MCPETERS, CYNTHIA DAMM. Ph.D. Feminist Rhetorical Acts of Remembering in Women Veterans' World War II Scrapbooks. (2023)
Directed by Dr. Nancy Myers. 170 pp.

Feminist Rhetorical Acts of Remembering in Women Veterans' World War II Scrapbooks considers rhetorical agency and authority accessed by women veterans of World War II through the personal genre of the scrapbook. Examining the rhetorical tensions extant in American cultural doxa as women entered military and extra-military service during the 1940s, this project focuses on the revelations of femininity alongside the construction of new professional ethē by four women veterans who transitioned from "women's work" to the male-dominated world of war. These women veterans retool the feminized genre of the scrapbook to negotiate between societal gender expectations, popular media, and recruitment propaganda. Moreover, they identify themselves as remembering women, as conventionally feminine women, and as professional women in wartime service by siting themselves within their albums, in domestic and occupational ecologies and in physical wartime locations. Their memory texts afford these women veterans the ability to manipulate time and space as they write themselves into historical accounts of the Second World War through contemporary archives and composition pedagogy. Given that the world can never see a conflict like World War II, their narratives become valuable additions to the public memory of World War II.

FEMINIST RHETORICAL ACTS OF REMEMBERING IN WOMEN VETERANS' WORLD WAR II SCRAPBOOKS

by

Cynthia Damm McPeters

A Dissertation
Submitted to
the Faculty of The Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Greensboro

2023

Approved by

Dr. Nancy Myers
Chair

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation written by Cynthia Damm McPeters has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of The Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Committee Chair

Dr. Nancy Myers

Committee Members

Dr. Stephen Yarbrough

Dr. Jennifer Keith

Dr. Risa Applegarth

January 23, 2023

Date of Acceptance by Committee

January 23, 2023

Date of Final Oral Examination

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I begin by thanking my advisor, Dr. Nancy Myers, for her continued guidance and encouragement. Her support and advice have been critical to the unfolding and completion of this project; thank you for realizing my love of history as well as words and encouraging me to connect them. I also thank Dr. Stephen Yarbrough, Dr. Jennifer Keith, and Dr. Risa Applegarth for their willingness to provide feedback and guidance in this project's development and throughout my learning in the PhD program. Their support and assistance have deepened my understanding and strengthened my work.

I am also grateful to more colleagues and friends at UNCG than I can name here. I extend particular thanks to Beth Ann Koelsch, whose patience and humor continue to enlighten me, to Jennifer Smith Daniel, Kristie Ellison, and Luciana Lilley, whose friendship and encouragement along our shared educational journey have sustained my writing, and to Dr. Heather B. Adams, who inadvertently propelled me into the archives that I fell in love with.

Finally, I cannot adequately express my gratitude for my family. Thank you to my mom, Betty S. Damm, my daughter, Katie E. McPeters, and to James M. Ivory—your faith in me sustains me daily; I appreciate your love and support more than you know.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER I: LOCATING ETHĒ IN THE SCRAPBOOKS OF WOMEN VETERANS

Ruth Mildred Marshburn begins her World War II scrapbook with a photograph of herself—a sunlit image of a young woman in a nearly white dress and two-tone heels sitting on the wooden floor of what appears to be her family's front porch. "I join the WAVES April 1, 1944" is hand written in white on the black cardstock page above the centrally positioned image (see figure 1). Below the photo, printed by hand in fainter white, "Before I donned uniform." The casual outdoor setting and brightness obscuring the print on her dress indicate an informal portrait, contrasting with the photograph's more formal embossed border and deckled edges, a recognition of the significance of that moment in Marshburn's life, a moment she faces directly, expressionless, looking openly into the camera.

Through her memory text, Marshburn lays claim to multiple ethē[1]: the compiler of memories, the socially defined "feminine" self appearing in a domestic environment, and a new ethos introduced semantically here but made visible a few pages later. On the scrapbook's fourth page between a military arm patch above and a formal military portrait below, she centers the handwritten caption "Ruth Marshburn, Yeoman 2nd/ Class U.S.N.R" (see figure 2). The black fabric patch with its silver eagle over crossed quills and two red stripes indicates her rank and status; the wallet-sized photograph depicts Marshburn, her chin toward her left shoulder, smiling past the camera, displaying her professional service identity during World War II. She remembers herself as both the civilian and the military professional.

[1] I use ethē as the plural form of ethos, following Ryan et al., "Introduction," to blur the line of meaning between "custom" or "habit" and "dwelling." The traditional Attic Greek plural form of rhetorical ethos is ēthē.

Figure 1. "I Join the WAVES," Ruth Mildred Marshburn Scrapbook

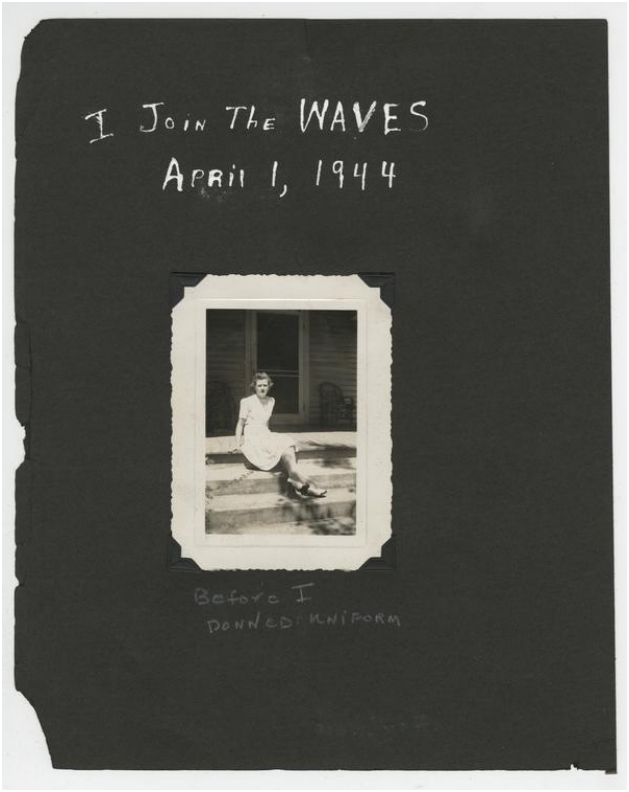
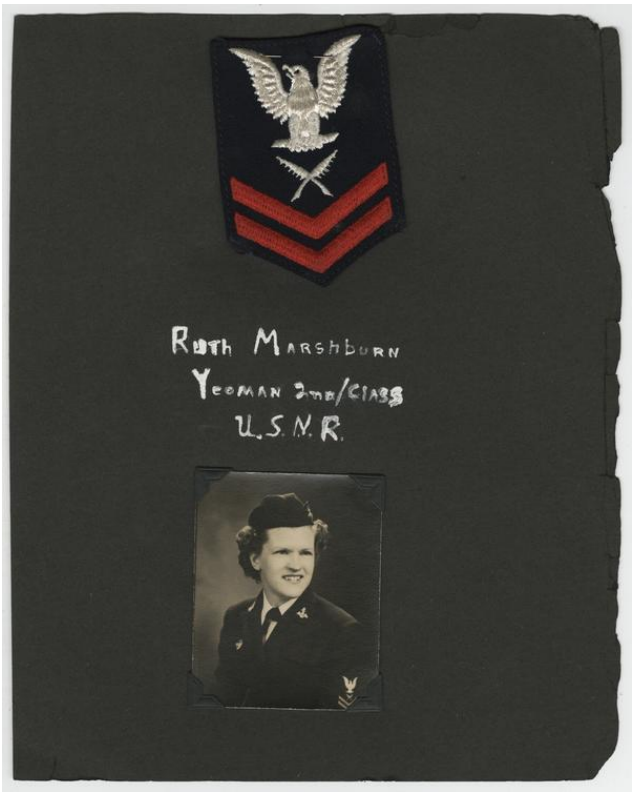


Figure 2. Yeoman 2nd/Class, Ruth Mildred Marshburn Scrapbook



One of the approximately 400,000 US women to serve in military and extra-military[2] agencies during World War II ("Definitions and Context"), Marshburn's negotiation of multiple rhetorical variables—genre characteristics, gender roles, media and recruitment messaging—is exhibited within her scrapbook. World War II challenged existing norms in American society, not the least of which were conventions associated with the construction of gender. As Karen Anderson asserts, "no war in American history has had as profound an effect on American society and American women" (4). With the entrance of the US into the war, industries and government leaders promoted employment of women in factories and agriculture and in enrollment in nursing schools to support the war effort (Smith 187); eventually they were recruited into military service. However, historical scholars suggest that "while women's military service represented a break from traditional gender roles, the nation was not yet prepared for a fundamental change in these roles" (Scrivener 361). The fast-growing need for workers prompted the movement of many women out of homes and into male-dominated work environments, resulting in "intensified pressures to conform to social and cultural norms" ("Gender on the Home Front"). Some of those pressures manifested in stigmatization of military women as sex workers and lesbians (De Pauw 5), both pejoratives in the 1940s, and what began as "indecent humor" became "vicious rumors" focused on military women's sexuality (De Pauw 253). Therefore, contradictory rhetorical messaging aimed at women permeated wartime American society, disturbing the country's cultural doxa. Marshburn responds in her introductory photograph by maintaining conventional feminine ethos, depicted in her civilian attire, demeanor, and domestic setting, before sharing her military identity—reflecting

[2] The Betty H. Carter Women Veterans Historical Project categorizes as extra-military organizations such as the American Red Cross and the Cadet Nurse Corps.

navigation of her liminality, neither wholly accepted on the home front nor on the battle front—a kind of rhetorical minefield.

