive reform. Hebard's commemoration's of Sacagawea's role in establishing civilization in the West featured Sacagawea as similar to the traditionally masculine, Western hero.

Focusing on the cross-state trail-marking trips Hebard took in the 1910s, this analysis examines thirteen statements Hebard made to commemorate historic sites in Wyoming. All of these texts are located in Hebard's personal papers at the American

Heritage Center in Laramie, Wyoming, and a majority of them were also published in Wyoming newspapers. I examine four speeches Hebard gave at ceremonies on Wyoming's Western trails: "Marking the Overland Trail" (1911),²⁶ "Significance of Fort Laramie on the Oregon Trail" (1915),²⁷ "Pioneer Mothers on the Oregon Trail" (1926),²⁸ and "The Trails in Wyoming" (no date).²⁹ I analyze two newspaper articles Hebard wrote on the Oregon Trail: "Marking the Old Oregon Trail" (1913)³⁰ and "Oregon Trail Links Present with the Past" (1922).³¹ I examine three speeches Hebard prepared to commemorate Wyoming woman suffrage: she spoke on "Liberty, Freedom, and Equality" (1917) when she unveiled the woman suffrage tablet in Cheyenne,³² she gave a speech titled "Fifty Years Ago" (1919) when she placed a stone to remember Esther Morris,³³ and she also prepared a speech titled "Woman Suffrage" (no date).³⁴ I also analyze four newspaper articles Hebard wrote about Sacagawea; the articles on Sacagawea were printed between 1907 and 1933 and are in her personal papers.³⁵

Western Trail Marking and Pioneer Reminiscences

Wyoming citizens contested and defined the meaning of Wyoming by marking trails and historic spots around the state. The trail-marking trend swept the American West in the early twentieth century as trail commissions, historical societies, volunteer organizations, good roads committees, and pioneer associations joined efforts to mark the trails the American settlers took on their journey westward. Two organizations, the Wyoming Oregon Trail Commission and the Wyoming Chapter of Daughters of the American Revolution, led the tradition of Western trail marking in Wyoming, but these groups marked the trails in a variety of ways and for a variety of purposes. While the Oregon Trail Commission was made up of pioneer reminiscers who marked trails to

recall their own pioneer experiences and establish status for Westerners, the D.A.R.'s trail markings practiced an Eastern tradition of celebrating nation building.

In the Wyoming Oregon Trail Commission, Wyoming settlers marked trails to remember their pioneer pasts together. These markings were a form of “pioneer reminiscing” in which Western settlers recounted memories of their “dangerous and demanding frontier experience of journeying to and settling there” in books, articles, journals, and “the nostalgic annual proceedings of pioneer and old settler societies.”³⁶ Pioneer societies only bestowed their coveted memberships on Westerners who had arrived in the West prior to specific admission dates. The societies chose dates that symbolized the time their region became less “frontier-like” and more settled. In Wyoming, the first pioneer association decided that new Wyoming citizens qualified as legitimate pioneers if they arrived prior to July 1, 1884.³⁷ By reminiscing together about their journeys west, pioneers constructed a sense of place in the West, reasserted their own status in a quickly changing society, and taught younger generations about the significant role they had played in Western expansion.³⁸

During the same time period, the D.A.R. began marking the Western trails.³⁹ In 1890, this lineage-based organization was founded in Washington, D.C. to promote patriotic living by remembering Revolutionary-era Americans. To be a member, women had to prove their direct lineage to someone who had served in some way for the American cause of the American Revolution.⁴⁰ As “America’s Fan Club,” the D.A.R. viewed the promotion of patriotism and America’s memory as a responsibility of American women and “the Daughters set themselves up as the most appropriate custodians of America’s meaning and memory.”⁴¹ Hebard explained that the D.A.R.’s

primary purposes were patriotic, historical, and educational. By “protecting historic spots and erecting monuments...[they] attempt[ed] to perpetuate the memory and spirit of the men and women who achieved American independence” with the end goal of “foster[ing] true patriotism and love of country.”⁴² They believed that their work marking historic spots “inculcate[d] love of country [and] respect for its laws and institutions established by our Revolutionary ancestors.”⁴³ They developed a number of national committees, such as the Historic Spots Committee, to promote “the identification and marking of locations where significant historical events occurred, and raised funds for tablets and other commemorative markers.”⁴⁴ Building on Eastern chapters’ practices of commemorating Revolutionary sites, the D.A.R. chapters across the West began commemorating Western expansion by marking the trails the pioneers used for their journeys.⁴⁵ Members of the D.A.R. in Kansas, Missouri, Colorado, and New Mexico focused on the Old Santa Fe Trail and began using small stone markers to trace the route through their states that were used for the journey west.

Hebard drew on both of these traditions as she led the movement to mark historic spots in Wyoming. Hebard was well qualified to lead Wyoming’s trail marking because she was the State Historian of the Wyoming D.A.R., the Secretary of the Wyoming Oregon Trail Commission, the State Historian of the Wyoming Colonial Dames, and a historian at the University of Wyoming. Born in Iowa, Hebard moved with her family to Cheyenne, Wyoming in 1882 after graduating from the State University of Iowa. While in Wyoming, she earned her Ph.D. in Political Science through correspondence courses at Illinois Wesleyan University, and, in 1906, she became a professor at the University of Wyoming. In Laramie she lived with fellow academic, Agnes Wergeland, until

Wergeland's death in 1914.⁴⁶ Among her many accomplishments, Hebard was the first woman appointed to the Wyoming bar and grew to be a renowned Western and Wyoming scholar, especially for her work on Sacagewea.⁴⁷ In addition to her academic scholarship, she traveled the state and country giving speeches on women's rights, Americanization, historic preservation, and patriotism. Her interests in Wyoming boosterism, Western history, and patriotism merged as she became active in the effort to mark historic spots in Wyoming.

Hebard's commemorations united the pioneer reminiscers' and the D.A.R.'s trail-marking traditions. Having arrived in Wyoming prior to 1884, Hebard was considered a "legitimate" pioneer according to the first Wyoming pioneer association's membership dates, and could have led reminiscences of her own pioneer experience.⁴⁸ Unlike most reminiscences, however, Hebard's were not autobiographical. Instead, Hebard commemorated the journeys others took to and through Wyoming. As the Western chapters of the D.A.R. brought the D.A.R.'s traditions to the West, they celebrated the West according to its role in building the nation. Just like the D.A.R. events, Hebard's dedication ceremonies were marked as patriotic events and used American flags either to cover the new markers until their moment of unveiling or decorate the monuments for their dedications.⁴⁹ Hebard explained that by "protecting historic spots and erecting monuments" the D.A.R. "foster[ed] true patriotism and love of country."⁵⁰ Thus, Hebard wielded both commemorative traditions to celebrate Wyoming's pioneers and domesticate Wyoming's image.

Celebrating Wyoming's Domestication by Marking Western Trails

By commemorating a partial and preferred state history, Hebard and her fellow trail markers domesticated the meaning of Wyoming as settled, civilized, and modern.⁵¹ Domesticating is a process that “entails conquering and taming the wild, the natural, and the alien.”⁵² Paul Achter defines domestication as “a rhetoric of control that tames and softens.”⁵³ For nineteenth-century settlers, the West “represented an untamed place that threatened civilization and needed to be domesticated.”⁵⁴ Making the landscape more familiar assisted in white settlement because it allowed settlers to inhabit land that was not theirs and underscore their right to occupy it.⁵⁵ Amy Kaplan refers to the domesticating discourse of the nineteenth century as “manifest domesticity” because it turned the Western landscape into a home by “rendering prior inhabitants alien and undomesticated and by implicitly nativizing newcomers.”⁵⁶ In this sense, domesticity is “related to the imperial project of civilizing.”⁵⁷ In nineteenth-century novels about Western life, private letters, diaries, captivity narratives, and travel accounts, women writers commonly rendered Western landscapes “home-like” and habitable by depicting the land in domestic turns.⁵⁸ Annette Kolodny argues that in their private and public discourse, many white women depicted the West as a setting for a glorified domesticity and imagined the West as a wilderness to be transformed and domesticated. Western women writers described the West with domestic and familiar metaphors such as the “Garden of the World” and set themselves as the Eve in the “Garden of Eden.”⁵⁹ As white women drew on a rhetoric of “manifest domesticity,” they depicted the Western land as a place to be settled and discussed Western people of other races and classes as subjects to be dominated.⁶⁰

By the turn of the century, much of Wyoming's land had already been taken from American Indians, and Hebard and other Wyoming citizens sought to domesticate the land for other purposes: to encourage settlement and present itself as similar to the East in its progress and civilization. Motivating Wyoming citizens' physical efforts of farming the land and building communities, Western discourse like Hebard's imagined a narrative of Wyoming citizens transforming the West from "nature" to cultivated "civilization."⁶¹ In the process of domesticating Wyoming, Hebard legitimated the pioneers' presence in the West, encouraged settlement, and proved Wyoming's progress. Thus, Hebard's trail-marking discourse domesticated Wyoming in three ways: Hebard drew on the American agrarian myth to elevate the settler over the cowboy, she domesticated Wyoming's history of race-based violence, and she marked signs of Wyoming's civilization.

Hebard's Myth of the Male Agrarian Hero

Hebard domesticated Wyoming by resisting its "Wild West" image and challenging the heroic status Remington and Wister gave to the cowboy. Hebard celebrated a different Western hero—the agrarian farmer. The agrarian myth and the acts of settling and land-owning were, according to Nicholas, "simply incompatible with" Remington and Wister's "Western vision of open, wild un-cultivated space."⁶² As Hebard commemorated events throughout Wyoming's history, she celebrated all kinds of Western heroes—except for cowboys—who proved their heroic status: explorers, trappers, traders, miners, pony express deliverers, missionaries, homeseekers, and farmers. Thus, at times, Hebard drew on both the frontier myth and the agrarian myth to commemorate Wyoming's past. This chapter, however, examines how Hebard's agrarian

myth contested Wyoming's image as cowboy country and instead celebrated the farmer for settling and civilizing the Wyoming landscape.

The agrarian myth idealizes independent farmers, virtuous small landholders, and egalitarian yeomanism. According to Western mythology, after the heroic explorers charted the path to the West, the mythic agrarian farmer followed by plowing the "empty" land, creating a new community, and transforming the land into "the garden of the world."⁶³ The agrarian myth casts the white yeoman farmer as the ideal citizen and foundation of a democratic society.⁶⁴ The yeoman farmer had inherent status and dignity by owning his own land, working it happily, reliably, and independently, and consistently being in nature.⁶⁵ Living simply and honestly, he was believed to possess a wholesomeness and integrity that was not possible for residents of cities.⁶⁶ As he worked hard to embody these traits, he offered American society an example to follow. The agrarian myth taught that nature would reward the farmer for his hard work and the government would support and protect him.⁶⁷ According to the agrarian myth, farms were civilizing mechanisms, and individual land ownership had civilizing power.⁶⁸

Although the agrarian myth grew out of European attitudes that idealized farming, political leaders of the American Revolution mythologized it as distinctly American by maintaining that the United States was the fulfillment of Europe's "utopian dream."⁶⁹ Benjamin Franklin, John de Crevecoeur, and Thomas Jefferson all articulated this "agrarian social theory" by explaining that before an urban society could grow, a long period of agricultural development was necessary.⁷⁰ Crevecoeur envisioned westward expansion as creating three divisions of society. The least desirable of the divisions would be the "backwoods settlements" on the frontier and the wealthy and stratified cities

in the East, but the most desirable and virtuous division would be the “central region of comfortable farms.”⁷¹ Jefferson also depicted the “empty land” in the West as a “safety valve” that would prevent the social and economic conflicts associated with the overcrowded populations in the American East and in Europe.⁷²

Jefferson instructed that the landowning farmer was “the most precious part of the state” and American democracy depended on agriculture and free land for small independent farmers.⁷³ In 1787, Jefferson wrote, “Those who labour in the earth are the chosen people of God, if ever he had a chosen people, whose breasts he has made his peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue.”⁷⁴ Jefferson taught that farmers were more moral and independent than urban citizens because farmers did not have to rely on others for industry.⁷⁵

Jefferson tied the agrarian myth to Western expansion as he argued that the “free land” of the frontier would allow an unlimited amount of citizens to be yeoman farmers.⁷⁶ Since the health of the nation depended on free yeoman farmers, Western expansion was necessary to provide land for its ideal population. In 1785, Thomas Jefferson wrote John Jay:

We have now lands enough to employ an infinite number of people in their cultivation. Cultivators of the earth are the most valuable citizens. They are the most vigorous, the most independent, the most virtuous, and they are tied to their country, and wedded to its liberty and interests, by the most lasting bond.⁷⁷

Thus, Hofstadter explains that the Jeffersonians “made the agrarian myth the basis of a strategy of continental development” as they taught that the “empty land” of the interior secured the success of the yeoman farmers and the nation.⁷⁸ In his first inaugural address,

Jefferson referred to the United States as “a chosen country, with room enough for our descendants to the thousandth and thousandth generation.”⁷⁹ Half a century later, the Homestead Act was supposed to help complete the process of settling the West as it was supposed to provide land for small homeowners.

Premised on the concept of the American West as the “garden of the world” the agrarian myth motivated many settlers to move West.⁸⁰ Pioneers often left their homes in the East because of the promise that westward migration meant freedom, economic independence, and opportunities to own and farm their own land. Frederick Jackson Turner taught that the agrarian farmer played an important role in the nation for the farmer was “a survival of the pioneer” who was striving to maintain the frontier traditions and ideals.⁸¹ To Turner, the agrarian farmer was the producer of “what has been distinctive and valuable in America’s contributions to the history of the human spirit.”⁸²

In the agrarian myth, the heroes were always male landowners.⁸³ Jefferson’s agrarian vision required that the farmer labored on his *own* land as a means to being independent and free from work as another’s subordinate.⁸⁴ The term “yeoman” signifies class as it only applied to farmers who “owned the means of production and participated in commodity markets in order to sustain familial autonomy.”⁸⁵ Because the agrarian myth defines the yeoman farmer as male, it also “implies dominance of...the household...by domestic patriarchs” and “points to power relations of a male-dominated household.”⁸⁶ Lynn Harter argues that the primary discourse of American agrarianism is of “a masculinity defined in large part by rugged individualism and independence.”⁸⁷ The wives of the yeoman heroes “were precisely that, *wives*, without separate political or social identities.”⁸⁸ The traditional agrarian myth imagined the farm woman “as the

helpmate of the mythical American yeoman farmer”⁸⁹ because “marriage was a virtual prerequisite for women’s participation” in farm life.”⁹⁰ The farm woman’s most important responsibilities were “to produce future farmers and, as a corollary, to nurture a love for rural life.”⁹¹ Like her husband, the mythic agrarian woman was “socially and economically stable” through marriage since she was the white wife of a landowner.⁹² Jefferson’s ideal of a United States citizenry made up of landowning yeoman farmers who participated in public life required women who were responsible for private and domestic affairs.⁹³ This organizational structure allowed the citizen farmer, but not usually his wife, to participate in civic involvements beyond the family farm.⁹⁴ The ideal agrarian hero’s wife accepted her subordinate and peripheral role in the farming household, and was often idealized as “uniquely blessed because here she was useful; she could love and serve in a special way,” as opposed to the “idleness and selfishness that were the lot of city women.”⁹⁵

Sometimes the agrarian ideal also included a belief that the farmer’s wife was a separate but equal partner on the farm who had more power than other women due to her involvement in the farm and sharing her husband’s world. Western scholars clarify that this was much more of a conception of the ideal agrarian vision rather than a description of farmwomen’s experiences.⁹⁶ The agrarian ideal of an individual farmer working the land independently and self-sufficiently often aided in keeping agrarian women’s work “invisible and uncounted” because farming could not be completed by a single person working on his own, but is a collective endeavor that required the labor of men, women, and children.⁹⁷ Jefferson’s ideal citizen had a farm family that helped him work his land and the agrarian myth assumed that the farmer’s family would provide much of the farm

labor.⁹⁸ After the Homestead Act of 1862 was passed, some single women acquired their own land as heads of family. Fink argues, however, that when women succeeded in homesteading, the women farmers “almost invariably” sold the farms, “often to make money that would improve their prospects for marriage.” She explains that although cash from a sold farm was helpful it was rarely enough to provide a woman a lifetime of economic security.⁹⁹

Hebard employed the agrarian myth to shape the meaning of Wyoming. The heroes of Hebard’s Western mythology were the Wyoming settlers who helped to civilize and transform the land. When Wyoming trail markers placed a monument at Fort Laramie, Hebard gave a speech titled “The Significance of Fort Laramie on the Oregon Trail” in which she honored the:

frontiersmen in their efforts to tame this western country and conquer an arid and uninhabited portion of our nation, transforming our prairies that have fostered for half a century our great cattle industry into fields of waving grain, placing homes, churches, and schoolhouses where had been campfires, and Indian warfare first played the drama of the West.¹⁰⁰

Hebard honored the Western men who domesticated the land by “taming” and “transforming” it from the cattle land treasured by Wister and Remington into farm land that produced “waving grain” marked with evidence of domestication such as “homes, churches, and schoolhouses.”¹⁰¹

Hebard marked the Oregon Trail to celebrate the “wonderful history of pioneer struggle,” not cowboy struggle, for “the mountains and streams had to be subdued while the trackless prairies and treacherous mountain passes were turned into trails and home

seekers' roads."¹⁰² In her speech on "The Trails in Wyoming," she declared the importance of "subduing" the land to make it suitable for "home seekers."¹⁰³ In her 1915 speech on the Oregon Trail at Fort Laramie, Hebard stated that the real heroes of the West were "those frontiersmen who unhitched their ox teams and said, 'Here I rest and give my life if may be'; those who have remained in this sacred locality."¹⁰⁴ Rather than continuing to roam the land like cowboys, Hebard celebrated those who settled in Wyoming, stopped traveling, and began building a home and farming the land. Hebard commemorated the arrival of "the homeseeker [with his] family" as a symbol of progress and echoed Turner when she asserted that those who "pioneered the Oregon Trail...open[ed] a path that was to lead to a greater civilization for these United States."¹⁰⁵ Hebard's heroic pioneers had something that cowboys did not. In her 1926 tribute to a pioneer mother's life in Fort Laramie, Hebard told of how the Wyoming pioneers "boldly marched out into the wild and unknown regions toward the West, actuated by a motive higher and more lasting than that of a great desire, a new adventure. It was the spirit of home making, the hope of empire building."¹⁰⁶ Hebard's heroes were more than wandering and travelling adventurers, they were taming the land through their "spirit of *home making, the hope of empire building*" (emphasis added). Demonstrating the superiority of pioneers over cowboys, she honored the pioneers who not only "dared the hardships of a frontier life," as the cowboy did, but who also "left an influence on the next generation, physical, mental and moral that future years have not destroyed and which cannot be obliterated."¹⁰⁷ Thus, Hebard's commemorations marked the physical changes the pioneers had made to the land, such as trails, forts, and homes, and in the

process celebrated the “mental and moral” influence they had made on Wyoming citizens.

Of all of the Wyoming heroes that Hebard commemorated, she specifically honored the Wyoming farmers as agrarian heroes. For example, in her 1922 speech on the Oregon Trail, Hebard celebrated the “little fellow...the homebuilder...[and] the man who tilled the soil and paid the taxes for a country and increased the nation’s wealth.”¹⁰⁸ She pointed to how these Wyoming farmers had contributed to the nation and fulfilled their part of the agrarian myth. Hebard explained, “They were men who reaped where they had sown.”¹⁰⁹ Hebard depicted these Wyoming men according to the characteristic of the agrarian hero who reliably worked the land and therefore deserved the rewards of his hard work. In “The Significance of Fort Laramie on the Oregon Trail,” Hebard traced the symbol of progress and the heroic “spirit that impelled Alexander the Great to sigh for more worlds to conquer,” to Napoleon, Christopher Columbus, the “Pilgrim Fathers,” and finally, to those who “migrated farther toward the setting sun, to the fertile lands...where...the plow prepared the soil for seed time and harvest.”¹¹⁰ Thus, she compared Wyoming’s farmers to some of history’s most famous heroes to show that their agrarian work was equally as important and admirable.

Hebard established that the settlers had true heroic status for accomplishing impressive feats, surviving numerous struggles, and bringing about “civilization.” In 1913, Hebard’s commemoration of the “Old Oregon Trail” honored the pioneers of the Trail “who endured hardships and privations, encountered dangers and peril, [and] gave up their lives to make possible the civilization of the great West.”¹¹¹ In her 1926 speech at Fort Laramie, Hebard described in detail the 2,000-mile trek:

Over sterile prairies, barren deserts, seemingly impassable mountain ranges. It crossed dangerous rivers; it made necessary the fording and the re-fording of numerous streams. On its route the emigrants encountered hostile Indians, waterless days, scorching heat, driving storms and drizzling rain.¹¹²

Hebard emphasized the difficulties they had endured and illustrated the proportions of their valor to establish Wyoming's male pioneers as "epoch-making men."¹¹³ In Hebard's commemorative address of the Overland Trail that she gave in 1911 and 1914, she recognized Wyoming men for "brav[ing] dangerous and hazardous undertakings to hasten this new civilization" and "building our nation [by]...facing the fire of combat in the struggle with the savage natives from the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi river."¹¹⁴ As Hebard constructed Wyoming's past, she demonstrated that Wyoming's pioneers had endured the struggles of the frontiering process and proved their heroism.¹¹⁵

Just like the traditional agrarian myth, Hebard's agrarian heroes were often men. When she remembered those who took "the road to Oregon" in her 1922 speech on the Oregon Trail, she gave attention to the "business *man*; and the home builder; of the *man* who tilled the soil and paid the taxes for a country and increased the nation's wealth. They were *men* who reaped where they had sown" (emphasis added).¹¹⁶ When she honored the heroes of Fort Laramie in 1915 in "The Significance of Fort Laramie," she spent time detailing the work of the "the trained horsemen of the Pony Express," "the *man* in search of furs; the one who had with *him* those possessions dearer than life, those who were to make the new generation in the beckoning country to the West; the fleeting daring young *man* on his pony taking the mail both East and West; the freighter carrying provisions to the army *men*" (emphasis added).¹¹⁷ When Hebard mentioned pioneer

women, she often referred to them in relation to an agrarian hero, reinforcing the idea that women and children were the agrarian hero's "appendages."¹¹⁸ For example, Hebard described those who had immigrated to set up life in Wyoming as "*the homeseeker, the man with the family*, who held the Indian back, and who made the 'Great American Desert' give up her treasures in gold, minerals, and agriculture." In speeches on the Oregon Trail, she recounted the experiences of the "immigrant and his family"¹¹⁹ and "the miner [and] his wife and children."¹²⁰ Although she mentioned the presence of women in Wyoming's history, Hebard's descriptions of Wyoming pioneers maintained the maleness of the agrarian hero and the nation's ideal citizen.

Domesticating Wyoming's Race-Based Violence as Natural

Hebard also remembered Wyoming's agrarian heroes for their role in subjugating American Indians. Hebard's agrarian myth and celebration of American settlers tamed the image of Wyoming by domesticating Wyoming's history of racial violence. Justifying the conquest of American Indians, Hebard's commemorations of the Wyoming settlers naturalized colonization, presented American Indians as needful of domestication, and celebrated violence toward Americans as a sign of progress. Hebard repeatedly illustrated the progress achieved with the Oregon Trail by chronicling the "natural development" of the trail in stages from "nature" and "savagery" to modernization and civilization. In her 1926 speech at Fort Laramie, Hebard defined the Oregon Trail as "a path made by nature" and in 1922 she referred to it as a "natural road of opportunity."¹²¹ Indeed, when Hebard marked the Overland Trail in 1911 and 1914, she taught that the "buffaloes were the original engineers as they followed the lay of the land and the run of the water."¹²² In 1926, Hebard clarified that as a natural road, "our government never contributed a penny

to be used for the construction of the Oregon Trail,” and “no engineer placed his transit, rod or chain on the trail; on it no grade was established: over the streams crossing its path were constructed no bridges; no concrete fill-ins of culverts were made; no tunnels blasted out of granite rocks; no mountain passes were surveyed.”¹²³ By depicting the trail as a natural development, it appeared inevitable and ordained. It further legitimized the colonization as unstoppable and as natural as an animal getting water.

When Hebard naturalized Wyoming’s violent past, she depicted racial conflict as unavoidable and American Indians as in need of domestication. According to Hebard’s speech on the Overland Trail, after the animals created the trail, their successors steadily grew more “civilized”: “These buffalo paths became the Indian trails, which always pointed out the easiest way across the mountain barriers. The white man followed in these footpaths. The iron trail finished the road.”¹²⁴ In her 1915 descriptions of the Oregon Trail’s “early stages” of development, Hebard equated American Indians with animals as she taught that “in their migrations from one locality to another, animal and red men took the path of least resistance” [*sic*].¹²⁵ By associating American Indians with nature, she constructed American Indians as “the antithesis of modern civilization” and in need of domestication.¹²⁶ As Rosalyn C. Eves suggests, associating American Indians with nature implies their “lack of appropriate civilization” and need for domestication.”¹²⁷ In 1926, Hebard accounted for racial conflict as “the Indian frequently came into conflict with the white man as he drifted back and forth with the seasons, on either side of the trail,” and concluded that the violence “was an inevitable consequence of frontier conflict for the control of the land.”¹²⁸ Again, by depicting American Indians as governed by nature, Hebard projected “an inevitable future progression of Anglo-

American expansion and domination” that left no place for American Indians.¹²⁹

Narrating the transition from “nature” to “civilization,” Hebard suggested that the change was not only inescapable, but also progressive.

Hebard depicted the violence toward American Indians in a positive light by celebrating it as a sign of progress, which is consistent with Western mythology.¹³⁰ A key tenet of America’s Western mythology, as Mary E. Stuckey explains, was that “the triumph of [U.S. American] civilization” required the “erasure of indigenous people” by violently wresting the “free land” from American Indians.¹³¹ Therefore, Hebard positioned wars with American Indians as events to be remembered proudly and revered. For example, Hebard reported that in 1916, the Wyoming D.A.R. chapter commemorated “the site of the marvelous and spectacular Wagon Box Fight, . . . one of the great battles of the world where 32 men in a Wagon Box Corral, for 7 hours, withstood the onslaught of redmen headed by Chief Red Cloud.”¹³² Hebard’s narrative of the Oregon Trail reified beliefs that Western expansion was indeed a sign of advancement and equated racial conflict as a necessary stage in the path to civilization. Furthermore, these commemorations offered evidence that white men had conquered the American Indians and domesticated the land.

Marking Symbols of Wyoming’s Civilization

Finally, Hebard domesticated the meaning of Wyoming by marking the ways white Wyoming citizens had transformed the Wyoming land into a settled civilization. Hebard’s trail-marking events commemorated “conditions of domesticity,” such as homes, churches, and white families, which Kaplan explains were symbols that “distinguished civilization from savagery.”¹³³ Hebard highlighted the entrance and

presence of three key markers of Wyoming's civilization: Christianity, the railroad, and women.

First, Hebard domesticated Wyoming by highlighting the presence of Christianity, a key symbol of white settlement. As Westward expansion, according to Eves, was so often “justified because it would enable men and women to settle new regions and bring with them civilized and Christianized values,” Christianity was associated with civilization and settlement.¹³⁴ Hebard marked these signs of civilization by celebrating the arrival of Christian missionaries and priests in Wyoming. In her 1913 speech on the Oregon Trail, Hebard honored “the pious Father De Smet, the first ‘Black Robe’ to help make the trail,” the missionaries who met “the pleas of the Indians in the far west who were anxious to have the ‘White Man’s Book’ brought to them, “ and “the Presbyterian and Congregational missionaries, Rev. Samuel Parker and Dr. Marcus Whitman.”¹³⁵ Hebard also narrated the arrival of the Methodist missionaries, Janson and Daniel Lee, who “help[ed] make the Oregon Trail more indelible” in 1834.¹³⁶ In each case, Hebard marked the landscape with proof that Christianity and its civilizing influence had come to Wyoming.

Second, Hebard domesticated Wyoming by chronicling the arrival of the railroad in the West. Alan Trachtenberg explains that at the turn of the century, Americans referred to machines as “instruments of a distinctively American progress.”¹³⁷ Modern technology was humanity’s “civilizing force” and “the railroad was the age’s symbol of mechanization and of economic and political change.”¹³⁸ The railroad symbolized the pinnacle of human progress at the turn of the century. Thus, in her commemorations of the Overland Trail in 1911 and 1914, Hebard told of how the “road of iron came into this

country in 1868 to supplant the road made by weary feet and wagon wheels.”¹³⁹ In 1913, Hebard’s speech on the Oregon Trail celebrated “the surveyor [who] came to the west to blaze a way for a railroad,” narrated how “the first transcontinental road passed to the south of the old trail” in Wyoming, and noted that “wagon roads are now usurped by the iron trail and its locomotive.”¹⁴⁰ According to Hebard, the railroad’s presence signified the end of Wyoming’s frontier past. Hebard taught that once the railroad was “completed, the day of the trapper, the explorer, the Pony Express, the emigrant wagon and the stage coach was no more,” and as the final step in the progression of stages, “the railroads pushed into, and made, a New West.”¹⁴¹ As a modern day tool, Shaffer argues that the railroad “revealed the power and triumph of man over nature.”¹⁴² Hebard encouraged Wyoming citizens to believe that they had reached the final stage of progress and their state had succeeded in transforming the natural path through the wilderness into a modern and quick railroad ride. As Hebard commemorated the railroad’s role in advancing Wyoming, she reminded her audience, “Practically over the entire length of the Oregon Trail, railroads have been constructed using the old highway for the modern railroad bed.”¹⁴³ As Hebard commemorated the railroad as a symbol of Wyoming’s progress, she constructed Wyoming as civilized, progressive, and possessing the same luxuries provided by technology as Easterners.

Third, Hebard domesticated Wyoming by celebrating the entrance of women and children. Because Americans associated white women with superior morals, a mission to domesticate, and a unique civilizing influence, their presence in the West signified that settlers had achieved progress and brought about civilization.¹⁴⁴ Americans often asserted that white women’s presence civilized Native Americans and provided the necessary

“domesticating influence” to prevent white men from “slip[ping] into barbarianism and becom[ing] uncivilized.”¹⁴⁵ Thus, Hebard chronicled the arrival of the first white women in Wyoming: when Dr. Marcus Whitman and Reverend Spaulding brought their “brides” on the Oregon Trail.¹⁴⁶ In her 1917 speech on woman suffrage and her 1926 tribute to a pioneer mother in Fort Laramie, Hebard recognized “these wives,” Narcissa Prentiss Whitman and Eliza Hart Spaulding, as the “first white women to go over the Oregon Trail in Wyoming.” Hebard honored Whitman and Spaulding for their civilizing influence in 1836, when they “took possession” of the Wyoming land “with [the] Bible in one hand and the American flag in the other,” and made it “the home of American mothers and the church of Christ.”¹⁴⁷ In the process, Hebard marked women’s participation in Western expansion and highlighted Wyoming’s domestication. In 1926, when she placed a memorial for “all of the mothers who died on the long route into the northwest,” Hebard placed a marker that recognized Mary Homsley as “a Pioneer Mother who gave her life in an attempt to push the line of civilization further West along the Oregon Trail.”¹⁴⁸ Thus, Hebard honored the sacrifices women had made to bring civilization to the West and marked women’s presence—their lives and deaths—in Wyoming.

Celebrating Wyoming’s Exceptionalism by Marking Wyoming Women

Although most of Hebard’s commemorations marked trails and domesticated the meaning of Wyoming, Hebard also held events that marked Wyoming as exceptional by honoring select Wyoming women—woman suffragists and Sacagawea. In these events, which were set apart from the trail-marking events, Hebard “invented” Wyoming heroines that symbolized Wyoming’s progress and functioned as proof of Wyoming’s

unparalleled qualities.¹⁴⁹ Thus, although Hebard did not celebrate women as agrarian heroes in her trail-marking events, Hebard appropriated the tradition of marking Wyoming's historic sites to celebrate Wyoming suffragists and Sacagawea.¹⁵⁰ Hebard's commemorations of suffragists and Sacagawea portrayed the women in different ways: Hebard's commemorations feminized woman suffragists according to traditional ideals of femininity and domesticity and celebrated Sacagawea for her enactment of the masculine frontier hero's qualities: expertise, leadership, and self-sufficiency on the frontier.

Celebrating and Feminizing Wyoming Woman Suffrage

Hebard held events to mark Wyoming as exceptional for its distinction as the birthplace of woman suffrage. Hebard depicted Wyoming's status as the first woman suffrage state as a sign of Wyoming's progress, modernity, and leadership. As the campaign for the federal amendment for woman suffrage gained more national attention in 1917, Hebard led a ceremony to unveil an inscribed bronze tablet placed on the wall of the building in Cheyenne where Wyoming's Territorial legislature approved full suffrage for Wyoming women.¹⁵¹ Hebard also held a celebration of Wyoming suffragist, Esther Morris, and commemorated "that eventful day of December tenth, 1869" that the legislature signed the suffrage bill that "was destined indeed to become a Modern Magna Charta."¹⁵² By using the tradition of commemorating the West's historical spots to honor Wyoming woman suffrage, Hebard legitimized women's rights as important to the meaning of Wyoming and worthy of being remembered.

Hebard's commemorations of Wyoming woman suffrage positioned Wyoming as a national and international leader in progressive reform. When Hebard unveiled the suffrage tablet in Cheyenne, Hebard portrayed Wyoming's suffrage act as "the embryo of

a great democracy, from which more democracy was to spring and spread to the lands East of us and to our South, North, and West.”¹⁵³ Since Wyoming had passed woman suffrage in 1869, Hebard told of how it had spread to “Washington, Montana, Utah, Arizona, and Oregon,” and “demonstrate[d] that the waves of light and liberty are being extended over these United States.”¹⁵⁴ In her speech notes titled “Woman Suffrage,” Hebard equated woman suffrage to modernity and ventured, “and to Wyoming belongs the proud privilege of pioneership in this grand modern reform.”¹⁵⁵ Hebard demonstrated the significance of Wyoming to the progress of the nation and held that because this symbol of progress had begun in Wyoming, “Let the older states take knowledge of us, and know that we are their leaders.”¹⁵⁶ Thus, Hebard held up Wyoming woman suffrage as a progressive model for the nation to follow. As Virginia Scharff has argued, Hebard depicted woman suffrage as a “Wyoming export.”¹⁵⁷ Hebard noted that in addition to leading the nation, Wyoming had also led the world, for “this freedom” Wyoming women enjoyed had “come, not for the United States, not for a few nations, but for the world.”¹⁵⁸ Hebard stated, “The extension of suffrage for women has during the past five years grown by leaps and bounds radiating with the sun on its journey around the world.”¹⁵⁹ She pointed specifically to the success of woman suffrage in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. Hebard urged them to “ponder over it, think of it, of these millions of women of many lands who have been liberated, the seed of life starting right here on this sacred spot on which we are congregated.”¹⁶⁰

Although Wyoming had instituted woman suffrage, many citizens in Wyoming and other states disapproved of women voting and considered voting a masculine act that “unsexed” women. Therefore, these anti-suffragists disparaged women voters as

“mannish,” “unsexed,” and neglectful mothers.¹⁶¹ Challenging these beliefs, Hebard created an account of Wyoming woman suffrage that depicted Wyoming women voters as traditionally feminine. Although there were a number of active political women in Wyoming who could have been commemorated such as suffrage leader Theresa Jenkins, an activist for the Woman’s Party, or Amalia Post, one of the first woman jurors in Wyoming, Hebard picked Esther Morris, who Victoria Lamont argues was the “most politically reticent of the likely candidates.”¹⁶² Esther Morris was the most traditionally feminine Wyoming suffragist and was not “too political.” When Hebard placed Wyoming’s woman suffrage tablet in 1917, Hebard fashioned an account of the beginning of Wyoming woman suffrage that depicted Morris as “responsible for this suffrage victory.”¹⁶³

Hebard particularly domesticated her account of Wyoming woman suffrage by portraying Morris in domestic terms and metaphors. In addition to building a cairn in South Pass at the place of Morris’s *home* to honor Morris as the “*mother* of woman suffrage,” Hebard honored Morris for rocking “the *cradle* of universal liberty” (emphasis added).¹⁶⁴ According to Hebard’s 1919 narrative of Wyoming woman suffrage, even Morris’s advocacy for woman suffrage largely entailed playing “a womanly role in the advent of suffrage” by using her personal influence to persuade her family friend, William H. Bright, to introduce the first woman suffrage bill.¹⁶⁵ Hebard fabricated the idea that Morris persuaded Bright by being a “brilliant leader of the conversation” and hosting a tea party in her home in which she asked him to “public[ly] pledge that whomsoever is elected will introduce and work for the passage of...suffrage.”¹⁶⁶ Hebard’s fictionalized tea party depicted Wyoming woman suffragists as participating in

politics by exerting their personal influence in the home and celebrated women's creative use of the private realm to influence public action. Furthermore, the tea party narrative highlighted their "civilized" social events and underlined their similarity to the East by associating the historic nature of woman suffrage with the connotations of the American Revolution, and once again connected Hebard's Western heroes to the D.A.R.'s Revolutionary heroes.

Hebard's account of the beginning of Wyoming woman suffrage, however embellished or "inaccurate" it may have been, allowed her to celebrate women's rights and insert them into Wyoming history without challenging the gender ideologies of her time. Her fictional narrative helped feminize Wyoming women's rights to be more palatable, fit Eastern ideals of gender roles, and depict Wyoming as civilized. By choosing Morris, rather than Wyoming's most politically active women, as the symbol of Wyoming woman suffrage, Hebard suggested that woman suffrage in Wyoming did not make women political, selfish, or masculine. Hebard fit woman suffrage within traditional gender norms by personifying Wyoming women's political rights with a traditionally feminine, apolitical mother. As Hebard celebrated Wyoming's suffragists, Hebard's depictions made Wyoming's politically active women more palatable by feminizing them and maintaining traditional gender roles.

Celebrating Sacagawea (and Associating Her with Wyoming)

Another way Hebard depicted Wyoming as progressive was by holding events and writing articles to commemorate Sacagawea. Hebard associated Wyoming with the popularity Sacagawea's memory enjoyed in the early twentieth century and celebrated Sacagawea as evidence of Wyoming's modernity.¹⁶⁷ At the time, around the centennial of

the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Americans were fascinated by what Hebard described as the “glorious, epoch making expedition as that of Lewis and Clark.”¹⁶⁸ Although few existing histories of the expedition mentioned Sacagawea, Hebard and other suffragists credited Lewis and Clark’s feat to “the intelligence, faithfulness and untiring devotion of Princess Sacajawea.”¹⁶⁹ Eva Emery Dye published her popular book, *The Conquest: The True Story of Lewis and Clark*, in 1902 and made Sacagawea’s role in the expedition well known.¹⁷⁰ Sacagawea’s popularity grew and she became a “historical trophy” that many states—including Montana, Virginia, South Dakota, and Missouri—attempted to claim with statues and plaques as a symbol of historical significance.¹⁷¹

Hebard also competed for this distinction and went to great lengths to show Wyoming’s connection to Sacagawea. With the support of Eva Emery Dye, Hebard announced in 1907 that although Western scholars believed Sacagawea had died at the age of 21, Sacagawea had actually lived a long life in Wyoming and was buried within the state’s borders.¹⁷² Hebard noted that “The newly developed facts” that Sacagawea had lived, died, and reposed in Wyoming were “the good fortune of the people of Wyoming.”¹⁷³ For Hebard, connecting Sacagawea to Wyoming was so important that in addition to marking Sacagawea’s supposed grave, Hebard also placed memorial markers on Sacagawea’s son’s grave and published a scholarly article and book on Sacagawea’s life in Wyoming.¹⁷⁴ Although subsequent historians have demonstrated that Sacagawea was not buried in Wyoming, Hebard claimed in 1907 that the “proof is conclusive” and in 1922 that she had “established beyond a question of doubt” that Sacagawea was indeed buried in the state.¹⁷⁵ Commenting on her “discovery” of Sacagawea’s grave in Wyoming, Hebard remarked, “The state of Wyoming has just added another triumph to

its extended chain of progressive strides (Wyoming moves too rapidly for steps) by taking initiatory measures toward the recognition of the services rendered by this princess of the west.”¹⁷⁶ Thus, Wyoming’s association with Sacagawea symbolized Wyoming’s rapid progress.

Like Dye and other suffragists at the centenary of Lewis and Clark’s expedition, Hebard used the public interest in Lewis and Clark’s explorations as an “opportunity to reassert women’s historical role on the western frontier.”¹⁷⁷ In her writing and speaking, Hebard depicted Sacagawea as a hero whose “heroism is equal and paralleled by the supreme sacrifices made by those noble soldiers whose last resting places are decorated on this memorial day.”¹⁷⁸ Hebard’s commemorations of Sacagawea incorporated an American Indian woman into Wyoming history and gave Sacagawea credit for the triumphal expedition. Hebard wrote in a 1907 newspaper article: “Sacajawea rendered a continual valuable service to the expedition. Her knowledge of the native herbs and plants was of extreme worth in times of sickness, and her native ability to render aid in time of accident justified Lewis and Clark in permitting her to be one of the expedition.”¹⁷⁹ Although Hebard once again associated Sacagawea to nature, Hebard’s celebration of Sacagawea’s life’s work connected an American Indian woman’s capabilities with progress and valued her role in building the nation.¹⁸⁰ Hebard’s recognition of an American Indian woman’s life seems to have been meaningful to American Indians in Wyoming, since Hebard’s commemoration to unveil the monuments for Sacagawea’s son and grandson drew an audience “of six hundred Shoshone Indians and several hundred whites.”¹⁸¹

Similar to Hebard's commemorations of agrarian heroes, pioneer mothers, and suffrage heroines, Hebard also celebrated Sacagawea for her role in bringing civilization to the West. In her 1907 article in the *Wyoming Tribune*, Hebard reminded Wyoming citizens that Sacagawea "played a great part in opening up the northwest to American civilization."¹⁸² Hebard honored Sacagawea for "never hesitat[ing] in her choice to continue with the white man's party rather than be reunited with her tribe...even though she had to testify to the treachery of her own brother and his people."¹⁸³ Sacagawea was celebrated for prioritizing the white explorers and civilization over the lives of her family. In Hebard's 1932 address, titled "Sacajawea Meeting Her People," she honored Sacagawea's "sense of values in understanding the importance of the expedition. Above all gleamed forth her loyalty even tho it looked that she would lose the regard of her own family as her brother."¹⁸⁴ Thus, glorifying Sacagawea celebrated Western expansion and suggested, like Richards argues, that the story of Western expansion was not one of "brutal conquest," but of American Indians and European Americans working "together to 'civilize' the wilderness."¹⁸⁵

In some ways, Hebard feminized Sacagawea like she had feminized Wyoming's pioneer mothers and suffragists. Hebard praised Sacagawea as the "princess of the west, this Pocahontas of the nineteenth century," who completed the whole journey to the Pacific Coast with "her two months old son...cuddled close to his mother's back."¹⁸⁶ Hebard, however, also emphasized Sacagawea's difference from Wyoming's white heroines. In contrast to the way Hebard commemorated Esther Morris' "conversational speech," "abundant store of genuine wit," and the way Morris was "always cheerful and happy," Hebard described Sacagawea as "a stoic Indian woman with the papoose

strapped to her back.”¹⁸⁷ Furthermore, Hebard also praised Sacagawea for qualities that were often only granted to men—her intelligence, knowledge, and leadership of men. Hebard asserted that “when the conditions became almost hopeless it was [Sacajawea] who guided [Lewis and Clark] successfully through the pass in the mountains, for she recognized familiar landmarks.”¹⁸⁸ Hebard praised Sacagawea for her “knowledge,” “bravery, [and] skill in finding the trail” and heralded Sacagawea’s expertise and work outside of any kind of domestic realm.¹⁸⁹ Hebard recounted that “no one of the expedition knew where he was or the direction to pursue,” so they “depend[ed] entirely upon the instincts and guidance of the Indian woman.”¹⁹⁰ Thus, Hebard’s commemorations of Sacagawea actually sounded much more like her commemorations of the male agrarian heroes than like her commemorations of Wyoming’s women.

Conclusion and Implications

As she appropriated the traditions of pioneer reminiscers and the D.A.R., Hebard commemorated events from the past and constructed the meaning of Wyoming. I have argued that Hebard’s commemorative discourse resisted the image of Wyoming’s “Wild West” image by drawing on the agrarian myth, honoring male homebuilders and farmers as heroes of the West, and constructing Wyoming as settled and home-like. Hebard domesticated the meaning of Wyoming even more by depicting the violent conquest of American Indians as natural and inevitable and marking signs of Wyoming’s civilization including Christianity, technology, and women. Finally, Hebard proclaimed Wyoming’s progress by celebrating Wyoming’s distinction as the birthplace of woman suffrage and the final resting site of Sacagawea. Throughout her commemorative discourse, Hebard maintained the masculine and male agrarian hero and subordinated women to minor roles

on Wyoming's farms. Hebard's celebrations of Wyoming women highlighted the role of white women and one American Indian woman in frontier history. As she remembered women's role in bringing civilization to the frontier West, Hebard feminized and de-politicized woman suffragists and assigned to Sacagawea the traditionally masculine characteristics of the frontier hero: expertise, leadership, and self-reliance.

Like the suffrage advocacy of Duniway and the Mountaineers, Hebard's discourse drew on the masculine and mythic discourse of the West. But Hebard's trail-marking discourse differed from the discourse of Duniway and the Mountaineers in her depictions of women in the myth and her speech topics. First, Hebard's treatment of Western women within the mythic West differed from Duniway and the Mountaineers. Instead of incorporating Wyoming women into the mythic West, as Duniway had done, Hebard's agrarian myth featured male heroic farmers and only included women in peripheral roles. Other female reformers and authors in the early twentieth century, however, challenged the maleness of the agrarian myth. For example, women writers wrote novels, such as Willa Cather's *O Pioneers* and Ellen Glasgow's *Barren Ground*, which featured successful female farmers and challenged the idea that all farmers in the early twentieth century were men.¹⁹¹ Similarly, Charlotte Perkins Gilman criticized Theodore Roosevelt's for failing to appoint any women to his Country Life Commission, which sought to improve the lives of farmers and their families. Gilman argued that this commission fed "the idea that only men are farmers, leaving farm women to be lumped together as mere feminine connections of men" and to be "studied into and recommended about as if they were part of the livestock."¹⁹² Although women of her time, like Cather, Glasgow, and Gilman, were highlighting and celebrating agrarian women's work,

Hebard's agrarian mythology hid Western women's role in the farming of the land. Instead of giving women a heroic role in the agrarian myth, Hebard made heroes of other Western women, primarily suffragists and Sacagawea. Hebard's inclusion of these select women in her commemorations was significant, since even today Wyoming history is shaped by Hebard's constructions of Wyoming's past. But Hebard's Wyoming women did not gain their heroic status from working the land—they gained their heroic status for mothering children on the Oregon Trail, bringing civilization to the West, and femininely asking for woman suffrage at tea parties. Thus, by featuring women as civilizers, missionaries, mothers, and hostesses, Hebard feminized heroic Western women and suffragists much more than Duniway or the Mountaineers did.

Hebard's commemorations of Sacagawea were, in some ways, similar to Hebard's commemorations of white women in that Hebard featured Sacagawea as a mother and a wife who helped bring civilization to the West. Thus, Hebard did not completely deny Sacagawea femininity—but she denied her the traditional, white, upper-class femininity that Hebard had assigned to Morris. Sacagawea was not a gracious hostess in her home, making polite conversation and rocking a cradle, like Hebard's depictions of Morris. Rather, Hebard emphasized distinctions between white and American Indian women and did not grant Sacagawea the role of the civilized and feminine domestic mother. Yet Hebard did challenge the gendered and raced boundaries of the mythic Western hero by featuring Sacagawea as a frontier heroine. Hebard's commemorations of Sacagawea's expertise, leadership, and survival skills were all similar to the heroic portrayals of the white, male frontier hero. Thus, when Hebard commemorated an American Indian woman, she portrayed her according to these characteristics of a masculine Western hero,

much like Duniway's portrayals of white, Western heroines. Thus, Duniway's suffragists and Hebard's Sacagawea are the only women discussed in this study who gained access to the role of the masculine, frontier hero. Yet even these women were deemed frontier heroines for different reasons: Duniway's suffragists earned their status as frontier heroines with their use of violence and willingness to fight American Indians to save their families, whereas Hebard depicted Sacagawea as a frontier heroine for her expertise, leadership, and self-sufficiency.

Second, rather than advocating for woman suffrage, Hebard's discourse attended primarily to commemorating Wyoming's past through trail marking and pioneer reminiscing. Instead of drawing on the meanings of the West to advocate for woman suffrage, like Duniway and the Mountaineer suffragists had done, Hebard drew on Wyoming woman suffrage to shape the meaning of her state. When Hebard discussed woman suffrage, in contrast to Duniway and the Mountaineers, Hebard did not offer an "earned rights" rationale for woman suffrage. Even though Hebard was not advocating for Wyoming women to get woman suffrage, since they already had it, Hebard was still working to construct the meaning of woman suffrage and fit it within cultural ideals of her time and place. In Hebard's commemorations, however, woman suffrage was not something for anyone to earn—for all Wyoming women had to do was politely ask for it at home. Instead, woman suffrage functioned more as proof of their state's exceptionalism—as a marker of civilized and modern places like Wyoming. By using her commemorative discourse to celebrate Wyoming woman suffrage, Hebard capitalized on woman suffrage to depict Wyoming as an (inter)national leader and legitimized suffrage

as important to Wyoming and to the nation. In the process, she also further tethered woman suffrage to the concepts of modernity and progress.

Notes: Chapter 3

¹ “Commemorative Address by Dr. Hebard,” no publication title, July 3, 1911, Hebard Papers, Box 20, Folder 11; “Marking the Overland Trail,” Grace Raymond Hebard Papers, Box 20, Folder 10.

² “Commemorative Address by Dr. Hebard”; “Marking the Overland Trail.”

³ “Commemorative Address by Dr. Hebard.”

⁴ Grace Raymond Hebard, *Marking the Oregon Trail, The Bozeman Road, and Historic Places in Wyoming, 1908-1920* (Laramie, WY: The Daughters of the American Revolution of Wyoming, 1922), 13.

⁵ Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1996); Leroy G. Dorsey, *We are All Americans, Pure and Simple: Theodore Roosevelt and the Myth of Americanism* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2007); David M. Wrobel, *Promised Lands: Promotion, Memory, and the Creation of the American West* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2002).

⁶ Edward S. Casey, *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study, Second Edition* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana UP, 2000); Rosalyn C. Eves, “Mapping Rhetorical Frontiers:

Women's Spatial Rhetorics in the Nineteenth-Century American West" (PhD diss., The Pennsylvania State University, 2008).

⁷ Wrobel, *Promised Lands*.

⁸ Liza J. Nicholas, *Becoming Western: Stories of Culture and Identity in the Cowboy State* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), xiii.

⁹ Nicholas, *Becoming Western*, 29; Owen Wister, *The Virginian; A Horseman of the Plains* (New York, NY: The Macmillan Company, 1902).

¹⁰ Jennifer S. Tuttle, "Rewriting the West Cure: Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Owen Wister, and the Sexual Politics of Neurasthenia," in *The Mixed Legacy of Charlotte Perkins Gilman*, ed. Catherine J. Golden and Joanna Schneider Zangrando (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2002), 104.

¹¹ Earl Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West: The Tourist in Western America* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1957); Nicholas, *Becoming Western*, 9.

¹² Owen Wister, "June—September, 1891: Wyoming and Yellowstone Park," in *Owen Wister Out West: His Journals and Letters*, ed. F. Kemble (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 104-105; Nicholas, *Becoming Western*, 7-8.

¹³ Nicholas, *Becoming Western*, 4-5.

¹⁴ Nicholas, *Becoming Western*, 5.

¹⁵ Nicholas, *Becoming Western*, xiii.

¹⁶ Nicholas, *Becoming Western*, xiii.

¹⁷ Wister's novel gave a fictional account of his own experience following Doctor S. Weir Mitchel's popular "West Cure" for his neurasthenia by taking a trip to a cattle

ranch in Wyoming. In contrast, when Eastern women suffered from similar problems, Mitchell prescribed them his “Rest Cure,” which consisted of “extended bed rest, seclusion, massage, electrical treatments, and overfeeding.” Neurasthenia, a common disease at the turn of the century, was “understood to be a depletion of the body’s limited supply of ‘nerve force,’” and was especially “common among elite, white northeasterners” and conserved a “by-product of modern life and advanced civilization.” Tuttle, “Rewriting the West Cure,” 103-121.

¹⁸ Frederick Jackson Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History” (paper presented at the American Historical Association, Chicago, IL, 1893), 31; Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, 4 vols (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1889-96).

¹⁹ Alexander Nemerov, *Frederick Remington and Turn-of-the-Century America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 43.

²⁰ Nicholas, *Becoming Western*, 5.

²¹ Nicholas, *Becoming Western*, 22.

²² Nicholas, *Becoming Western*, 42.

²³ Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001).

²⁴ Robert V. Hine and John Mack Faragher, *The American West: A New Interpretive History*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 348–349.

²⁵ Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 2-4.

²⁶ “Commemorative Address by Dr. Hebard”; “Marking the Overland Trail.”

²⁷ Grace Raymond Hebard, "Significance of Fort Laramie on the Oregon Trail," *The Torrington Telegram*, June 24, 1915, vol. VIII, No. 39. Hebard Papers, Box 67, Folder 2.

²⁸ "Monument at Fort Laramie is Dedicated in Mother's Honor," *Cheyenne State Leader*, May 31, 1926, Hebard Papers, Box 20, Folder 15.

²⁹ Grace Raymond Hebard, "The Trails in Wyoming," Speech Manuscript, no date. Hebard Papers, Box 19, Folder 40, American Heritage Center, Laramie, Wyoming.

³⁰ Grace Raymond Hebard, "Marking the Old Oregon Trail," *The Wyoming School Journal*, (January 1913): 120-122.

³¹ Grace Raymond Hebard, "Oregon Trail Links Present with the Past," Clipping from an unidentified newspaper. Hebard papers, Box 14, Folder 4. American Heritage Center, Laramie, Wyoming, 1922.

³² Grace Raymond Hebard, "Liberty, Freedom, Equality," speech manuscript, Grace Raymond Hebard papers, Box 21, Folder 6; "Speeches Delivered at Suffrage Tablet Unveiling Saturday," *Cheyenne State Leader*, July 24, 1917, 4-5.

³³ "Fifty Years Ago," November 11, 1919. Speech manuscript in Grace Raymond Hebard Papers, Box 21, Folder 6. American Heritage Center, Laramie, Wyoming.

³⁴ "Woman Suffrage," Speech Manuscript, no date. Grace Raymond Hebard Papers, Box 21, Folder 6. American Heritage Center, Laramie, Wyoming.

³⁵ The four articles Hebard wrote on Sacagawea include: "He Knew Heroine," *The Laramie Republican*, January 1907, Hebard Papers, Box 67, Folder 2; Grace Raymond Hebard, "Donor's Tribute," no publication title, May 29, 1933, Grace

Raymond Hebard Papers, Box 20, Folder 15; “Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard Gives Address at Dedication of Monument to Sacajawea,” *Wyoming State Journal*, Lander, WY, August 31, 1932, Grace Raymond Hebard Papers. Box 20, Folder 15; “Sacajawea, Indian Woman Guide: The Wyoming Legislature Will Be Asked to Appropriate \$500 to Mark Her Last Resting Place on the Shoshone Reservation,” *The Wyoming Tribune*, January 12, 1907.

³⁶ Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 3.

³⁷ Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 123.

³⁸ Ezra Meeker, *The Busy Life of 85 Years of Ezra Meeker: Ventures and Adventures* (Seattle, WA: Published by the author, 1916); Wrobel, *Promised Lands*.

³⁹ Hebard, “Oregon Trail Links Present with the Past.”

⁴⁰ Carol Medlicott and Michael Heffernan, “‘Autograph of a Nation’: The Daughters of the American Revolution and the National Old Trails Road, 1910-1927,” *National Identities* 6 (2004): 235.

⁴¹ Peggy Anderson, *The Daughters: An Unconventional Look at America’s Fan Club—The D.A.R.* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1974); Medlicott and Heffernan, *Autograph of a Nation*, 238.

⁴² Hebard, “Oregon Trail Links Present with the Past,” 15.

⁴³ Letter from Georgia Chubbuck, Chairman of the Committee on the Preservation of Historic Spots for the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, to the State Regents and State Chairmans, August 31, 1928. Hebard Papers, Box 6, Folder 6.

⁴⁴ Medlicott and Heffernan, *Autograph of a Nation*, 236.

⁴⁵ Anderson, *The Daughters*, 238.

⁴⁶ Virginia Scharff, *Twenty Thousand Roads: Women, Movement, and the West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

⁴⁷ Michael Heffernan and Carol Medlicott, "A Feminine Atlas? Sacagewea, the Suffragettes and the Commemorative Landscape in the American West, 1904-1910," *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 9 (2002): 121. Much of Hebard's historical scholarship has been discredited by other scholars. In her efforts to celebrate Wyoming women like Sacagawea, Hebard fabricated compelling narratives that historians agree were inaccurate. T. A. Larson, "Woman Suffrage in Wyoming," *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 56 (1965): 57-66; James W. Loewen, *Lies Across America: What our Historic Sites Get Wrong* (New York: New Press, 1999).

⁴⁸ Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 123.

⁴⁹ Grace Raymond Hebard, "Report of the President of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Wyoming," October 4th, 1916, Hebard Papers, Box 6, Folder 6.

⁵⁰ Hebard, "Oregon Trail Links Present with the Past."

⁵¹ Barbie Zelizer, "Reading the Past Against the Grain: The Shape of Memory Studies," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 12 (1995): 214; Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places*; M.G. Kämmer, *The Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York, NY: Knopf, 1991); Jessie Stewart and Greg Dickinson, "Enunciating Locality in the Postmodern Suburb: FlatIron Crossing and the Colorado Lifestyle," *Western Journal of Communication* 72 (2008): 280-307.

⁵² Amy Kaplan, “‘Manifest Domesticity.’ No More Separate Spheres!” *American Literature* 70 (1998): 582.

⁵³ Paul Achter, “Unruly Bodies: The Rhetorical Domestication of Twenty-First-Century Veterans of War,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 96 (2010): 48.

⁵⁴ Eves, *Mapping Rhetorical Frontiers*, 5; Kaplan, “Manifest Domesticity,” 1998.

⁵⁵ Eves, *Mapping Rhetorical Frontiers*, 213.

⁵⁶ Kaplan, “Manifest Domesticity,” 591.

⁵⁷ Kaplan, “Manifest Domesticity,” 582.

⁵⁸ Martha M. Allen, *Traveling West: 19th Century Women on the Overland Routes* (El Paso, TX: Texas Western Press, 1987); Susan J. Rosowski, *Birthing a Nation: Gender, Creativity, and the West in American Literature* (Omaha, University of Nebraska Press, 1999); Eves, *Mapping Rhetorical Frontiers*, 72-73; Annette Kolodny, *The Land Before Her: Fantasy and Experience of the American Frontiers, 1630-1860* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984).

⁵⁹ Kolodny, *The Land Before Her*.

⁶⁰ Brigitte Georgi-Findlay, *The Frontiers of Women’s Writing: Women’s Narratives and the Rhetoric of Western Expansion* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1996); Karen M. Morin, *Frontiers of Femininity: A New Historical Geography of the Nineteenth-Century American West* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2008).

⁶¹ The rhetoric of progress and civilization has been used flexibly for a variety of purposes. Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and*

Race in the United States, 1880 – 1917 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995).

⁶² Nicholas, *Becoming Western*, 15.

⁶³ Traditionally, the agricultural frontier was understood to “lay behind” the picturesque frontier of the Wild West. Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950), 123–124.

⁶⁴ Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958); Thomas R. Burkholder, “Kansas Populism, Woman Suffrage, and the Agrarian Myth: A Case Study in the Limits of Mythic Transcendence,” *Communication Studies* 40 (1989): 292-307; Smith, *Virgin Land*.

⁶⁵ The agrarian myth included the belief that every white man had a natural right to land.

⁶⁶ Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*; Burkholder, “Kansas Populism, Woman Suffrage”; Smith, *Virgin Land*.

⁶⁷ Smith, *Virgin Land*, 126.

⁶⁸ Eves, *Mapping Rhetorical Frontiers*, 189; Ross Singer, “Visualizing Agrarian Myth and Place-Based Resistance in South Central Los Angeles,” *Environmental Communication: A Journal of Nature and Culture* 5 (2011): 345-346.

⁶⁹ Wrobel, *The End of American Exceptionalism*, 6.

⁷⁰ Franklin was often concerned by the extravagance he saw in Eastern cities, but was comforted by remembering “the great business of the continents,” agriculture and the numerous laboring farmers across the land. Many of their contemporaries also shared in

this vision of America's future. Benjamin Franklin, "Letter to Benjamin Vaughan, July 26, 1784," in *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Albert H. Smyth (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907), accessed April 2, 2013, books.google.com; Smith, *Virgin Land*, 125-128.

⁷¹ Smith, *Virgin Land*, 126-127.

⁷² The ideals of agrarianism differed between the Southern ideal of pastoral plantation (with its slaves and masters) and the West's vision of the yeomen-farmer owning and working his own land. Smith, *Virgin Land*, 125, 133-134, 201.

⁷³ The image of the agricultural paradise endured as what Walt Whitman called "the real genuine America." Smith, *Virgin Land*, 128 and 255.

⁷⁴ Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Compiled by W. Peden (New York: Norton, 1787/1982), 164-165.

⁷⁵ Jefferson, *Notes on the state of Virginia*, 164-165. Jefferson's exact quote was "Corruption of morals...is the mark set on those, who not looking up to heaven, to their own soil and industry, as does the husbandman, for their subsistence, depend for it on the casualties and caprice of customers. Dependence begets subservience and venality, suffocates the germ of virtue, and prepares fit tools for the designs of ambition."

⁷⁶ Deborah Fink, *Agrarian Women: Wives and Mothers in Rural Nebraska, 1880-1940* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 11.

⁷⁷ Thomas Jefferson, "Letter to John Jay," August 23, 1785, The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History, and Diplomacy. Accessed January 22, 2013, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/let32.asp.

⁷⁸ Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*, 29.

⁷⁹ Thomas Jefferson, “Thomas Jefferson’s First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1801,” in *American Rhetorical Discourse, Third Edition*, ed. Ronald F. Reid and James F. Klumpp (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press Inc, 2005), 203-207.

⁸⁰ In the Great Plains, the myth of the garden had to confront the myth of the great American desert, a myth that was never as prevalent, but completely contradicted the agrarian myth. The desert myth confirmed the difficulties of living in the desert of the West and encouraged Americans to respect the desert and follow the laws of aridity. The myth of the garden succeeded so much that the entire trans-Mississippi region came to be seen as the garden of the world, “but there are still many material aspects of the desert that drive people away during economic hardships and as the land has been degraded.” See Mary L. Umberger, “Encountering the Buffalo Commons: A Rhetorical and Ethnographic Case Study of Change on the Great Plains” (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 1999); Smith, *Virgin Land*, 203.

⁸¹ Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, 155; Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*, 48.

⁸² Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, 155; Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*, 48.

⁸³ William Conlogue, *Working the Garden: American Writers and the Industrialization of Agriculture* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 11; Jean P. Retzinger, “Cultivating the Agrarian Myth in Hollywood

Films,” in *EnviroPOP: Studies in Environmental Rhetoric and Popular Culture*, ed. Mark Meister and Phyllis M. Japp (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2002), 48.

⁸⁴ Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, 45; Retzinger, “Cultivating the Agrarian Myth,” 48.

⁸⁵ Allan Kulikoff, “The Transition to Capitalism in Rural America,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 46 (1989): 34.

⁸⁶ Kulikoff, “The Transition to Capitalism,” 143-144.

⁸⁷ Lynn M. Harter, “Masculinity(s), the Agrarian Frontier Myth, and Cooperative Ways of Organizing: Contradictions and Tensions in the Experience and Enactment of Democracy,” *Journal of Applied Communication Research* 32 (2004): 100.

⁸⁸ Kulikoff, “The Transition to Capitalism,” 34-35.

⁸⁹ Casey, *A New Heartland*, 36; Fink, *Agrarian Women*, 189-190.

⁹⁰ Casey, *A New Heartland*, 38; Fink, *Agrarian Women*, 10.

⁹¹ Casey, *A New Heartland*, 60.

⁹² Casey, *A New Heartland*, 36.

⁹³ Fink, *Agrarian Women*, 21. Also see Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: ‘Woman’s Sphere’ in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977); Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

⁹⁴ Fink, *Agrarian Women*, 10.

⁹⁵ Fink, *Agrarian Women*, 189-190.

⁹⁶ Fink, *Agrarian Women*, 189-190.

⁹⁷ Conlogue, *Working the Garden*, 65; Fink, *Agrarian Women*, 191; Retzinger, “Cultivating the Agrarian Myth,” 48; quote from Kulikoff, “The Transition to Capitalism,” 47;

⁹⁸ Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*, 24, 46; Fink, *Agrarian Women*, 21.

⁹⁹ Deborah Fink, *Agrarian Women: Wives and Mothers in Rural Nebraska, 1880-1940* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 4.

¹⁰⁰ Hebard, “Significance of Fort Laramie.”

¹⁰¹ Hebard, “Significance of Fort Laramie.”

¹⁰² Hebard, “The Trails in Wyoming.”

¹⁰³ Hebard, “The Trails in Wyoming.”

¹⁰⁴ Hebard, “Significance of Fort Laramie.”

¹⁰⁵ Hebard, “Oregon Trail Links Present with the Past”; Hebard, “Significance of Fort Laramie.”

¹⁰⁶ “Monument at Fort Laramie is Dedicated in Mother’s Honor.”

¹⁰⁷ “Monument at Fort Laramie is Dedicated in Mother’s Honor.”

¹⁰⁸ Hebard, “Oregon Trail Links Present with the Past.”

¹⁰⁹ Hebard, “Oregon Trail Links Present with the Past.”

¹¹⁰ Hebard, “Significance of Fort Laramie.”

¹¹¹ Hebard, “Marking the Old Oregon Trail.”

¹¹² “Monument at Fort Laramie is Dedicated in Mother’s Honor.”

¹¹³ Hebard, “Significance of Fort Laramie.”

¹¹⁴ “Commemorative Address by Dr. Hebard”; “Marking the Overland Trail.”

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- ¹¹⁵ Wrobel, *Promised Lands*.
- ¹¹⁶ Hebard, "Oregon Trail Links Present with the Past."
- ¹¹⁷ Hebard, "Significance of Fort Laramie."
- ¹¹⁸ Fink, *Agrarian Women*, 28-29.
- ¹¹⁹ Hebard, "Significance of Fort Laramie."
- ¹²⁰ Hebard, "Marking the Old Oregon Trail."
- ¹²¹ "Monument at Fort Laramie is Dedicated in Mother's Honor"; Hebard, "Oregon Trail Links Present with the Past."
- ¹²² "Commemorative Address by Dr. Hebard"; "Marking the Overland Trail."
- ¹²³ "Monument at Fort Laramie is Dedicated in Mother's Honor."
- ¹²⁴ "Commemorative Address by Dr. Hebard"; "Marking the Overland Trail."
- ¹²⁵ Hebard, "Significance of Fort Laramie."
- ¹²⁶ Shaffer, *See America First*, 189; Gillian Rose, *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1993); Linda McDowell, *Gender, Identity, and Place: Understanding Feminist Geographies* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).
- ¹²⁷ Eves, *Mapping Rhetorical Frontiers*, 204-205. Also see Krista Comer, *Landscapes of the New West: Gender and Geography in Contemporary Women's Writing* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).
- ¹²⁸ "Monument at Fort Laramie is Dedicated in Mother's Honor."
- ¹²⁹ Eves, *Mapping Rhetorical Frontiers*, 194-195; Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity," 1998.

¹³⁰ Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*.

¹³¹ Mary E. Stuckey, "The Donner Party and the Rhetoric of Westward Expansion," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 14 (2011): 229-260; Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest*; Dan Moos, *Outside America: Race, Ethnicity, and the Role of the American West in National Belonging* (Lebanon, NH: Dartmouth College Press, 2005); Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982); Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier."

¹³² Grace Raymond Hebard, "Report of the President of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Wyoming, October 4th, 1916, Hebard Papers, Box 6, Folder 6.

¹³³ Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity," 582.

¹³⁴ Eves, *Mapping Rhetorical Frontiers*, 75; Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity," 1998.

¹³⁵ Hebard, "Marking the Old Oregon Trail."

¹³⁶ Hebard, "Marking the Old Oregon Trail."

¹³⁷ Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 41.

¹³⁸ Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*, 57.

¹³⁹ "Commemorative Address by Dr. Hebard"; "Marking the Overland Trail."

¹⁴⁰ Grace Raymond Hebard, "Marking the Old Oregon Trail," *The Wyoming School Journal*, (January 1913): 120-122.

¹⁴¹ "Commemorative Address by Dr. Hebard"; "Marking the Overland Trail."

¹⁴² Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880-1940* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 200-201.

¹⁴³ Hebard, "Oregon Trail Links Present with the Past."