Moreover, despite the start of active recruitment of women in auxiliary and service branches of the US Army, Navy, and Coast Guard in 1942, and the Marines in 1943, women's participation is often overlooked in dominant retellings of World War II. More than overlooked, historian Joanna Bourke asserts: "Female veterans were not 'repressed from the collective memory,' but were excised from the record by male-dominated veterans' associations and vague suspicions that servicewomen were either whores or lesbians" (473-74). While, as Bourke suggests, women veterans as a collective entity have suffered exclusion from commemoration, some acknowledgment in public memory had appeared by the end of the twentieth century. The Vietnam Women's Memorial, a statue featuring three women caring for an injured soldier, was dedicated in 1993 ("Vietnam Women's Memorial"), while the Women in Military Service for America (also known as the Military Women's Memorial), located at Arlington National Cemetery, was opened to the public in 1998 ("Our Legacy"). Therefore, I suggest that, while eliminated in the past, collective memory of women veterans has improved to the status of "overlooked" and "neglected." Despite absence from public memory, the women's vernacular voices are evident within the material rhetorics and artifacts of their scrapbooks, not only preserving past experiences but also authenticating their roles within the specific historical context of World War II.

Addressing these multiple tensions, women veterans of World War II retool the femininized and personal genre of the scrapbook for the construction of professional and public ethē, disrupting gender roles and reconfiguring historical accounts of the war. In this study, I examine the scrapbooks of women veterans as feminist rhetorical acts that contribute to women's

rhetoric and history. I argue that women veterans of World War II negotiate societal gender expectations, paradoxically relying for their discursive authority on the personal genre of the scrapbook to construct their individual professional ethos in the masculine and public arena of war. Through their memory texts, these women veterans reveal and construct multiple ethē—as remembering women, as conventionally feminine women, and as professional women in service in wartime—that extend concepts of ethos construction while complicating and reshaping traditional versions of public memory.

More broadly, this project asserts the rhetorical authority of "re-collection" interacting with ethos to refute societal expectations as well as the paradox of a personal genre enlisted to construct professional ethē. In so doing, these scrapbooks and their examination contribute to the inclusion of marginalized rhetors in public memory. Contributing to scholarly conversations of "available means," this study recognizes the inaccessibility of traditional rhetorical venues for marginalized rhetors and theorizes how marginalized rhetors construct ethos in response to constraining stereotypes at a time of cultural flux. Those who experience discrimination and exclusion are frequently confined to liminal spaces between societal expectations and their own lived realities and seek non-traditional, alternative means to redefine themselves. Although focusing on middle-class white women, this project addresses some of the double-standards of ethos construction as criteria of identity and worth are applied differently to women and people of color. I argue that the feminist rhetorical practice of "re-collection" (Guglielmo 2) empowers such individuals with rhetorical agency and tactics to not only construct but to *document* their ethē. Expanding on existing scholarship concerning ethos construction, I illustrate how marginalized people provide evidence authenticating their ethē and their contributions to society; while synchronically accommodating and disrupting societal expectations, these examples

acknowledge the role of contextualization in defining ethos, relying on generic siting as well as ecological and physical locations. These arguments are substantiated by recognition of personal narratives as generic sites of the intertwined concepts of identity and memory but also in advancing studies of a conventionally personal genre—such as scrapbooks—as means to establish professional ethē in public memory. The cases examined in this dissertation reflect women's communicating new, professional service ethē that defied societally defined stereotypes, marking the re-configuration of a personal text for professional identity. Before outlining the subsequent chapters that explore and support these claims, the remainder of this section engages with existing scholarly conversations, illustrated by examples from veterans' scrapbooks, to assert this project's approach and to contextualize concepts that cross disciplinary boundaries.

Scrapbooking as Feminist Rhetorical Act

In recollecting her own experiences of World War II, Marshburn accesses an ethos reliant on the existence of her scrapbook. Representing her service in the United States Navy WAVES (Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service) from 1944 to 1946, the memory text bestows on Marshburn the title of remembering woman. Adapting from Kristie S. Fleckenstein's analysis of Florence Smalley Babbitt's compilation of her family's Victorian-era photograph album, I define Marshburn—and the other woman veterans in this study—as a "remembering woman, an adroit practitioner of vernacular material, visual, [and semantic] rhetoric aimed at creating and memorializing [her multiple ethē and historical experiences]" ("Remembering Women" 139). I broaden Fleckenstein's explanation to encompass ephemera and artifacts beyond photographs and to acknowledge written captions and clippings, all of which typically differentiate scrapbooks from photograph albums. Additionally, this revised definition

distinguishes construction of a wider ethos, existing beyond the family environment, and encompassing the memorialization of the historical moment. While Babbitt's rhetorical performances originated within her family relationships in a generic site "positioned on the cusp between the public and the private" (Fleckenstein 139), the women who compiled evidence of their WWII experiences expand their rhetorical efforts into more predominantly public-facing identities, highlighting their reliance on a personal genre to construct professional ethē.

Drawing from Letizia Guglielmo's "Introduction: Re-Collection as Feminist Rhetorical Practice," I assert that Marshburn's scrapbook compilation—her remembering—is a feminist rhetorical act. Guglielmo describes "*re-collecting"* as "a feminist rhetorical act of gathering or assembling again what has been scattered. This process of re-collecting, with connections to public memory and remembrance, highlights the agency of both the re-collector *and* the subject whose story is recovered and retold" (2). The compilers of the memory texts choose and organize their materials—often gleaned from other sources—to narrate their own experiences. Therefore, the figurative and literal re-collecting in the women veterans' scrapbooks is one plane of remembrance with compiler and protagonist as one and the same. Beyond this level of interpretation is the recovery of women's stories, "writ[ing] women into the histories that have excluded them" (1). In many ways, through their memory texts, women veterans wrote themselves into the history of World War II; however, their stories "have existed in the shadows of another's more convenient, accepted, or publicly sanctioned narrative" (Guglielmo1). Reliance on less accepted and less mainstream rhetorical genres such as scrapbooks is one cause of the eclipsed stories, but their troubling of existing war tales is another. As Bourke states, "National identity and honour depend upon the recitation of selective histories" (474); thus, the exclusion of the experiences of women veterans from the American narrative of WWII supports

a nationalistic portrayal of men at war, fighting for the safety of their families, their women sheltered far from conflict. Women veterans' acts of re-collection disrupt that patriarchal tradition.

Through their reliance on a personal genre to display both their feminine and professional military ethē, women veterans rely on the rhetorical strategies associated with "accommodation and subversion" (Ritchie and Ronald xxiv). While they accommodate their audiences by exhibiting feminine behaviors and predilections within their scrapbooks, women service personnel subvert societal strictures that would limit their professional occupations. Paradoxically, many of these women veterans likely did not deliberately seek to disrupt gender roles through their memory texts. While in the twenty-first century, hindsight enables recognition of their scrapbooks as feminist rhetorical acts, few women veterans speak of their behaviors or their rhetoric as feminist, even in retrospect. In oral history interviews, when women veterans of World War II are asked about their feminist interventions, they rarely suggest that they were feminists; instead, they insist that they acted, at most, as "trailblazers," and, at least, were just doing their part for the war effort. In her research, Kathleen M. Ryan notes that "'I didn't do anything important' is a constant refrain in [oral history] interviews" but at the same time, she suggests, women veterans recognize their proximity to "historically significant events" (26). In constructing her professional wartime service ethē, Marshburn might not have gathered and re-collected the photos and ephemera within her scrapbook as a purposeful effort to alter gender roles, but the album does also serve to normalize women in service during wartime.

Further, identifying—naming herself—through her act of re-collecting, the World War II Navy WAVE blazes a trail for other women veterans and all women who seek professions outside traditional gender responsibilities. Regardless of intentions, their service and their

scrapbooks helped to develop and expand women's roles in wartime service during a kairotic historical moment, "creat[ing] spaces for women's stories and for other women's voices" (Guglielmo 6). I posit that the WWII veterans' memory texts "become a form of rhetorical action, seeking to change the underlying cultural ideologies that shape women's place in the society but also providing an alternative discourse to confront the deficient internalized views of women perpetuated by the culture" (Ritchie and Ronald xxv). Their acts of re-collection continue the global conflict's impact on American culture by communicating professional ethē that alter existing norms, thus shaping new ideals for women in American society—and toppling traditional narratives of war.

By re-collecting the scrapbooks, diaries, documents, and other artifacts of women service personnel, the Betty H. Carter Women Veterans Historical Project—housed in the University of North Carolina at Greensboro's Walter Clinton Jackson Library—asserts that those women be named, their roles identified, and their stories told. Their inclusion in library archives means the albums no longer circulate only among their compilers' personal acquaintances. A complex system of re-collection—at various points along the artifacts' timelines—affords recognition and memorialization of feminist rhetorical acts of disruption in history. While Marshburn's scrapbook represents the efforts of the veteran to compile artifacts of memory and ethē, the album was eventually saved and maintained within her family until donated as a "gift from a relative" in 2001 (Koelsch). At each stage, Marshburn's experiences through her scrapbook were remembered. Thus, Guglielmo's argument "for a plurality of remembering" (2), inciting the "recovery" and "retelling" of women's stories, is manifested in the contributions of re-collecting within the scrapbooks of women veterans of World War II and by the archives that house them.