¹⁴⁴ Eves, *Mapping Rhetorical Frontiers*, 18; John M. Gonzalez, "The Warp of Whiteness: Domesticity and Empire in Helen Hunt Jackson's Romona," *American Literary History* 16 (2004): 437-465; Frink, "San Francisco's Pioneer Mother," 93; Medlicott and Heffernan, "Autograph of a Nation," 244-245.

¹⁴⁵ Frink, "San Francisco's Pioneer Mother," 93; Michael Lewis Goldberg, *An Army of Women: Gender and Politics in Gilded Age Kansas* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press), 9-10.

¹⁴⁶ Hebard, "Marking the Old Oregon Trail," 120.

¹⁴⁷ "Monument at Fort Laramie is Dedicated in Mother's Honor."

¹⁴⁸ "Monument at Fort Laramie is Dedicated in Mother's Honor." Along with many other white Americans in the early twentieth century, Hebard honored Wyoming's pioneer women "as reproductive bodies that produced future Americans" and "as moral and spiritual leaders of their families and communities." Brenda D. Frink, "San Francisco's Pioneer Mother Monument: Maternalism, Racial Order, and the Politics of Memorialization, 1907-1915," *American Quarterly* 64 (2012): 106.

¹⁴⁹ For a discussion of "invented greats," see Cindy Koenig Richards, "Inventing Sacagawea: Public Women and the Transformative Potential of Epideictic Rhetoric," *Western Journal of Communication* 73 (2009): 1-22; Nell Irvin Painter, *Sojourner Truth: A Life, a Symbol* (New York: Norton, 1997).

¹⁵⁰ Hebard also held events to recognize Wyoming's other "first statuses" for women: the first state to have a woman justice of the peace (Esther Morris) and the first state to have a woman jury. Hebard celebrated that "the first woman jury in the world convened" in Laramie Wyoming. Hebard wrote an academic article about the first woman jury and, with the Wyoming D.A.R. chapter "decided that some permanent record should be kept of the place where the court was held, in which the jury decided several cases." To materially mark the nation's first female jurists, the D.A.R. members "decided to purchase and have placed a metal marker on the building on First Street, now used as a warehouse by the Laramie Grocery company, and there will be a suitable inscription telling why the building is so marked."¹⁵⁰ Grace Raymond Hebard, "First Woman Jury," *Journal of American History* 7 (1913): 1293-1341; "Laramie D.A.R. Marks Place Where First Woman Jury Met," no publication title, Grace Raymond Hebard Papers, Box 6, Folder 6; "The Story of Woman Jury," no date, no publication title, Grace Raymond Hebard Papers, Box 21, Folder 5.

¹⁵¹ Hebard, "Liberty, Freedom Equality." Also published in "Speeches Delivered at Suffrage Tablet," 4-5.

¹⁵² "Fifty Years Ago."

¹⁵³ "Speeches Delivered at Suffrage Tablet," 4-5.

¹⁵⁴ "Speeches Delivered at Suffrage Tablet," 4-5.

¹⁵⁵ "Woman Suffrage."

¹⁵⁶ "Woman Suffrage."

¹⁵⁷ Scharff, *Twenty Thousand Roads*.

¹⁵⁸ “Speeches Delivered at Suffrage Tablet,” 4-5.

¹⁵⁹ “Speeches Delivered at Suffrage Tablet,” 4-5.

¹⁶⁰ “Speeches Delivered at Suffrage Tablet,” 4-5.

¹⁶¹ Victoria Lamont, “‘More Than She Deserves’: Woman Suffrage Memorials in the ‘Equality State,’” *Canadian Review of American Studies* 36 (2006): 17-43.

¹⁶² Lamont, “More Than She Deserves,” 27.

¹⁶³ “Speeches Delivered at Suffrage Tablet,” 4-5.

¹⁶⁴ “Speeches Delivered at Suffrage Tablet,” 4-5.

¹⁶⁵ “Fifty Years Ago”; Lamont, “More Than She Deserves,” 31.

¹⁶⁶ “Fifty Years Ago”; “Politician or Diplomatist,” 1928; T. A. Larson, “Woman Suffrage in Wyoming,” *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 56 (1965): 57-66; James W. Loewen, *Lies Across America: What our Historic Sites Get Wrong* (New York: New Press, 1999).

¹⁶⁷ As is generally practiced today, I use the spelling “Sacagawea.” When I directly cite Hebard or other primary sources from her time, I use the spelling “Sacajawea” that was popular at the time.

¹⁶⁸ Hebard, “Donor’s Tribute.”

¹⁶⁹ “He Knew Heroine”; “Sacajawea, Indian Woman Guide”; Hebard, “Donor’s Tribute”; Eva Emery Dye, *The Conquest: The True Story of Lewis and Clark* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg, 1902); Heffernan and Medlicott, “A Feminine Atlas”; Richards, “Inventing Sacagawea.”

¹⁷⁰ Dye, *The Conquest*.

¹⁷¹ Heffernan and Medlicott, “A Feminine Atlas,” 124; Also see Cecelia O’Leary, *To Die For: The Paradox of American Patriotism* (Princeton, NJ: Princetone University Press, 1999).

¹⁷² “Sacajawea, Indian Woman Guide.”

¹⁷³ “Sacajawea, Indian Woman Guide.”

¹⁷⁴ Hebard, “Donor’s Tribute.”

¹⁷⁵ “He Knew Heroine”; Hebard, *Marking the Oregon Trail*, 4.

¹⁷⁶ “He Knew Heroine,” parenthetical aside in the original.

¹⁷⁷ Heffernan and Medlicott, “A Feminine Atlas,” 111; Richards, “Inventing Sacagawea.”

¹⁷⁸ Hebard, “Donor’s Tribute.”

¹⁷⁹ “Monument to Perpetuate Memory of Indian Squaw.”

¹⁸⁰ Richards notes that the efforts to commemorate Sacagawea also worked progressively as suffragists praised an American Indian woman, depicted her as a symbol of progress, and “promoted identification with a new or different vision of community.” Richards, “Inventing Sacagawea,” 2.

¹⁸¹ “Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard Perpetuates Memory of Sacajawea in Two Monuments,” No publication title. Laramie, WY, May 29, 1933.

¹⁸² “Sacajawea, Indian Woman Guide.”

¹⁸³ “He Knew Heroine.”

¹⁸⁴ “Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard Gives Address.”

¹⁸⁵ Richards, “Inventing Sacagawea,” 3.

¹⁸⁶ “He Knew Heroine.”

¹⁸⁷ “Fifty Years Ago”; “He Knew Heroine.”

¹⁸⁸ “He Knew Heroine.”

¹⁸⁹ “He Knew Heroine”; “Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard Gives Address.”

¹⁹⁰ “Sacajawea, Indian Woman Guide.”

¹⁹¹ Conlogue, *Working the Garden*, 64.

¹⁹² Charlotte Perkins Gilman, “Why Are There No Women on the President’s Commission?” *Good Housekeeping* 48 (January 1909): 120-121, Conlogue, *Working the Garden*, 64.

Chapter 4: Jeannette Rankin's Feminine Introduction to the Nation: Boosting Montana, Performing Political Expertise, and Encouraging Eastern Suffragists

In November 1916, Montanans elected Jeannette Rankin (1880-1973) to the office of U.S. Representative and made her the first female member of Congress in the United States. Entering political office at a time when women in the Eastern states could not yet vote made her a novelty and object of media attention. As Hannah Josephson, Rankin's biographer noted, "The whole world wanted to know all about her."¹ Feature articles on the representative-elect ran "week after week" as newspapers across the country fixated on her.² In addition to a parade of reporters seeking information and pictures of the newest American curiosity, Rankin was flooded with marriage proposals, requests for advertising endorsements, and movie deals.³ In response to the excessive attention, Rankin went into "hiding."⁴ After making a few brief statements in her hometown of Missoula, she announced that she would remain in her home with locked doors until the press left her alone.⁵ She banned all photographers until the end of the calendar year and stationed her brother, Wellington Rankin, at the entrance of her house to greet and turn away any visitors.⁶

Throughout the winter, however, Rankin began publishing newspaper articles for national outlets that introduced herself to the nation, accounted for her election, explained her political platforms, and advocated for the federal amendment for woman suffrage. After several months of relative seclusion, Rankin came out of hiding to take a lecture tour through twenty Northeastern cities on her way to begin her term in Washington.⁷ In March of 1917, Rankin commenced her lecture tour in New York City with an opening address at Carnegie Hall.⁸ Gathered in "the big auditorium" was an audience of more than 3,000 people, including suffragists and "numerous men...who seemed to be

somewhat elderly and prepared to be critical,” reported the *New York City Herald*.⁹ But “when the slender young member of Congress from Montana walked across the stage and dropped her white satin evening coat on the chair, [the elderly men] nodded approvingly” and the audience “applauded vigorously and at length until [Rankin] had to pause several times between attempts to start.”¹⁰ Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, presided over the evening. The *New York Tribune* described “a beaming and delighted Mrs. Catt, who looked at the Honorable Jeannette as a teacher looks at her prized pupil.”¹¹ Catt proudly introduced Rankin: “Ladies and gentleman, the Honorable Jeannette Rankin, suffrage woman from Montana!”¹² The crowd at Carnegie Hall applauded her so enthusiastically and for so long that Catt had to calm them by reading a letter sent from Theodore Roosevelt, expressing his regret for his absence at Rankin’s opening lecture and praising the Republican party, upon whose ticket Rankin was elected.¹³

As Rankin introduced herself, she addressed an audience that knew little about her or how she had won her campaign. Many people in New York came to Carnegie Hall “out of curiosity” to see the unheard of phenomenon of a woman in Congress.¹⁴ The media coverage of Rankin’s election also suggested that the American public was uneasy about having a woman in Congress as newspapers focused primarily on whether or not Rankin was masculinized by politics. The masculine associations of political life had traditionally precluded women’s participation, so Rankin’s election to office threatened long-standing gender norms.¹⁵ News coverage of Rankin across the country indicated national anxiety over Rankin’s “Upset [of] Congressional Traditions [that could] Change the Personal Habits of the Trouser-Wearing Majority.”¹⁶ A reporter for the *San Francisco*

Chronicle commented on whether Rankin would be a “wild and woolly feminist” that “packs a 44 six-shooter and trims her skirts with chaps and fur.”¹⁷

Answering the public’s worries, newspapers assured the American population that their first female member of Congress was a “very ‘feminine woman’” and a “womanly woman” who could dance, sew, cook, and care for children.¹⁸ *The Independent* promised “Miss Jeannette Rankin is no Amazon. She is a little woman—a girl.”¹⁹ The *Los Angeles Times*’ feature story also clarified that Rankin was:

not an old-school ‘woman’s rights’ agitator of the comic cartoons of a generation ago—with hair whacked tight over her ears and done in a French pea behind her ears. Instead she is a dainty bit of femininity who is quite as popular in a ballroom as at a political meeting.²⁰

Presenting her as “an excellent cook” and “Good Bread Maker,” the newspapers claimed that Rankin could make a “wonderful lemon meringue pie” and “can cook for a fifty man logging crew without mussing up her hair.”²¹ *The New York Times*, *Seattle Times*, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, and *Los Angeles Times* all reported on Rankin’s sewing abilities: “She makes her own hats, often builds her own gowns.”²² Most importantly, almost all the reports of Rankin put the public’s mind at ease as they promised that Rankin “is interested in children more than anything else in the world” and “Her Principal Object Will Be to Work for Better Conditions for Babies and Children of U.S.”²³ It seemed the nation was most interested in whether Rankin would fit the traditional ideals of femininity or if she had been masculinized by her political activity.

Rankin’s newfound fame also positioned her as “women’s national representative in Congress” and “spokesman of all the women in the world.”²⁴ Suffragists claimed

Rankin's election was a significant "victory for the women of the country" and looked to her to advance their cause and represent them well during a critical point in the campaign for a federal amendment for woman suffrage.²⁵ Anna Howard Shaw and Carrie Chapman Catt "saw her as the savior of suffrage" and depicted Rankin's election as a sign of the suffrage movement's nearing success.²⁶ Soon after her election, Rankin announced, "I am deeply conscious of my responsibility as the first woman to sit in Congress. I will represent not only the women of Montana but also the women of the country."²⁷ Lee Keedick of New York, who "signed" and managed Rankin's speaking tour reported that he:

received so many requests from women in the eastern states asking that he use his good offices to induce [sic] Miss Rankin to lecture in Carnegie hall that he made a special trip to Montana to deliver in person the invitation. 'The women of America consider Miss Rankin as their national representative in congress,' said Mr. Keedick. 'They are anxious to see and hear this woman who has reflected so much honor on their sex and whose opportunities for the promotion of the cause of woman's suffrage and the advancement of legislation relating to the problems that vitally concern women are unsurpassed.'²⁸

Rankin agreed years later that she was "a symbol and a representative, not only of women in Montana or in the United States, but of women in all nations and ages."²⁹ As Eleanor Flexner argues, Rankin was "a visible embodiment on the House floor of the growing pressure on that body for political legitimacy for her sex."³⁰ Therefore, Rankin's performance would reflect positively or negatively on the suffrage movement and women's political activity.

Rankin needed to account for her remarkable political election, justify her presence in office, and introduce herself to the nation as a capable politician. Surprising many of her spectators, Rankin spent much of her Carnegie Hall speech boasting about her home state of Montana. The *New York Tribune* reported, “like every other real Westerner you’ve ever met, or ever will, she launched straight into a eulogy of the Golden West.”³¹ The Manhattan listeners “gasp[ed],” “look[ed] dazed,” and “exchang[ed] bewildered glances” as Rankin boasted the many merits of Western life.³² Although her Eastern audience may not have understood her rationale, Rankin explained her political success according to Montana’s exceptionalism.

I argue that in her post-election writing and speeches, Rankin addressed the public’s discomfort with having a woman in Congress by performing a traditional femininity that curbed her threat to dominant gender norms. Simultaneously, Rankin enacted her political intelligence and preparedness for office by speaking on her areas of expertise—Montana, direct democracy, and Western woman suffrage—in ways that positively portrayed the image of her home state, her political power, and the likelihood of woman suffrage in the East. I argue, first, that Rankin enacted her femininity and justified women’s political activity according to their difference from men and their maternal capabilities. Second, I contend that Rankin drew on the familiar discourse of Western boosterism, like other Montana politicians had done, which provided an explanation for her unlikely election, performed her governmental role, depicted Montana as desirous to potential settlers, and shaped the meaning of Montana as “civilized.” Third, I argue that Rankin asserted her political competence by highlighting her political experience, enacting the role of the practiced politician, and performing her legislative

intelligence. Fourth, I argue that Rankin accounted for Western woman suffrage according to the frontier myth. Unlike other suffrage leaders in the West, however, Rankin's frontier myth did not suggest that suffrage was bound by region but instead insisted that suffrage was also possible for Eastern women. Rankin constructed a discovery of women's natural rights in the West's "state of nature" that would inevitably and imminently be implemented in the East.

This analysis examines the statements Rankin made between her successful election to Congress in November 1916 and her entrance into office in March 1917. These texts include five newspaper articles published under Rankin's name,³³ statements made by Rankin in five newspaper interviews,³⁴ and the "Democracy and Government" speech Rankin gave in Carnegie Hall and throughout the Northeast on her lecture tour in March of 1917.³⁵ I also analyze descriptions of Rankin's Carnegie Hall performance that were included in eight newspaper reports.³⁶

Jeannette Rankin: The Lady from Montana

Born in 1880, Jeannette Rankin grew up in her family's ranch house on the Montana Territory.³⁷ She was the first daughter of John Rankin, a prosperous and powerful ranch owner from Ontario, Canada, and Olive Pickering, a schoolteacher from New Hampshire.³⁸ She lived near Missoula, Montana with five younger sisters and her younger brother, Wellington.³⁹ After graduating from Montana State University in 1902 with a degree in biology, Rankin took a number of different jobs before getting involved in politics. After trying teaching and dressmaking in Missoula, living in a settlement house in San Francisco, and studying social work at the New York School of Philanthropy, she worked at an orphanage in Seattle and took classes at the University of

Washington.⁴⁰ While living in Seattle, Rankin began working with the Washington woman suffrage movement and she impressed the Pacific Northwest suffrage leaders with her campaigning skills.⁴¹ Following the Washington State win in 1910, she returned home to campaign for suffrage in Montana.⁴² Upon hearing that Representative D. J. Donohue of Glendive was going to introduce a suffrage amendment in the Montana State legislature, she decided to address that body herself.⁴³ Wellington helped her prepare her speech and she spoke as the third suffragist in the state's history to address the Montana legislature.⁴⁴ Although the amendment failed, Rankin's speech made her name known across the state and gave woman suffrage more publicity.⁴⁵ With her new experience in the suffrage movement, Rankin took a job working for woman suffrage in New York City. She spent her days speaking from sidewalk soapboxes, and in the process, she made lifelong friendships with other educated and politically radical women of New York's bohemian Greenwich Village.⁴⁶ She continued to work for suffrage in California, Ohio, and Wisconsin before being appointed as NAWSA's field secretary in 1912 and travelling nationally for her new position.⁴⁷

Her experience with the national suffrage movement prepared her to direct Montana's 1914 suffrage campaign. She moved home, took charge of the Montana Equal Suffrage Association, got a suffrage amendment on the ballot, and traveled over 1,300 miles around the state to campaign for the woman suffrage referendum.⁴⁸ Rankin found that Montana homesteaders were the most likely to support woman suffrage and the citizens of older mining areas were the least supportive.⁴⁹ Wellington also led a Montana chapter of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage and aided in the suffrage campaign.⁵⁰ The campaign was a success and the woman suffrage amendment narrowly passed in

Montana by a vote of 41,302 to 37,588.⁵¹ Montana women used their momentum to organize the predecessor of the Montana League of Women Voters, the Montana Good Government Association, and elected May Trumper to the position of superintendent of public instruction and three women to Montana's state legislature: Emma Ingalls, Maggie Smith Hathaway, and Gwen Burla.⁵²

Two years after the Montana suffrage win, Rankin told influential Montanans her idea of running for U.S. Congress. In general, everyone discouraged her from running, including prominent Montana women and Republican Party professionals.⁵³ Even NAWSA leaders disapproved of her run until she won. Anna Howard Shaw thought a congressional campaign was too rash and Carrie Chapman Catt did not think Rankin was "sufficiently 'intellectual.'"⁵⁴ The odds of Rankin getting elected seemed especially slim since there had never been a woman in Congress before, and Montana had a reputation for its "flagrantly corrupt political practices."⁵⁵ Pointing to her unparalleled fame in Montana, however, an initially-reluctant Wellington became convinced that she could win and decided to support her campaign.⁵⁶ In July of 1916, Rankin announced her candidacy by filing a petition to run for a seat in the House of Representatives in the Republican primaries.⁵⁷ Rankin campaigned on a platform of woman suffrage, protection of children, greater publicity for Montana in congressional affairs, and prohibition.⁵⁸

Just like her suffrage advocacy, Rankin's run for office displayed her dedication, enthusiasm, and mastery of the campaigning process.⁵⁹ Rankin spoke everywhere from street corners to lumbering camps; "she went into homes to speak to women in their kitchens, and met men at the gates of the mines and smelters when they changed shifts."⁶⁰ She traveled around the state by "train, car, and, in some cases, horse-drawn carriage."⁶¹

James J. Lopach and Jean A. Luckowski argue that Rankin's historic win "can be attributed to her aggressive campaigning; the at-large congressional district that allowed 'multiple winners,' especially an outsider like a woman; the support of newly enfranchised women; and Wellington Rankin's money, political savvy, and, it is rumored, chicanery."⁶² Her remarkable win drew national attention and the public looked to Rankin to account for her victorious election, speak to the nation's raging controversy over woman suffrage, and indicate whether political life masculinized women.

Alleviating Gender Anxieties by Enacting Femininity and Affirming Gender Difference

Especially in the early twentieth century, politics were characterized as masculine and unfit for women. Since women were expected to be pious and pure, their participation in the "crooked" and "corrupt" political life was "considered unnatural and degrading to the 'fairer sex.'"⁶³ Furthermore, the "inherently egotistical act" of running for office countered women's purported altruistic nature.⁶⁴ Many Americans believed that women's political activity would masculinize women and feminize men, so woman suffragists were often represented as "old maids" and "mannish."⁶⁵ Thus, Rankin's election to Congress disrupted traditional gender norms. Rankin's discourse, however, addressed any unease by assuring the public that although she was elected to political office, she was still feminine and domestic. Through her words and her performance, Rankin reaffirmed gender difference and justified women's political activity according to their motherly expertise. In the process, Rankin repositioned herself as less threatening to traditional gender norms and articulated the possibility for woman suffragists and

politicians to protest, vote, and enter office while also maintaining traditional ideals of femininity.⁶⁶

As Rankin introduced herself to the nation and justified her political activity, she underlined women's femininity and difference from men. In her Carnegie Hall address, Rankin argued that women should have the vote "because they are women and have a different viewpoint to express."⁶⁷ Rankin told *The Evening Telegram* "There Would Be No Food Gambling if Women Were in Congress" and that the "Nation Needs Feminine Minds to Solve Home Problems."⁶⁸ Rankin drew on expediency arguments as she appealed to the popular belief that women's minds were different from men's minds and were especially suited for solving problems related to the home.⁶⁹ Rankin implied that women's difference from men gave them something unique to contribute to political life. Rankin explained:

It would not take long for food and other problems relating to the home to be solved if women were in a position everywhere to make their influence felt with their votes for it is in the homes that their chief interest lies, and these would receive their first protection.⁷⁰

Echoing other women reformers of her time like Frances Willard and Jane Addams, Rankin argued that political activity would allow women to better protect their home.⁷¹

Similar to the arguments Rankin made in the Montana woman suffrage campaign, Rankin drew on domestic ideology to argue that women should have the vote so they would be better equipped to care for their homes and children.⁷² Rankin wrote in *The Boston Traveller*:

In the past women have been told to go to their homes to care for their children. Today, however, we realize that caring for children means more than washing their faces and feeding them and sending them to school. We realize that it means more than caring for each woman's individual child; that it involves assuming responsibility for the children of the nation and looking ahead to the time when they will become integral factors in the life of the nation.⁷³

Rankin depicted American women as responsible for caring both for their own children in their homes and for the nation's children through their political activity. Thus, Rankin feminized the act of voting as a motherly and domestic act to care for children.

Rankin expanded the popular arguments suffragists and reformers had made for woman suffrage as home protection to call for women in Congress. Rankin's Carnegie Hall speech emphasized the importance of children "be[ing] represented not only at the polls...but in legislative halls and in our national government and international conferences."⁷⁴ In particular, Rankin argued that there were some legislative issues that could only be solved by women. In an interview with the *New York Sunday American* shortly after her election, Rankin reasoned:

There is certain needful social and economic legislation which will come only through the demands of our women I believe, too, that these demands will not receive the attention they merit until they are pressed by women who are members of our State and National Legislatures—not merely members of committees who appear at hearings.⁷⁵

Rankin held up women's difference to show "that the whole country desperately needed" their presence in Congress because women were uniquely suited to address issues related

to women and children.⁷⁶ Rankin told the *New York Sunday American*, “that there is needed legislation which can best be handled by women.”⁷⁷

Rankin’s justification for women in government rested on the belief that women were better at caring for children and that caring for children was women’s responsibility. According to Rankin’s statement in the *New York Sunday American*, women were best equipped for issues related to children because “subjects like the welfare of our children and the welfare of our homes” are “subjects to which thinking women have for years devoted their energies.”⁷⁸ As Rankin claimed women’s expertise on children, she also charged women with the responsibility of childcare. Rankin clarified in her Carnegie Hall speech:

When we asked for a direct part in the government that controls in many instances the very lives of the children we are not complaining of what the men have done in the past but we are asking to be permitted to do our work. It is not fair to ask the men to do their work and women’s work too and it is certainly women’s work to care for the children.⁷⁹

Thus, Rankin appealed to the belief that it was women’s responsibility to care for children and used this domestic ideology as a rationale for women’s political activity.

Rankin also justified women’s presence in Congress according to the impact Congress had on children and the lack of attention children were receiving from the national legislature. In the *Boston Traveller*, Rankin pointed to the national legislature’s “direct bearing upon the home and upon the child...It is easy to see that every law that is passed in the United States deals directly or indirectly with the environment of the child.”⁸⁰ Establishing the effect of congressional decisions on the nation’s children,

Rankin underlined the need for experts on children in Congress with the following narrative in the *New York Sunday American*:

Several years ago during a session of Congress \$300,000 was appropriated for the study of fodder for hogs. At the same session \$30,000 was appropriated for a study of the needs of the nation's children....It would seem that in the eyes of Congress the hogs of the nation are then times more important than [children]... We have plenty of men in Congress who devote their attention to the tariff, the hogs, irrigation projects, rivers and harbor labor, the farmer, etc, etc. But, until now, we haven't had a woman in our National Legislature to do for the nation's precious asset, its children, what the men have been doing for the hogs.⁸¹

Comparing children to "hogs," Rankin pointed to the importance of children to the nation and the lack of congressional attention to or funding for the children. Thus, Rankin carved out a niche for women members of Congress and transformed the act of serving in Congress from a masculine and political act into a position of caring for children and domestic matters. Rankin's characterization of woman's congressional responsibilities reduced the threat of female politicians to traditional gender ideals.

Rankin also used the rationale of women's distinctive expertise on children to assert her own readiness for political office. Although Rankin was not a mother herself, she emphasized her experience caring for children. Rankin told the *Seattle Times*:

My work and study in the Children's Home Society gave me a good insight into the needs of babies, children and young adults, and it is for them that I shall work especially. My experience in politics ought to help me to do this with a goodly measure of success.⁸²

Thus, Rankin drew on her experience with both politics and children to defend her qualifications for office. When she told the *Chicago Daily Tribune* why she was “Entitled to the Floor,” Rankin pointed to her experience with children as she explained “I had something to do with a children’s home society in Washington and I know the needs of the youngsters.”⁸³ Rankin maintained that she was best able to represent the children of the nation since she was a woman, had a “feminine mind,” and had experience caring for children.

Furthermore, Rankin reinforced traditional gender norms through her appearance. At her Carnegie Hall address, Rankin performed the Eastern ideals of traditional, upper-class femininity through her wardrobe. Before Rankin travelled to New York, Wellington paid to have a New York clothing store prepare dresses for Rankin’s lecture tour.⁸⁴ At Carnegie Hall she wore a \$200 dress of white satin and pink chiffon that Rankin later described as “very elegant.”⁸⁵ Rankin’s dress was “cut rather short to show her ankles and trim little feet... The sleeves were long, but her slim, white throat was bare and her hair was dressed in a soft and becoming fashion.”⁸⁶ Rankin also had “Her white satin cloak lay over the back of the chair, and her white satin pumps were small and dainty.”⁸⁷ Dressing in “the latest feminine modes and in taste,” Rankin appeared to be “the last person who would be picked out as one of the nation’s leading exponents of the cause of equal rights.”⁸⁸ Rankin’s fashionable and feminine performance in Carnegie Hall countered the perception that women were masculinized by political activity.

Therefore, while Rankin’s entrance into political office had subversively challenged gender norms, her feminine performance and depiction of women in politics suggested that her presence in office maintained traditional gender roles. By justifying

women's political activity according to women's difference, responsibility for children, and expertise on matters of the home, Rankin enacted and reaffirmed traditional gender roles. But she also shaped the meaning of a female member of Congress from a challenging position of a woman in a masculine role, to a less challenging position of a woman in a feminine role.⁸⁹ Thus, Rankin stretched the gendered meanings of politics as she articulated a relationship between femininity and politics so that her own political power was no longer as much of a gender transgression.

Rankin's Western Boosterism

Given the novelty of a woman in Congress, Rankin's familiar discourse of Western boosterism introduced her to the nation with a rhetoric with which Americans were already well acquainted. In Rankin's writings and speeches in the Northeast, she drew on the traditional rhetoric of Western boosterism to promote Montana. Her Montana exceptionalism functioned as an account of her historic election and a fulfillment of her role as Montana representative. Rankin's boosterism mimicked other Western politicians' speeches in the East and participated in the state's effort to draw potential homesteaders and re-shape its image from cowboy country to a civilized and agricultural community.

Between the 1870s and the 1930s, promotional literature on the American West proliferated as Western promoters used a rhetoric of boosterism to draw populations to the West. Each Western state, territory, and sub-region had numerous boosters: newspaper and journal editors, commercial club members, chambers of commerce, boards of agriculture, real estate agents, railroad companies, landowners, speculators, and immigration societies.⁹⁰ Each year, millions of promotional materials on the American West—in the forms of books, newspaper and magazine articles, pamphlets, posters,

maps, cartoons, and promotional guides—circulated across the United States, Canada, and Europe.⁹¹ David M. Wrobel explains that these promotional books and pamphlets “were such a common sight in people’s homes and in public spaces that we can assume most literate Americans and Europeans had some exposure to the promoters’ visions of Western lands.”⁹²

Through their “embellished and effusive” accounts of life in the West, boosters “imagined” the West into being.⁹³ As the promotional literature on the West constructed perceptions of the West for Eastern Americans, Western boosters also shaped the “sense of place for Western residents.”⁹⁴ Boosterism was not solely a Western phenomenon, since people have promoted numerous places around the world, but Western boosterism was noteworthy as it was produced during “the much discussed age of anxious transition from pre-modern to modern.”⁹⁵ While small and agrarian towns were still evolving into industrial cities, Western promoters often publicized a new and modern American West “before it had actually arrived.”⁹⁶ Wrobel speculates that Western boosters depicted their frontier homes as “promised lands” because they longed for their own dreams to be fulfilled.⁹⁷ Their very survival and wellbeing relied on potential populations believing that their town or state was worth inhabiting.⁹⁸ Other boosters had economic interests and sold the ideas of the West for money and increased commerce. Greater populations on the frontier guaranteed an expansion of trade, industry, transportation, and culture, which would raise the values of the property and maintain the growth of their communities.⁹⁹ Although some boosters were “boldfaced liars selling promises for financial profit and nothing more,” many of the boosters’ exaggerations were merely the tall tales that marked the rhetorical style of the American frontier that “confused fact and fiction in

interestingly uncertain proportions.”¹⁰⁰ While the boosters were anticipating the future, they often “assert[ed] what could not yet be disproved” and “confused present and future.”¹⁰¹

To draw more settlers to the West, boosters often portrayed uninhabited and unsettled Western land as settled land possessing economic and agricultural opportunities as well as cultured and safe communities. Boosters depicted the West as composed of “settled regions, rich in culture and infrastructure, blessed with commercial and agricultural advantages.”¹⁰² Promotional material described the frontier land as “agricultural havens” and as the “garden of the world.”¹⁰³ At the turn of the century, many Americans discussed gardens as “one of the highest forms of civilization and Americanization” because “gardens represent[ed] nature (with its redemptive potential) tamed and made productive.”¹⁰⁴ As boosters depicted Western land as a tamed and civilized garden of the world, they drew on the agrarian myth to prove that manifest destiny had successfully been achieved and to emphasize the importance of the West to the nation.¹⁰⁵ American booster discourse rested on a view of “the natural world in terms of its commodity potential with the objective of turning that natural abundance to advantage in distant markets.”¹⁰⁶ Capitalists in the American East and around the world “viewed the Northern American West as the magnificent investment opportunity, a promoter’s paradise.”¹⁰⁷ The railroad’s arrival in the West was the most significant factor in transforming the region into the industrial world, for as Alan Trachtenberg explains, trains and vehicles “re-created American nature into natural resources for commodity production.”¹⁰⁸ Industrialism in the West “linked the natural abundance of place with an increasing technical ability to manipulate that world to personal advantage.”¹⁰⁹ It focused

on “transforming nature’s abundance,” like Montana’s forests, minerals, mountains, and waterways, “into commodities to be trafficked” for wealth.¹¹⁰

Western boosters navigated popular concerns about the closing of the frontier. Promoters sought to show the many financial opportunities in Western agriculture while downplaying any pioneer-like conditions.¹¹¹ Western boosters portrayed the Western frontiers as closing, but not yet “closed up,” which required delicately balancing their depictions of the West as a “wellspring of opportunity fast running out but not yet dried up.”¹¹² Promoters used the final frontier to lure populations, while also asserting the “post-frontier qualities” of the West. Although they placed the end of frontier opportunity in the future, the end of frontier struggles and peril were always placed in the past.¹¹³ Promoters assured potential settlers that the dangerous and demanding work of pioneering was completed and the present held “opportunity without hardship and with all the cultural amenities that accompany the development of civilization, all without the crime and claustrophobia that mark its overdevelopment.”¹¹⁴

States, territories, and sub-regions in the United States and Canada competed with each other for potential settlers.¹¹⁵ Booster publications often featured direct comparisons with other regions of the West and “contrasted their own (often imagined) cultural advances with the absence of ‘civilization’ in other states and territories.”¹¹⁶ The promoters described the West “in confident opposition to ‘the East’” and relied on negative ideas about life “out East.”¹¹⁷ In the early twentieth century, many Westerners “explain[ed] their chosen place of residence as an effort to escape from an older, less promising, more troubled region.”¹¹⁸ As Easterners became cynical about the honesty of Westerners’ claims about the West, boosters strove to prove their accuracy and

believability.¹¹⁹ Promoters worked to counter skepticism with an abundance of statistics to prove that their claims were not exaggerations.¹²⁰ Their efforts to appear fact-based and trustworthy often entailed “tedi[ous] recitations about soil and climate and [train] track-laying.”¹²¹

Although population growth in the West and promotional literature decreased during the economic depression of the 1890s, a second period of frontier settlement promotion began at the end of the decade and made the first two decades of the twentieth century the “‘heyday’ of homesteading.” Between the turn of the century and America’s entry into World War I in 1917, more homesteads were filed than in the 38-year time between the Homestead Act of 1862 and the end of the nineteenth century.¹²² Due to the difficulty of farming Eastern Montana’s semiarid region, most early settlers who emigrated westward passed through the “Great American Desert” in favor of land farther west that was easier to cultivate. But in the first decades of the 1900s, new farming methods, machines, and dry-land farming propaganda brought “floods” of homesteaders to Eastern Montana to settle and farm the land in the second decade of the twentieth century.¹²³ These twentieth-century settlers “created great excitement” as a new wave of homesteaders promised Montana “a once-given opportunity to build a good rural community for the well-being not just of the state but perhaps of the nation as well.”¹²⁴

Montanans were determined to discard the “mistaken image of the West...of brigandage, horse thievery, wild and woolly west rot,” and ensure the “building of farm communities in eastern Montana.”¹²⁵ Like Wyoming and other Western states, Montana had long struggled with its disadvantaged economic, social, and political status relative to the East. The East’s powerful corporations, railroads, and banks had dominated the

West's economy and left Western states with little economic or political leverage.¹²⁶ To grow their economic and civic structures, Montana needed a larger population and greater national representation—Rankin had even campaigned for office on a platform of “greater publicity [for Montana] in congressional affairs.” Rankin was elected in the midst of Montana's homestead boom, therefore, Rankin joined the effort to re-shape the image of Montana for an Eastern audience. With the nation's eyes on her, Rankin used her access to national publicity to place-make Montana. Her Western boosterism accounted for her unusual election, fulfilled her governmental role and campaign promises to her constituents, depicted Montana as attractive to potential settlers, and asserted Montana's civilized image.