Betty H. Carter Women Veterans Historical Project

One of few collections dedicated solely to women veterans, the Betty H. Carter Women Veterans Historical Project (WVHP) "documents the contributions of women and gender minorities in the military and related service organizations since World War I. The WVHP includes a wide range of source material including photographs, letters, diaries, scrapbooks, oral histories, military patches and insignia, uniforms, and posters, as well as published works" ("About the Women Veterans Historical Project"). Opened in 1892 with a mission to educate women, the University of North Carolina at Greensboro was called the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina from 1932 to 1963. The school became known as the WC and was "the largest college for women in the United States" in 1949. Integrated in 1956, the college's name changed to the University of North Carolina at Greensboro when the institution became coeducational in 1963. During World War II, many WC women—students, faculty, and staff—volunteered for service in the US military and through extra-military agencies such as the American Red Cross and the Cadet Nurse Corps. However, the collection initiated from discussions by alumnae of the Class of 1950, and in 1992, an exhibition celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the US Navy WAVES led many alumnae to share their uniforms and other artifacts. Moved to the University Archives in 1997, these items of memorabilia served as the basis of the collection ("About the Women Veterans Historical Project"). Over the years, additional artifacts have been donated and purchased to expand the archives.

Approximately sixty scrapbooks and photograph albums—from the Spanish American War to Operation Enduring Freedom—are archived within the collection. Archival studies have at some point urged the disassembling of chunky scrapbooks, which are difficult to store, expensive, and fragile (Koelsch). Excluding the scrapbooks that have been dismantled, thirty-

five World War II-era scrapbooks remain. At the time of this writing, approximately ten WWII scrapbooks have been digitized, with more being added to the WVHP website. However, only by researching in the archives themselves was I able to obtain a fuller impression of the rhetorical activities encompassed within these memory texts and to access scrapbooks not yet available online. For this project, I have studied approximately fifteen WWII scrapbooks and chosen four memory texts for extended analysis to narrow this project's focus. My selections center on albums containing a rich array of photographs and ephemera by women who had attended college and had already entered the workforce before their wartime service; thus, these investigations focus on women transitioning into male-dominated military environments. Additionally, the scrapbooks represent three military occupational specialties (MOS) and one member of the American Red Cross. These constraints were necessary, because, from my perspective, the WVHP's memory texts have nearly unlimited research possibilities. As an example of their potential, I note that Sara Cooper centers her twenty-page examination of one woman's early twentieth-century scrapbook by targeting one particular page. Therefore, the choice to limit the number of albums for this project was difficult but necessary. However, the selected scrapbooks represent the experiences of only white women who served during World War II as the WVHP does not contain any scrapbooks compiled by women of color; therefore, this study falls short of representing diverse backgrounds of women service personnel during the Second World War.

Additionally, these scrapbooks do not directly address issues of discrimination, prejudice, or other gender inequities. The women veterans who constructed the examined scrapbooks do not cite within their memory texts discussions of overt discrimination or prejudice faced during their tours of duty; this omission does not mean such incidents were non-existent, merely that

these rhetors chose not to record them. Significantly, these scrapbook compilers *choose* the memories that they preserve through re-collection.

Situating Ethē

Recognizing ethos as derived not only from an individual's character but from a network of interactions serves as an entry point into the scrapbook compiler's construction of ethē. Marshburn's multiple ethē exist alongside one another within her scrapbook, each emanating from a different positionality: her remembering self within her choice of genre, her societal status as a woman, her networks of human relationships, and her physical locations. I incorporate the term ethē in heeding the call of Kathleen J. Ryan, Nancy Myers, and Rebecca Jones for a more expansive envisioning of ethos that acknowledges interactions "among rhetors, audiences, things, and contexts (i.e., ideological, metaphorical, geographical)" (3). Moving beyond Aristotelian "character" to recognize the significance of factors such as "habit" and "dwelling" in the formation of a rhetorical "identity," Ryan et al. broaden the definition, privileging the value of situatedness in ethos formation by acknowledging that its constitution is beyond the control of the rhetor alone. Marginalized rhetors are preceded by societal perceptions beyond their control, but the scrapbook genre as a site for agency permits the compiler to situate herself in diverse human and physical contexts, often synchronically.

Marshburn's scrapbook juxtaposes many of her ethotic[3] sites. One location places her among colleagues in her civilian workplace. Labeled by the rhetor as "Farewell," the fifth page of her scrapbook contains two newspaper clippings and two greeting cards, evidence of both her identity and her location. A small article, noting a gathering at a local restaurant given by her

[3] I am imitating Fleckenstein's use of the term as an adjective form of ethos in "A Reformer Rides: Radical Photographic Ethos in Frances E. Willard's *A Wheel within a Wheel*" (28).

Internal Revenue service co-workers, situates Marshburn within a network of co-worker relationships and places her in a physical location of employment, both of which contribute to establishing her identities. The cards, adorned with ribbons and floral designs, accompanied going-away presents and reiterate her situated identity. The personal inscription by one colleague written inside "A Gift for You" card addresses Marshburn's pending departure. Signed Emily, the note reads: "Dear Ruth, I sincerely wish that this adventure will bring you everything that you hope for. And don't forget me!" While whatever Marshburn anticipates in her "adventure" is unstated, the compiler is clearly situated within a friendly relationship, an aspect of her ethē confirmed by her ecological networks, the web of interactions in her life. The same album page contains a newspaper clipping with a Raleigh, NC, April 8, dateline: "Forty Tar Heels Enlist in WAVES." Marshburn, her name underlined in blue ink, is listed among the "young women [who] will be ordered to the naval training school in New York for spring and early summer classes," referring to Hunter College, where US Navy women recruits underwent basic training. The single page reflects Marshburn's multiple ethē, positioning her as a societally defined woman within human ecologies at physical locations—all sited within her scrapbook.

Marshburn's collected ephemera reveals additional ethē. Another newspaper clipping, appearing later in the memory text, identifies the rhetor as "daughter of Mr. and Mrs. A.J. Marshburn of Guilford College [Guilford County, NC]" and notes her previous employment as "an assistant clerk stenographer in the office of the collector of internal revenue before enlisting in the WAVES," documenting ethē reflective of physical locations. As Melissa A. McEuen notes, women had been holding clerical jobs since before the turn of the nineteenth century ("Women, Gender, and World War II," 4), so Marshburn's identity as a woman—by doing "woman's work" is also reinforced. The material elements of the scrapbook document

Marshburn's ethē by establishing her position as a woman amid her collegial and familial networks and within her physical locations, but the scrapbook itself, as a genre for containing her recollections, serves as evidence of her identity as a remembering woman. Through their scrapbooks, women veterans confirm the intertwining of memory and identity associated with locations both physical and metaphorical.

Connecting Memory and Ethos

For classical orators, the rhetorical canon of memory was critical to recall appropriate topoi and to remember speeches, but in Cicero's description within *De Oratore*, Simonides stipulates the need to place recollections within specific locations, as he:

> inferred that persons desiring to train this faculty must select localities and form mental images of the facts they wish to remember and store those images in the localities, with the result that the arrangement of the localities will preserve the order of the facts, and the images of the facts will designate the facts themselves, and we shall employ the localities and images respectively as a wax writing tablet and the letters written on it. (467)

Through the centuries, the metaphorical wax writing tablet of memory evolved to include palpable representations of the past—physical localities for siting memory and therefore identity—encompassing objects from curiosity cabinets to public monuments, and even scrapbooks.

In *Confessions*, Augustine also sites remembrance within a location, "the immense palace of my memory," and establishes an association with ethos by maintaining that "In it, I even encounter myself and I bring myself to mind" (275). Storing events, activities, and comprehension, then, memory determines self, according to Augustine. John Locke concurs:

> For since consciousness always accompanies thinking, and 'tis that, that makes every one to be, what he calls self, … in this alone consists personal identity, i.e. the sameness of rational Being; And as far as this consciousness can be extended backwards to any past Action or Thought, so far reaches the identity of that Person; it is the same self now it was then; and 'tis by the same self with this present one that now reflects on it, that that Action was done. (335)

Himself a commonplace book compiler (Mecklenburg-Faenger 14), Locke suggests that the self originates in thought because identity resides in "consciousness." Binding identity to experience and therefore to memory, Locke depicts ethos as emanating from an awareness of the past, the present, and the future. Scrapbooks serve as the embodiment of that awareness and are, therefore, a site of ethos, functioning to preserve the past in the present for the future. Serving as sites of memory and identify re-collected, the scrapbooks function as locations for the women veterans' documentation of multiple ethē. As Nedra Reynolds explains, "the rhetorical concept of ethos … encompasses the individual agent as well as the *location* or *position* from which that person speaks or writes" (326; my emphasis). Women speakers and writers—as re-collectors—must first access agency to establish ethos and then acknowledge and build upon their locations and positions.

Ryan et al. re-vision ethos as a means to admit women's discursive authority despite societal and cultural limitations that typically restrict their participation in traditionally patriarchal rhetorical pursuits, whether pulpits, podiums, or publications. These scholars note that classical notions of ethos fail to take these limitations into account, disregarding differences in rhetors and within genres, in relationships, in physical locations, and in audiences. They further establish that women and other marginalized rhetors have not been permitted to rely on Aristotle's traditional elements of ethos: "intelligence, good will, and good character," because such a definition disregards difference, prejudice, or oppression. Ryan et al. expand the concept of ethos to draw from its analogous connotations of both "haunt" and "identity," recognizing ethos as a collaborative undertaking, determined by rhetor, audience, and community (7). Further, James Baumlin and Craig A. Meyer, who bring conceptualizations of ethos into the twenty-first century, note changes to its meaning according to time, place, and space, but most

significantly for this discussion, they suggest ethos "can pre-exist a speaker's discourse *or* be produced within (or by means of) discourse" (22). Allowing that the women veterans as marginalized rhetors must reckon with societal expectations while constructing their new professional ethē, I would further suggest that ethē might simultaneously "pre-exist" *and* "be produced" as many pages of the studied scrapbooks suggest.

Because ethos does not reside solely within the individual rhetor but in her placement—and perceived value—in those communities, women frequently must struggle to formulate ethos due to their societally subordinate positions. Rhetors marginalized by their embodiment—whether race, ethnicity, social status, gender, or other societally contrived mechanism—face limitations in ethos building and therefore find themselves "at the intersection between public meanings and private selves" (Applegarth 48). Construed as the societal perceptions of identity, "public meanings" frequently constrain the ability to construct a persuasive ethos, leaving many marginalized rhetors prejudged before they open their mouths, put a pen to paper, or mount a photograph to a scrapbook page. Ethē constructed within scrapbooks compiled by women veterans of World War II emanate from "the encounter between social structure and individual strategy" (Applegarth 48). This material genre, undertaken as a personal narrative including the portrayals of public selves—particularly of professional ethē —helps to mitigate the disruption personal actions make to public perceptions of gender.

In addition to societal conceptions that demarcate Marshburn's position in society as a woman, the ecological networks of relationships with others further reveal ethos development. In addressing multiple kinds of ethotic locations, I emphasize with the term "ecology" the framework of human relationships that exist within the veteran's varied environments, incorporating Lorraine Code's conception of "habitats both physical and social where people

endeavor to live well together; of ways of knowing that foster or thwart such living; and thus of the ethos and habitus enacted in the knowledge and actions, customs, social structures, and creative-regulative principles by which people strive or fail to achieve this multiply realizable end" (25). Having established herself as a daughter in a domestic setting and as a colleague in her social "habitats," Marshburn communicates a new military identity within the contexts of a different set of hierarchical structures and procedures.

Marshburn's scrapbook features photographs that place her newly acquired military identity within the ecology of other military professionals. Small snapshot images of Marshburn and her "roommates at Cedar Falls" posing in small groups and individually depict women sitting on the lawn or posing in front of trees. Marshburn's white lettering on the page names the subjects of a photo of four women standing in front of a blooming snowball bush, "Shirley Sally Margaret Me," with one gazing at the flower she holds in her hands. The stereotypical garden-party images are contradicted by the women's US Navy uniforms, and, as if to remind scrapbook readers that joining the WAVES was not all fun and pleasure—modeling and flower picking—Marshburn follows up with a page-size photographic image of uniformed women on campus with the printed caption, "…. Marching in the Sun," but in her handwriting, she has added "Marching to Classes." Taken from the *IOWAVE* magazine that detailed the activities of the female recruits at the Naval Training School at Iowa State Teachers College ("The IOWAVE [Class Magazine]"), the photo depicts yeoman training that took place on a college campus, their military conditions documented in the conformity of attire and the formal rhythms of their movements. Marshburn relies on her captioned images to share her identity, exhibiting a "feminist ecological ethē" (Ryan et al. 2) that, I suggest, repels societal determinants of identity as aspects of her ecology are actually "shifting and morphing in response to others (persons,

places, things), generating a variety and plurality of ethos, or ethē" (3). On leave in September 1944, Marshburn returned to the domestic location of her family home and is depicted in two scrapbook photographs, one of her alone, another with several older adults standing in front of a light-colored clapboard house. Although home on leave, she wears her uniform in posing for these photos, not only suggesting personal but also familial pride in her ethē as daughter and as US Navy service member. The veteran supplies evidence of her multiple identities "shifting" and "morphing" within her varied human and physical contexts.

A third ethotic location consists of the rhetor's physical and temporal situatedness. As further evidence of her multiple ethē, Marshburn positions herself through rhetorical tactics that place her within moments and locations of historical significance, paralleling those described by Julie Nelson Christoph as "strategies of placement" (669). Through her album, the Navy WAVE strategically sites herself physically and temporally during the years of World War II. Marshburn's scrapbook depicts her varied "dwelling places," situating her, through photographic evidence, within her family home, in a war bond parade, and at yeoman training school in Cedar Falls, IA. Ticket stubs place her at Farragut Field for Navy football games in October 1945, and a plastic swizzle stick locates her at the Star Lite Roof of the Waldorf Astoria. On a scrapbook page featuring a photograph clipped from a newspaper and headlined "New York celebrates First Post-War New Year," Marshburn wrote in white lettering next to the image, "Betty Thurber & I spent New Years [*sic*] in New York. We are in this crowd by Astor Hotel. Had grand time." Several photographs and printed documents also establish Marshburn's duty assignment to the office of the Chief of Naval Personnel, Washington, DC; she and her fellow graduates wear their uniform coats and hats, many carrying luggage, as they board a train as she says "good bye to Cedar Falls." The veteran strategically positions herself in time and space, supporting the

existence of her professional ethē in military service, as she transitions between places as well as in and out of communities.

In the historical moment of World War II, another photograph, taken from a distance, fronted by a sunny lawn beyond a paved parking lot, includes several women congregating on a sidewalk to the left, but concentrates on an otherwise non-descript institutional structure; Marshburn labels the image as "Florida Hall / WAVE Qtrs. G / Arlington Va." For the rhetor, the physical sites where she "dwells" help to establish her socially accepted feminine ethos but also to contradict expectations when her "accustomed place" is a military barracks. As Applegarth explains, "*place* itself offers a crucial resource that rhetors can use strategically to signal their participation in particular communities" (49). The photo of her assigned quarters—her "place"—signifies Marshburn's "participation" in her military community, further supporting the existence of her professional ethē.

Marshburn's examples—at home and at work—illustrate how she remains within their conventional "haunts" or "dwelling places," yet also exists outside those conventionally accepted locations, in less "accustomed place[s]" (Reynolds 327). Rather than conflicting with one another, her ethē co-exist on the pages of her scrapbook. The women veterans' personal rhetorics contradict restrictive dictates through construction of professional identities with their reliance on another rhetorical site: the scrapbook.

Scrapbook as Ethotic Location

Paradoxically, many women veterans serving during World War II frequently relied on the "feminized" activity of scrapbooking to record and recollect their experiences in the "masculine" world of war. Scrapbooks contain representations that link memory and identity while also portraying specific historical moments. In their introduction to *The Scrapbook in*

American Life, Katherine Ott, Susan Tucker, and Patricia Buckler suggest that "Scrapbooks, then, are a material manifestation of memory—the memory of the compiler and the memory of the cultural moment in which they are made" (3). As Jessica Helfand further explains, "the author, editor, photographer, curator, and inevitable protagonist, the scrapbook maker" creates a type of memoir (*Scrapbooks: An American History* xvii). The material embodiments of their historical contexts, scrapbooks not only contain the images, texts, and ephemera of memory, but they also provide a means for construction and expression of identity, often reflecting the aspirations and experiences of the scrapbook maker, who was often a woman.

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, a scrapbook is "a blank book in which pictures, newspaper cuttings, and the like are pasted for preservation. Hence occasionally as the title of a printed book of miscellaneous contents" ("scrap-book"). The miscellaneous contents of scrapbooks developed in parallel to technological advances in paper making, printing, and photography. With the production of paper in the European Renaissance came the "commonplace book" where compilers noted "textual passages of personal significance, including classical quotes, astrological predictions, personal anecdotes, and devotional texts" (Helfand, "What We Saved" 40). By the late eighteenth century, scrapbooks and blank friendship books evolved with advances in color printing techniques into the nineteenth century, making such repositories both affordable and colorful. Additional developments in printing created the "throwaway printed paper artifacts—ticket stubs, advertising cards, candy wrappers, and more—[that] became a part of everyday life" (Ott et al. 7-8), producing ready-made ephemera. With the proliferation of newspapers and the evolution of scrapbooks as mass-produced consumer goods, these generic locations became readily accessible means of siting ethē even for marginalized

rhetors. Ellen Gruber Garvey notes that

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

Scrapbooking eventually came to be connected primarily with women. According to Garvey, in the nineteenth century, "men and women from all classes and backgrounds, and with surprisingly diverse educations, [made scrapbooks] for professional, domestic, educational, and political use and for many more reasons" ("Introduction" 10). Both boys and girls were encouraged to fashion homemade books at school and at home as educational and memory holders (Ott et al. 9). However, as the pursuit came to be more closely aligned to domestic commemoration, scrapbook keeping was gradually considered woman's work, particularly within families where the mother and her daughters might memorialize family members and household events. Amy Mecklenburg-Faenger states, "this widespread rhetorical practice … by the end of the nineteenth century was increasingly associated with women and valued accordingly" (1). Patricia P. Buckler concurs that, in addition to their diaries, journals, and letters, women in particular came to keep scrapbooks, "to leave a memory or record of themselves for ensuing generations, apparently knowing full well that no other evidence of their lives was likely to remain" (62). While the commonplace books from which scrapbooks evolved were gendered male with an emphasis on their value as "a system of rhetorical training," "scrapbooks were often regarded with either suspicion or downright hostility, especially when connected with women's writing and women's identities" (Mecklenburg-Faenger 19). Therefore, the albums' merit and preservation diminished.