Montana as Rankin's Home State

Rankin's Montana boosterism explained Rankin's successful election to Congress. Rather than portraying herself as responsible for her political success, Rankin put the onus for her presence in Congress on Montana. Rankin began her Carnegie Hall speech by saying:

Perhaps some of you came here tonight hoping to learn something of the state that would send a woman to Congress; you may have the impression that there is something rather unusual about a state that will select a woman to be its representative in national affairs. I will put you at ease at once by assuring you that Montana is unusual.¹²⁷

Instead of accounting for her achievement according to her own qualities or political savvy, she explained it according to the character of Montana and used this opportunity to present Montana's numerous assets. The *New York Tribune* reported that Rankin began

her speech by declaring “Montana is an unusual state—that’s why it elected a woman to Congress.”¹²⁸ She redirected the preoccupation with her status as the first woman in Congress and focused it on the state that elected her. Her emphasis on Montana as the scene and main controlling factor, rather than herself as the agent, suggested that it was Montana that had put her in office, not herself. Therefore, she downplayed her own agency in attaining political power, which “absolved [Rankin] of any wrong doing” since her entrance into political office was “determined for [her] by the scene itself.”¹²⁹ Rankin’s emphasis on Montana excused her from any hint of the un-feminine ego, ambition, or corruption associated with politics since Rankin was not responsible for her election. Similarly, Rankin explained in an interview with New York’s *Evening Telegram*, “Understand, I do not believe that I was elected as a Representative from Montana because I am myself. I was elected because I represented an idea [and] ideal.”¹³⁰ Once again, Rankin de-emphasized her own responsibility for her success and explained her election as the consequences of living in Montana.

Rankin’s Western boosterism also fulfilled her governmental role as representative of her Montana constituents. Although Rankin symbolized the woman suffrage movement to the nation, she also needed to balance the expectations of a suffrage leader with the expectations of a political office holder. Because there was so much emphasis on Rankin as a representative of women and woman suffrage, others worried that Rankin would not fulfill her responsibilities as representative of Montana. Rankin faced criticism from her “opponents for representing women more than the full electorate which had sent her to Congress.”¹³¹ Reporters suggested that Rankin would be “disposed to be much more interested in the United States than in her own state.”¹³² Thus, in an interview with

New York's *Evening Telegram*, Rankin altered the focus of the conversation from woman suffrage and child welfare to Montana:

But, first, last and all the time, I am a representative from Montana, and my State has the first claim upon my services. I don't know yet exactly what I will be able to do for the people back home, but perhaps I can assist in further developing our wonderful resources. Today we have 30,000,000 acres of land for cultivation...there would be no 'war prices' for food if the supplies of the Far West were brought East.¹³³

By boasting of Montana, Rankin defended against critiques that she was merely women's representative and fulfilled her duties of representing Montana. Indeed, in her Carnegie Hall speech, "For the first fifteen or twenty minutes the audience decided that what the people should know must be the advantages, natural and cultivated, of Miss Rankin's native state."¹³⁴ Rankin exclaimed to her New York audience, "I am still thrilled by the consciousness that I live in Montana, that Montana belongs to me and I to Montana."¹³⁵ Her Eastern audience may not have been as interested in Montana as Rankin, but her Carnegie Hall speech left no doubt that Rankin was representing Montana citizens.

Finally, Western boosterism was a rhetorical strategy other Western politicians had used when speaking in the East. Just the year before Rankin's Carnegie Hall address, Montana Senator Thomas J. Walsh had spoken at the Jefferson Day Banquet in Washington, D.C., referred to as "'the biggest political banquet' ever held in the capital."¹³⁶ Walsh began his address by speaking about his home state of Montana. As a "featured speaker" at the event and guest of honor seated next to President Wilson, Walsh spoke "as a western man" and as a representative of the Western region and Western

people.¹³⁷ Walsh opened his “eloquent speech” by featuring Montana as one of the nation’s largest and most significant commonwealths of the nation and as the site of Lewis and Clark’s adventurous expedition.¹³⁸ Then he discussed the superiority of the Western states’ “political principles,” “popular government,” and “prompt action” to address the corruption of government by corporations.¹³⁹ Thus, Rankin followed in the tradition of other Western politicians before her by introducing herself to the nation with the well-known discourse of Western boosterism and enacting the role of Western politician.

Montana as the Garden of the World

Rankin’s Montana boosterism also shaped the meaning of Montana as an attractive option for potential settlers. Rankin drew on the mythic concept of the West as the “Garden of the World” and portrayed Montana as an agricultural haven for homesteaders. Before her audience in Carnegie Hall, Rankin’s boosterism lauded Montana as a land of plenty with numerous resources for food and financial growth. Rankin featured Montana’s agricultural bounty and depicted Montana as the “garden of the nation.” She boasted, “Last year Montana produced enough wheat to make 18 loaves of bread for every man, woman and child in the United States—33 million eight hundred thousand bushels.”¹⁴⁰ Assuring her audience that Montana’s produce was abundant in both quantity and quality, Rankin added, “Montana has won the world’s prize for the quality of her flax” and “We win world prizes for our apples, we raise small fruits and vegetables.”¹⁴¹ According to Rankin, Montana produced enough food for its population to easily survive and Montanans were overflowing with food of exceptional quality. Rankin directly compared Montana’s resources to other Western states’ to prove the superiority of

Montana to her New York audience. She claimed, “We have as much agricultural land as the state of Iowa or as Illinois. You are familiar with these states as agricultural states. Some day you will have to readjust your attitude toward Montana.”¹⁴² Rankin’s comparisons shaped Easterners’ understanding of the most fertile Western states as she reported, “Our per acre value of wheat is equal to that of Minnesota and South Dakota put together.”¹⁴³ Rankin demonstrated that among agricultural states, Montana was beating the competition. She boasted, “Recent government reports show that Montana farmers grow almost one and a half times as many bushels of potatoes to the acre as the average farmer in the United States.”¹⁴⁴ Thus, Rankin elevated Montana’s agricultural opportunities over other states competing for pioneers.

Further promoting Montana as a wonderland, Rankin attested to Montana’s numerous resources for financial profit:

At first one thinks of Montana as a mineral state perhaps because the first settlers came in with the discovery of gold or it may be because we are surpassed by only one state in the production of silver and by another in the production of copper.

We produce lead and zinc and have an abundance of coal. We have precious gems, sapphires and rubies.¹⁴⁵

Rankin’s Montana was full of valuable commodities. Rankin’s speech praised the Montana waterfalls that produced enough electrical horsepower to “turn the wheels of machinery and light the passages of mines thousands of feet underground in one of the biggest mining camps in the world.”¹⁴⁶ Of all of Montana’s resources, Rankin claimed, “the most wonderful natural resource is the land, just the common land formerly used for grazing. We have 30 million acres.”¹⁴⁷ Rankin’s boosterism emphasized the vastness of

Montana's terrain that overflowed with resources, produced abundant crops, and offered numerous opportunities for gaining wealth. Thus, Rankin defined Montana as worthy of amazement and admiration, as well as a serious contender for potential settlers.

Like other boosters, Rankin carefully depicted the Montana frontier as closing, but not yet closed. Rankin explained to her Carnegie Hall audience, "Our public lands are about gone and with their enclosure the last of the free land of the nation is gone."¹⁴⁸ The land in the Montana frontier had not yet been completely claimed, but its official closure was imminent. Rankin created urgency for any potential populations—if they were going to move to Montana, now was the time. She recalled what Montana had been like in the past, when "The land was free, each one had the opportunity to wrest from nature his economic needs."¹⁴⁹ Her comparison of the present with the open frontier of the past reminded her audience that space on the frontier was not as available as it was in the past and suggested that the frontier was quickly closing. Rankin positioned Montana as the final frontier of opportunity, implying that it was best for potential populations to come soon, even as she affirmed the progress that had been made by earlier settlers.

Montana as Civilized

Rankin positioned Montana not only as an agricultural state overflowing with natural resources, but she also featured Montana as modern, cultured, and civilized. To that end, Rankin boosted Montana's technological advancements. Rankin noted that "Some of the reports of my election in the eastern papers said that I campaigned on horseback."¹⁵⁰ Rankin clarified for New Yorkers, however, that "as a matter of fact, I traveled on trains and automobiles. I took one trip of 400 miles across the Rockies on an electrified train."¹⁵¹ Proving that Montana had made more technological progress than

Easterners may have expected, Rankin praised Montana's new kinds of travel, "We are amazed and delighted that we can reach almost every point by train or automobile... The last Saturday night in the Primary I spoke at Roundup, then went to bed in a comfortable sleeper and arrived at my home 380 miles distant in time for Sunday dinner."¹⁵² Rankin's stories of her train travel portrayed life in Montana as a modern life of ease. Rankin also reported other aspects of Montana's modernity, "Many women have electrified kitchens. It is the unusual small town which does not boast of electricity... We have water power enough in our state to cook every meal that is eaten, to do the hard work and heat every home."¹⁵³ Here, Rankin depicted their life in Montana as just as comfortable and advanced as New York City. Due to their great resources of natural gas, even in their most severe winter, "the inhabitants in the progressive town of Havre in the northern part of the state suffered no inconvenience for they simply lit the gas. No one had to get up in the cold to shovel coal, not even the janitor."¹⁵⁴ In stark contrast to Montana's pioneer past, Rankin held up Montana's developments that allowed them to live in relative luxury.

Although most of Rankin's boosterism focused on Montana's resources and economic opportunities, she also positioned the average Montana citizen as civilized. Her speech told of the "educated, refined young women" who had moved to the West.¹⁵⁵ She impressed upon her audience the worldliness of Montana citizens who had come "from every state in the Union from every country in the world."¹⁵⁶ According to Rankin, Montana residents were educated, had come from diverse places, and had experience with cultures and ideas from around the globe. Thus, Rankin asserted the value in paying attention to Montana's well-informed and world-wise residents.

Perhaps Rankin's most persuasive argument for Montana's civilization was herself. Most Western boosters were men, so having a well-dressed, upper-class woman make these booster claims made a stronger argument for Montana's civilization.¹⁵⁷ Presenting herself according to traditional ideals of white femininity, Rankin's very presence at Carnegie Hall asserted that Montana had a civilized population. Gail Bederman argues that Americans in the early twentieth century believed that civilized cultures were marked by sexual differentiation.¹⁵⁸ Therefore, women's femininity and differences from men functioned as markers of civilized communities. Rankin's enactment of femininity, fashion, and class were proof that Western women were feminine and civilized. Furthermore, Rankin's arguments about women's distinctive nature fit the feminine ideals of the East Coast and other industrial cities. Before meeting her, reporters had questioned Rankin's femininity, not only because she was political, but also because she was from Montana. The reporter from New York's *Evening Telegram* noted his surprise that Rankin was feminine given "the fact that she comes from Missoula, a place of about 18,000 inhabitants, of which probably not a corporal's guard of persons hereabout ever have heard, but which is located in the western part of Montana. In the entire State there are 177,000 voters."¹⁵⁹ Therefore, Rankin's feminine performance proved she was not a gun shooting, horse-riding Western woman—an image that many Montana boosters attempted to shed in favor of a civilized image. Instead, Rankin performed the epitome of East Coast femininity by presenting herself as fit for an elite East Coast society event. Rankin's fashionable femininity bolstered and enacted her claims that Montana was civilized. Rankin's performance implied that if such a feminine

and sophisticated woman was raised in Montana, and represented Montana, then future settlers could also move West and enjoy lives of culture and civilization.¹⁶⁰

Enacting Political Preparedness Through the Rhetoric of Direct Democracy

Despite Rankin's celebrity status, she still had little initial credibility after her election. As she entered her first term in office as a woman representative from a sparsely populated state that most Easterners knew little about, Rankin did not have seniority, political allies, or the "solid career and credible credentials of most male politicians."¹⁶¹ "As a social worker [and] political neophyte," Linda Witt, Karen Paget, and Glenna Matthew argue, Rankin was "utterly lacking in power."¹⁶² No one knew whether she was a capable politician, "not that the all-male Congress of 1917 was likely to take her seriously in any event."¹⁶³ Rankin's efforts to perform femininity and difference from men may have calmed gender anxieties and justified women's political activity, but setting herself up as an expert on women and children, "guaranteed that she would not be taken seriously" in office and that she "would wield no power whatsoever."¹⁶⁴ Although Rankin had justified woman suffrage and her election according to what she would do for women and children, Rankin also needed to assert her ability to exert political power in office.¹⁶⁵ Rankin demonstrated her political capabilities by highlighting her political experience, performing the role of confident and practiced politician, and highlighting her legislative intelligence by speaking on her political expertise of direct democracy.

Rankin performed her political savvy and confidence in her interviews and lecture tour. In response to questions about her political confidence, Rankin told the *Chicago Daily Tribune*:

No, I'm not nervous about going to congress. I've been working with politicians and for political matters for so long that I feel that I'm a veteran in the game. I think that I shall be able to take my part in Washington and do my part.¹⁶⁶

Rankin addressed the gendered questions by playing the role of confident and seasoned politician. Rankin told the *Seattle Times*:

Because I shall be the only woman there as a member, is no reason why I should hesitate or falter in the performance of my duty there...Of course I shall make speeches. I've been making them for the last eight years, for suffrage, for prohibition and for myself...My experience in politics ought to help me to do this with a goodly measure of success.¹⁶⁷

Rankin discounted reporters' suggestions that she lacked political experience and highlighted her advocacy background and qualifications. Rankin also asserted her national experience as she stated to the *New York Sunday American*, "I am familiar with more than the needs of my own State because as secretary of the National Suffrage Association I travelled widely. I have had charge of suffrage bills in New York, New Hampshire, Delaware, Florida, and North Dakota."¹⁶⁸ Rankin enacted her ready leadership through her self-assured style as she "expressed the forcefulness of her character in her replies and her earnestness in the manner in which she explain[ed] the reasons which have prompted her to support this or that cause."¹⁶⁹ In Carnegie Hall, Rankin spoke "easily [and] without notes...with the ease of an old-time politician" and delivered the speech "in the same forceful and determined way that led her to ford rivers and speak at roundups in her horseback campaign in Montana before the election...There was certainly nothing half-hearted about the way she looked issues in the face."¹⁷⁰

Rankin also proved her political intelligence by schooling her Carnegie Hall audience on the benefits of direct legislation. Direct democracy was a turn-of-the-century movement to resist the increasing power of corporations and monopolies and limit their influence on government.¹⁷¹ Direct democracy reforms, largely fueled by antimonopoly sentiment and distrust of politics, were meant to oppose corrupt government officials that acted in the interests of corporations rather than “the people.”¹⁷² Progressives around the country argued that the “the nation’s number one problem [was] the emergence of the new supercorporations” [sic] and the solution was to “deprive legislatures of the authority to enact laws benefitting special interests and restore the power to the people themselves.”¹⁷³ All of the direct democracy reforms “had as their common denominator the delegation of political decisions to the ordinary voter” as a means of making the government “more responsive to the popular will.”¹⁷⁴ Of all of these reforms, the referendum, initiative, and recall “were perhaps the most emblematic” of direct democracy because they gave voters the ability to pass and repeal laws and remove public officials from office through the ballot and petitions.¹⁷⁵ The referendum allows citizens to “accept or reject specific legislation that was enacted by a legislature” and the initiative gave “citizens the power to place a proposition on the ballot subject to popular vote.”¹⁷⁶ The recall, one of the most controversial pieces of direct legislature, allowed “the people” to hold an election to discharge elected officials from office. The Australian ballot ensured citizens the right to cast their votes secretly; the direct primary limited political bosses’ and copper barons’ influence on party nominating conventions by allowing voters to secretly nominate candidates for the primary; and the direct election of

United States senators allowed citizens to vote for their senators rather than leaving the decision to state legislators, who could be bribed by corporations.¹⁷⁷

Speaking about direct democracy allowed Rankin to perform her political expertise. Due to the popularity and success of direct democracy in the West, and specifically in Montana, Rankin arrived in the Northeast ready to teach her audience about a subject she knew well. Although reformers across the country publicized and advocated direct legislation, direct democracy reforms were “overwhelmingly...a phenomenon of the American West.”¹⁷⁸ The majority of states in the West adopted a variety of these reforms, while very few states in the East and South did so.¹⁷⁹ Direct legislation was especially significant in Montana, as the first state in the region and third in the nation to enact the initiative and referendum.¹⁸⁰ Montana citizens valued direct legislation as a means to resist the control of the Amalgamated Copper Company over Montana’s economic and political life in the early twentieth century.¹⁸¹ By 1910, Montana had become a “one company state,” “locked in the grip of a corporation” that used its wealth to influence Montana legislators and control state government.¹⁸² Thus, progressives like Rankin and Montana’s Senator Joseph Dixon had worked to “Put the Amalgamated Out of Montana Politics” through direct legislation.¹⁸³ Due to the popularity of direct legislation in Montana, Rankin had run for Congress using a premise of direct democracy reform as her campaign slogan: “Let the People Know.” The slogan referred to the need for citizens to know about the corruption of their state legislature. As an advocate of direct legislation, Rankin used her expertise to demonstrate her legislative knowledge and understanding of politics’ corruption.

Rankin's lessons on direct democracy instructed her national audience on the ways corporations had corrupted political parties. According to Rankin's Carnegie Hall speech, the nation suffered from "these problems...because many of our laws are made for the protection and special privilege of a few."¹⁸⁴ For example, Rankin argued that "undesirable" men "might win an election if they had the undivided support of a party organization and if the people felt that they had no choice."¹⁸⁵ Rankin proved to her audience her legislative mastery and offered a solution to the power the elite had over the rest of the population: "putting political machinery in the hands of everyone who is interested enough in the government."¹⁸⁶ Rankin argued that "the people" could address the corruption of politics if only they had "more direct participation in the affairs of [public] life."¹⁸⁷ As more and more people had a "direct voice in their government," Rankin reasoned, "the more the general public would benefit." To Rankin "the people, all of the people working together, constitute our only hope."¹⁸⁸ Thus, Rankin taught her audience about the crookedness of politics and presented herself as a politician who knew enough about legislation to fix the government.

Rankin's instructions on democracy and government were built on the premise that "the fundamental device by which we enter directly into political affairs [was] the vote."¹⁸⁹ But she warned her audience, "Just having a vote is not all that is required if we are to have a voice in government. We must have the political machinery [like direct legislation] by which the votes may be cast."¹⁹⁰ According to Rankin, direct legislation made "legislatures more sensitive to the demands of the people."¹⁹¹ The goal of direct legislation was "proportional representation," so that "each party shall be represented in the ratio of its proportion to the entire electorate."¹⁹² One example of direct legislation

included the direct primary, which she explained was “a choice in the selection of the officers,” because “The more direct that selection is the nearer we will come to hearing the voice of the people.”¹⁹³ Rankin argued that the direct primary limited political bosses’ and copper barons’ influence on party nominating conventions by allowing voters to secretly nominate candidates for the primary and required political candidates to collect signatures (indicating support by “the people”) before getting his name on the ballot.¹⁹⁴

Lecturing on direct democracy also allowed Rankin to boost another positive aspect of Montana: its political progress. As evidence to support her claims about the merits of direct democracy, Rankin pointed to Montana’s direct legislation as an example. Montana had successfully enacted direct legislation including the Australian ballot, the direct primaries, the presidential primary law, the initiative, the referendum, woman suffrage, the absent voters law, the corrupt practices act, and the preferential vote for U.S. Senators.¹⁹⁵ For every reform she advocated in her speech, Rankin boasted of how well it worked in Montana. She told of Montana’s corrupt practices act that had “been of great assistance to the people on election day” because “it prevent[ed] the soliciting of votes in any manner.”¹⁹⁶ She informed her audience that Montana had enacted a direct primary law, and the only people “who opposed” it were “self-appointed political bosses or . . . the henchmen of some special privilege.”¹⁹⁷ Montana’s progressive politics were further evidence of Rankin’s experience with legislative reform and of Montana’s culture and civilization. Thus, Rankin appropriated the traditional rhetoric of Western boosterism to promote Montana’s direct democracy. While Western boosters commonly promoted everything from the Western land, resources, opportunities, and climate to their civic and cultural developments like education and hotels, Rankin’s

booster discourse differed from most promotional materials as she featured Montana's progressive reforms. Rankin boasted that in Montana, these direct democratic policies had "brought about a closer, more direct relationship between the voter and the government. Better laws have resulted; civic spirit has been stimulated. And in the hearts of the people there is steadily growing a recognition of their sovereignty and an impulse to work out their ideals."¹⁹⁸ Rankin's performance positioned herself as knowledgeable and experienced on legislative issues like direct democracy and asserted her political preparedness for office.

Rankin's Myth of the West for Eastern Suffragists

As Rankin promoted Montana's progressive legislation, she particularly boosted Montana women's right to vote. But Rankin spoke about Montana woman suffrage in a way that positively featured Montana and simultaneously encouraged the Eastern suffragists at this critical juncture in their campaign. The federal amendment for woman suffrage was a "live issue" as Catt had recently outlined NAWSA's "Winning Plan" to "put maximum political pressure on Congress to pass a suffrage amendment" and suffragists in the Congressional Union had just started picketing the White House gates.¹⁹⁹ Furthermore, New York was in the midst of another campaign for a suffrage referendum that would be voted on later that year.²⁰⁰ New York was significant for the suffrage movement because it had the largest "population of any state in the Union" and "the largest number of representatives in Congress."²⁰¹ Catt had predicted that "If New York wins in 1917 the backbone of the opposition will be largely bent if not broken."²⁰² Rankin's sudden fame and political success gave her a platform to wield in support of the suffrage campaigns for both New York and the federal amendment. To account for

Montana's success with woman suffrage, Rankin drew on the myth of the West and featured heroic depictions of Montana women surviving on the frontier.²⁰³ Although other Western suffragists, like Duniway, had used the frontier myth to depict woman suffrage as region-specific and unavailable to Eastern women, Rankin drew on the myth of the West to depict suffrage as a natural right that had been revealed in the West, but would soon spread to the East. Thus, Rankin used the frontier myth differently than Duniway as she decentered the frontier myth from its emphasis on the American West specifically and refocused it on the general experience of any pioneering life in the "state of nature."

Rankin's Myth of the West for Woman Suffrage

In an article titled "Why the West leads the East in Recognition of Women" [sic], which was published in multiple national newspapers, Rankin addressed the question of why

the women of the young western communities have achieved the political prestige they now enjoy, in the face of the fact that their fight for the ballot has been neither so prolonged nor so strenuous as the fight that has been waged for half a century by suffragists throughout the eastern and southern parts of the United States.

Seemingly the women of the West had but to ask for the franchise and it was given them. Why, then, was this generous response on the part of the men confined to the western territory?²⁰⁴

Rankin posited, "The answer lies...in the character of the western country and its effect upon the lives of the men and women."²⁰⁵ Rankin accounted for Western woman suffrage according to Western women's heroic survival on the frontier. In her Carnegie Hall

speech, Rankin celebrated Western women who had “ventured” to the West as possessing superior qualities such as “an abundance of life and adventurous spirit,” a “long[ing] for more personal freedom that they might express themselves,” and “a splendid courage to face the hardships and the privations that are incident to pioneer life.”²⁰⁶ She also celebrated women homesteaders as agrarian heroines who had set records for their farming abilities.²⁰⁷ Rankin’s mythic narrative of Western woman suffrage in the *Boston Traveller* featured Western women who “Battl[ed] Side by Side With [their husbands] in Hewing Out Their Homes in the Rugged Mountains” and had “toiled side by side with husband or brother, building the new home in the wilderness” and “prov[ing] to them her right to political equality.”²⁰⁸ Her article described pioneer women “toiling day by day...holding down their desolate claims, living in solitude for months at a time in crude little claim shacks, [and] improving their land.”²⁰⁹ Rankin’s depictions of Montana citizens featured sacrificial pioneer women who proved their equality to men on the frontier.

Rankin claimed that Montana women had borne the difficulties of life on the frontier and, in exchange, Montana men supported woman suffrage. In her Carnegie Hall speech, Rankin illustrated her point with a story of a “young man” in Montana who supported woman suffrage because of what his mother had endured on the frontier for his sake. To give birth to him years ago, his mother had

left her cabin early one morning to go to the nearest man and to a doctor. She went up the canyon and through the gulch, over the mountain, down the other side. She forded the river and crossed the plain, on to the town mining camps arriving late. She had traveled 60 miles on horse back alone.

Therefore, when the young man “heard [Montana women] were working for the vote, [he] thought [he] would come up and tell [them] ‘I am for you.’” Rankin concluded that Montana “men who have been reared by such mothers couldn’t help but believe in women. And there is no hardship [Montana] women will not go through to rear such men.”²¹⁰ As Western women had endured the difficulties of the frontier with the male pioneers, Western men had seen the way Western women worked just as hard as the men and the men grew to respect Western women.

Thus, Rankin’s frontier myth, like Duniway’s, reasoned that Western women had the right to vote because of their feats on the frontier. Rankin celebrated the hard work Western women had accomplished in the West and featured it primarily as a natural consequence of living on the Western land. It was the actual process of going West that enabled men to recognize the logic of equal rights. Rankin explained in Carnegie Hall, “It has been this pioneer life that has brought the men and woman so close together in working out of a better world.”²¹¹

The West as a State of Nature

Rankin’s account of Western woman suffrage, however, also rested in the West’s “state of nature,” which allowed Westerners to discover natural rights. Rankin’s reason for why the Western country had this “effect upon the lives of the men and women” was that “the men and women who have come into this new land [did] battle with the great primal forces of nature, and c[a]me, through contact with these forces, to a larger understanding of the fundamental principles of life.”²¹² Rankin’s rationale was similar to the concept from social contract theory and natural rights philosophy of the “state of nature.” Thomas Hobbes and John Locke argued that in a “state of nature,” outside of any

government or organized political community, individuals enjoyed natural rights.²¹³

Locke contended that God laid down natural laws that guaranteed natural rights and these rights were natural because they were not “artificial” or “man made.”²¹⁴ Similarly, Rankin depicted the West as a similar “state of nature”—an undeveloped land and “virgin country” that was outside the customs, traditions, and government of the East’s social and political community. Rankin taught that by experiencing life in the West’s “state of nature,” Westerners had come to understand the rights and equality that existed in nature. In the West, the “conventions” of the East had “not yet obscured the fundamental principles of nature.”²¹⁵ Rankin contended that the West’s “natural forces” revealed the fundamental truths of natural rights to Westerners so that “the men and women of the West come to a realization of the logic and wisdom of political equality through their common battle with the elemental forces of a new country.”²¹⁶

Experiencing and recognizing “these forces” of nature, Rankin reasoned, “led logically to the enfranchisement of western women.” Rankin explained in her *Boston Traveller* article that in the West:

The men see the women facing the same problems as they face and meeting them in the same buoyant way as they meet them. Like the men, they have waged their battle against nature and have now to contend with man-made conditions. And when they are ready to revolt against the restraints of political injustice the men are ready to stand by them.²¹⁷

After Western men had seen the natural equality of men and women in their struggle for survival in nature, Western men understood the logic of political equality and were “ready to respond to her claim for political equality.”²¹⁸ Rankin contended:

Side by side the men and women have wrought their homes from this virgin country, struggling first with nature, and then with the man-made laws which control the results of their struggle with nature. And in their common battle...[Westerners] have come to recognize that just as men and women need the same weapons to combat nature conditions, so do they need the same weapons to combat man-made conditions. Thus is the psychology which prompts Montana men and women to demand political equality based on their mutual understanding of the development of economic forces.²¹⁹

Thus, the West's natural state had provided the conditions for men to see women's natural rights more clearly. In the West, Rankin explained, "it has been easier for men and women to come to a mutual understanding; it has been logical for them to transfer their equality in the struggle for existence to the formal control of civic affairs."²²⁰

Although the East's culture and civilization obscured women's natural rights, Rankin declared that the natural forces that revealed women's natural rights to Western men were "not peculiar to Montana or to the West. They are universal forces." Even though the East's man-made laws clouded the "principles of nature" and Eastern men were "Shackled by Conventions," these "conventions" were artificial and they would not last forever.²²¹ The circumstances of the pioneer life in the West allowed for Western men to discover women's natural rights, but Rankin declared that those rights would soon come East. Thus, unlike Duniway, Rankin did not depict Western women as better than Eastern women or insinuate that Eastern women needed to "earn" their suffrage too. Rather, Rankin drew on the frontier myth for woman suffrage differently than Duniway as she untethered woman suffrage from the American West, and instead depicted woman

suffrage as a natural right that had been discovered in the West's "state of nature," but that was soon spreading to the East.

Woman Suffrage as an Inevitable and Imminent Certainty in the East

Rankin constructed a chronology of the Western states' success with suffrage that generated a sense of the movement's momentum and the inevitability of its success in the East. Rankin pointed to the progress that the woman suffrage movement had already made as "The crystallized sentiment and persistent effort back of the amendment ha[d] grown to amazing proportions."²²² Rankin also noted the progress that had been achieved by contrasting the present support with suffrage with the past:

The attitude of American men and women toward the question of enfranchisement seems wholly to have changed since the early part of the twentieth century, and while ten years ago the average woman who believed in equal suffrage was apt to confess her beliefs timidly and with apologies, today it is the woman who is opposed to suffrage who apologizes for her attitude and explains that she is old fashioned.²²³

Rankin's claim depicted attitudes towards women's equality as steadily improving, which made the movement's future success seem certain.²²⁴

Rankin's depiction of the woman suffrage movement's progress constructed it as a force that had already begun and could not be stopped. Rankin proclaimed that the West's freedom "can no longer be localized. It is calmly unaware of racial and national lines."²²⁵ Therefore, Rankin showed that woman suffrage was not naturally connected to the Western land—it was no longer bound by geography. Given the gains women had made in the Western states, Rankin concluded that "the result *must* be universally what it

has been in the West.”²²⁶ Rankin asserted that “men and women *will* penetrate the confused web of convention and *will* see clearly the same forces which led to the enfranchisement of the western women.”²²⁷ Rankin claimed that woman suffrage was inevitable because “Woman suffrage is coming all over the world. Nothing can stop its progress.”²²⁸

Finally, as Rankin appropriated the chronology of the Western suffrage movement’s success, Rankin suggested that the triumph of suffrage in the East was fast approaching. As evidence, Rankin pointed to “the rapidly increasing number of women actually voting the world over” and “the advance of democracy pressing on all sides.”²²⁹ In Rankin’s narrative of the movement’s progress, it was “merely a matter of time” before Eastern women would be enfranchised like Western women.²³⁰ Rankin even noted that the protests conservatives made against suffrage were growing “more and more weakly all the time” [sic].²³¹ Rankin told the *Evening Telegram* that “I trust that [the federal amendment for woman suffrage] will be in the near future” and wrote in the *San Francisco Chronicle* that suffragists “confidently anticipate [success] within the present decade.”²³² After women attained the federal amendment for suffrage, Rankin predicted, “It will not be a great while when women as candidates will [invite] no comment, and the voters in making their choice, will not decide between the candidates as men or women, but only as their fitness for the position to which they aspire.”²³³ Rankin predicted that “the time cannot be distant when men and women in all the thinking countries of the world will participate equally in the political government of their common affairs.”²³⁴ Rankin’s manipulation of time constructed the success of woman suffrage as imminent.

In the meantime, Rankin insisted that “there is nothing else for the women [of New York] to talk about, to think about or to work for except their own enfranchisement.”²³⁵

Conclusion and Implications

In this essay, I argue that as Rankin introduced herself to the nation after her election, she performed traditional ideals of femininity in response to the nation’s anxiety about having a female member of Congress. At the same time, Rankin asserted her political capabilities by speaking on issues about which she was an expert: she boosted Montana, advocated for direct legislation, and accounted for Western woman suffrage. First, Rankin defended women’s participation in politics according to their feminine minds and expertise on domestic matters. Second, Rankin drew on the well-known rhetoric of Western boosterism as she shaped the meaning of Montana for the nation. Third, Rankin demonstrated her political prowess through her political experience, confident style, and direct democracy advocacy. Finally, Rankin accounted for Western women’s success with suffrage according to a frontier myth that revealed the truth of natural rights for women in the West and East and implied that woman suffrage would soon be realized in the Eastern states.

As Rankin closed her Carnegie Hall speech, she was recalled for “as many curtain calls as a prima donna.”²³⁶ Although the responses of the press indicate that the Eastern audience was not interested in Rankin’s promotion of Montana, she seemed to have succeeded in establishing her femininity. Rankin’s fashionable appearance was not lost on her New York audience as almost every newspaper reporter commented on her feminine and stylish attire. The *New York City Herald* predicted, “The House of Representatives is going to enjoy something of a sartorial treat when Miss Rankin

arrives.”²³⁷ The *New York Tribune* described Rankin as “a debutante on her way to the coming-out party of women into the class of real people.”²³⁸ While this description infantilized this 35-year old adult politician as a “young woman,” and compared her to a teenage “debutante” at her coming out party, it also noted that Rankin was correctly presenting herself to the “polite society” of the East in socially acceptable ways.

As the newspaper reporters commented on Rankin’s clothing and womanliness, they often contrasted her appearance to other woman suffragists. The *New York City Herald* emphasized Rankin’s fashion sense and attractiveness before comparing her to other reformers in Carnegie Hall that night: “In striking contrast to the young woman who has arrived, politically, were seen groups of matriarchal looking suffragists seated in boxes draped with their suffrage colors.”²³⁹ And the *Evening Telegram* noted that:

what is most noticeable about her is that she does not ape the mannish airs of many of her sister co-workers, and instead of wearing a vest, high collar and a Windsor tie she dresses in the latest feminine modes and in taste, and in any crowd would be about the last person who would be picked out as one of the nation’s leading exponents of the cause of equal rights.²⁴⁰

Rankin’s performance articulated the possibility that women could hold political office without being masculinized.