Despite such disparagement, the scrapbook often serves as ethotic location, when even formal municipal and government records denied women's existence, particularly as early census

counts denoted by name only male heads of households or when record-keeping denied a woman identity beyond that of her husband's. As an example, Marshburn's memory text contains a newspaper article noting a farewell gathering hosted by her co-workers in which the sponsors of the luncheon are named. The single women are listed under "Misses" with their first and surnames given; the sole married woman is identified only by her husband's name, "Mrs. Maurice Geiger." While she might be an exception to traditional gender roles as a married woman working outside the home (alternately, she might have been widowed), her individual persona is erased in favor of her husband's identity. While records of individual identity are maintained in courthouses and census records, "a scrapbook represents a construction of identity … outside formalized and authorized records," an identity that is fashioned by the scrapbook compiler (Ott et al. 2). When other sites of identity ignored marginalized rhetors' existence, the scrapbook might contain both informal and everyday artifacts as well as formal documentation of her ethē.

Despite the failure of others to recognize value in the vernacular existence of "ordinary" women, scrapbook rhetors have managed to fashion remnants of their lives into memory texts that reveal details of their ethos and their historical contexts, accessing rhetorical agency through genre. Whether in diaries, letters, photograph albums, or scrapbooks, women have shared ethē and recorded their own stories of war, but, as Ritchie and Ronald explain, women's available rhetorical mediums have often fallen outside the customary bounds of traditional perceptions of rhetoric (xvii). Thus, women's stories, particularly those of military service and of war, as narrated within scrapbooks, are neglected because their format is one deemed "feminine," even though their subject matter is one of masculine proprietorship. Therefore, Marshburn and her

fellow female veterans found themselves negotiating between gender expectations and their new ethotic locations during the Second World War within undervalued scrapbooks.

Marshburn accommodates expectations while her wartime service history subverts them, representing her multiple ethē, making overt the focus on her self and her experiences; she is the protagonist of her own narrative. She opens her memory text by stating "I join the WAVES…" and "Before I donned uniform," recognizing her multiple ethē before and after her enlistment. As Ritchie and Ronald indicate, "women have taken great risks to assert an 'I' that disrupts the accepted identity of woman writer that in doing so counters the limited identities … in which women have typically been defined" (xxiv). However, because her narrative is situated within the personal and "feminized" genre of the scrapbook, Marshburn's rhetorical risks of self-definition are diminished. The woman who shares her wartime narrative by collecting and arranging gift cards, ticket stubs, and ribbons in a "woman's hobby" does not threaten the status quo, yet Marshburn participates in—and documents—wartime experiences alongside her male counterparts within the allegedly masculine bastion of war. Borrowing from Applegarth, I note that Marshburn's situatedness exists within her physical environments but also figuratively and materially within the scrapbook genre (43). Existing as a presentation of self—even multiple versions of one's selves—within social and cultural settings, scrapbooks serve to establish "a mode of cultural and embodied personal narrative" (Baumlin and Meyer 22). The memory texts examined within this project communicate multiple ethē through their narratives of the compilers' wartime experiences.

The choice to concentrate on a single but unique period in life reveals a concern for recollecting and remembering that particular episode as significant—within a scrapbook that serves as site of agency and of ethos. While scrapbooks might be fashioned to commemorate an

event, such as a wedding or a baptism, or to house a collection of items like postcards or stamps (Ott et al. 13), women veterans chose predominantly to reveal and construct their ethē through narratives focused on their wartime experiences. Despite their autobiographical characteristics, scrapbooks remain anecdotal (Ott et al. 2-3) in that these memory texts do not supply the whole story; "if flawed as reflections, scrapbooks can function as supplements to individual identity. For example, the maker may incorporate contradictions that cannot be expressed otherwise, substitutes for expressions of the self not allowed elsewhere" (Ott et al. 3). In the case of women veterans, one set of contradictions exists in the feminine selves who have gone to war as service personnel and are represented in the rhetorical tensions evident within their scrapbooks.

Like the other albums featured in this project, Marshburn's scrapbook concentrates on sharing a personal narrative of a single episode in her life, one that begins with her enlistment on April 1, 1944. Beyond her introductory photograph, she provides clues to the scrapbook story's chronology. Memorabilia of the early pages indicate a transition from civilian to military life, with farewell luncheons and newspaper articles announcing her volunteering for service and pending relocations; however, Marshburn supports these movements with "chapter" pages leading sections of her memory text. A page labeled "Hunter College New York Basic training – Six Weeks Reg. 33 Sec – 4112" introduces her first stint in service. Another "chapter" is titled "Naval Training School (Yeoman) Cedar Falls, Iowa—two months" and features a landscape photograph of a city street labeled by Marshburn as "Main Street." She indicates her return home later that year with "Home on Leave / September 1944" and announces her new duty station with a commercially printed color image of the White House on a page identified with "Washington, D.C. / Sept. 1944 – Feb. 1946." Beyond these clearly identified markers, Marshburn supplies hints to her narrative's chronology; "Merry Christmas 1944" on a cartoon drawing, tourist

photographs taken in both Washington, DC, and New York City, and "President Roosevelt's Funeral Procession / April 1945." The scrapbook observes Marshburn's discharge and "First year as civilian 1946" and a "visit to Washington after discharge," but rather than conclude, her memory text includes a typed notice about a visit to "her former barrack mate of WAVE days" and memorabilia from her first WAVES reunion in 1958 and a later reunion in 1967. Despite these digressions from her focus on her wartime military service, the concluding pages of the scrapbook return her audience to Marshburn's time at Hunter College with additional images clipped from the IOWAVE periodical, as if she sought years later to enhance her reminiscences or possibly just wanted a place to store the additional pictures. Regardless of the timeline, Marshburn's scrapbook is characteristic of those memory texts sharing a personal narrative of wartime work; the albums described in this project focus exclusively on the rhetors' personal experiences during the historical moment of World War II.

Given the nature of scrapbooks as sites of memory as well as identity, the primary audience for Marshburn's album is her own future self, with the memory text serving to facilitate recall of her past experiences. Because the scrapbook as a genre is material and personal, the audience might also be perceived as family members and friends, all of whom must be able to engage physically with the text. Because this audience is immediate, some aspects of the rhetor's ethos is situated within an established community. Although the scrapbook compilers' ethē move them beyond what is known and familiar to their primary audiences, they portray themselves in traditionally feminine identities, belying the actual disruption of gender roles created by their willingness to participate in military and extra-military service organizations during wartime. However, through archives such as the Betty H. Carter Women Veterans Historical Project and

through associated scholarship, audiences for these scrapbooks have expanded, offering opportunities for these "remembering women" to themselves be remembered.

Through special collections and archival study, the scrapbooks of women veterans of World War II—revealing and constructing multiple, often nontraditional, ethē—further serve to not only shake up existing male-dominated war stories but also male-dominated history. War stories in American culture portray brave men protecting their helpless women, but these marginalized women rhetors incorporate their positionality, their networks, their physical locations, and the scrapbook genre to advance their own narratives, narratives that subvert such gender expectations—thereby upsetting common accounts of history. As Tasha N. Dubriwny and Kristan Poirot assert, those versions have centered on the ascendency of one demographic; "the embodiment of the American identity in commemorative sites is, more often than not, a white heterosexual, cisgendered male ..." (199). The archived scrapbooks of women veterans extend their professional ethē into additional public venues, telling new versions of old narratives.

Femininity and Professionalism in Historical Context

The terms femininity and masculinity rely on a binary construction of gender that was common in the 1940s, and wartime work was divided by these societal interpretations of gender. However, "recovering the rhetoric of particular women workers helps to complicate problematic culturally dominant narratives about women's historical absence from professional spaces and practices" (Hallenbeck and Smith 202). As "the rhetoric of particular women workers," the scrapbooks of women veterans of World War II thwart the "culturally dominant narratives" that women did not participate in military and extra-military service. Further, the scrapbook rhetors' communication of their professional ethē challenges established expectations of women's wartime and activity. Marshburn, having graduated from college and gone to work for the local

office of the Internal Revenue Service, confronted gender expectations when she joined the US Navy, undergoing basic training and occupational specialty training before transferring to her duty station in Washington, DC. She upset conventional procedures by leaving home and joining the war effort in military service. By the start of the global conflict, American cultural doxa still maintained that "a woman's place" was in the home (Gruhzit-Hoyt xv). With her ethotic "dwelling place" predominantly viewed as domestic settings, a woman's rhetorical constituents were those within and surrounding her identities as daughter, wife, and mother, and most work-related networks were temporary. Gruhzit-Hoyt explains, "The pattern of schooling, a stint in the workplace, then marriage was considered ideal by most people, including women; the model of family life had long been established" (xv). For most middle-class white women, the main objective was not a career but marriage; however, as Karen Anderson suggests, the war impacted "women's consciousness of themselves as women and as workers" (11), opening up new possibilities of economic freedom. Marshburn's scrapbook depicts her awareness of her identity as a worker in multiple capacities; she is a stenographer and later a yeoman and depicts herself in numerous photographs with "Co-Workers." She even earned money as a "summer corn detassler" during her stay in Iowa; she notes under a periodical clipping image of two young women in work uniforms, reaching to the tops of stalks in a cornfield, "We did this for extra money and to help Iowa farmers!" Earning income by removing the flower tassels from corn stalks serves as another example of Marshburn's independence from conventional expectations.

However, dominant gender expectations led to fears that women would divest themselves of their "femininity" in the male world of work during wartime. According to McEuen, "Women who volunteered for military service posed a great challenge to the collective consciousness about gender and sexual norms and clear gender divisions, especially regarding who could be

considered a soldier, sailor, or marine" ("Women" 6). Women like Marshburn threatened these gender constants in American society merely by joining military service. Further, McEuen notes that the US War Manpower Commission's design to employ women in the country's mobilization of American workers during wartime was faced with the difficulty "'to remove the social stigma attached to the idea of women working'" ("Women" 2). Often societal disapproval came not from the sort of chores women might be tasked with but instead concentrated on their participation in military service. In the "Letters to the Editors" column of the September 1942 *Life* magazine, one writer expressed that he was "convinced more than ever that the Women's Army is the most foolish undertaking this country has every attempted." He continues that women might be satisfactory at typing or directing telephone calls "without knowing how to drill, or without having a dozen uniforms and elaborate resort 'training' centers and beauty salons" ("Letters to the Editors"). Assumptions about luxury boot camps and the need for salons rested on societal expectations of women's behavior, so women were imagined to not only concentrate on domestic duties but to also focus on care of their appearance.

Societal messaging conditioned women to concentrate on physical appearance and heterosexual marriage, frequently tying the two together in a cause-and-effect relationship. With more women joining the workforce in shifting cultural times, marketing continued to impart the importance of maintaining "womanliness." US Army nurse Shirley Van Brakle's[4] scrapbook includes a newspaper clipping that unfolds to a photograph of Army nurses returning to the States, "waving gaily" and "just as excited as the boys aboard at the news that Japan was ready to capitulate." Several fashion ads targeting women accompany the news articles, suggesting that

[4] The spelling of Van Brakle's name varies throughout her scrapbook, even on military documents; however, this version appears to be most aligned with her family spelling and is used by the WVHP.

even in wartime, women should not be without their fur coats, heeled shoes, and other feminine accessories. As McEuen suggests, "working women saw magazine advertisements instructing them to pay particularly close attention to skincare and personal hygiene, lest they lose their 'femininity' in the much-altered economic and social landscape of wartime America" ("Women" 4). An advertisement for Cashmere Bouquet soup from the September 1942 issue of *Life* magazine typifies and combines these beliefs. The unhappy woman in the first of the advertisement's multi-panel images is advised to realize "the fragrant way to stop body odor," and in the final panel is dubbed a "smart girl" when depicted in a wedding veil, with floral bouquet, the groom kissing her cheek (Advertisement for Cashmere Bouquet). Ironically, the soap ad follows a *Life* article titled "First Women Soldiers Join Army," which notes that members of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps would "do clerical work, mess work, light transportation work, mechanics work or any kind of work which women can do as well as men" (74). Not only do the women's scrapbook pages juxtapose evidence of multiple ethē; but they also reveal the conflicting messaging that targeted their behavior.

In 1940s American society, the terms "feminine" and "military professional" were thought contradictory; therefore, women service personnel not only adopted professional ethos, in many ways, they had to construct such an identity. While an October 1942 issue of *Life* magazine describes the need for increasing the number of women in the work force, transitions into military and extra-military services were less acceptable. "Manpower" states that "the ultimate solution for the manpower crisis is women" and argues that "During the next year, 3,800,000 women must be hired for war and civilian industries from the reserves of women who have never worked" (29). The need to bring women into the workplace became a reasonable assumption for the US populace, but, as Maddy Wechsler Segal indicates, "the military has been

defined traditionally as a masculine institution; it may be the most prototypically masculine of all social institutions" (758). McEuen further suggests that "the blurring or crossing of gender and sexual lines in this realm implied a social disorder that many Americans could not abide" ("Women" 8). To alleviate some of the anxieties created by women's participation in service, US military leaders walked the line between recruitment and reassurance. While encouraging women to volunteer, they also insisted to their new recruits—and the rest of society—that women's entry into "'one of the last bastions of male exclusivity'" (Scrivener citing Hartmann 361) would be temporary, "that their activities and sacrifices would be needed only 'for the duration' of the war" (McEuen, "Women" 1), and that "'women in uniform [were] no less feminine than before they enlisted" (Vuic citing US OWI 1944:4). Women seeking to share in the patriotic burden, who desired travel and adventure, who volunteered "to free a man to fight," or who sought income, also traversed this liminal space between cultural gender expectations and masculine, military territory.

In spite of these implications and to share their professional ethē , women veterans regularly portray themselves in uniform, at work and with fellow service personnel, offering details of their occupational duties, and in physical localities associated with military service and war. In photographs throughout her memory text, Marshburn is depicted in uniform and alongside both male and female co-workers. Early in her scrapbook, she labels a page of small headshots of other WAVES, almost all of whom appear in their formal uniforms, with the word, "Shipmates." The figurative use of "shipmates" (as women were not permitted to serve aboard US Navy ships during World War II) indicates Marshburn's immersion within her new discourse community, using the language that accompanies her military identity. Photographs appearing later in the album appear on a page captioned "Co-Workers" and feature several men and women

in uniform; one is labeled as “Capt. Luke Graham & Me,” in which the two are posed in uniform atop a roof, possibly of their office building in Washington, DC. Women veterans who memorialized their wartime service in scrapbooks were situated in what seemed an ethotic impasse, but they crafted their own rhetoric in manners least offensive to their audiences, situating their conventionally feminine ethos alongside their military professional identities within a material medium. Acknowledging their positionality as women within the strictures of American gender expectations, the women veterans—as marginalized rhetors—reveal and construct multiple ethē that reflect their situatedness in ecological networks, physical sites, and within the scrapbook genre in feminist rhetorical acts of re-collecting.

Chapter Descriptions

Chapter 2, “Military Women Negotiating Feminine Ethē during World War II,” maintains that women veterans accommodate gender expectations within their scrapbooks. Given the social and cultural context of the US in the 1940s with expectations of femininity that recognized womanly behavior as focused on marriage and the home, fashion and physical beauty, I concentrate in this chapter on these women rhetors’ attempts not to disrupt cultural doxa, instead representing their World War II experiences in relationship to traditionally feminine interests. Through photographs and ephemera, these women veterans reveal ethē related to family and home life as well as to issues of personal appearance and hygiene. Drawing on the scholarship of Kristie S. Fleckenstein, I recognize these expressions as rhetorical strategies employed by women veterans who, as marginalized rhetors, establish themselves as “credible character[s],” (“A Reformer Rides” 19). Their credibility established within their albums by their adherence to existing gender values, these scrapbook compilers site their ethē through genre, through societal positionality, and through physical locations. Displaying their

femininity, these women veterans ground themselves in societal expectations for their gender while also constructing their professional ethē.

With Chapter 3, "Women Veterans Constructing Professional Service Ethē," I examine the construction of professional military and extra-military professional ethē within the scrapbooks of women veterans. I maintain that, through their memory texts, women veterans access rhetorical agency and the authority to re-collect the past as well as the power to manipulate time and space. Ethos construction through evidence documented women as service personnel at a kairotic moment when the overt recruitment of women into all branches of the military service created a new class of American worker: the woman military professional. Carolyn Skinner's research on the professionalization efforts of nineteenth-century women physicians serves as my scholarly example for this chapter. Through their depictions of themselves in uniform, in their ecologies of co-workers, in providing work details, and in military and war-related locations, the women veterans site themselves as professionals during World War II.

Both chapters 2 and 3 continue to depend upon the scholarship of Ryan et al., Reynolds, and Applegarth to describe the situatedness of ethē. Recognizing the scrapbook as generic site of revelation and construction of ethos in conjunction with the rhetor's societally defined and personally constructed identities, I draw in these chapters from these scholars' explanations of the connections between ethos and location, both actual and metaphorical. Additionally, throughout, I engage scholarship on scrapbooks from Ott et al., Garvey, and Mecklenburg-Faenger to describe the significance of the memory texts as narratives of remembrance.