In addition to her femininity, Rankin also seemed to have succeeded in portraying her political competence. Although the *New York Tribune* spent a significant amount of ink describing Rankin’s appearance and white-chiffon dress, it clarified that “there was nothing white-chiffony about the Hon. Jeannette’s opinions, as she laid them before the crowd last night.”²⁴¹ Rather, “Her white chiffon dress fluttered in the breeze of her own

eloquence.”²⁴² Thus, Rankin’s performance seemed to display femininity as well as expertise and implied that a woman’s femininity did not take away from her political capability. Indeed, one reporter commented that “The new Congresswoman, who, dressed in a fur-trimmed chiffon gown, showed that fashions and office-holding were not incompatible.”²⁴³ Based on the newspaper reports of Rankin’s Carnegie Hall speech, Rankin effectively demonstrated her legislative knowledge and political expertise. Newspapers reported that Rankin spoke on “Many Subjects,”²⁴⁴ “Discusse[d] Advanced Legislation,”²⁴⁵ and gave “Her Views on Government.”²⁴⁶ The *N.Y.C. Mail* announced after her Carnegie Hall speech that the “Lady Congressman Knows Everything”²⁴⁷ and listed the many subjects Rankin discussed:

Besides suffrage, Montana’s wheat production, water power, mining resources and other supreme and statistical advantages, which seemed to be as easily at her command as the prices of potatoes is to most women. She also discussed various forms of progressive legislation which she advocates. A more direct vote for President, direct primaries, the recall, initiative and referendum, and advanced systems of proportional representation she praised enthusiastically and lucidly.²⁴⁸

These responses by the media indicate that Rankin’s audience left Carnegie Hall knowing that Rankin could speak to many issues other than woman suffrage and her own election.

Within a month of her Carnegie Hall address, Rankin arrived in Washington to take her seat in the House on the opening day of session. That morning, suffragists held a breakfast for Rankin in which “Mrs. Catt sat on her right hand and Miss Alice Paul sat on her left.”²⁴⁹ After her breakfast, “her entrance to the house was signaled by uproarious cheering and applause.”²⁵⁰ Rankin received another round of applause when her name

was called on the roll. The papers reported that “she replied: ‘Present,’ blushing furiously. The ovation continued until she rose from her seat and bowed.”²⁵¹ Within the week, Rankin told the *New York Times* that she would “put in as [her] first bill the Susan B. Anthony nationwide woman suffrage amendment.”²⁵² Although she would not speak on woman suffrage in the House until January of the following year, within her first week she cast her vote in opposition to the United States’ entrance into World War I.²⁵³ As the United States entered World War I and the progressive movements came to a halt, the direct democracy movement also lost its momentum and in the end, became a “regionalized phenomenon tied to the specific political cultures of the American West.”²⁵⁴

Rankin’s speech, however, offers a number of implications for women’s political rhetoric and the place-making of the West. Rankin’s discourse differed from the other case studies in this project as Rankin balanced the divergent expectations of a social movement leader and a politician. Rankin was the only rhetor in this project who needed to prove that she was capable of being “inside” the political system and fit to be a part of the “establishment.”²⁵⁵ So Rankin’s rhetoric simultaneously justified her presence in political power while also seeking to change the political system. Since Montana and most Western states already had woman suffrage, Rankin did not advocate Western woman suffrage, as Duniway and the Mountaineers had done. Rankin instead used Western woman suffrage to place-make the West and to encourage Eastern suffragists. Rather than using ideas of the West to enter politics and get suffrage, Rankin explained her political success and woman suffrage according to Western exceptionalism and the myth of the West. In her effort to shape the meaning of the West, Rankin’s discourse

sounded most similar to Hebard's. Both Hebard and Rankin attempted to make the West look settled, civilized, and progressive, so they both highlighted their states' woman suffrage and women in politics. Even though Montana women had suffrage, Rankin still made an argument for woman suffrage, whereas, Hebard's place-making discourse never justified why women should be able to vote, even when she commemorated Wyoming suffragists.

Rankin's post-election discourse also had similarities to the Mountaineers' suffrage advocacy. Both the Mountaineers and Rankin appropriated a popular discourse of the West: the Mountaineers appropriated mountaineering and the wilderness and Rankin appropriated Western boosterism. Furthermore, both cases actively participated in boosting the West. While Rankin's boosterism was more blatant, the Mountaineers' Rainier ascent was part of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, which was in itself a booster event. Even the Rainier ascent was planned by the AYPE as a means of generating attention for the exposition and highlighting Seattle's many merits. Furthermore, both the Mountaineers and Rankin drew on the frontier myth as a justification for woman suffrage.

Thus, like all of the case studies in this project, Rankin drew on the mythic West to justify women's rights and place-make the West. Like Hebard, Rankin used concepts from both the frontier myth and the agrarian myth. As she boosted Montana, Rankin exploited aspects of the agrarian myth to depict Montana as the "garden of the world" and when she accounted for Western woman suffrage she utilized the frontier myth and agrarian myth to feature Montana women as Western heroines. Although both Rankin and Hebard drew on the agrarian myth, they used different aspects of it: Hebard primarily

featured the male farmer as the hero of the myth and Rankin focused most on Montana as the “Garden of the World” and Montana women as agrarian heroines.

Rankin constructed a relationship between femininity and politics that was more similar to Hebard’s construction of political women than Duniway’s. Duniway had belittled traditionally feminine women and instead celebrated Western women who enacted the masculine and violent frontier myth. Duniway’s celebration of Western women’s performance of masculinity challenged the cult of true womanhood, but it also discredited “true women” as unfit for political participation. Thus, Duniway reinforced the relationship between politics and masculinity. In contrast to Duniway, Rankin articulated a relationship between politics and femininity. Like Hebard, Rankin’s performance expanded the gendered notions of political participation to articulate the possibility of being both feminine and politically active.

These distinct gender performances can also be understood according to the differences in gender ideals across regions.²⁵⁶ Although citizens of industrialized cities in the East idealized traditional true womanhood, in the West, there also existed the feminine ideal of the sun-bonneted pioneer woman who served as helpmate for the Western man. The ideal female helpmate in the West was physically and emotionally strong, brave, enduring, and nonsexual. The helpmate figure was idealized for her ability to take initiative and handle the challenges of the frontier.²⁵⁷ The image of the lauded Western helpmate contrasted with the image of the “refined lady” who fit the ideals of femininity in the East.²⁵⁸ Both Duniway and Rankin’s frontier myth for woman suffrage celebrated the ideal female helpmate in the West who earned her rights through her frontier labor. But Rankin’s own enactment of femininity was most similar to the “refined

lady” ideal in the East. Therefore, Duniway performed the ideal of the Western helpmate, which indicated through her style and discourse that she was distinct from Eastern women, whereas Rankin’s performance of Eastern gender ideals enacted a similarity with the East.

Notes: Chapter 4

¹ Hannah Josephson, *Jeannette Rankin: First Lady in Congress* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc, 1974), 56.

² James J. Lopach and Jean A. Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin: A Political Woman* (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2005), 133.

³ The *Evening Star* reported: “Every mail brings a fresh crop of proposals. They come from all over the United States. One man, a lawyer from Oklahoma...a toothpaste company wanted to photograph Miss Rankin’s teeth” and was “willing to pay \$5,000 for the picture. An automobile company asked the privilege of presenting a new model car to Miss Rankin if she would merely consent to having her ownership used for advertising purposes. The latest excitement is a motion picture sharpshooter from California who has

dug himself near the Rankin homestead.” “Her Victory at Polls Proves Peril at Gate,” *The Evening Star*, November 21, 1916.

⁴ “Her Victory at Polls Proves.”

⁵ “Jeannette Rankin is Cheered by Tremendous Home Crowd,” *The Daily Missoulian*, November 7, 1916; “Jeannette Rankin Gives First Public Statement,” *The Daily Missoulian*, November 18, 1916; Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 134; The *Montana Kaimen* reported that when she spoke at the University of Montana, Rankin told the assembly, “A great responsibility rests upon me, to my country...and to my alma mater.” *Montana Kaimen*, December 15, 1916.

⁶ “Jeannette Rankin Declares War on ‘Movie’ Men,” *The Hartford Courant*, November 17, 1916; “Her Victory at Polls Proves”; Josephson, *Jeannette Rankin*, 57.

⁷ “Lee Keedick of New York, who had managed the American tours” of “distinguished speakers” such as Ernest Shackleton, Roald Amundsen, Robert Baden-Powel, Douglas Mawson, and Alfred Tennyson negotiated with Wellington for a speaking contract that earned Rankin \$500 for every speech. Keedick announced that Rankin had “received so many requests from women in the eastern states asking that he use his good offices to induce Miss Rankin to lecture in Carnegie Hall that he made a special trip to Montana to deliver in person the invitation.” In addition to negotiating her contract, Wellington wrote Rankin’s speech and “accompanied her on the trip east,” which Lopach and Luckowski surmise, “shielded Jeannette from the ‘sexual innuendo or hints of impropriety’ that were certain to come from disapproving men and women.” While in New York, Rankin and Wellington lunched with New York’s recently elected

member of Congress, Fiorella LaGuardia, at the Waldorf Astoria and were invited to have dinner with former president Theodore Roosevelt at his Oyster Bay home.

“Jeannette Rankin Gives First Public Statement,” *The Daily Missoulian*, November 18, 1916; Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 7, 135.

⁸ Rankin gave her speech on “Democracy and Government” at Carnegie Hall on March 2, 1917 and in nineteen other cities in the Northeast in the following weeks. Letters between Jeannette Rankin and Wellington Rankin suggested that Jeannette Rankin may have continued to use this speech throughout her first term in office. Letter from Wellington Rankin to Jeannette Rankin, August 1917, Jeannette Rankin Papers, Montana Historical Society.

⁹ “Woman Member of Congress Has Rousing Welcome,” *New York City Herald*, March 3, 1917; “‘Lady From Montana’ Talks,” *New York Times*, March 3, 1917. *New York Times* said that she spoke “to an audience composed mostly of suffragists.” *N.Y.C Herald* said that “Suffragists and a Few Men Greet Miss Rankin in Carnegie Hall....There were numerous men in the audience who seemed to be somewhat elderly and prepared to be critical.”

¹⁰ “Woman Member of Congress Has Rousing.”

¹¹ “Jeannette Rankin Cheered by 3,000 For Speech Here,” *New York Tribune*, March 3, 1917.

¹² “Jeannette Rankin Cheered by 3,000.”

¹³ “Jeannette Rankin Cheered by 3,000”; “‘Lady From Montana’ Talks.”

¹⁴ “‘Lady From Montana’ Talks.”

¹⁵ Butler, *Gender Trouble*; Karen Foerstel and Herbert N. Foerstel, *Climbing the Hill: Gender Conflict in Congress*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996, 4.

¹⁶ “How the First ‘Petticoated’ Member May Upset Congressional Traditions and Change the Personal Habits of the Trouser-Wearing Majority—What I Expect to Do When I Get to Congress,” *New York Sunday American*, November 26, 1916.

¹⁷ Bert Lennon, “The Lady From Montana: An Intimate Pen Picture of Miss Jeannette Rankin Presented by a Reporter for This Newspaper Who Was Sent Especially to Interview Her After Her Election to Congress,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 10, 1916, 3.

¹⁸ “JEANNETTE RANKIN IS CONGRESSWOMAN: Newly Elected Member Ardent Suffragists and ‘Very Feminine,’” *The Hartford Courant*, November 13, 1916; “Our First Congresswoman Is Dainty Bit of Femininity,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 26, 1916; Sara Hayden, “‘House Beautiful’: Media Responses to Jeannette Rankin’s Election to Congress and Vote Against U.S. Entry into the First World War,” Unpublished Paper, University of Montana.

¹⁹ Donald Wilhelm, “The Lady from Missoula,” *The Independent*, April 2, 1917, 25.

²⁰ “Our First Congresswoman Is Dainty.”

²¹ “MISS RANKIN ELECTED,” *New York Times*, November 11, 1916; “Good Bread Maker as Well as Vote Getter,” *The Portsmouth Times*, November 21, 1916; “JEANNETTE RANKIN IS CONGRESSWOMAN”; “The Lady from Montana is Entitled to the Floor,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 11, 1916. Also see “Nervous?”

Not I, Says Woman Elected to U.S. Congress,” *The Seattle Times*, November 26, 1916.

Also see “Our First Congresswoman Is Dainty.”

²² “Nervous? Not I, Says Woman.” Also see reports of her ability to make her own clothes and hats in “Our First Congresswoman Is Dainty”; “MISS RANKIN ELECTED”; “The Lady from Montana is Entitled.”

²³ “Nervous? Not I, Says Woman.” Also see her statements in “Our First Congresswoman Is Dainty”; “The Lady from Montana is Entitled.”

²⁴ “Jeannette Rankin Gives First Public Statement,” *The Daily Missoulian*, November 18, 1916; Wilhelm, “The Lady from Missoula,” 25.

²⁵ “MISS RANKIN ELECTED.”

²⁶ Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 6.

²⁷ “MISS JEANNETTE RANKIN, OF MONTANA, THE FIRST WOMAN ELECTED TO SERVE IN CONGRESS,” *Outlook*, November 22, 1916; “JEANNETTE RANKIN IS CONGRESSWOMAN”; “MISS RANKIN ELECTED”; “First ‘Congresswoman’ Gets Shower of Congratulations,” *Detroit Free Press*, November 11, 1916.

²⁸ “First Public Talk for Miss Rankin,” *Missoulian-Sentinel*, January 17, 1917.

²⁹ John Kirkley, “An Afternoon with Jeannette Rankin,” Unpublished paper, Montana Historical Society.

³⁰ Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman’s Rights Movement in the United States, Revised Edition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 293.

³¹ “Jeannette Rankin Cheered by 3,000.”

³² “Jeannette Rankin Cheered by 3,000.”

³³ Jeannette Rankin, “Why Women Should Share in the Making of Our Laws,” *The Boston Traveller*, December 30, 1916; Jeannette Rankin, “Why the West leads the East in Recognition of Women,” *Chicago Herald*, December 24, 1916; Jeannette Rankin, “Why the West Leads the East in the Recognition of Women,” *The Boston Traveller*, December 23, 1916; Jeannette Rankin, “Why I Believe Federal Suffrage is the Supreme Issue,” *St Louis Post*, January 7, 1917; Jeannette Rankin, “Why I Believe Federal Suffrage is the Supreme Issue,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 7, 1917; Jeannette Rankin, “How English Militants Aided Suffrage in U.S.,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 11, 1917; Jeannette Rankin, “Why Women Should Ask the Vote at Washington,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 28, 1917.

³⁴ “There Would Be No Food Gambling if Women Were in Congress, Says ‘Lady from Montana,’” *The Evening Telegram* (NY), February 27, 1917; “How the First ‘Petticoated’ Member”; “Nervous? Not I, Says Woman”; “The Lady from Montana is Entitled”; Lennon, “The Lady From Montana,” 3.

³⁵ Jeannette Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” Carnegie Hall, New York, 2 March 1917. Ed. Tiffany Lewis.

³⁶ “Miss Rankin Addresses 3000,” *The Woman’s Journal*, March 10, 1917; “Jeannette Rankin Cheered by 3,000”; “‘Lady From Montana’ Talks”; “First Woman M.C. Makes Her Bow to New York,” *Irish World*, March 3, 1917; “Lady from Montana Makes Her Bow Here,” no publication title, no date, Jeannette Rankin Papers, Schlesinger Library, Folder 203; “Lady Congressman Knows Everything,” *N.Y.C. Mail*,

March 3, 1917; “Miss Rankin Urges Direct Vote to Elect President,” *New York*

American, March 3, 1917; “Woman Member of Congress Has Rousing.”

³⁷ Josephson, *Jeannette Rankin*, 6-7.

³⁸ Josephson, *Jeannette Rankin*, 6-7.

³⁹ Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 38.

⁴⁰ Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 3; Josephson, *Jeannette Rankin*, 20-25.

⁴¹ Josephson, *Jeannette Rankin*, 26.

⁴² For an analysis of some of Rankin’s Montana suffrage rhetoric, see Sara Hayden, “Negotiating Femininity and Power in the Early Twentieth Century West: Domestic Ideology and Feminine Style in Jeannette Rankin’s Suffrage Rhetoric,” *Communication Studies* 50, (1999): 83-102.

⁴³ Josephson, *Jeannette Rankin*, 27; Malone and Roeder, *Montana*, 203.

⁴⁴ Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 4.

⁴⁵ Josephson, *Jeannette Rankin*, 29.

⁴⁶ Josephson, *Jeannette Rankin*, 32.

⁴⁷ Josephson, *Jeannette Rankin*, 35-36.

⁴⁸ Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 5; Josephson, *Jeannette Rankin*, 42.

⁴⁹ Malone and Roeder, *Montana*, 203.

⁵⁰ Malone and Roeder, *Montana*, 203.

⁵¹ Josephson, *Jeannette Rankin*, 44-45; Malone and Roeder, *Montana*, 203-204.

⁵² Malone and Roeder, *Montana*, 203-204.

⁵³ Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 6.

⁵⁴ Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 6.

⁵⁵ Josephson, *Jeannette Rankin*, 51.

⁵⁶ Josephson, *Jeannette Rankin*, 52.

⁵⁷ Josephson, *Jeannette Rankin*, 52.

⁵⁸ John C. Board, "The Lady from Montana," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 17 (1967): 6; *The Anaconda Standard*, July 12 and 14, 1916; *Statement of Candidates for Nomination, Republican Party, Primary Election, August 29, 1916* (Secretary of State, 1916), 12, MSS Jeannette Rankin.

⁵⁹ Lopach and Luckowski argue that while campaigning for office, Rankin "portrayed the essential but conflicting images of 'altruism' and 'toughness': a 'perfect little lad[y]' with community officials and 'brazen' and 'unladylike' in the streets and at public meetings....She 'ran as a woman,' emphasizing her gender and the issues that had been developed by women's groups." Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 5.

⁶⁰ Josephson, *Jeannette Rankin*, 54.

⁶¹ Board, "The Lady from Montana."

⁶² The direct democracy reforms that Montana and other Western states had enacted "combined to produce a political system much more open to political outsiders than in other parts of the country." Furthermore, the homesteading boom had increased Montana's population, which "suddenly qualified" Montana for "two representatives, with candidates for both seats to run at large. All Jeannette had to do was come in second." Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 5; Lael Morgan, *Wanton West*:

Madams, Money, Murder, And The Wild Women of Montana's Frontier (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2011); Goebel, *A Government by the People*, 72.

⁶³ Deborah G. Felder, *A Century of Women: The Most Influential Events in Twentieth-Century Women's History* (New York, NY: Kensington Publishing Corp., 1999), 82; Linda Witt, Karen M. Paget, and Glenna Matthews, *Running as a Woman: Gender and Power in American Politics* (New York: The Free Press, 1994), 30; Brown, *Setting a Course*, 68.

⁶⁴ Felder, *A Century of Women*, 82; Witt, Paget, and Matthews, *Running as a Woman*, 31.

⁶⁵ "There Would Be No Food Gambling."

⁶⁶ John M. Sloop, *Disciplining Gender: Rhetorics of Sex Identity in Contemporary U.S. Culture* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004), 11-12.

⁶⁷ Rankin, "Democracy and Government," paragraph 39.

⁶⁸ "There Would Be No Food Gambling."

⁶⁹ Aileen Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962); Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak For Her, Volume 1: A Critical Study of Early Feminist Rhetoric* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1989).

⁷⁰ "There Would Be No Food Gambling."

⁷¹ Bonnie J. Dow, "The Womanhood Rationale in the Woman Suffrage Rhetoric of Frances E. Willard," *Southern Communication Journal* 56 (1991): 298-307; Carmen

Heider, "Suffrage, Self Determination, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Nebraska, 1879-1882," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 8 (2005): 85-107.

⁷² Hayden, "Negotiating Femininity and Power"; "Whole Nation Observes Suffrage Day," *The Missoulian*, May 2, 1914, 6; "Talk Made by Jeannette Rankin, Chairman of the Montana Equal Suffrage State Central Committee, at the State Federation of Women's Clubs, at Lewistown," June 4th, 1914, Speech notes in Jeannette Rankin Papers, Montana Historical Society, Small Collection 567.

⁷³ Rankin, "Why Women Should Share."

⁷⁴ Rankin, "Democracy and Government," paragraph 39.

⁷⁵ "How the First 'Petticoated' Member."

⁷⁶ Witt, Paget, and Matthews, *Running as a Woman*, 30.

⁷⁷ "How the First 'Petticoated' Member."

⁷⁸ "How the First 'Petticoated' Member."

⁷⁹ Rankin, "Democracy and Government," paragraph 40.

⁸⁰ Rankin, "Why Women Should Share."

⁸¹ "How the First 'Petticoated' Member." Rankin makes a similar argument in Jeannette Rankin, "Children's Bureau Proves Value of Women in Politics," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 25, 1917, 7.

⁸² "Nervous? Not I, Says Woman."

⁸³ "The Lady from Montana is Entitled."

⁸⁴ Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 134.

⁸⁵ Jeannette Rankin's Interview with Hannah Josephson, Transcript, Montana Historical Society; Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 134.

⁸⁶ "Woman Member of Congress Has Rousing."

⁸⁷ "Jeannette Rankin Cheered by 3,000."

⁸⁸ "There Would Be No Food Gambling."

⁸⁹ John Sloop makes similar argument about the media coverage of k.d. Lang in Sloop, *Disciplining Gender*, 94-95.

⁹⁰ Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 6.

⁹¹ Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 2.

⁹² Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 3.

⁹³ Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 2.

⁹⁴ Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 2-4.

⁹⁵ Although, Ward argues that while all of this boosterism was going on in the U.S. and Canada, "there was practically no evidence of the competitive city advertising for migrants or investment that was typical across the Atlantic. With a few significant exceptions towards the end of the nineteenth century, the most striking point is how un-British American-style boosterism actually was." Stephen V. Ward, *Selling Places: The Marketing and Promotion of Towns and Cities, 1850-2000* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 25; Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 2.

⁹⁶ Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 2.

⁹⁷ Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 7.

⁹⁸ Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 7.

⁹⁹ Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 71.

¹⁰⁰ Daniel Boorstin explains that in America, “tall” talk would have referred to talk that was “unusual,” “remarkable,” or “extravagant.” Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York: Vintage, 1965), 290. Also see Ernest G. Bormann, *The Force of Fantasy: Restoring the American Dream* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1985), 134-136.

¹⁰¹ Boorstin notes that “tall talk” often “blurred the edges of fact and fiction.” Boorstin, *The Americans*, 290; Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 5-6.

¹⁰² Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 2.

¹⁰³ Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 68.

¹⁰⁴ Rosalyn C. Eves, “Mapping Rhetorical Frontiers: Women’s Spatial Rhetorics in the Nineteenth-Century American West” (PhD diss., The Pennsylvania State University, 2008), 244. Also see Douglas Cazaux, *Orange Empire: California and the Fruits of Eden* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

¹⁰⁵ Eves, “Mapping Rhetorical Frontiers,” 244.

¹⁰⁶ William G. Robbins, “Nature’s Industries: The Rhetoric of Industrialism in the Oregon Country,” in *Power and Place in the North American West*, ed. Richard White and John M. Findlay (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), 281.

¹⁰⁷ Robbins, “Nature’s Industries,” 268.

¹⁰⁸ Robbins, “Nature’s Industries,” 268; Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 19.

¹⁰⁹ Robbins, “Nature’s Industries,” 281.

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- ¹¹⁰ Robbins, "Nature's Industries," 281.
- ¹¹¹ Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 58.
- ¹¹² Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 59.
- ¹¹³ Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 59.
- ¹¹⁴ Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 60.
- ¹¹⁵ Ward, *Selling Places*.
- ¹¹⁶ Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 36, 65.
- ¹¹⁷ William Deverell and Douglas Flamming, "Race, Rhetoric, and Regional Identity: Boosting Los Angeles, 1880-1930," in *Power and Place in the North American West*, eds. Richard White and John M. Findlay (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), 118.
- ¹¹⁸ John M. Findlay, "Far Western Cityscapes and American Culture Since 1940," *Western Historical Quarterly* 22 (1991): 24; Deverell and Flamming, "Race, Rhetoric, and Regional Identity," 118.
- ¹¹⁹ Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 70.
- ¹²⁰ Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 68-69.
- ¹²¹ Barbara Handy-Marchello, "Gendered Boosterism: The 'Doctor's Wife' Writes from the New Northwest," in *Regionalism and the Humanities*, ed. Timothy R. Mahoney and Wendy J. Katz (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 116.
- ¹²² Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 56.
- ¹²³ Roeder, "Montana Progressivism," 25.
- ¹²⁴ Roeder, "Montana Progressivism," 25-26.

¹²⁵ George H Beasley, “The Great Inland Empire,” *The Sketch Book* 1 (March 1907), n. p.; Roeder, “Montana Progressivism,” 24.

¹²⁶ Wrobel, *A Government by the People*, 2-4; Robert V. Hine and John Mack Faragher, *The American West: A New Interpretive History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 348–349.

¹²⁷ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 1-2.

¹²⁸ “Jeannette Rankin Cheered by 3,000 For Speech Here.”

¹²⁹ Leroy G. Dorsey, “The Frontier Myth in Presidential Rhetoric: Theodore Roosevelt’s Campaign for Conservation,” *Western Journal of Communication* 59 (1995): 14.

¹³⁰ “There Would Be No Food Gambling.”

¹³¹ Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, 293.

¹³² Wilhelm, “The Lady from Missoula,” 25.

¹³³ “There Would Be No Food Gambling.”

¹³⁴ “Lady From Montana Makes Her Bow Here.”

¹³⁵ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 3.

¹³⁶ James Leonard Bates, *Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana: Law and Public Affairs, from TR to FDR* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 128.

¹³⁷ Bates, *Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana*, 128; Walsh gained a prominent role in the Democratic Party. He was asked to help run Wilson’s 1916 presidential campaign. Walsh was effective in politics, helping Wilson campaign, and played an

important role in the 1916 democratic convention, advocating that the party support progressivism and woman suffrage.

¹³⁸ Thomas J. Walsh, “Three Years of the New Freedom,” Speech Delivered at the Jefferson Day Banquet, Washington DC, April 13, 1916. Washington Government Printing Office, 1916.

¹³⁹ Walsh, “Three Years of the New Freedom.”

¹⁴⁰ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 12.

¹⁴¹ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 12 and 14.

¹⁴² Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 11.

¹⁴³ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 12. Rankin made a similar argument in an interview just the week before her speech: Montana produces “as much as either Iowa or Illinois, and we are doing wonderfully well as raisers of wheat. Why, last year we raised 33,500,000 bushels of Wheat, or sufficient to supply each man, woman and child in the city of New York with 306 loaves of bread. Now if a single State of the Far West can supply that much of a single foodstuff, why should there be food disturbances and unusually high prices either in New York or any other city? There should be no food problem in this country, considering all of the things to eat raised here...if the supplies of the Far West were brought East and distributed as they should be.” “There Would Be No Food Gambling.”

¹⁴⁴ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 13.

¹⁴⁵ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 5.

¹⁴⁶ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 7.

¹⁴⁷ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 11.

¹⁴⁸ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 25.

¹⁴⁹ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 23.

¹⁵⁰ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 8.

¹⁵¹ In this case, I quoted the report of Rankin’s speech in the *New York Times*.

“‘Lady From Montana’ Talks,” *New York Times*, March 3, 1917. The quote in the composition-text read instead as: “Some of the reports of my election in the eastern papers said that I campaigned on horseback. To us campaigning on horseback is very commonplace. We are amazed and delighted that we can reach almost every point by train or automobile. I traveled 6000 miles by train and over 1500 miles by automobile but I wonder if any candidate in any other state could ride 500 miles through the mountains on an electrified train. The last Saturday night in the Primary I spoke at Roundup, then went to bed in a comfortable sleeper and arrived at my home 380 miles distant in time for Sunday dinner.” Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 8.

¹⁵² Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 8.

¹⁵³ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 9.

¹⁵⁴ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 10.

¹⁵⁵ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 21.

¹⁵⁶ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 16.

¹⁵⁷ Wrobel, *Promised Lands*, 3; Handy-Marchello, “Gendered Boosterism,” 111.

¹⁵⁸ Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995).

¹⁵⁹ “There Would Be No Food Gambling.”

¹⁶⁰ Also see Barbara Handy-Marchello’s discussion of Linda Slaughter, a female booster of the Great Plains. Slaughter was hired by the Northern Pacific Railroad to write letters for Eastern newspapers about life in the Dakotas. Slaughter also used her position as a “well-bred woman with a taste for silk dresses and champagne” to prove that genteel society existed in the West. Handy-Marchello, “Gendered Boosterism,” 112.

¹⁶¹ Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 101, 138; Witt, Paget, and Matthews, *Running as a Woman*, 9.

¹⁶² Witt, Paget, and Matthews, *Running as a Woman*, 33.

¹⁶³ Witt, Paget, and Matthews, *Running as a Woman*, 31.

¹⁶⁴ Witt, Paget, and Matthews, *Running as a Woman*, 31.

¹⁶⁵ Witt, Paget, and Matthews, *Running as a Woman*, 30.

¹⁶⁶ “The Lady from Montana is Entitled.”

¹⁶⁷ “Nervous? Not I, Says Woman.”

¹⁶⁸ “How the First ‘Petticoated’ Member.”

¹⁶⁹ “There Would Be No Food Gambling.”

¹⁷⁰ “‘Lady From Montana’ Talks”; “Jeannette Rankin Cheered by 3,000 For Speech Here.”

¹⁷¹ Direct democracy reforms primarily appeared in Western states during the progressive era, beginning with South Dakota in 1898. Following the example of Switzerland’s initiative and referendum, twenty-two states adopted the referenda into their constitutions between 1898 and 1918. Direct democracy was popular because it

appealed to the numerous reform groups working in the 1890s: populism, woman suffrage prohibition, single tax, the AFL, labor unions, and farmers organizations like the granges. All of these groups endorsed direct democracy “as a way to expand their repertoire of political strategies” and as a means to achieving their various ends. Linking all of these groups together gave them much more leverage as they worked to advance their differing political agendas and submit them “directly to the people.” Persily, “The Peculiar Geography of Direct Democracy,” 40; Goebel, *A Government by the People*, 5-6, 69, 75-79.

¹⁷² Goebel persuasively makes this argument in his book on the history of direct democracy in the United States. Goebel, *A Government by the People*.

¹⁷³ Goebel, *A Government by the People*, 26; Direct democracy proponents advocated that direct legislature “allowed the voters to legislate directly and thus to bypass state legislatures that frequently seemed under the firm control of larger corporations.” Malone and Roeder, *Montana*, 196-198.

¹⁷⁴ Persily, “The Peculiar Geography of Direct Democracy,” 13; Goebel, *A Government by the People*, 4.

¹⁷⁵ Persily, “The Peculiar Geography of Direct Democracy,” 13; Goebel, *A Government by the People*, 3.

¹⁷⁶ According to the Progressive magazine, *The Arena*, which advocated direct democracy at the turn of the century, the referendum entails “the referring of a law or ordinance or any specific question to the people for decision at the polls.” Frank Parsons, “A Primer of Direct-Legislation,” *The Arena* 3 (1906). Goebel explains, “Whereas the

format and language of a referendum originate in the state's legislative body, an initiative comes directly from 'the people.'" Goebel, *A Government by the People*, 3.

¹⁷⁷ Malone and Roeder, *Montana*, 196-197.

¹⁷⁸ Goebel, *A Government by the People*, 5-6; Michael P. Malone and Richard W. Etulain, *The American West: A Twentieth-Century History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989).

¹⁷⁹ Every state that was admitted after 1870, except for Hawaii, instituted the referendum, and all of those states except for New Mexico adopted the initiative. Many of these states used the referendum to establish their constitutions and choose their capital cities. While states in the Northeast and South had "entrenched constitutional traditions" by the 1890s, citizen in the West were creating new states and constitutions, which made it easier to enact new legislation. Malone, *The American West*, 57; Persily, "The Peculiar Geography of Direct Democracy," 15, 18, 20-21, 24, 28-33; Goebel, *A Government by the People*, 5-6, 20, 46, 70-71, 79, 83, 90, 111-112; Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*, 5-6; Charles M. Price, "The Initiative: A Comparative Analysis and Reassessment of a Western Phenomenon," *Western Political Quarterly* 28 (1975): 243, 248.

¹⁸⁰ Steven L. Piott, *Giving Voters a Voice: The Origins of the Initiative and Referendum in America* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2003), 51-52.

¹⁸¹ By the end of the nineteenth century, two groups dominated Montana's economy and political life: Eastern cattle barons and copper companies. Montana citizens referred to Montana's "baronial rule" by mining kings that not only controlled Montana's primary industries, but also Montana's politics. Montana earned its name as the "Treasure

State” for the silver and copper that it held in its land, but the copper mines drew “some of the world’s greatest capitalists onto the Montana scene.” For a while, Montana benefited from the prosperity of having “Big Money C[o]me to Butte,” but once the Amalgamated Copper Company absorbed all of Montana’s mining companies, it became the Anaconda Copper Mining Company and took control of the state’s economy, politics, and even Montana’s newspapers. With “assets totaling \$118 million, and a copper production capacity of three hundred million pounds per year,” the Anaconda Copper Mining Company “was the giant of the world’s copper industry.” The company continued to acquire more and more of Montana’s resources: “thirty mine shafts on the Butte Hill, reduction works and smelters at Anaconda, Great Falls, and East Helena, a big lumber operation based at Bonner, scattered coal fields, a railroad, hardware stores, hotels, and ominously, a growing chain of newspapers that by now included most of the state’s major dailies.” Michael P. Malone and Dianne G. Dougherty, “Montana’s Political Culture: A Century of Evolution,” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 31 (1981): 46; Malone and Roeder, *Montana*, 152, 176.

¹⁸² Malone and Roeder, *Montana*, 176-177.

¹⁸³ Malone and Dougherty, “Montana’s Political Culture,” 50.

¹⁸⁴ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 26.

¹⁸⁵ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 58.

¹⁸⁶ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 82.

¹⁸⁷ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 34.

¹⁸⁸ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 31.

¹⁸⁹ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 35.

¹⁹⁰ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 47.

¹⁹¹ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 77.

¹⁹² Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 89.

¹⁹³ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 50.

¹⁹⁴ Malone and Roeder, *Montana*, 197; Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 55, 65. The goal of the direct primary, Rankin explained, was to “make the candidates eager to select issues advocated by the men and women” which will “have the tendency keep the platform more nearly the reflection of the ideas of the people.” Rankin reasoned that a direct primary required a political candidate to “conduct his own campaign for the votes” rather than having “the party organization...take part in the nominating primary.” Although this practice was more expensive for the individual candidate, the only people who “objected” to this practice were “those who formerly manipulated the politics of the State.”

¹⁹⁵ Roeder, “Montana Progressivism,” 20; Malone and Roeder, *Montana*, 196-197. The Australian ballot ensured citizens the right to cast their votes secretly. To limit the power of state legislators, who could be bribed by corporations to select senators, reformers advocated for the direct election of United States senators so “the people [could] choose their senators by popular ballot.”

¹⁹⁶ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 48.

¹⁹⁷ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 53. Rankin illustrated her argument for the direct primary with a story about Montana’s “last primary.” Although

the vast majority of Montana citizens wanted prohibition, none of the Democratic candidates for Attorney General supported it. But the “unmistakable approval of the people” “forced the Democrats to put a prohibition plank in their platform.” Rankin surmised that “It took the primary to demonstrate that the people wanted to elect to office candidates who were of a progressive turn of mind and who were willing to make their movements a success.” Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 64.