In Chapter 4, "Teaching with Archival Scrapbooks of Women Veterans," I maintain the affordances of incorporating the scrapbooks of women veterans of World War II to learning in

first-year composition classes. In "remembering," the women veterans relied on the scrapbook to re-collect evidence of their experiences for future "remembering," and by incorporating these scrapbooks as primary sources, I encouraged students to participate in an additional level of remembering as they engaged critical thinking and composed in digital formats in two seminar classes. I draw particularly from Wendy Hayden and Susan Wells in recognizing the value of archives as sites of rhetorical interpretation and composition for students. Further, the students' memorialization of these women veterans, their own recollections now gathered within a publicly accessible archive, disrupts existing narratives of World War II that exclude women's stories.

Chapter 5, "Contributions of Women Veterans' Scrapbooks to History, Scholarship, and Teaching," concludes this study of feminist historiography, recovering women's personal rhetoric as critical to understandings of the cultural and historical past. Further, I intend that this project addresses Skinner's explanation of "the need for a model of ethos that reflects the obstacles and strategies for successful ethos production by women" (173). Admitting multiple interpretations as Ott et al. and Mecklenburg-Faenger describe, I maintain that future projects for study of these and other rhetorics by women are extensive and numerous. Ultimately, though I support the claim that, paralleling the disruption of traditional, normative definitions of ethos through their scrapbooks, these marginalized rhetors conceive and communicate their multiple ethē through feminist rhetorical acts of re-collection.

Additionally, I embrace my own interpretations of the memory texts reviewed for this project. Ambiguity of primary sources fuels a lack of finality as Susan Wells describes the open-endedness of archival study (59-60); therefore, the reading of scrapbook clues such as photographs, maps, brochures, ticket stubs, and other ephemera must rely on "strategic

contemplation" as a means to engage with indefinite texts. As Jacqueline Jones Royster and Gesa E. Kirsch indicate, "strategic contemplation" requires not only "paying attention" but also "being mindful, of attending to the subtle, intuitive, not-so-obvious parts of research" (85). Guided by this mode of inquiry, I seek to interpret these memory texts, aware that no single explanation will be exhaustive or conclusive.

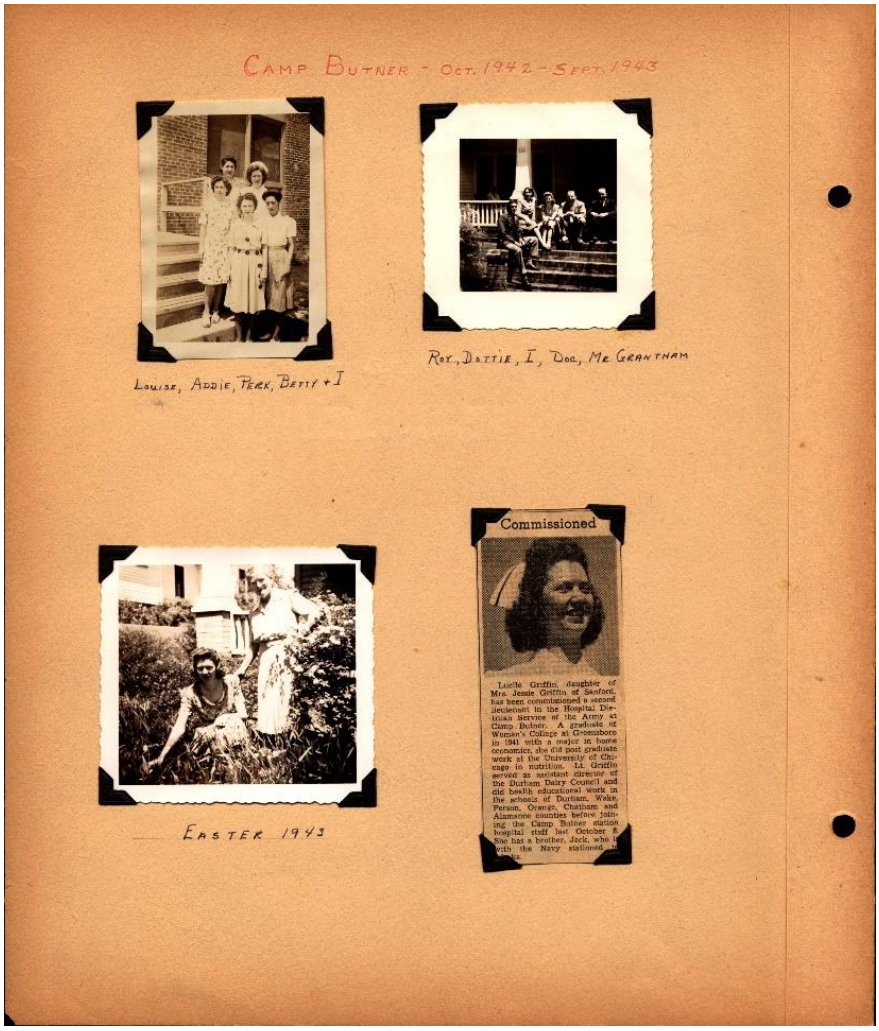
CHAPTER II: MILITARY WOMEN NEGOTIATING FEMININE ETHĒ DURING WORLD WAR II

The scrapbook of Lucile "Lucy" Griffin[5], who served as a US Army hospital dietician during World War II, demonstrates her accommodation of multiple societal messages as she defines her own ethē, revealing individuals and society at a threshold of change in the 1940s. Griffin affirms her military persona with the first page of her scrapbook; the handwritten label, "Camp Butner – Oct. 1942 – Sept. 1943," announces the initial material and ethotic location of her professional identity. Despite the page's title, none of the accompanying photographs introducing the memory text of her wartime experience attests to Griffin's status as a professional in the US military (see figure 3). Rather than photographs of her experiences at the training camp outside of Durham, NC, the snapshots arranged neatly in three quadrants of the first page feature her with family and friends, likely in her hometown of Sanford, NC. Only the newspaper clipping in the fourth section of the page attests to Griffin's military service. The familial and domestic environments of the photographs establish the dietician's feminine identity, obliging convention that women's interests centered in the home, but the article announcing her promotion to second lieutenant supports her professional ethē. While societal expectations might deem the terms, "feminine" and "professional," to be contradictory, Griffin's scrapbook places her within both spaces as she negotiates among competing identities—those bestowed by societal convention, crafted by military and government authorities, and determined

[5] In the WVHP collection, Griffin is identified by her married surname as Lucile Griffin Leonard, but because she compiled her scrapbook before marriage, I use her maiden name.

by entities within her surrounding rhetorical ecologies—to construct her own versions of her multiple ethē.

Figure 3. "Camp Butner – Oct. 1942 – Sept. 1943," Lucile Griffin Leonard Scrapbook



Societal convention and propaganda aimed at women offered conflicting messages for their acceptable behavior as the US entered World War II in December 1941. While cultural doxa urged middle-class white women to concentrate their attentions on domesticity, those same women were being invited—if not welcomed—into new venues of work outside the home at a time when a career was deemed incompatible with their duties to home and family. Griffin's response to the exhortation for such women to stay the same but change is evinced within the

generic site of her scrapbook of military service where she situates herself plainly and visually within home and family, a material environment portraying her relationships with other women, family, and friends.

Images within the albums support the women veterans' siting within the society of other women. The upper-left photograph of that first page features five women standing together, posed on steps with a brick building as backdrop; the women's faces are in focus, the details of their light-colored civilian dresses somewhat obscured by bright sunlight. While it is possible that the women, captioned in black ink as "Louise, Addie, Perk, Betty, & I," might be colleagues at Camp Butner, none but Griffin appears in professional attire. Griffin's cap and only slightly visible collar insignia reveal she is wearing a nursing uniform. The image merely depicts a group of women with Griffin neither central nor celebrated in the photograph, her uniform almost completely concealed by the two women standing in front of her. The Army lieutenant's participation in service is not heralded by her placement in the group shot, implying little emphasis on her recent enlistment and completion of training at Camp Butner. Instead, the image situates the new recruit within a community of fashionably dressed civilian women, illustrating her personal ethos along with her professional self.

Griffin's memory text disrupts gender stereotypes that categorize women as either feminine *or* professional and reflects the siting of her military service in both—yet neither—spaces. The initial photographs site Griffin overtly within home and family, adhering to social norms of femininity in the 1940s. In a second image, she casually sits on porch steps with a group she captions, "Roy, Dott, I, Doc, and Grantham." Only the young man, possibly Roy, wears a military uniform. A third photo on the page opening her scrapbook depicts Griffin, in the same civilian dress, kneeling in the home's garden below an older woman whose hand rests on

Griffin's shoulder. Labeled "Easter 1943," these images suggest that Griffin was home on leave for the holiday, as she had enlisted the previous October, but the snapshots fail to commemorate Griffin in general or her military service in particular, instead suggesting an emphasis on Griffin's participation in traditionally feminine venues that feature home, family, and domestic spaces. Only the newspaper clipping on the same page substantiates the seemingly paradoxical construction of Griffin's multiple ethē.