¹⁹⁸ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 82.

¹⁹⁹ Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, 279; Carrie Chapman Catt, “Winning Plan,” Speech to NAWSA, New York Public Library, 1916; Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak For Her, Volume 1*, 165.

²⁰⁰ After New York’s failed referendum in 1915, their new campaign slogan was “Victory in 1917. Jacqueline Van Voris, *Carrie Chapman Catt: A Public Life*, (NY: Feminist Press, 1996), 129.

²⁰¹ Van Voris, *Carrie Chapman Catt*, 117. Flexner explains that New York was “both the hope and the despair of suffragists,” as it was “the home of the movement but also the stronghold of opposition.” Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, 279.

²⁰² Flexner, *Century of Struggle*, 291; Carrie Chapman Catt, “Report of Survey Committee to National Board of NAWSA,” March 1916, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

²⁰³ Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 134.

²⁰⁴ Rankin, “Why the West leads the East.”

²⁰⁵ Rankin, “Why the West leads the East.”

²⁰⁶ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 17.

²⁰⁷ Rankin told of a “young woman homesteader” who set the “record yield on the ‘dry land bench’ in Yellowstone County.” Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 14.

²⁰⁸ Rankin, “Why the West leads the East.”

²⁰⁹ Rankin, “Why the West leads the East.”

²¹⁰ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 19.

²¹¹ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 17.

²¹² Rankin, “Why the West leads the East.”

²¹³ Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. M. Oakeshott (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957).

²¹⁴ Peter Jones, *Rights*, New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1994; John Locke, *The Two Treatises of Civil Government*, 1689, retrieved November 22, 2010, from <http://oll.libertyfund.org>.

²¹⁵ Rankin, “Why the West leads the East.”

²¹⁶ Rankin, “Why the West leads the East.”

²¹⁷ Rankin, “Why the West leads the East.”

²¹⁸ Rankin, “Why the West leads the East.”

²¹⁹ Rankin, “Why the West leads the East.”

²²⁰ Rankin, “Why the West leads the East.”

²²¹ Rankin, “Why the West leads the East.”

²²² Rankin, “Why I Believe Federal Suffrage.”

²²³ Rankin, “How English Militants.”

²²⁴ Other suffragists of the time also argued that woman suffrage was inevitable, for example, Carrie Chapman Catt’s 1902 Presidential Address argued that the spread of suffrage was inevitable. And in her 1917 “Address to the United States Congress,” Catt again argued that “woman suffrage was inevitable given...[that] women already voted in several states.” Catt claimed that “Woman suffrage is coming—you know it.” Kohrs Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak For Her, Volume 1*, 167-169; Carrie Chapman Catt, “Presidential Address, 1902,” in *Man Cannot Speak For Her, Volume 2: A Critical Study of Early Feminist Rhetoric*, ed. Karlyn Kohrs Campbell (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1989), 461-482; Carrie Chapman Catt, “Address to the United States Congress, 1917,” in *Man Cannot Speak For Her, Volume 2: A Critical Study of Early Feminist Rhetoric*, ed. Karlyn Kohrs Campbell (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1989), 503-532.

²²⁵ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 31.

²²⁶ Rankin, “Why the West leads the East.”

²²⁷ Rankin, “Why the West leads the East.”

²²⁸ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 43.

²²⁹ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 37.

²³⁰ Rankin, “Why the West leads the East.” Rankin also made similar claims in her article on “Why I Believe Federal Suffrage is the Supreme Issue.” Rankin explained, “In the East it is merely a matter of time when men and women will penetrate the

confused web of convention and will see clearly the same forces which led to the enfranchisement of the western women.” Rankin, “Why I Believe Federal Suffrage.”

²³¹ Rankin, “Why Women Should Ask.”

²³² “There Would Be No Food Gambling”; Rankin, “Why I Believe Federal Suffrage.”

²³³ “There Would Be No Food Gambling.”

²³⁴ Rankin, “Why the West leads the East.”

²³⁵ Rankin, “Democracy and Government,” paragraph 37.

²³⁶ *New York Tribune*, March 3, 1917.

²³⁷ “Woman Member of Congress Has Rousing.”

²³⁸ “Jeannette Rankin Cheered by 3,000.”

²³⁹ “Woman Member of Congress Has Rousing.”

²⁴⁰ “There Would Be No Food Gambling.”

²⁴¹ “Jeannette Rankin Cheered by 3,000.”

²⁴² “Jeannette Rankin Cheered by 3,000.”

²⁴³ “Lady from Montana Makes Her Bow Here,” no publication title, no date, Jeannette Rankin Papers, Schlesinger Library, Folder 203.

²⁴⁴ “Lady From Montana Makes Her Bow Here.”

²⁴⁵ “First Woman M.C. Makes Her Bow to New York.”

²⁴⁶ ““Lady From Montana’ Talks.”

²⁴⁷ “Lady Congressman Knows Everything.”

²⁴⁸ “Lady Congressman Knows Everything.”

²⁴⁹ “Jeannette Rankin Takes Place in House,” *Woman’s Journal*, April 7, 1917.

²⁵⁰ “Jeannette Blushes When Roll Called in Opening Session,” No publication title, April 2, 1917, Scrapbook, JR Papers, Library of Congress.

²⁵¹ “Jeannette Blushes When Roll.”

²⁵² *New York Times*, April 7, 1917.

²⁵³ After Rankin opened the debate on woman suffrage, the federal amendment passed in the House by a single extra vote, but was not passed by the Senate. Van Voris, *Carrie Chapman Catt*, 148; Jeannette Rankin, “Woman Suffrage. Speech of Hon. Jeannette Rankin, of Montana, In the House of Representatives,” January 10, 1918; *Washington Times*, March 18, 1917.

²⁵⁴ Goebel, *A Government by the People*, 132.

²⁵⁵ David Zarefsky, “A Skeptical View of Movement Studies,” *Central States Speech Journal* 31 (1980): 255-266.

²⁵⁶ Connell, *Masculinities*, 194; Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, 13.

²⁵⁷ Stoeltje primarily examined these images of women as cultural images in the West that appeared in western novels, songs, cowboy lore, Davy Crockett almanacs, etc. The image of the Western woman helpmate has roots, Stoeltje argues, in the image of the “backwoods belle,” who frequently appeared in Davy Crockett almanacs and other Western texts as the Western man’s nonsexual comrade who provided for others, expected nothing for themselves, and disdained Eastern ideals of femininity. Stoeltje, “A Helpmate for Man”; Schackel, “Introduction,” 1.

²⁵⁸ Jameson, “Bringing It All Back Home,” 184; Stoeltje, “A Helpmate for Man.”

Conclusion

This project has examined how women negotiated the mythic and gendered meanings of the West. Focusing on turn-of-the-century women in the Pacific Northwest and Rocky Mountain states, these analyses have illustrated how the myths of the West shaped the woman suffrage movement and how Western women simultaneously contributed to the meanings of the West. The first two case studies examine the discourse of women who lived in the Pacific Northwest prior to gaining the right to vote. As Abigail Scott Duniway and The Mountaineer suffragists advocated for woman suffrage, they drew on the mythic meanings, discourses, and images of the West. The last two case studies examine the discourse of Western women who lived in Rocky Mountain states that had already passed suffrage policies and drew on Western women's rights to shape the meaning of their states. Both Grace Raymond Hebard and Jeannette Rankin celebrated their states' woman suffrage policies and depicted Wyoming and Montana as places of progress and reform. Together, the place-based arguments for woman suffrage, the success of woman suffrage in the West, and the boosting of Western woman suffrage shaped the meaning of the West as a place of gender equality in the early twentieth century.

Whether they were advocating for woman suffrage, constructing an identity for their state, or boosting their states' merits to the rest of the nation, all of these Western woman suffragists, politicians, and public leaders drew on the mythic meanings, discourses, and images of the American West in their public discourse. Duniway exploited the power of the traditional frontier myth to shape Americans' beliefs about woman suffrage. The suffragist Mountaineers participated in Western boosterism and appropriated the turn-of-the-century meanings of mountaineering to publicly appeal for

woman suffrage. Hebard participated in the popular Western discourse of pioneer reminiscing and employed the agrarian myth to shape the meaning of Wyoming as settled and civilized. Rankin used the discourses of Western boosterism and direct democracy to present herself to the nation as the first female member of Congress. Rankin also drew on the myths of the West to explain Western women's success with woman suffrage.

Simultaneously, these women also participated in place-making the American West. Duniway characterized the Pacific Northwest as a naturally free space, abundant not only in natural resources and beauty, but also in liberty, democracy, and appreciation of women's rights. The Mountaineer suffragists also highlighted Seattle's proximity to the natural beauty and wilderness of the Pacific Northwest and depicted the West as a place of social freedom where men and women did not need to conform to constraining gender norms. Hebard domesticated Wyoming's "Wild West" image by marking Wyoming as a settled community of agrarian farmers and permanent homesteaders. Featuring Wyoming as an ideal home, Hebard asserted that Wyoming was not too different from the East as it possessed the many modern aspects of civilization, including railroads, women, families, and Christianity. Hebard also highlighted Wyoming as an exceptional and significant leader for the nation to follow in progress, reform, and woman suffrage. Finally, Rankin boosted Montana to her Eastern audiences as "the garden of the world" and as a desirable destination for potential homesteaders due to its bountiful natural resources, numerous agricultural and financial opportunities, and civilized culture with all the technological advancements of modern life. Rankin also positioned Montana as exceptionally progressive in its political reform, direct legislation, and woman suffrage.

Furthermore, the discourse of these Western women constructed the West in distinctly gendered ways as they articulated a number of possibilities for femininity and masculinity. As Duniway celebrated Western women as frontier heroines, she reaffirmed the masculine premises of the frontier myth and U.S. citizenship by encouraging women desiring suffrage to enact the masculine performances of violence and Western conquest to prepare them for citizenship. Thus, Duniway resisted the dominant ideals of “true womanhood” and articulated alternative gender ideals for American women, but she also, at times, ridiculed Eastern women who enacted “true womanhood” as lazy, selfish, and unfit for woman suffrage. Duniway, therefore, celebrated traditionally masculine characteristics, reaffirmed the longstanding cultural association between politics and masculinity, and suggested that women must “prove their manhood” to attain political equality. The Mountaineer suffragists also appropriated the masculine discourses of imperialism, the frontier myth, and sport. But The Mountaineers navigated these masculine performances by embodying the early twentieth-century ideal of the New Woman and enacting their independence, physical strength, and freedom from traditional gender norms.

In contrast to Duniway and The Mountaineers, Hebard did not challenge the traditional gender ideologies of the white domestic “true woman.” Hebard celebrated Wyoming suffragists, not as agrarian heroines or as men’s equal partners in the West, but as domestic and apolitical “true women.” Hebard feminized Wyoming’s white suffragists according to Eastern ideals of the “refined” and “civilized” woman, yet Hebard denied Sacagawea access to the “civilized” ideals of femininity. Instead, Hebard celebrated Sacagawea according to the heroic qualities that were usually only granted to the male

frontier hero: her expertise, her leadership of men, and her self-sufficiency on the frontier. Rankin's discourse constructed and celebrated Montana women according to the ideal female helpmate in the West who was physically and emotionally strong and could bravely handle the challenges of the frontier.¹ Thus, Rankin's depictions of Western women were most similar to Duniway's in that her Western women were physically strong frontier heroines who were able to survive on the frontier and enact their equality to men, but Rankin's frontier heroines did not enact the same masculine qualities of violence and conquest that Duniway's frontier heroines had portrayed. Although Rankin celebrated the Western heroine, Rankin herself enacted Eastern ideals of femininity, at least when presenting herself to the East. Rankin transgressed numerous gender norms by entering the Congress, so she balanced those violations by performing the urban and upper-class "refined lady" ideal of the East through her appearance and clothing.² Through her arguments, Rankin affirmed beliefs in men and women's differences and justified women's political participation according to their differences from men and their motherly expertise. Therefore, instead of belittling "true women" as unfit for political participation as Duniway had, Rankin articulated the possibility of being both feminine and political.

These Western women's discourses also constructed images of Western masculinity. Duniway and Hebard particularly praised Western men as mythic Western heroes. Duniway's male frontier heroes were strong, enduring, and fearless on the frontier. Hebard's male agrarian farmers earned their heroic status through their hard work farming the arid land, "taming" the Western country, and transforming the land from Indian and cowboy country into a land of farms and settled communities.³ But the

heroic status of Duniway's male Western heroes was directly tied to their recognition of women's rights, while Hebard's were not. Duniway honored Western men for their love of freedom and for their support of woman suffrage. Duniway's myth featured male frontier heroes who were tired of sexual inequality, valued Western women, recognized Western women's strength, and believed that Western women should have the right to vote. In contrast, the heroic status of Hebard's Wyoming men was not related to their recognition of Wyoming women. In general, Hebard did not depict Wyoming men as appreciative of women's role in creating the West or as expecting women to participate in politics, with the exception of the men that granted Wyoming women suffrage when the women hosted them for tea and asked politely.

The Mountaineers and Rankin did not celebrate Western men as much as Duniway and Hebard, but the Mountaineers and Rankin both depicted Western men as helpful proponents of Western woman suffrage. As the Mountaineer suffragists summited Mount Rainier with men, they depicted Western men as supportive advocates of women's participation in politics and outdoor recreation. The Rainier climb implied that Western men were working *with* Western women for suffrage and were part of the process of attaining women's rights. Rankin spoke of Montana men positively and featured them as recognizing Western women's value. After Rankin's Montana men recognized the hard work Western women had completed and the difficulties women had endured in the West, Montana men "couldn't help but believe" that Montana women deserved political equality as a reward for their effort.⁴

Themes and Arguments Across Cases

Looking at the four case studies in this project collectively, a number of recurrent themes and arguments emerge. As Western women advocated for woman suffrage and participated in place-making the West, they made similar arguments and appealed to the same images. Repeatedly, across cases, we see “earned rights” arguments for woman suffrage, a focus on the Western land to explain events that happened in the West as natural, arguments from enactment, and depictions of American Indians and Eastern women.

Earned Rights Arguments

Duniway, The Mountaineer suffragists, and Rankin justified Western woman suffrage by making different kinds of “earned rights” arguments. Duniway argued that by traveling West and enduring the struggles and violence of the frontier, Western women “earned” their liberty and voting rights. Duniway’s merit-based arguments promoted regionalized suffrage and rendered voting rights as unavailable to women who stayed in the East. Similar to Duniway, the Mountaineer suffragists’ ascent of Mount Rainier implied that The Mountaineer suffragists had earned their right to vote through their laborious climb and display of physical endurance. The Mountaineers’ exertion and toil on Mount Rainier differed from Duniway’s in that it was more symbolic. Rather than migrating across the North American continent and transforming the wilderness into civilization to gain their suffrage rights, they survived America’s emblematic “last frontier” in the mountain wilderness and symbolically enacted their conquest by summiting the mountain peak. Importantly, the Mountaineers’ climb included some Eastern women on their trip, so they did not exclude Eastern women from these earned

rights. Rankin also explained Western woman suffrage as rights Western women earned by enduring the difficulties of life on the frontier. Rankin, however, did not depict suffrage as a right that all women must earn. Rather, Rankin contended that as Western women earned their rights, they “revealed” the truth of women’s natural rights and equality to men. Thus, according to Rankin, men’s “discovery” of women’s natural rights in the West would soon lead to woman suffrage in the East once the clouds of convention were cleared away. Therefore, while Rankin depicted Western women as having “earned” their rights in the West, Rankin did not imply that Eastern women also needed to earn them.

The earned rights arguments of Duniway, The Mountaineers, and Rankin also suggested that women’s right to vote was related to their physical and emotional strength. Duniway’s frontier heroines and suffrage-earners trekked across the West, endured the physical struggles of the frontier, and were willing to use violence to protect their families. The Mountaineers displayed their physical strength by climbing one of the highest mountains in the nation and courageously navigating steep slopes and perilous positions. Their physical endurance and emotional determination seemingly qualified them for suffrage. Rankin’s frontier heroines faced the hardships of pioneer life, displayed their adventurous spirit, and “toiled side by side with husband or brother” to “prove [their] right to political equality.”⁵ Therefore, these women’s discourses suggested that physical ability and emotional hardiness were qualifications for voting rights.⁶ As these Western women asserted that they were “fit” to vote according to their strength, they implied that ability was a standard for U.S. citizenship.⁷

These Western women's "earned rights" arguments add insight into the kinds of arguments suffragists made for the right to vote. While most suffrage scholarship has categorized suffrage arguments according to expediency and natural rights, as I discussed in the chapter on Duniway's discourse, that framework does not capture all of these "earned rights" arguments.⁸ These Western women also drew on natural rights and expediency arguments, but their earned rights arguments deviated from these strands of suffrage arguments as Western women navigated the mythic West. Furthermore, these Western women's arguments for earned suffrage rights shared similarities with the "earned rights" arguments men made for broader male suffrage at times in American history.⁹ Alexander Keyssar argues that in the debates about who would be included in the franchise after the American Revolution, advocates of an expanded franchise contended that men who had served in the army or militia should have the right to vote because their experiences in war had earned them the right to choose their leaders and participate in politics.¹⁰ In the mid-nineteenth century, reformers depicted suffrage as "a right that had to be earned: by paying taxes, serving in the militia, or even laboring on the public roads."¹¹ In 1865, Henry Ward Beecher argued for universal male suffrage by asserting that black men had "earned" the franchise through their "heroic military service" and "unswerving fidelity to the Union."¹² After the Civil War, in debates about the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, Republican legislators often argued that black men had earned the right to vote through their military service.¹³ Therefore, these Western women's "earned-rights" arguments may have had more in common with the arguments men made for male voting rights than the arguments Eastern women made for suffrage.

Naturalized Western Actions

As these women drew on the mythic West to advocate for their rights, justify their public participation, and shape the meaning of the West, their discourse focused on the Western land to explain actions in the West as natural. By focusing on the frontier, as the traditional frontier myth did, Duniway, Hebard, and Rankin relied on arguments rooted in nature to account for woman suffrage, racial conquest, and Rankin's election, respectively. As Janice Hocker Rushing and Leroy Dorsey argue, the traditional frontier myth's focus on the scene depicted the Western land as the constraining force to such an extent that "heroes were essentially absolved of any wrongdoing; their interaction with the frontier was being determined for them by the scene itself."¹⁴ Thus, through their focus on the scene, and their depictions of the Western land as naturally free, these women repeatedly appealed to the forces of the West to explain the action of Westerners as natural.

Both Duniway and Rankin focused on the scene of the West to naturalize Western woman suffrage. As Duniway drew on the frontier myth for woman suffrage and depicted the West as a naturally free place, she suggested that women's liberty naturally existed in the Western land. Duniway emphasized the frontier as the force that transformed women into the strong, brave, and free Western women who deserved woman suffrage. This description undermined the agency of the Western heroines and naturalized it in the physical location instead, but it also seemed to absolve Western men and women from initiating gender equality and involving women in the West's political life. Rankin also addressed the question of why Western women had gained woman suffrage prior to Eastern women and she argued that "The answer lies...in the character of the western

country and its effect upon the lives of the men and women.”¹⁵ Rankin claimed that the West helped men recognize the logic of equal rights because being in the West’s “nature” allowed Westerners to “discover” women’s natural rights. According to Rankin, it was the scene of the West that provided the conditions for men to see women’s natural rights more clearly.

Western women also focused on the frontier to account for other events in the West, including Rankin’s historic election and Western expansion. Instead of explaining her successful election according to her effective campaigning or political skills, Rankin explained it according to the character of Montana. Her emphasis on Montana as the determining factor implied that it was Montana’s exceptional qualities that had decided her political success, rather than herself. This account helped excuse Rankin from the gender norms she transgressed by running for and entering political office. Hebard also appealed to nature to justify Wyoming’s history of racial violence. Hebard depicted Western expansion as a “natural development” and compared Western settlement to the process of an animal getting water. By portraying Western settlement and the conquest of American Indians as the natural development of the land as it turned from “nature” and “savagery” into “modernization and civilization,” she depicted violence towards American Indians and colonization as inevitable, unstoppable, and unavoidable. Therefore, these Western women focused on the West to depict woman suffrage, women in political office, and Western expansion as natural.

Arguments from Enactment

Duniway, the Mountaineers, and Rankin all enacted their arguments.¹⁶ Duniway “incarnated” her frontier myth rationale by personifying her argument for woman

suffrage. She embodied the epitome of the ideal frontier heroine who had earned her voting rights by migrating to the West, going through her rite of passage, traveling around the West to work for woman suffrage, and completing the cosmogonic cycle of the frontier hero. Duniway's rhetorical style also implicitly enacted her regionalism and indicated her Western autonomy and distinction from Easterners. The Mountaineer suffragists also drew on enactment as a rhetorical strategy. As they climbed Mount Rainier, a symbolic last frontier for Americans at the time, they enacted the frontier hero who survived unexplored territory, conquered the summit, and manifested a frontier spirit of discovery and strength.¹⁷ Thus, their actions proved their physical strength, their Western heroism, and their independence and autonomy. Their enactment also asserted their equality to Western men as athletic and social peers. Rankin's well-dressed, upper-class, and feminine performance at Carnegie Hall enacted two arguments: that Montana was civilized and that women could be both political and feminine. Rankin also enacted her preparedness for political office as she performed the governmental role of U.S. Representative by boosting her home state and demonstrating her political intelligence through her discourse of direct democracy. For each of these women, their very lives, presence, performances, and actions underlined their arguments and bolstered their depictions of femininity, woman suffrage, and the West.

Depictions of American Indians

Both Duniway and Hebard's discourse featured American Indians in their constructions of the West and of Western women. In Duniway's speeches that I examined in this project, she spoke of American Indians as enemies for frontier heroes and heroines to fight. Duniway celebrated white Western women's ability and willingness to defend

their families from American Indians through violence. The traditional frontier myth, as well as Duniway's appropriation of it, defined frontier heroes according to their distinction from American Indians. Although heroic white Westerners were expected to know American Indians as they lived in the West, they were also expected to feature their differences from American Indians, as Duniway did.

Hebard also celebrated Wyoming's agrarian heroes' roles in conquering American Indians, and she commemorated sites of violent battles between American Indians and U.S. citizens. Hebard generally depicted violence toward American Indians as a symbol of progress and as evidence of their success in civilizing the West. But Hebard also naturalized U.S. conquest of American Indians as inevitable and necessary as she equated American Indians with nature and depicted American Indians as in need of domestication.¹⁸ Thus, Hebard remembered American conquest of American Indians as progressive as it transitioned "nature" into "civilization." Hebard, however, also went to great lengths to publicly commemorate Sacagawea as a heroine and show her relationship to Wyoming. White Americans remembered Sacagawea differently than other American Indians who had lived in Wyoming because she reportedly assisted in bringing civilization to the West, providing service to U.S. soldiers, offering her knowledge of nature to aid their survival, and prioritizing the U.S. soldiers over the lives of her own family. Thus, although the discourse of the mythic West primarily depicted American Indians as the antithesis of progress and the enemy for frontier heroes to fight, suffragists in the early twentieth century began commemorating Sacagawea's role in bringing "civilization" to the East. In this project, I only examine Hebard's celebrations of

Sacagawea, but many Western women in the early twentieth century, including Duniway and Rankin, commemorated Sacagawea in their public arguments.¹⁹

Depictions of Eastern Suffragists

The Western women studied in this project engaged with Eastern suffragists differently. Duniway often drew distinctions between Western and Eastern women. In addition to denigrating Eastern women who fit the ideals of “true womanhood” as unfit for citizenship, she also regularly featured Eastern suffragists as meddling “invaders” in Western suffragists’ advocacy, insinuated that Eastern suffragists worked for professional glory, and blamed failed state campaigns on Eastern suffragists’ interference.²⁰ Thus, Duniway experienced great conflict with Eastern suffragists, except for Susan B. Anthony. Not all Western suffragists resisted Eastern women so much, however. The Mountaineer suffragists invited suffragists around the country to join them for the Mount Rainier ascent by advertising the trip in *Progress*, NAWSA’s national publication.²¹ Some Eastern suffragists joined, and they were asked to write articles for local mountaineering publications and seemingly fit in well on the two-week trip. Hebard generally had nothing negative to say about the East or Eastern suffragists as her discourse positioned the East as inevitable followers of Wyoming’s progressive example. Similarly, Rankin worked to support Eastern women’s suffrage advocacy and drew on her success in political office to encourage Eastern suffragists and build excitement for their cause. In Rankin’s account of the West’s success with woman suffrage, she depicted the “shackles” of Eastern convention and culture as temporary and assured Eastern suffragists that success would soon be theirs too. Rankin’s performance of Eastern gender ideals also enacted a similarity with the East, through her style, manner, and appearance,

rather than underlining differences between Western and Eastern women as Duniway had. Therefore, while Duniway's frontier myth for woman suffrage constructed Western and Eastern women as in conflict with each other, some Western suffragists had positive working relationships with Eastern agitators.

In summary, the discourse of the Western women studied in this project used the mythic discourses and meanings of the West to justify their right to vote, participate in political life, shape the images of their home states, and boost those meanings to the East. As they navigated the mythic and masculine meanings of the frontier, the mythic West shaped their suffrage advocacy and the U.S. suffrage movement. Simultaneously, the women who participated in the public life of the Pacific Northwest and Rocky Mountain also helped place-make the meaning of the American West as a place of women's liberty, gender equality, and political progress. Furthermore, these women's public discourses constructed the West in decidedly gendered ways as they articulated multiple possibilities for femininity and masculinity in the American West.

Henry Mayer's "The Awakening"

Not only did these women participate in the discourses of woman suffrage in the West, they also contributed to larger national discourses about suffrage. By looking at Henry Mayer's 1915 political cartoon, "The Awakening," we can see how these discourses of Western woman suffrage emanated outward as the West became increasingly associated with woman suffrage. As Mayer's cartoon commented on the success of Western woman suffrage, he managed to depict the U.S. woman suffrage movement and the American West in many of the same ways that the women in this project did. Like Duniway and *The Mountaineers*, Mayer constructed the West as a place

where women enjoyed liberty and freedom. Mayer's cartoon also suggested that Western women were stronger and freer than Eastern women, as Duniway had done. Similar to the arguments Hebard and Rankin made, Mayer defined woman suffrage as American progress and civilization and depicted the West as the leader of the East in progress. And just as Rankin had assured her Eastern audiences, "The Awakening" indicated that woman suffrage would inevitably spread to the East. Therefore, "The Awakening" suggests how prevalent these constructions of woman suffrage and the American West had become.

On February 20, 1915, *Puck* Magazine published Henry "Hy" Mayer's political cartoon, "The Awakening," as the magazine's two-paged centerfold.²² "The Awakening" commented on the state of the American woman suffrage movement with a black and white map of the United States that highlighted all of the Western states that had adopted woman suffrage in white. Above the map, Mayer's "Awakening" image featured a symbolic female figure striding confidently across the Western states in the direction of the East. The woman's sash was labeled "Votes for Women," and she held a lit torch high above her head with one arm, shining the light of women's progress brightly. Her other hand pointed to the East, in the direction she was walking, which was depicted as a dark and state-less region with no identifiers or borders, but was filled with a sea of straining women, reaching out towards the symbolic female figure. The title of the image, "The Awakening," suggested that woman suffrage had awakened in the American West.



Figure 5.1. Henry “Hy” Mayer, “The Awakening,” *Puck*, February 20, 1915.

Included underneath “The Awakening” image was a poem by Alice Duer Miller, a columnist for the *New York Tribune* who was outspoken on the woman suffrage cause and frequently used her column to parody opponents of the suffrage cause.²³ Miller was most famous for her pro-suffrage poems and her book *Are Women People?* Miller’s poem included with “The Awakening” image read:

Look forward, women, always; utterly cast away
 The memory of hate and struggle and bitterness;
 Bonds may endure for a night, but freedom comes with the day,
 And the free must remember nothing less.

Forget the strife; remember those who strove --
 The first defeated women, gallant and few,
 Who gave us hope, as a mother gives us love,
 Forget them not, and this remember too:

How at the later call to come forth and unite,
 Women untaught, uncounselled, alone and apart,
 Rank upon rank came forth in unguessed might,
 Each one answering the call of her own wise heart.

They came from toil and want, from leisure and ease,
Those who knew only life, and learned women of fame,
Girls and mothers of girls, and the mothers of these,
No one knew whence or how, but they came, they came.

The faces of some were stern, and some were gay,
And some were pale with the terror of unreal dangers;
But their hearts knew this: that hereafter come what may,
Women to women would never again be strangers.

Puck magazine, in which the “The Awakening” cartoon was published, regularly featured commentary on politics, current events, economics, and social issues, and was well known for its “lively” art and satire.²⁴ Based in New York City between 1877 and 1917, the magazine “never tired of poking fun at the woman-suffragist” and was prominently pro-Wilson in the 1912 and 1916 presidential campaigns.²⁵ The “outstanding feature of [*Puck*] magazine,” according to Frank L. Mott, was the political and social cartoons, which were included on the front cover, back cover, and double-spread in the middle of each magazine.²⁶ The most prominent cartoon of the magazine was featured on the two-page double-spread in the middle, which was where Mayer’s “Awakening” image appeared. Henry Mayer was a renowned caricaturist in New York who drew original cartoons for papers in the United States, England, Germany, and France and served as *Puck*’s contributing editor and “prized” “Current Events” cartoonist.²⁷ *The Strand Magazine* featured Mayer as one of America’s leading humorous artists at the turn of the century and the *New Era Illustrated* magazine claimed that Mayer held “undisputed the title of cosmopolite among American artists.”²⁸ Mayer’s cartoons offered commentary, usually humorous, on politics, contemporary events, and cultural topics as diverse as militarism, fashion, Coney Island, movie technology, war, human memory, and political campaigns.

As Mayer's image highlighted the states that had adopted woman suffrage, it symbolically depicted the freedom and light of woman suffrage moving across the continent from the West to the East. The image appropriated ideas of continental expansion, articulated the relationship between Western women and Eastern women, and reflected on the U.S. suffrage movement. By drawing on popular images of the time, Mayer constructed the American West as a place of freedom and liberty for women, he portrayed the West as settled, civilized, and progressive, he depicted Eastern women as weaker than Western women and desperate for the vote, and he implied that woman suffrage was undoubtedly moving across the continent and would reach the East. "The Awakening" resembled a number of images and symbols that were commonly featured in U.S. public discourse of the time and would have informed how Americans read and understood Mayer's cartoon: suffrage success maps, nineteenth-century maps of the U.S., John Gast's painting entitled *American Progress*, and the Libertas figure.

Woman Suffrage Success Maps

Mayer's "Awakening" image resembled the popular image of the "Suffrage Success" maps that were "iconic" during the state suffrage campaigns.²⁹ National publications, such as *Harper's Weekly*, published these maps, like the one below, to summarize information on the status of the woman suffrage movement.³⁰ Suffragists also published suffrage success maps as evidence for their claims, like the NAWSA publication below that claimed "Votes for Women a Success: The Map Proves It" and the 1915 U.S. suffrage map stamp that claimed "Votes for Women: The Map Proves It A Success."³¹ Once it became common for suffrage maps to mark suffrage states in white, state campaigns appealed to the maps by asking voters to make their state a new "bright

spot” or “white” state on the suffrage map, which also suggested that woman suffrage would ensure white supremacy.³² *The Woman’s Journal* published a series of suffrage maps in 1917 to show the progression and spread of woman suffrage’s success across the nation.

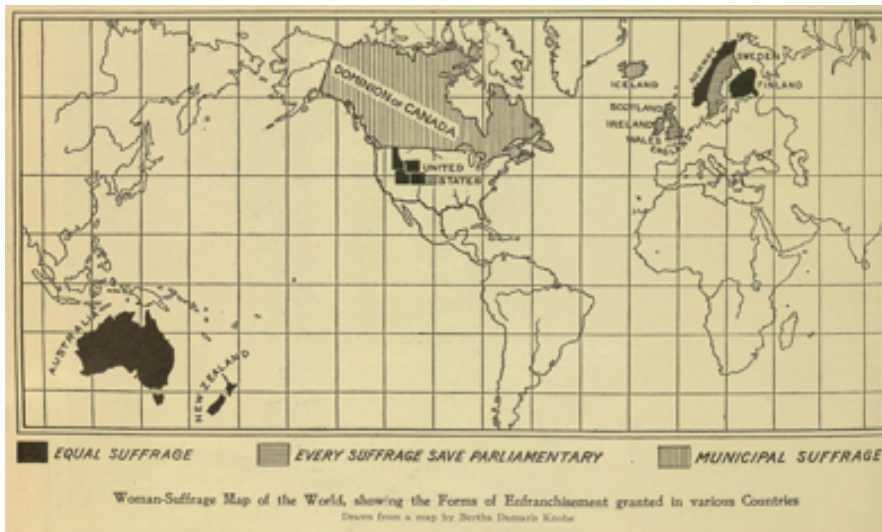


Figure 5.2. “Votes for Women: An Object-Lesson.” Published in *Harpers Weekly* in 1908.



Figure 5.3. “Votes for Women a Success” Map. Published by National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1914.

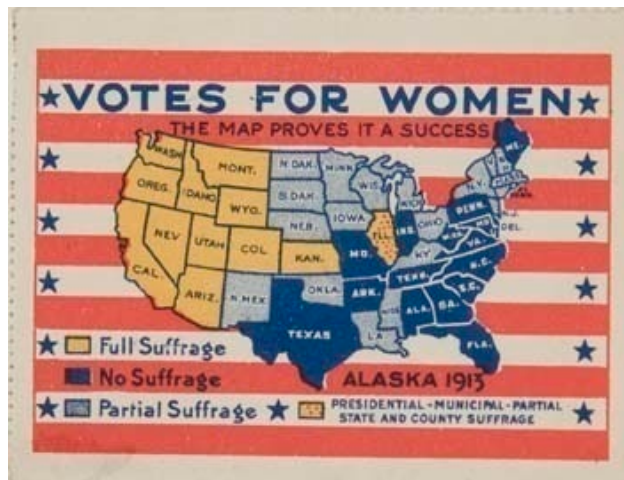


Figure 5.4. “Votes for Women” Map Stamp, 1915.



Figure 5.5. "Two More Bright Spots on the Map." Printed in *Maryland Suffrage News*, November 14, 1914.

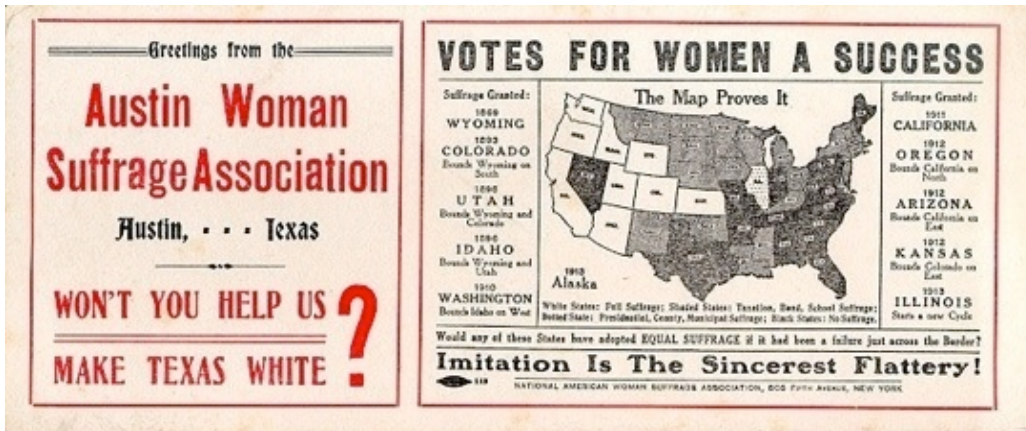


Figure 5.6. "Votes for Women a Success" Map. Distributed by the Austin Woman Suffrage Association, 1913.



Figure 5.7. Suffrage success maps printed on the front page of *The Woman's Journal*, March 10, 1917.

Suffragists in the Congressional Union used the suffrage maps when appealing to congressmen to illustrate how many women voters there were in the West. When Crystal Eastman Benedict of New York City spoke before the House Judiciary Committee's Hearing on Woman Suffrage on March 3, 1914, Benedict brought suffrage maps with her to share with the committee. She told them:

To make myself quite clear I have brought along a few little maps which I am going to ask you to look at as I talk. If you will each take one of these little maps and have it before you for a few minutes, I shall be grateful. We call this the woman-suffrage map. The white States are those in which women have the full suffrage now... Our plea is simply that you look at the little map again. That triumphant, threatening army of white States crowding rapidly eastward toward the center of population is the sum and substance of our argument to you. It represents 4,000,000 women voters. I ask you, then, to look at the maps and consider whether you want to put yourselves in the very delicate position of going

to those 4,000,000 women voters next fall for endorsement and reelection out of committee for discussion on the floor of the House.³³

Thus, as suffrage maps became a common method of advocacy, readers of *Puck* magazine would have been familiar with the image that Mayer appropriated.

Nineteenth-Century Maps of the United States

Mayer's "Awakening" image also resembled maps of the U.S. in the early nineteenth century, which depicted the United States prior to its continental expansion. As these maps from 1830 and 1850 included below illustrate, each existing state was marked by clear borders and state names.³⁴ In contrast, the Western land was depicted as blank, nebulous, and empty. Similarly, "The Awakening's" map clearly marked the borders and names of each suffrage state. And in the place of the Eastern states, "The Awakening" depicted the Midwestern and Eastern land as a blank and formless mass, lacking any kind of official government, order, or "civilization." Thus, Mayer's awakening image, and some of the "suffrage success" maps distributed by suffragists, transposed the earlier U.S. maps that represented the Eastern states as established and the Western land as formless and lacking in civilization. Just as Hebard and Rankin argued, Mayer's suffrage map implied that the Western suffrage states were "civilized," and the Eastern states needed the West's progress and civilization.



Figure 5.8. 1830 Map of the United States.



Figure 5.9. 1850 Tallis Map of United States.

John Gast's American Progress

Mayer's "Awakening" cartoon also resembled John Gast's popular painting, *American Progress* (1872), which represented the mythic West in image form.³⁵ Turn-of-the-century readers of *Puck* magazine would have been familiar with this "pre-eminent

artistic vision of westward expansion” as Gast’s painting was widely distributed across the nation in popular Western guidebooks and “countless prints.”³⁶ Gast’s mythic representation of Western expansion is “the best-known image of the nineteenth-century American concept of Manifest Destiny,” which was the belief that the U.S. was destined by God to expand across the continent, from Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean.³⁷ Gast’s painting featured an “allegorical female representation of ‘American Progress’” who led the frontier heroes across the West with a “star of empire” on her forehead, a school book in one hand, and the nation’s telegraph lines in the other.³⁸ The goddess-like female drove Native Americans and bison away as they saw her coming from the East and fled into the darkened corners of the West. Just like the traditional frontier myth, the painting celebrated Western expansion and the frontier heroes who “left civilization to establish communities in a barbaric wilderness.”³⁹ As the frontiersmen explored the frontier, conquered American Indians, and transformed the Western wilderness into civilization, they became symbols of American progress.⁴⁰ The painting depicted the various “stages of progress” in the West, much like Hebard had described in her Overland Trail commemorations, with buffalo and Indians in the darkened West on the left being chased by the successive stages of westward expansion: the “guide, hunter, trapper, prospector, pony-express rider, covered wagon followed by stagecoach, . . . a farmer in a field already under plow and oxen,”⁴¹ and the railroads. The *American Progress* image was often accompanied by text that explained the image as “the grand drama of Progress in the civilization, settlement and history of our happy land.”⁴²



Figure 5.10. John Gast, *American Progress*, 1872.

“The Awakening” suffrage cartoon resembled Gast’s painting as both images depicted cross-continental movement led by large, allegorical female figures bringing light to darkness. But rather than leading the light of America’s progress and civilization to the darkened West, as in Gast’s painting, the symbolic female figure in “The Awakening” led the light of woman suffrage to the dark and formless East. Instead of defining *American Progress*, according to the frontier myth, as Western expansion and the violent subjugation of American Indians, the Awakening equated America’s progress with woman suffrage.⁴³ As Gast’s painting shone the East’s industries, schools and churches in the light of civilization, “The Awakening” painted the West as the bright place of civilization. Instead of representing the frontier myth’s mission to turn the wilderness into civilization, the symbolic suffrage figure of “The Awakening” was

turning non-suffrage states into suffrage states. And rather than bringing schools and technology to the West, the bright female figure was bringing freedom, progress, and suffrage to the East. Therefore, similar to Hebard and Rankin's depictions of woman suffrage as progress, "The Awakening's" inversion of *American Progress* asserted that woman suffrage *was* progress, that the West was leading the way in progress and civilization, and that the East would soon follow the West's example. Furthermore, "The Awakening's" reversal of *American Progress* implied that woman suffrage was moving progressively to the East and would certainly reach the Atlantic, just as the U.S. had successfully expanded to the Pacific. Not only *would* suffrage reach the East, "The Awakening's" similarity to the Manifest Destiny image also suggested that the continental expansion of woman suffrage was *destined* to succeed, much like Manifest Destiny had asserted that the U.S. was ordained by God to spread from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Both implications asserted, as Rankin had, that suffrage was inevitably coming to the East.

In both *American Progress* and "The Awakening," continental expansion was led and symbolized by a white, allegorical female figure. In Gast's painting, "Progress" was represented as a "scantly clad," domestic, feminine figure, who, Amy Greenberg argues, represented the violent civilizing project of Western expansion as domesticated and benign.⁴⁴ Gast's floating female resembled the Columbia figure, a common personification of the U.S. in the nineteenth century, much like Britain's Britannia and France's Marianne. Columbia (sometimes called "Lady Columbia" or "Miss Columbia"), was a poetic name for the U.S. and was often depicted as a woman wearing a sash and classically draped garments. In the nineteenth century, she was commonly featured on

monuments, sailing ships, storefronts, and public building, including the top of the U.S. capitol building.⁴⁵ But in “The Awakening,” Mayer’s symbolic female figure crossing the continent resembled Libertas, the Roman goddess of freedom and the embodiment of liberty.⁴⁶ By the turn of the century, it was increasingly common for the U.S. to be personified in the form of Libertas, instead of Columbia, and the female Liberty figure was on most American coins and had inspired the Statue of Liberty, which was dedicated in 1886.⁴⁷ Libertas was often depicted, as she was in “The Awakening,” as holding a torch, which symbolized progress, and wearing open-toed sandals and a stola, the neoclassical garment inspired by clothing in ancient Greece and worn by Roman women.

Therefore, Mayer’s “Awakening” image drew on the personification of liberty to depict woman suffrage. This depiction of woman suffrage as liberty made two assertions. First, symbolizing “Votes for Woman” with the goddess of freedom and the embodiment of liberty equated woman suffrage with liberty and freedom, just as suffragists had argued for years. Second, the Libertas figure in “The Awakening’s” West constructed the West as a free place, just as Duniway had claimed that liberty resided in the Western land and the Mountaineers had depicted the West as a free space. The Libertas symbol for woman suffrage, holding her symbolic torch of progress, also underlined Hebard and Rankin’s claims about the progressiveness of the West.

Mayer’s Liberty figure appears to have been updated for the early twentieth century with a different style, stature, and feminine ideal than Gast’s Columbia figure. As Gast’s female symbol of “Progress” was a soft and domestic woman floating passively in the air, Mayer’s Liberty figure was a strong and confident woman with her shoulders back, one arm raised high and the other pointing forward with certainty as she actively

strode across the Western states. The posture and form of Mayer's Libertas embodied the "brash spirit" and "independent attitude" of the "New Woman" gender ideal, which was popular among suffragists and career women in the early twentieth century who participated in public affairs.⁴⁸ The "New Woman" often defied the submissiveness of the "true woman" ideal by inviting and celebrating attention, which the Libertas figure seemed to do in the Awakening. The "New Woman's" freedom from the conventions of nineteenth-century domesticity was often symbolized through active and outdoor activities.⁴⁹ Thus, Mayer's Libertas figure embodied the "New Woman" gender ideal and enacted her freedom and self-sufficiency by "walking across the West," just as the Mountaineer suffragists had walked in the Western wilderness of Washington.

"The Awakening" image also included images of women in the Eastern portion of the map. These Eastern women were represented en masse in the darkened, unmarked, and "uncivilized" East and were portrayed as seemingly desperate for the light of progress from the "Votes for Women" Libertas figure. The crowded Eastern women were pictured as small and positioned "beneath" the Libertas figure. Similar to Duniway's constructions of Eastern women, "The Awakening" depicted Eastern women as weaker than Western women and lacking in liberty. One year after "The Awakening" was published in *Puck*, *The Suffragist*, a publication of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage based in Washington, D.C. used Mayer's image as the front cover of their publication. But the Eastern women must have also considered "The Awakening's" characterization of them as negative because *The Suffragist* altered Mayer's image by removing the sea of Eastern women looking longingly towards the West for the right to vote. In place of those women, was merely a black and empty region where the Eastern,

Southern, and Midwestern states would normally appear. *The Suffragist* cover narrated Mayer's image with the following caption: "Ever farther and farther West men have migrated seeking freedom; it has been left for woman to turn back to the East bringing the gift of freedom."⁵⁰ *The Suffragist's* caption reflected the belief that Western expansion was a project completed by men and insinuated that since Western women had won the right to vote, it was Western women's responsibility to bring it to the East. Thus, *The Suffragist* put the onus for Eastern women's suffrage on Western women.



Figure 5.11. Front Cover of *The Suffragist*, January 8, 1916.

In sum, the "Awakening's" characterization of the U.S. woman suffrage movement and the American West shared similarities with the discourse of the Western women studied in this project. "The Awakening" constructed the West as a place of freedom and liberty for women, just as Duniway and *The Mountaineer* suffragists had

done. Like Duniway, “The Awakening” portrayed Eastern women who did not have the right to vote as weaker and less free than Western women. “The Awakening” also symbolized woman suffrage with a female figure that embodied the early twentieth-century “New Woman” gender ideal and enacted her freedom and independence by walking in the West, as the Mountaineer suffragists had done on Mount Rainier. Mayer’s image equated woman suffrage with progress and civilization, constructed the West as settled and civilized, and asserted that the West was leading the East in progress, just as Hebard and Rankin had argued. Finally, “The Awakening” implied that woman suffrage would undoubtedly spread to the East as certainly as the U.S. had expanded to the Pacific Ocean, just like Rankin had promised Eastern suffragists in her post-election discourse.

Mayer’s “Awakening” image suggests that in the early twentieth century, American public discourse associated the meanings of the American West and the U.S. woman suffrage movement. If “The Awakening” reflects the arguments made in Western women’s public discourse, however, it is not because Mayer was trying to visually represent the arguments of Duniway, The Mountaineers, Hebard, or Rankin. At the time of “The Awakening’s” publishing, Rankin had not yet begun campaigning for office and Mayer probably never heard of the other suffragists in his lifetime. Rather, the similarities between these various depictions of Western women’s rights suggest that in the early twentieth century, the American public’s perceptions of woman suffrage and the Western states mutually informed each other. The cultural projects of constructing the meaning of the American West and advocating for woman suffrage were both so ubiquitous in American public life that they began to influence each other.

Notes: Conclusion

¹ Beverly Stoeltje, "A Helpmate for Man Indeed: The Image of the Frontier Woman," *Journal of American Folklore* 88 (1975): 27-31; Sandra K. Schackel, "Introduction," in *Western Women's Lives: Continuity and Change in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Sandra Schackel (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 1.

² Jameson, "Bringing It All Back Home," 184; Rayna Green, "The Pocahantas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture," *Massachusetts Review* 16 (1976): 698-714. Stoeltje, "A Helpmate for Man Indeed."

³ Grace Raymond Hebard, "Significance of Fort Laramie on the Oregon Trail," *The Torrington Telegram*, June 24, 1915, vol. VIII, No. 39. Hebard Papers, Box 67, Folder 2.

⁴ Jeannette Rankin, "Democracy and Government," Carnegie Hall, New York, 2 March 1917. Ed. Tiffany Lewis.

⁵ Jeannette Rankin, "Why the West leads the East in Recognition of Women," *Chicago Herald*, December 24, 1916; Jeannette Rankin, "Why the West Leads the East in the Recognition of Women," *The Boston Traveller*, December 23, 1916.

⁶ In contrast to the "earned rights" and "discovered rights" of Duniway, The Mountaineers, and Rankin, Hebard depicted woman suffrage as "gifted rights." Hebard's public arguments on woman suffrage primarily celebrated Wyoming women's rights, rather than advocating for them, so Hebard depicted suffrage as something that Wyoming men had given Wyoming women once Wyoming women asked for them. Hebard's suffrage rights marked Wyoming's progress and exceptionalism, but they were not only

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¹¹ Keyssar, *The Right to Vote*, 41.

¹² Henry Ward Beecher, *Universal Suffrage, and Complete Equality in Citizenship* (Boston: Geo. C. Rand & Avery, 1865).

¹³ Keyssar, *The Right to Vote*, 103.

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¹⁵ Rankin, "Why the West leads the East in Recognition of Women."

¹⁶ Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Form and Genre: Shaping Rhetorical Action* (Falls Church: Speech Communication Association, 1978), 9; Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, "Enactment as a Rhetorical Strategy in The Year of Living Dangerously," *Central States Speech Journal* 39 (1988): 258-268; Suzanne M. Daughton, "The Fine Texture of Enactment: Iconicity as Empowerment in Angelina Grimke's Pennsylvania Hall Address," *Women's Studies in Communication* 18 (1995): 19-43.

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³⁵ John Gast, *American Progress*, painting, 1872 (Museum of the American West, Los Angeles, CA). www.loc.gov, accessed April 9, 2013.

³⁶ Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1; Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 27. George Crofutt had commissioned John Gast of Brooklyn, New York to paint a picture to be published in Crofutt's popular Western guidebooks.

³⁷ Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, 1; John O'Sullivan, "Annexation," *The United States and Democratic Review, Volume XVII* (New York, NY: O'Sullivan & Gardner Publishers, 1845). Also see Lyon Rathbun, "The Debate Over Annexing Texas and the Emergence of Manifest Destiny," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 4 (2001): 459-493.

³⁸ Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, 1.

³⁹ Dorsey, Leroy G. "The Frontier Myth in Presidential Rhetoric: Theodore Roosevelt's Campaign for Conservation," *Western Journal of Communication* 59 (1995): 4; Janice H. Rushing, "The Rhetoric of the American Western Myth," *Communication Monographs* 50 (1983): 19.

⁴⁰ Mary E. Stuckey, "The Donner Party and the Rhetoric of Westward Expansion," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 14 (2011): 229-260; Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Atheneum, 1992), 11; Sara L. Spurgeon, *Exploding the Western: Myths of Empire on the Postmodern Frontier* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2005), 9.

⁴¹ Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*, 27.

⁴² Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America*, 27.

⁴³ Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, 11; Spurgeon, *Exploding the Western*, 9.

⁴⁴ Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, 3.

⁴⁵ David Hackett Fischer, *Liberty and Freedom: A Visual History of America's Founding Ideas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 236.

⁴⁶ Fischer, *Liberty and Freedom*, 233. Also see Lester C. Olson, "Benjamin Franklin's Commemorative Medal *Libertas Americana*: A Study in Rhetorical Iconology," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 9 (1990): 23-45.

⁴⁷ By 1920, *Libertas* had by and large usurped Columbia's role as personification of the United States. Fischer, *Liberty and Freedom*.

⁴⁸ Belinda Stillion Southard, "Militancy, Power, and Identity: The Silent Sentinels as Women Fighting for Political Voice," *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 10 (2007): 399-418; Martha H. Patterson, *Beyond the Gibson Girl: Reimagining the American New Woman, 1895-1915* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005).

⁴⁹ Susan R. Schrepfer, *Nature's Altars: Mountains, Gender, and American Environmentalism* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2005), 74.

⁵⁰ *The Suffragist*, January 8, 1916.

**Appendix: Critical Edition of Jeannette Rankin's "Democracy and Government"
Address Delivered on March 2, 1917, Carnegie Hall, New York**

[1] Perhaps some of you came here tonight hoping to learn something of the state that would send a woman to Congress; you may have the impression that there is something rather unusual about a state that will select a woman to be its representative in national affairs.

[2] I will put you at ease at once by assuring you that Montana is unusual.

[3] I am very proud of my native state. I remember when I was a small child going into town from the ranch with my mother. When we went into the store; the storekeeper greeted my mother with the news that Montana had been admitted into the Union. I remember being quite impressed with the idea that we then lived in a state. I am still thrilled by the consciousness that I live in Montana, that Montana belongs to me and I to Montana.

[4] However I hope my pride is not such that will blind me to its many shortcomings, but I trust that it is the kind of pride that will enable me to see its imperfections and spur me on to lend my services toward developing a civilization that is worthy of the great advantage given us in our natural resources, in our vastness and in our people.

[5] At first one thinks of Montana as a mineral state perhaps because the first settlers came in with the discovery of gold or it may be because we are surpassed by only one state in the production of silver and by another in the production of copper. We produce lead and zinc and have an abundance of coal. We have precious gems, sapphires and rubies. The development of the mining industries have been so rapid and so startling that we were quite dazzled by it and forgot that the other more modest resources were even more valuable.

[6] Our forests of Douglas fir, western yellow pine and western larch are as beautiful as they are valuable. We have a stand of living timber of merchantable size estimated at 33 billion board feet.

[7] When Lewis and Clark journeyed up the Missouri river on their way to the coast as the explorers of the Northwest Territory they encountered unsurmountable obstacles in what the Indians call The Great Falls. They were forced to carry their boats twenty miles over land. One of these falls they named the Black Eagle Falls in memory of the Black Eagle they saw hovering over the water. I often wonder what Lewis and Clark would think if they could see the waters of these falls being used to produce thousands of electrical horse power and could know it was carried over the mountains starting 3200 feet above sea level going up 5000 feet higher and then down 2000 feet traveling 152 miles to the destination where it turns the wheels of machinery and lighting the passages of mines thousands of feet underground in one of the biggest mining camps in the world.

[8] Some of the reports of my election in the eastern papers said that I campaigned on horseback. To us campaigning on horseback is very commonplace. We are amazed and

delighted that we can reach almost every point by train or automobile. I traveled 6000 miles by train and over 1500 miles by automobile but I wonder if any candidate in any other state could ride 500 miles through the mountains on an electrified train. The last Saturday night in the Primary I spoke at Roundup, then went to bed in a comfortable sleeper and arrived at my home 380 miles distant in time for Sunday dinner.

[9] Not only do we have electrified railroads but many women have electrified kitchens. It is the unusual small town which does not boast of electricity. While we have the water power developed to the extent of two hundred thousand electrical horse power we have made only a beginning. We have water power enough in our state to cook every meal that is eaten, to do the hard work and heat every home if it were developed and used for the people, besides using it for the industrial purpose we generally associate with electricity.

[10] But just as we are beginning to appreciate the possibilities of our water power and electricity we are discovering that we have natural gas in great quantities. Last winter was one of the severest winters we have had for many years and the inhabitants in the progressive town of Havre in the northern part of the state suffered no inconvenience for they simply lit the gas. No one had to get up in the cold to shovel coal, not even the janitor. The big smelting companies are planning on piping the gas several hundred miles in order to use it in their plants. It is such a new discovery and has been found at such far distant points that one cannot even conjecture as to the possibilities of future development.

[11] But with all these amazing facts the most wonderful natural resource is the land, just the common land formerly used for grazing. We have 30 million acres. We have as much agricultural land as the state of Iowa or as Illinois. You are familiar with these states as agricultural states. Some day you will have to readjust your attitude toward Montana.

[12] Within the last ten years the rancher to whom so much dramatic interest has attracted has passed and the farmer is the one who is producing the food that helps to feed the world. Last year Montana produced enough wheat to make 18 loaves of bread for every man, woman and child in the United States-33 million eight hundred thousand bushels. Our per acre value of wheat is equal to that of Minnesota and South Dakota put together. The per acre value of corn, oats, rye and barley easily leads in the United States and Montana has won the world's prize for the quality of her flax.

[13] Pat Carney at Sappington furnished the Northern Pacific Railway with the Big Baked Potato idea and also with the big potato. Recent government reports show that Montana farmers grow almost one and a half times as many bushels of potatoes to the acre as the average farmer in the United States.

[14] Our land responds to the work of women as well as men. The record yield on the "dry land bench" in Yellowstone County is held by a young woman homesteader who raised Turkey Red wheat on 17 acres of her 320 acre plot and threshed almost 59 bushels

of No. 1 grain to the acre. We win world prizes for our apples, we raise small fruits and vegetables. What I have said of the water power is true of agricultural resources we have only made a beginning.

[15] Added to all of this seriousness we have two big national play grounds. The Yellowstone National park where we step across the border into Nature's Vaudeville. And Glacier National Park a resting place filled with radiant beauty.

[16] In spite of all this Montana is most interesting because of the people. They come from everywhere, from every state in the Union from every country in the world. I was in Butte the first few months of the European war. In front of the newspaper bulletin were men from every belligerent nation eager for news and men have left that city for every trench along the firing line. In talking to informal gatherings of women I have found in commenting on conditions in other states invariably there has been a woman present ready to defend her native state. Every many estimable virtues under such circumstances, so there is little danger of one thinking one part of the world contains all the good and another all the bad.

[17] The west has constantly drawn the forces of discontent. Some misfits came who were discouraged. Some women are there because their families came and they could not be left behind but most of them ventured out because they had an abundance of life and adventurous spirit and could see the opportunities in a new undeveloped country. Because they had ideas that could not be worked out in an old and more fixed society and longed for more personal freedom that they might express themselves. They came with their ideas and with a splendid courage to face the hardships and the privations that are incident to pioneer life. It has been this pioneer life that has brought the men and woman so close together in working out of a better world.

[18] The men still have a very clear picture of the part which women have taken. Some can remember the women crossing the plains, others see them in the mining camps or on the lonely ranches, in the home, and in the business world. They have found the women willing to share the burdens and the men are willing to share the privileges.

[19] One of our splendid women doctors told this story at a suffrage meeting. She said that that day a young man came into her office and said, "I suppose you don't remember me." She looked at him and said, "I am afraid I do not." Then he recalled to her memory a woman who years ago left her cabin early one morning to go to the nearest man and to a doctor. She went up the canyon and through the gulch, over the mountain, down the other side. She forded the river and crossed the plain, on to the town mining camps arriving late. She had traveled 60 miles on horse back alone. That night her son was born. The woman doctor remembered the incident. The young man said, "Well, I am her son, I heard you were working for the vote and so I though I would come up and tell you I am for you." Men who have been reared by such mothers couldn't help but believe in women. And there is no hardship women will not go through to rear such men.

[20] Now 60 miles may not seem very far to us today but it was a long way then. After one of my meetings in the last campaign a woman came up to me to say that she had ridden 45 miles to the meeting and going back that night. A woman who heard her said, "Well I came 16 miles in a lumber wagon, and 16 miles in a lumber wagon is a lot farther than 45 miles in an automobile and I am going back tonight."

[21] I could relate many stories of the pioneer women on our dry land farms. Of the educated, refined young women who came out to develop their land and who incidentally developed character.

[22] We are all so near the beginning of things. We have seen so many changes in rapid succession that suggesting something new fills us with hope and despair. We are eager for variety, changes in living conditions, innovations in methods of production, variation in work, improvements in government. We don't mind being the first. When I went to Delaware and suggested that it would be an honor to be the first state in that part of the country to give woman suffrage one legislator informed me that they were the first state to sign the Constitution and they refused to be first in anything else. One finds very little of that spirit in the west.

[23] Underlying this naturalness, comradeship and freedom has been a big economic principle responsible for its existence. The land was free; each one had the opportunity to wrest from nature his economic needs. The chances for success were about equal for the government was not yet enough of a factor in the real life of the people to create special privileges. As a result there was social equality more social democracy.

[24] I have told you of some of our advantages I will try to be fair and tell you also of our problems.

[25] Our public lands are about gone and with their enclosure the last of the free land of the nation is gone. We have suddenly realized that our other natural resources are concentrated in the hands of a few--our mines, our water power, and our timber. Of the privately owned timber more than 80 percent is owned by two companies and four relatively small owners. We look in other states and find that the same is true of their resources and continuing the inquiry we find that the few that own the resources of our state are the same who own the resources of the other states. In fact they own the resources of the nation and they are reaching out into other countries.

[26] We have our difficulties with public utilities; those owned by individuals in the state and those owned by foreign corporations. We have given away our franchises, almost forced them on those who asked for them. Montana has always had before her the example of the Federal government, which gave hundreds of thousands of acres of land to the Northern Pacific Railway. These problems exist not because of the perversity of human nature but because many of our laws are made for the protection and special privilege of a few.

[27] We had no labor problems when the workers could pick out a mine for him self when he became dissatisfied with his working conditions. The same was true when the cowboy could go over to the next section or across the range and pick out a ranch for his own. But from the skilled cowboy on the ranch we have passed to the traveling thrashing crew on the farm.

[28] With these changes in conditions we now hear the employer talk of the “unreasonableness of labor.” We hear of long discussions in Commercial Clubs and Chambers of Commerce of the industries that are kept out of the state because we cannot use cheap labor. While the wages are high in dollars and cents they are very low in food and shelter. Two years ago there were literally thousands of men out of work. The life of the laborer is not considered of much value. Injury and violent death are very frequent. We are beginning to have occupational disease. So now we have real labor problems.

[29] We have incipient cases of all your social problems. Perhaps not our full share of dependence but they are gradually increasing. We have our delinquents our vagrants—the Lumberjack who gets drunk, is hauled into court, fined the amount of money he has left and is then told to leave town. In the next town he is arrested for stealing a ride on the train and so on. Our penitentiary is full of offenders against property. Our laws were copied from the older states where it was considered a greater crime to offend against property than to destroy human happiness.

[30] Then we have the defective. When all our problems in government and industry are solved we will still have these unfortunate men and women who are destined to always be children and who should be cared for as such. When we have once provided for these the solution of all other social problems will be much clearer.

[31] In groping around for some way out of our difficulties we are conscious of a new spirit in the world. We are beginning to tell that the people, all of the people working together, constitute our only hope. We can remember the free democracy, which we saw demonstrated with our free hold inheritance of land. And perhaps underneath the surface, the great movements of democracy – Political, Industrial and social—have been formed by the free land and a sense of freedom which it awakens in all. But the rise of Democracy can no longer be localized. It is calmly unaware of racial and national lines.

[32] Each day we feel the question asked why, with our improved means of production resulting in such splendid material products, have we failed to increase the products of human happiness? Is it necessary to have so much poverty, misery and crime? With these questions the demands of the people for a controlling voice in their destiny will be impervious. This means we must have democracy in government, in industry, in social life if we are to have social growth.

[33] The first steps must be taken through education. “Let the people know.” Then they can care for themselves. It is easy to say, “let the people know”; but it is not so easily done.

[34] The press is the great educator of the masses. We all appreciate that the wealthy minority can control the press. While there is little to fear from an open and candid advocacy, a subtle and anonymous campaign of suppression and misrepresentation may deceive the most discriminating for a time. However, we learn by our mistakes. The lessons learned from activity in public affairs are deeply impressed. Every step that leads to a more direct participation in the affairs of life helps to widen the channels of education.

[35] The vote is the fundamental device by which we enter directly into political affairs, and its education I value has been its most significant feature. Within the short time that the men of this country have been enfranchised we have developed the public school system that extends from the kindergarten to the university; and the greatest factor in securing these greater educational facilities has been the extension of suffrage. The ascendant class vaguely realized after giving the illiterate man the vote, they must educate him or he would endanger their institution. With the ballot the new voter was given the power to make effective his demands for education, for himself and his children. And to this must be added the education he receives from exercising his judgment in deciding questions of general welfare for the vast majority of people their work is monotonous and self-centered, and the vote is a socializing factor in bringing them into contact with the problems of the outside world. Considering the short time men have had the vote their progress has been remarkable.

[36] In working for woman suffrage I have found it difficult to be patient with men who failed to appreciate how recently they have been enfranchised. Not only the foreign born citizens many of whom never had a vote until a few years after their arrival here, but the mass of native born Americans can boast of the franchise only within a few generations. Undoubtedly I would have more patience now since I find how very easy it is to accept the new position of voter. I was made conscious of this when an old fashioned Republican in speaking of my campaign to one of my friends said, "and to think she has never even voted the Republican ticket." When I did vote the Republican ticket I was accused of voting for myself but in political life one is accused of so many things it is hardly worthwhile to deny them.

[37] The women of New York are still trying to convince their husbands, fathers, brothers and sons that they have intelligence to vote. It is hard to talk about such a self-evident truth with the advance of democracy pressing on all sides. Still there is nothing else for the women to talk about, to think about or to work for except their own enfranchisement. For until they have the opportunity, the power and the self respect that go with the ballot they have nothing.

[38] The women of Canada have the privilege of saying whether or not they were willing to give their men for war. That is, they had this privilege during times of peace but when war was declared it was taken away. However, since then the men of Western Canada have given their women full enfranchisement and this will not be taken away.

[39] The women have the vote for exactly the same reasons that men should directly participate in government. And then they should have it because they are women and have a different viewpoint to express. They should have it because they are closely related to a special interest in society – the children. Thus children should be represented not only at the polls by, both men and women, but in legislative halls and in our national government and international conferences. For unless the children of this generation are protected the next generation will be unable to cope with the increasingly difficult problems of our complex civilization.

[40] When we asked for a direct part in the government that controls in many instances the very lives of the children we are not complaining of what the men have done in the past but we are asking to be permitted to do our work. It is not fair to ask the men to do their work and women's work too and it is certainly women's work to care for the children. We talk a great deal about motherhood but are we sincere? Do we demand all that we should of motherhood? Do we provide the various means through which the fulfillment of the demands are made possible? In other words, have we the right and proper respect for motherhood?

[41] It seems to me that one of the most wonderful expressions of our civilization is fatherhood. When we realize that it is only within history that we have recognized paternity and today we see fathers toiling, slaving and sacrificing, that the opportunities of their children may be greater than theirs. Considering the unknown time the human race has been conscious of maternity we should expect to have the involved a still greater motherhood, but without freedom there can be little development. Motherhood today is an expression of the freedom of yesterday. If we would have ideal mothers we must open the channels of expression. Parenthood is the expression of the highest social function we must secure to the child an acknowledged parenthood.

[42] One step may be taken in developing a higher standard of motherhood by creating a broader, and more universal interest in children through the ballot. Women will form opinions when they have been officially asked to express them. The vote is merely an expression of opinion and each year the elections are required to decide the question, in selecting officials in supporting or rejecting issues which have to do with the children. Women are going to be interested in officials when they know these officials are answerable to them. They will soon see that every bill that passes in the City Council, in the State Legislature or in the National Congress has to do directly or indirectly with the child's well being. They will demand greater help for the children when they fully appreciate that the government is an instrument in their hands which may be adjusted to their needs.

[43] Woman suffrage is coming all over the world. Nothing can stop its progress, not even the Democratic Party. A congressman in the sixty-third congress expressed very neatly what appears to be the sentiments of the Democrats. When I went into his office he was very much amused that I wished to talk about woman suffrage but he warned but at first that he was opposed – in the city, in the state and in the nation. I inquired if he were a Democrat; he assured me he was, I said, "Then you believe that all governments

derive their just powers from the consent of the government.” He said, “I most certainly do.” I asked, “How about the women? You haven’t asked their consent.” He said, “The government doesn’t govern the women.” I was very much surprised and said, “Who does?” He answered, “The government governs the men and the men govern the women.”

[44] If this is the attitude of the Democrats the Republicans seem to have adopted their platform excepting perhaps the fact that equal suffrage will be established in our national Congress when a woman suffrage movement can be measured not only by the rapidly increasing number of women actually voting the world over by the tremendous number of women demanding enfranchisement and by the equally large number of men who are demanding that the justice of our cause be recognized.

[45] I want to repeat that there is nothing for the women to think about, to talk about or to work for until they have gained their enfranchisement for until they have the opportunity, the power and the self respect that go with the ballot they have nothing.

[46] No state has the right to claim for itself Democratic government where a large half of the people, the women, do not vote.

[47] Just having a vote is not all that is required if we are to have a voice in government. We must have the political machinery by which the votes may be cast. One of the simplest and most obvious practical laws that we have in Montana is the absent voters law by which a voter may cast his ballot regardless of where he is on election day. While Montana is a large state this does not prevent us from traveling around. The last two weeks before election I met men and women in very town who had already cast their ballots in other places. A few weeks after election I received a paper from a small town in Florida which told of a parade to celebrate the Democratic victory. A young woman on a white horse lead the parade, she carried a banner which read, “I voted for Wilson, for Jeannette Rankin for Congress and to put Montana dry.” Her home is in Montana. She was spending the winter in Florida but this did not interfere with her using an absent voter ballot. For the first time every railroad worker and every other worker who was forced to be away on election day had the same privilege as those at home.

[48] We have a corrupt practices act that has been of great assistance to the people on election day. It prevents the soliciting of votes in any manner; even the conveying of voters to the polls is prohibited and any activity on election day jeopardizes the election of the candidate for whom it is carried on.

[49] The corrupt practices act is aiding in the education of the people by requiring that all printed matter contain the names of all persons or organizations who paid for and circulated the information; also the names of the printers and they are all liable for false statements. Under the provisions of this act all advertising in news papers must be so labeled. However, only a beginning has been made towards a corrupt practices act. One that will protect the voter and be fair to the honest candidate while it checks the dishonest candidate. One that will prevent a campaign of misrepresentations and aid an honest

campaign of education. Each year our sense of political morality is higher. That which was countenanced this year will be punished next. An educated public opinion is the best kind of a corrupt practices act.

[50] If the vote is to be really affective the political machinery must be such that each voter will have a choice in the selection of the officers. The more direct that selection is the nearer we will come to hearing the voice of the people.

[51] Montana had a direct preferential vote for United States Senators before the Federal Constitution was amended to provide for their direct election. The People of Montana are perfectly confident that they are capable of choosing their Senators. We know we would have a much greater influence in presidential elections if we had a direct vote for president.

[52] In the last election, for instance, we cast One Hundred and Seventy-seven Thousand votes and had only four electoral votes, while Vermont with only sixty-three thousand voters also had four electoral votes, so one vote cast in Vermont had over twice the value of a vote in Montana. This is even more conspicuous in the southern states. Louisiana has just the number of voters and has just two and one-half times the number of electoral votes so a vote in Louisiana has five times the value of a vote in Montana. This cannot be accounted for simply on the ground of the enfranchised woman for South Carolina from the same number of voters as Vermont has nine electoral votes instead of four, and Delaware with three in the electoral college cast fifty thousand votes while Nevada a suffrage state with the same number of electoral votes cast only thirty thousand at the general election. Direct election of presidents would increase the possibility of each vote having the same value. True democracy demands that each man has a vote and one-man one vote.

[53] Montana has a direct primary law, which marks a forward step in direct democracy in government. I cannot say that the sentiment in favor of the direct primary is unanimous but can say that those who oppose it are generally flowers of self-appointed political bosses or are the henchmen of some special privilege.

[54] By direct primary I do not mean direct primaries for nominating conventions but direct nominating primaries.

[55] Our law provides that any one may file with the Secretary of State or County Clerk his declaration of intention to run for any office on any party ticket. With this declaration the candidate may file a copy of the platform on which he wishes to be elected and a ten-work statement to be placed on the ballots. Then the candidate must circulate or have circulated petitions in a certain percentage of the counties and obtain the signatures equal to a certain percentage of the votes cast in the last election. The percentages vary with the office. The petitions must be filed before a certain date. A campaign book is published by the state and mailed to every registered voter. Candidates may buy space in this book in which to set forth their qualifications and platforms. Then the candidate must conduct his own campaign for the votes, for the party organization cannot properly

take part in the nominating primary. This individual campaign is objected to by those who formerly manipulated the politics of the State. They say that it is expensive. That insufficient interest is taken by the voters, that the best men do not come out for office.

[56] While the primary system is expensive for the candidate who fails, all the work done in the primary by the successful candidate counts in the final election. This expense may tend to discourage candidates who are unqualified. The expense to the state of holding practically two elections is greater from a monetary standpoint than the old nominating conventions. However, there are several ways of viewing expense. It seems to me that any expense incurred, no matter how slight, which does not increase the facilities for obtaining a true expression of public opinion is too costly for any government to indulge in. On the other side any device which will cause the individual to feel a greater responsibility to the government will bring clear profit in general welfare.

[57] The number of persons who take some interest in the selection of candidates by the direct nominating primary is many thousand times greater than it was with the old nominating convention. Each year the number interested is bound to increase for the direct primary has this great advantage that it puts the burden of arousing the interest of the electorate on the candidate. Since there is no way to limit the number of candidates the competitions for votes will always be keen. The electorate will learn by its mistakes and it will gradually learn to judge the candidates more and more accurately.

[58] We have never felt that the best material in our state hesitated to come out for office on account of the primary law. There are some men in every state who might win an election if they had the undivided support of a party organization and if the people felt that they had no choice the candidate on each party being equally undesirable, these men could not win by an individual campaign. Yet these are the same men who talk a great deal about the best material not rushing into the scramble for votes. Temporary organizations will spring into existence to give their support to the best material whenever it fails to come out voluntarily.

[59] Our primary law provides that the names of the candidates should be placed alphabetically on the ballot. There was great fear expressed that the electors would vote for the first two names, there being two Congressman at large. My name came last.

[60] I feel that I should apologize to the electorate of Montana every time I think of how I feared they would vote for the first two names on the ballot and forget mine. The vote for Congressman shows how discriminating our electors can be. The first two names each received about six thousand votes, the third received the lowest number, the fourth received fifteen thousand votes, and the fifth name thirteen thousand votes, the next two were low and the eighth received twenty-two thousand votes. The fourth and the last names were chosen with the fifth a close third, showing that the position on the ballot is of small importance. Some states rotate the names in printing so that each name will appear an equal number of times at the top but this seems unnecessary where the electorate can read.

[61] One feature of our primary law that is an improvement over the laws in some states is that it does not require the voter to tell his party affiliation. Each voter is given the ballot of all the parties. At our last primary election there were three tickets in the field. In the booth in perfect secrecy each voter selected the party ticket he wished to vote; then he was obliged to cast one ballot in the ballot box and two in the waste box.

[62] The possibility of there being a concerted effort on the part of one party to select a weak candidate in the opposite party is negligible for there would seldom be a time when there would be no contest either on the state or county ticket. For instance, there was little contest in the Democratic party for the state ticket this year, yet nearly everywhere on the county tickets the contest was keen, so that personal friendships which are stronger for county than for state candidates, kept them within their own party. In Butte, Silver Bow County, there were 135 Democrats running for 15 county offices.

[63] Another great advantage in the primary law is the possibility of new ideas being placed in the party platform, ideas that are virtually selected by the people.

[64] If I may, I will illustrate again by our last primary. While Montana has been justly labeled "The wettest state in the Union" the sentiment for prohibition grew very rapidly in the last few years. Yet there were only two candidates in all the parties who came out sparsely for prohibition, - Mr. Ford the Republican candidate for Attorney General and myself. Mr. Ford's opponent was a man equally able and a good campaigner. He went to the women and said he was a teetotaler but refused to stand for prohibition. Mr. Ford came out in his first statement filled with the Secretary of State, for prohibition and a strict enforcement of the prohibition law. He won by an overwhelming majority. I came out unequivocally for state and national prohibition and talked for it from the platform. I received twenty-two thousand votes and the next candidate for Congress had fifteen thousand. Under the primary laws the candidates write the party platform so when we met for this purpose the Republicans were unanimously in favor of a prohibition plank. This forced the Democrats to put a prohibition plank in their platform the next week. Those who are familiar with Montana's past political history will realize that this was rather a new departure. It was the unmistakable approval of the people that made them adopt such a plank. It took the primary to demonstrate that the people wanted to elect to office candidates who were of a progressive turn of mind and who were willing to make their movements a success.

[65] Since there is no limit to the candidates for a nomination there will always be competition, for votes; this will make the candidates eager to select issues advocated by the men and women and they will want to do it first. This will have a tendency to keep the platform more nearly the reflection of the ideas of the people, contemporary people.

[66] After the people have accepted the responsibility of the government to the extent of voting for the candidates of their choice, obviously the next step would be to adopt some device, by which they might maintain control over their officers whether they be legislative, executive or judicial.

[67] The recall is the instrument which the people of Oregon have effectively used to secure this control. Oregon adopted the recall in 1911. Within the next four years eight other western states profited by Oregon's example. While Montana has been unable so far to secure such a law, we feel the need of it very much.

[68] The recall provides a system by which the constituents can remove the officer they have elected when he has proved himself incompetent or unfaithful. It is based on the idea that an officer is a mere agent and can be dismissed at any time. The practice of the recall is nothing more than the application of good business principles to governmental affairs. Every wise employer reserves the right to discharge an employee whenever the service rendered is unsatisfactory. A government by the people should reserve the same power. A public officer can resign his position at any time so his employer should have the right to discharge him. In the case of a public official the people are the employers and the recall is simply a vote to remove a man from office.

[69] The machinery of the recall is very simple. Whenever the constituents of a public officer are dissatisfied with his actions they can by signing and filing a petition for his recall suspend him from office. A new election is held and at this election the old officer is a candidate unless he resigns and others are nominated in the regular way.

[70] The recall has been in effect in the west long enough to prove its value to a popular government. None of the disasters predicted by its opponents are substantiated. It is a precautionary measure the very existence of which prevents the necessity of its use. In only very few instances has it been used. The people never recall one who serves the general welfare. It protects the officer from responsibility to a boss or special privilege, in that it puts him in the power of the people. In other words it prevents the officer from discriminating in favor of the individual class against the general welfare.

[71] It prevents a small group of constituents from harboring discontent and harassing an officer when he is carrying out the wishes of the majority. I knew of an incidence where a mayor of the town was opposed by a group of influential people. They tried to stir up dissention in order to destroy his work. The friends of the mayor refused to be disturbed. They said, "You have the recall; if you don't like the mayor recall him." The influential few did not dare go to the whole people with their case for they knew it was against the general welfare.

[72] Popular government requires the recall as an extension of the franchise.

[73] In our battle for popular government the initiative and referendum have proved indispensable weapons. The recall has had a very chastening effect on all officers, whether legislative, executive, or judiciary. Yet the legislation promoted or obstructed by a legislator is not in any way affected by the recall of the legislator himself, but it may be very materially affected through the initiative and referendum. Thus has the initiative and referendum filled a long-felt want by establishing a direct method of enacting legislation. It has infused new life in the worn-out right of petition, and provided a

system whereby bills may be proposed under the initiative or disapproved under the referendum.

[74] In other words, the initiative is a device whereby any person or group of persons may draft a proposal for a law, and when they have secured the signatures of a certain number of voters, they may have it submitted to the voters at large for their approval or disapproval. In the same way, laws passed by the legislatures may be carried back to the voters for their approval before going into effect. The Referendum gives the people the veto power over bad laws.

[75] The beneficial effects of such direct legislation cannot be measured by the mere enactment or removal of laws from the statute books. For quite aside from the great legislative value of this directness, it is impossible to estimate the educational value it has in arousing the people to a realization of their sovereignty.

[76] Through this means of direct legislation, questions of public welfare are brought to the people, and the responsibility of evolving a solution is placed directly on them. This tends naturally to create among the mass of people a realization of the opportunity for self-expression through government. It promotes a community spirit and a common interest by distributing equally the responsibility for community government; and thus an unlimited field for individual and community development is opened up.

[77] One interesting effect of the initiative and referendum has been that of making legislatures more sensitive to the demands of the people. When it is known that laws passed by the legislature can be annulled by the people in a referendum, or that certain desirable legislation can be initiated if the legislature refuses to pass it, the people watch the legislators more carefully and with much keener interest than they would if they felt there was no recourse from the decrees of the legislators. Our lawmakers are held accountable to the people. They study their desires, and strive to anticipate the demands of the people so that their actions will not be discredited later through the employment of initiative and referendum.

[78] The simple machinery by which the initiative is handled step by step illustrates some of the far-reaching advantages of popular government. The initiated bill is generally drawn by a volunteer committee of voters who are especially interested in its promotion. This self-appointed committee – usually larger than the committee which would consider the bill in the legislature – approaches the work with a singleness of purpose which assures a thorough consideration of all points involved, and results in a well-drawn bill. For since an initiated bill fortunately cannot be mutilated by amendments, the framers always work with a consciousness of the fact that if the bill is to receive the approval of the voters, it must be designed to promote the general well-being. For the individual voters may be relied upon not to vote for a change in government unless he is satisfied that that change will benefit him individually or will bring improved conditions generally to the community.

[79] The first step after the bill is framed, is to secure the signatures of a certain number of voters, to show that there is in truth a demand for the submission of such a proposal as is contained in the bill. This implies a fair amount of publicity, for as the bill passes among the voters for signatures, it is carefully considered and discussed. In many of the western states the general discussion is aided by a pamphlet published by the state and sent to every registered voter not less than fifty-five days before election day. This pamphlet contains the text of the proposed law and the title as it will appear on the ballots, together with arguments setting forth the merits and defects of the proposal as viewed by the proponents and opponents of the bill. Thus each voter has an opportunity to study the proposition carefully; and this general scrutiny not only precludes the possibility of having a “joker” slipped into the bill, but it insures a fairly intelligent vote.

[80] Through these avenues of popular education an active thinking minority is enabled to enlighten the masses, and an opportunity is opened for the development of intellectual leaders – men and women who are earnestly concerned with public welfare rather than with political preferment, and who are willing to devote their energies to the common good.

[81] That every individual leader has a chance to promote such legislation as he believes to be best for the community, and that the people will respond to a call for action when it is issued by a real leader, is illustrated by the case of our corrupt practices act in Montana. The bill proposing a law to establish direct primaries in Montana was being framed by a committee of voters, one member of which was in favor of accompanying the direct primaries bill with a corrupt practices bill. The other members of the committee were inclined to feel that they hadn't the time to give it consideration. The young man was given charge of the printing and circulating of the petitions. He decided he would initiate a corrupt practices act himself, and so on his own responsibility and at his own expense, he framed and printed a corrupt practices act and circulated it along with the proposed primary bill. It is now a part of the Montana statutes and has saved more than one election for the people, and is now considered indispensable. It would be difficult to imagine practical politicians, in a legislature unguarded by the initiative and referendum, advocating a really effective act.

[82] Thus, by putting political machinery in the hands of everyone who is interested enough in the government to take the land in promoting public welfare, has the initiative and referendum not only stimulated a more active interest in the voter with regard to his government, but it has brought about a closer, more direct relationship between the voter and the government. Better laws have resulted; civic spirit has been stimulated. And in the hearts of the people there is steadily growing a recognition of their sovereignty and an impulse to work out their ideals.

[83] It is the ambition of Montana, and to a greater or less degree the ambition of every state, to work out a system of government by which the sovereign power is vested in the people as a whole, and is exercised directly by them or by representatives chosen by them.

[84] I have tried to point out some steps which tend to give the people more direct power in selecting and controlling legislative bodies, even to the extent of enabling the people to perform directly the service which has been delegated to the legislator. However, the great bulk of legislative work must be done by legislative bodies, and we have found that even with the initiative and referendum as a safeguard, our legislatures are still not truly representative of the people's ideas. We are forced, then, to the conclusion that the trouble no longer lies in any limitation of the people's power (for that limitation has been largely removed), but it lies rather in the limitations of the people's method of selecting persons to represent them in their legislative halls.

[85] John Stuart Mill said: "The true idea of democracy, according to its definition, is the government of the whole people by the whole people represented." When we examine our legislative bodies we find in many instances examples of government of the whole people by a mere majority of the people, exclusively represented. This means a government of privilege in favor of the numerical majority to the complete disfranchisement of the minority.

[86] Take, for instance, the Oregon legislature. The lower house consists of 60 representatives. In the election of June, 1906, the Republicans cast approximately 54,000 votes; the Democrats 30,000; the Socialists 7,000; and the Prohibitions 5,000. If the ideas of the people had been actually represented in the legislature as a result of that vote, each party would have sent representatives to the legislature, and the members of the house would have numbered 34 Republicans, 19 Democrats, 4 Socialists, and 3 Prohibitionists. Yet under the present system of selecting representatives, the Republicans sent 59 members to the house, the Democrats sent one representative, and the Socialists and the Prohibitionists sent none.

[87] Mr. Garfield, while still a member of Congress in 1870, took occasion to speak of the injustice of lack of proportion in representation which has always been conspicuous in our government. "In my judgment," he said, "it is the weak point in the theory of representative government, as now organized and administered, that a large portion of the voting people are permanently disfranchised. Take my own district as an example; I have never been elected by less than 9,000 majority. Sometimes the majority has exceeded 12,000. There are about 10,000 Democratic voters in my district, and they have been voting there for the last forty years without any more hope of having a representative on the floor of Congress than of having one in the Commons of Great Britain."

[88] This discrepancy in representation has been aggravated by the practice of manipulating the boundary lines of electoral districts, so that every district in the state may include a majority of Republican votes or Democratic votes, as the case may be. The result is that the state is represented nationally in Congress by men from each district representing the same political party or the same interests, while the substantial minority in each district is left entirely without representation. This, however, would be the case even where electoral districts are not dishonestly created; for our present subsections are

not dishonestly created; for our present subjection to majority rule, regardless of the ideas of the minority, is bound to lead always to the same difficulty.

[89] In order to avoid this unfairness in representation, a system of proportional representation has been devised which provides that each party shall be represented in the ratio of its proportion to the entire electorate. Under this method, in a state which casts say 50,000 votes for five representatives, one-fifth of that number of votes, or 10,000 would be sufficient to elect one representative. Thus every candidate who obtains 10,000 votes is sure of election, and every party is entitled to one representative for each 10,000 votes. In this way, a party having three-fifths of all the votes would be entitled to three representatives, instead of to all five, as under the present system.

[90] This plan, with more or less simple modification, has been in use for some years in Japan, Switzerland, Belgium, Denmark, Tasmania and Finland. The success of the plan in these countries has been the cause of campaigns for the adoption of a similar method in Sweden, France, England, Australia, and the United States. The city of Ashtabula, Ohio, is working out an adaptation of this idea in municipal affairs, and is meeting with remarkable success. It is being found logical and simple, and readily commands itself as an indispensable instrument of a truly representative government.

[91] The fundamental changes in social growth are unobtrusive. The increase of wealth and intelligence, the rise of corporations, the organization of labor, the spread of democracy, and the unfolding of new ideals and ambitions are all fundamental processes essential to progress. The machinery and devices whereby the people work out their ideals must constantly change if they are to be made adaptable to social growth.

[92] I have discussed some of the changes designed to aid the people in adjusting the government to their ideals of a new democracy. But democracy in government is not enough. We must have democracy in industry as well.

[93] Mr. Henry Lloyd says, "It is by the people who do the work, that the hours of labor, the conditions of employment, and division of the produce is to be determined. It is by them that the captains of industry are to be chosen, and chosen to be servants, not masters.... Industry, like government, exists only by the co-operation of all, and like government, it must guarantee equal protection to all... The Declaration of Independence yesterday meant self-government; today it means self-employment, which is but another kind of government.

[94] This, however, is a subject we cannot go into tonight. I mention it simply as a suggestion of what is necessary that we may have democracy in social life. The more nearly we reach equality in social life the more rapidly will we approach the time when we will evolve a race provided with the instrumentalities for enjoying life and with the capacity for happiness.

[95] A striking example of the direct primary and its relation to popular government was shown in North Dakota last summer, when 40,000 farmers, organized into a non-partisan league, went to the polls at the primary election and defied the old republican machine which had been entrenched on the wrong side of the economic situation of North Dakota for many years, by nominating (and later electing) an entire ticket of their own, from governor down to constable. Their dramatic victory was one for the most significant political achievements of the year in this country, and was a handsome contribution to the nationwide struggle of the agricultural population for a more fair and more efficient method of marketing their products. It was a distinct forward step in the development of popular government.

[96] A striking example of the power of the direct primary and its relation to popular government was shown last summer in North Dakota when 40,000 farmers, banded together in what they termed a non-partisan league, decided to put an end to the unwholesome political and economic conditions which had abounded in their state for many years. Dissatisfaction among the farmers had been brewing for ten years. Their grievances were many. Their wheat, on leaving the state, had always been run into unfriendly elevators, and was, they believed, subjected to manipulation at the hands of the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce and the Chicago Board of Trade. It was charged that their fine No. 1 and No. 2 grades of grain were mixed with inferior grains from other states, and arbitrarily "standardized" by Minnesota political inspectors who forced down the fair and just price of North Dakota grain. The weighing of the grain was another cause of disturbance, for it was always weighted at the top of the elevator after the valuable byproducts of the wheat had been "fanned" away. They were indignant at the high cost of hail insurance.

[97] To put it as the Non-Partisan Leader, the official organ of the league put it:
"The gophers eat the famers' wheat.
The bees, they eat his honey;
The loan sharks haunt him in his sleep,
And the grafters get his money."

[98] As a result of these disturbing factors, a few years ago the farmers of North Dakota decided to build their own terminal elevators, to have their own hail insurance, and to control the marketing of their own grain. Through the aid of the initiative and referendum they asked the legislature to tax them to build a state owned elevator. The legislature (alleged to be under the influence of "foreign" grain interests) refused. And revolution resulted.

[99] One day, shortly after the legislature adjourned, a group of farmers gathered together and each one contributed \$6 toward the purchase of a Ford automobile. In that car a committee went out to collect more money for another car. Within a few weeks 100 Ford cars were speeding silently through the state organizing the farmers against the legislature and the entrenched "foreign" interests.

[100] The nominating primaries took place in June of the following year. The Non-Partisan league had decided to nominate an entire ticket of their own from governor down to constable. It was the flood-line of the year in North Dakota. Streams were swollen and bridges were down. Some of the farmers tied their clothes to their backs and swam across streams, and others drove as many as twenty-four miles around the streams, in order to get to their polling places to help nominate their candidates.

[101] The result was one of the most significant political achievements of the year, in this country. Governor Frazier, who has been a farmer all his life, was not only nominated, but was elected by an overwhelming vote, after one of the most dramatic campaigns that North Dakota has ever witnessed. Picturesque incidents abounded throughout. There was tremendous opposition. There was a dramatic court trial in Fargo of the Equity Co-operative Exchange, a competition of the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, during which 500 farmers paraded the streets before the courthouse with bands and with banners demanding an open market. There were dark threats with respect to having members of the faculty of the North Dakota Agricultural College and the State University of North Dakota removed for enlightening the farmers with regard to political and economic possibilities in their state. It was a battle of the people against the special interests, and in winning it, the Non-Partisan league of North Dakota contributed one more significant victory to the nationwide struggle of the agricultural population for a more fair and more efficient method of marketing their products. It was a distinct forward step in the development of popular government.

Text Specification

This text represents Jeannette Rankin's speech performance at Carnegie Hall in New York, on March 2, 1917. Titled "Democracy and Government," this speech was one of Rankin's first public appearances after her successful campaign for congresswoman of Montana. Due to the overwhelming amount of attention she received from the press for becoming the nation's first congresswoman, she had spent the majority of her time after her election and before this speech in hiding.¹ Her Carnegie Hall address was the first of a twenty-city lecture tour she took on her way to Washington to enter office.² Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, introduced Rankin to the crowd of 3,000 at Carnegie Hall that night. As part of her introduction, Catt also read aloud a letter from Theodore Roosevelt apologizing for his absence at her address and praising the Republican Party.³

At the time of her election and this speech, Rankin and many other western women had the right to vote, while the women in eastern states were still without suffrage. During her first days in office following this address, she made one of her infamous anti-war decisions by voting against the United States' entrance into World War I. She was later remembered as the only congressperson to vote against both World Wars.

Source Materials

Jeannette Rankin, "Democracy and Government," Pre-Delivery Speech Draft, Wellington Rankin Papers, Montana Historical Society, MC 288, Box 4, Folder 17: Jeannette Rankin [= A]

"Miss Rankin Addresses 3000," *The Woman's Journal*, March 10, 1917. [= B]

"Jeannette Rankin Cheered by 3,000 For Speech Here," *New York Tribune*, March 3, 1917. [= C]

"Lady from Montana' Talks," *New York Times*, March 3, 1917. [= D]

"First Woman M.C. Makes Her Bow to New York," *Irish World*, March 3, 1917.

"Lady from Montana Makes Her Bow Here," no publication title, no date, Jeannette Rankin Papers, Schlesinger Library, Folder 203. [= F]

"Lady Congressman Knows Everything," *N.Y.C. Mail*, March 3, 1917. [= G]

"Miss Rankin Urges Direct Vote to Elect President," *New York American*, March 3, 1917. [= H]

"Woman Member of Congress Has Rousing Welcome," *New York City Herald*, March 3, 1917. [= I]

Authentication Procedures

This text offers an authentication of Rankin's speech performance at Carnegie Hall according to Robert N. Gaines's method of text authentication.⁴ During the process of authenticating this text, I consulted every source that mentioned this performance available in books, newspapers, and Jeannette Rankin's papers at the Schlesinger Library and Montana Historical Society.

Rationale for Composition-Text Selection: The composition-text is a pre-delivery draft of the speech (= A) written by Jeannette Rankin's brother, Wellington Rankin.⁵ It was selected because it is our only extant text of the speech. Jeannette Rankin's biographers note that the style of the speech exemplified Wellington Rankin's usual style in that it had a moderate tone, balanced structure, and was written out.⁶ Following the Carnegie Hall address, Wellington Rankin mailed the pre-delivery draft (= A) to Jeannette Rankin and suggested that she use it for her upcoming address at the national meeting of the Nonpartisan League.⁷ Although contemporary newspaper accounts report that Jeannette Rankin did not use any notes during her Carnegie Hall address,⁸ a telegram from Wellington sent to their mother, Mrs. John Rankin, the day of the speech, reported that Jeannette was "well prepared" for her speech.⁹

Eight newspaper accounts of Rankin's speech also include over forty excerpts from her speech. The quotes, summaries, and descriptions of Rankin's speech in newspaper articles corroborated many of the ideas in the copy text of the speech. Although very few of the excerpts match the speech draft (= A) verbatim, the majority of quotes have close parallels. Furthermore, although each article only included a few excerpts of the speech, each author summarized main points of the speech and listed topics that she discussed. They mentioned nearly twenty topics that are also evident in the copy-text: labor problems, industrial conditions, child welfare, woman suffrage, direct primaries, the recall, initiative and referendum, proportional representation, advantages of Montana, problems facing Montana, Montana's electricity, natural water power, natural gas, free land, wheat, and mining resources. Including direct quotes and topics mentioned in the articles, 96 of the 101 paragraphs of the speech are corroborated through news sources.

The newspaper accounts describe only three statements of Rankin's that are not included in the speech draft (= A) or the text printed here. First, the *Woman's Journal* (= B) and *New York Tribune* (= C) reported that she commented on Colorado's labor problems. Although the speech draft does not include the word Colorado, it does discuss labor problems. Second, the *NYC Herald* (= I) reported that she began her address by stating, "In Helena they address an audience 'Ladies and candidates for Sheriff.'" However, the *Woman's Tribune's* (= B) description of the beginning of her address matches the opening paragraphs of the speech draft (= A). Third, both the *Woman's Journal* (= B) and *New York Tribune* (= C) include a direct quote that is not instantiated in the speech draft: "I'm in favor of the initiative, referendum, the recall, the direct primary, state and national prohibition, a popular vote for President and a system of proportional representation in state legislatures. These are steps toward democracy" (= BC). Although this statement is not in the speech draft verbatim, these ideas are all throughout the speech.

Establishment of Surface Features: Except where specified in notes, the speech draft (= A) is followed for paragraphing, spelling, and punctuation. Consistent with paragraphing in A, paragraph numbers have been introduced in the text within square brackets.

Departures from the Composition-Text: Other than spelling, punctuation, and grammatical errors, the text presented here does not depart from the composition text (= A). Although the wording of Rankin's speech included in the newspaper reports often differ in small ways from the composition text (= A), there is no reason to believe that the newspaper reports are any more accurate than Rankin's draft. Because there are also small differences in the wording of Rankin quotes between the different newspaper sources, they do not indicate that the reports had word for word accuracy of Rankin's performance. The only newspaper excerpts of the speech that are identical to each other are several quotes included in *The Woman's Journal* (= B) and the *New York Tribune* (= C). However, the article in *The Woman's Journal* (= C) explicitly states that it includes information gathered from the *New York Tribune* (= C) article on Rankin's speech.

Notes

1-2 You may have the impression that there is something rather unusual about a state that will select a woman to be its representative in national affairs. I will put you at ease at once by assuring you that Montana is unusual A: Montana is an unusual state—that's why it elected a woman to Congress BC

3 I am very proud of my native state A: I am proud of the West. I'm glad that it belongs to me. B C

3 I remember when I was a small child Lewis: I remember when a small child A

3 the store Lewis: the storm A

8 Some of the reports of my election in the eastern papers said that I campaigned on horseback. To us campaigning on horseback is very commonplace. A: Some reports have had it that I campaigned the State on horseback. D

8 I traveled 6000 miles by train and over 1500 miles by automobile but I wonder if any candidate in any other state could ride 500 miles through the mountains on an electrified train. A: As a matter of fact, I traveled on trains and automobiles. I took one trip of 400 miles across the Rockies on an electrified train. D

10 No one had to get up in the cold to shovel coal, not even the janitor. A: Not even the poor janitor need get out of bed into the cold in the morning B, not even the poor janitor need get out of bed into the cold of mornings C

12 Montana produced enough wheat to make 18 loaves of bread for every man, woman and child in the United States A: Montana produced flour enough to make eighteen loaves of bread for every man, woman and child in the United States BC

12 food Lewis: foof A

13 Big Baked Potato ABC

14 59 bushels of No. 1 grain to the acre A: 58 bushels of No. 1 wheat to the acre BC

14 world Lewis: world A

19 60 miles on horse back AC

19 me.” Lewis: me”.

20 16 miles in a lumber wagon ABC

20 is a lot farther than 45 miles in an automobile ABC

23 freedom Lewis: freedome

25 suddenly realized Lewis: suddently realized A

26 example Lewis: exampel A

28 While the wages are high in dollars and cents they are very low in food and shelter. Two years ago there were literally thousands of men out of work. A: Wages are high in dollars and cents, but low in terms of food. Two years ago thousands of our men were out of work. BC

28 Injury and violent death are very frequent. A: Injury and violent death are frequent among our workers. C

31 tell Lewis: fell A

32 This means we must have democracy in government, in industry, in social life if we are to have social growth. A: We must have political democracy, business democracy, social democracy. BC, democracy in industry, government and social life G

33 know.” Lewis: know”. A

35 the short time that the men of this country have been enfranchised A: what a short time men had had the ballot C

36 In working for woman suffrage I have found it difficult to be patient with men who failed to appreciate how recently they have been enfranchised. A: Men fail to realize how recently they have been enfranchised. Considering the time they have had the vote they have done wonders with it. EF

37 The women of New York are still trying to convince their husbands, fathers, brothers and sons that they have intelligence to vote. It is hard to talk about such a self-evident truth with the advance of democracy pressing on all sides. Still there is nothing else for the women to talk about, to think about or to work for except their own enfranchisement. For until they have the opportunity, the power and the self respect that go with the ballot they have nothing. A: You women of New York are trying to convince your husbands and brothers that you have intelligence enough to use the ballot. But until you have the power and the self-respect that go with the ballot you have nothing. E

38 The women of Canada have the privilege of saying whether or not they were willing to give their men for war. A: Women ought to have a right to say whether their men shall go to war. BC

39 The women have the vote for exactly the same reasons that men should directly participate in government. And then they should have it because they are women and have a different viewpoint to express. They should have it because they are closely related to a special interest in society – the children. Thus children should be represented not only at the polls by, both men and women, but in legislative halls and in our national government and international conferences. A: Women should vote for the same reasons men did, because the nation needs their point of view and because children must have representation in the affairs of the country. BC

40 It is not fair to ask the men to do their work and women's work too and it is certainly women's work to care for the children. A: But it is not fair to ask the men to do their work and the women's work too. EF

41 an acknowledged parenthood Lewis: an acknowledge parenthood A

41 involved Lewis: envolved A

42 every bill that passes Lewis: every bill passes A

43 Woman suffrage is coming all over the world. Nothing can stop its progress, not even the Democratic Party. A: Women's suffrage is coming—it is coming all over the world. Nothing, not even the Democratic Party can stop it. FG, Woman suffrage is coming—it is coming all over the world. Nothing can stop it, not even the Democratic Party. I, Nothing, not even the Democratic Party, can stop Woman Suffrage. E, Woman suffrage is coming—and in spite of the Democratic Party. C

43 A congressman... answered, "The government governs the men and the men govern the women." A: A Southern Congressman who declared that the Government should govern the men and the men the women F

45 I want to repeat that there is nothing for the women to think about, to talk about or to work for until they have gained their enfranchisement for until they have the opportunity, the power and the self respect that go with the ballot they have nothing. A, Until women have the opportunity, power and self-respect that go with the ballot, they have not the first step toward freedom. EF, There's nothing else for the women of New York to think about, nothing else for them to talk about, nothing else for them to work for, until they get the vote. Until then they haven't taken the first step in freedom. BC

46 half Lewis: hald A

47 read, "I voted Lewis: read" I voted

48 for whom it is carried Lewis: for whom is is carried on A

49 it checks the dishonest candidate Lewis: it shecks the dishonest candidate A

51 We know we would have a much greater influence in presidential elections if we had a direct vote for president. A: I am in favor of a direct vote for President. Each voter has a right to his vote, and the vote for President should be recorded. H

51 influence in presidential elections Lewis: influence is presidential elections A

52 thirty thousand Lewis: thrity thousand A

55 voters, that the best men do Lewis: voters that the best man do A

56 While the primary system is expensive for the candidate who fails, all the work done in the primary by the successful candidate counts in the final election. A: I am also in favor of direct primaries, irrespective as to whether they are more expensive to the State than convention nominations. H

58 individual campaign Lewis: undividual campaign A

58 votes Lewis: botes A

60 would Lewis: woulf A

64 I came out unequivocally for state and national prohibition and talked for it from the platform. A: I am also in favor of State and national prohibition. H

68 The recall provides a system by which the constituents can remove the officer they have elected when he has proved himself incompetent or unfaithful. A: We must

have a way to make our officials responsible to the whole people after election, as before, so that they may be recalled at any time they are not living up to the principles on which they were elected. BC

70 individual class Lewis: individual calss A

73 long-felt Lewis: long=felt A

92 But democracy in government is not enough. We must have democracy in industry as well. A: Industrial democracy is more important than political democracy. BC

93 The Declaration of Independence yesterday meant self-government; today it means self-employment, which is but another kind of government. ABC

94 life Lewis: like A

Notes: Appendix

¹ “Her Victory at Polls Proves Peril at Gate, Miss Rankin, First Congresswoman, in Hiding,” *The Evening Star*, November 21, 1916.

² James J. Lopach and Jean A. Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin: A Political Woman* (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2005), 134.

³ “Jeannette Rankin Cheered by 3,000 For Speech Here,” *New York Tribune*, March 3, 1917; “‘Lady from Montana’ Talks,” *New York Times*, March 3, 1917.

⁴ Robert N. Gaines, “The Processes and Challenges of Textual Authentication,” in *The Handbook of Rhetoric and Public Address*, eds. Shawn J. Parry-Giles and J. Michael Hogan (Malden, MA: Blackwell, in press).

⁵ Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 109.

⁶ Lopach and Luckowski, *Jeannette Rankin*, 110.

⁷ Letter from Wellington Rankin to Jeannette Rankin, August 1917, Jeannette Rankin Papers, Montana Historical Society.

⁸ “‘Lady from Montana’ Talks,” *New York Times*, March 3, 1917.

⁹ Telegram from Wellington Rankin to Mrs. John Rankin, March 2, 1917, Jeannette Rankin Papers, Schlesinger Library.

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