Aside from the title reference to Camp Butner, Griffin does not assert her professional service, instead relying on the rhetorical strategy of allowing a printed authority to declare her military identity. The news article situates Griffin's military status front and center, evincing her additional identities as daughter, as college graduate, and—supporting the exigence of her scrapbook's narrative—as military professional. Announcing her rise in rank, the article is headlined "Commissioned" above a head-and-shoulders image of Griffin in her nurse's cap and confirms that Second Lieutenant Griffin is a 1941 graduate of the Woman's College at Greensboro (now the University of North Carolina-Greensboro) and completed post-graduate work in nutrition at the University of Chicago. Having served as assistant director of the Durham Dairy Council, Griffin's position in the US Army was not her first professional responsibility. Thus, the logical authority of the newspaper clipping serves to reveal her professional ethos as a single working woman in the early 1940s while also declaring her familial identities as both daughter—of Mrs. Jessie Griffin—and sister to Jack, serving in Alaska with the US Navy. Employing the clipping to claim her career ethos, Griffin demonstrates the rhetorical negotiations she makes in establishing her multiple ethē as a woman serving in the US military during World War II.

Existing in a liminal space between the home front and the battlefield, between feminine domesticity and the masculine world of war, American service women found themselves in a whirlwind of rhetorical messages as expectations collided with realities during World War II. Through their personal and material scrapbooks, women veterans gain rhetorical agency to reflect their genuine circumstances between and among spaces created by the rhetorical ecologies surrounding them. As they reveal and construct their own multiple ethē within the contradictory messages of gender stereotypes, popular media and recruitment messages, they present their own professional service ethē in the 1940s.

Scrapbook: Agency and Ethos in Re-collection

Both influenced by and combating societal convention, popular media, and wartime propaganda, women veterans relied on the personal and material nature of scrapbooks to access agency and make meaning from memory, simultaneously recording history. Constrained by gender stereotypes of women as submissive and unobtrusive and with more public venues unavailable to them, these rhetors were left with limited options for self-representation. However, the scrapbook genre grants women veterans the power to maneuver rhetoric in ways they could not otherwise. Among the rhetorical powers granted by the genre, the text's compiler can manipulate material environments. For example, the first page of Griffin's scrapbook conflates place, time, and voice by exhibiting images from her home during Easter 1943 on a page she has titled "Camp Butner – Oct. 1942 – Sept. 1943" alongside the undated newspaper notice of her promotion. While Griffin has written the page's heading in her own hand, choosing her own words, she also shares images from other times and places that direct both geography and chronology, adding the authoritative voice of the news article into the rhetorical mix. Scrapbooks give these rhetors the ability to "shuffle and recombine the coordinates of time,

space, location, voice, and memory" (Ott et al. 16). In the case of women veterans like Griffin, the scrapbook illustrates rhetorical powers they could not access in their real lives but which reflect the real-life circumstances of women who existed in liminal spaces created by conflicting public rhetorical ecologies. These albums acknowledge and reflect the influences of public messaging impacting women veterans as described in Jenny Edbauer's ecological model of rhetoric (9). Edbauer explains, "… rhetorical productions are inseparable from lived encounters of public life" (21). Therefore, the rhetoric surrounding these scrapbook compilations affects not only how the rhetors express their multiple ethē but also how they define themselves. These networks of rhetoric undermine "the discrete borders of a rhetorical situation" (5), with messages intertwining and influencing one another, much as the lines between feminine and professional spaces became blurred for women veterans of World War II.

Because speakers cannot conjure ethos out of a void, women veterans communicating ethē in their scrapbooks faced constraint by societal expectations of gender. As Nedra Reynolds attests, ethos is "a contract between individual and community" (328). Despite what the women veterans might do as individuals, their community recognized their gender as well as—or ahead of—their entrance into wartime service. The additional idealization of military service "as a critical measure of cultural 'masculinity'" (Meyer 3) compelled many women personnel to provide evidence of their femininity. Thus, among the rhetorical ecologies colliding with wartime demands were the conservative community members who sought to maintain this traditional representation of American womanhood. An official film of the War Department intended to recruit women into the US Army, "It's Your War, Too," is evidence that the inclusion of women in military service was a contentious subject in American society. The Office of War Information (OWI), created in June 1942, and through its subsidiary

organizations, was responsible for much wartime propaganda and even created moving images to persuade Americans that women should be accepted in service. For presentation in movie theaters, the short video opens with a uniformed woman accompanied by a man in civilian attire walking past two older men sitting on a house porch, prompting the men to disagree about whether women should join the military; their dispute serves to articulate the reasons why such a societal change in gender roles is questioned—and short-term; "hey, there goes one of those petticoat soldiers now," the first man says. He goes on to comment, "what the devil does a woman want to be a soldier for?" The first man, who admits his sister wants to join the service, claims "It's a waste of time; this is a man's war." When he asks what sort of jobs women can do, the scene switches to a uniformed woman at work while a female voice describes roles in the Women's Army Corps and goes on to present women in a variety of military activities, including attending classes, driving tanks, and rigging parachutes. The conversation on the porch is finally refuted when the film concludes with praise by General George C. Marshall, Army Chief of Staff, for the work of women personnel ("It's Your War, Too"). The recruitment film emphasizes the contributions of women in the Army by directly confronting commonplace social attitudes toward their participation, but the clash of gender stereotypes and wartime propaganda illustrates paradoxical expectations for women.

No matter what efforts women veterans made to construct images of themselves as professional service personnel, social norms of US society in the 1940s argued that respectable, middle-class white women not only belonged in the home but also preferred it, and thus their identities were contingent on how they met or failed to meet gender expectations. Risa Applegarth also confirms that "Ethos traces a boundary between individual, strategic performance and the constraints of social norms" (45). With American society in a state of flux,

attempting to maintain traditional gender roles while pushing women into the wartime workplace, individual performance frequently conflicted directly with social norms during the Second World War. In addressing the construction of Black women's ethos, Coretta Pittman notes the "problematic nature of existing stereotypes and associations" that restrict ethos construction by marginalized individuals (43). Existing stereotypes of the middle-class white women targeted by wartime propaganda told them to stay home. Frequently marginalized by gender, American service women faced additional rhetorical and behavioral constraints because of "a cultural inability to reconcile the categories of 'woman' and 'soldier'" (Meyer 3) and were admonished to refrain from any actions that might make them seem too "mannish" (McEuen, "Women" 9) or too sexual. As Melissa McEuen suggests, "androgyny … could mark a woman as suspect since she challenged the rules of femininity that grounded heterosexuality and secured a traditional social order. As women stepped into previously all-male venues during the war years, gender 'disguise' could be interpreted as dangerous" ("Women" 9). Thus, these service women and the other readers of their memory texts were influenced by broader public rhetorical influences, influences that frequently reflect women pushed and pulled between societal expectations and wartime realities.

Reflecting her own liminal placement as a woman in professional service during wartime, like Griffin, US Navy WAVE Ruth Marshburn also mingles time, space, and voice in her memory text. While she introduces her scrapbook with an overt statement of her identity before volunteering in the US Navy, locating her feminine ethos physically at home on the family porch in fashionable civilian dress, she soon follows with her formal service portrait. However, between revelation of her domestic pre-military identity and pronouncement of her military self is official written confirmation of her professional service ethos. Amid visual images marking

her multiple ethē, Marshburn also reveals the conclusion of her military service through official confirmation of her wartime contributions. Adhered to page three of her album, is a form letter from the White House in which Harry Truman shares "the heartfelt thanks of a grateful Nation" upon "the defeat of the enemy." Perhaps as significant as the country's gratitude is his additional statement that the letter's recipient "undertook the most severe task one can be called upon to perform," demonstrating "fortitude, resourcefulness, and calm judgment." Above the presidential signature, the proclamation indicates "we now look to you for leadership and example in further exalting our country in peace." The official performative utterance grants Marshburn a professional military ethos, as an individual characterized by resilience and determination, but also as a potential leader in a peaceful, post-war America. While neither women's roles in leadership nor ongoing peace would come to fruition in the decades to follow, the scrapbook—and its rhetorical advantage of temporal and spatial manipulation—allows Marshburn to begin and end her military career within the first several pages of her scrapbook. As Marilyn Motz notes in describing women's photograph albums of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, "the compiler of the album … selects photographs for inclusion, comments on them in captions, and juxtaposes them so that the interaction of the photographs on the page and the sequence of the pages in the album become part of the message" (65). Similarly, the message shared through Marshburn's juxtaposition of elements reflects her placement, at once in a domestic space and in the military, at the start and at the end of her professional military career, adjusting time and space and adding government authority to her own voice, reflecting her own liminal location from whence she reveals and constructs her multiple ethē as well-dressed daughter, military professional, and potential leader in a peaceful nation.

Their efforts to communicate multiple ethē constrained by societal constructions of gender and accompanying expectations, these women veterans rely on their scrapbooks to further reveal tensions between the power to manipulate narratives of the past for those unable to share their own experiences openly and overtly and the public perceptions of those marginalized rhetors, inviting instead the feminist practice of re-collection. Rather than publicly pronounce themselves as service personnel contributing professionally to the US's war efforts, women find agency and share their identities within culturally acceptable spaces, such as scrapbooks. They re-collect in these spaces, which—much like diaries, quilts, and cookbooks—are "alternative rhetorical options to culturally sanctioned forms of memorialization" (Eves 280). Because scrapbooks are typically not authorized nor public venues for commemoration, the feminized genre allows women greater control over the telling of their own histories. In their albums, they are able to gather various tangible fragments from their lives, removing materials out of original contexts, re-arranging and re-placing these elements through a kind of bricolage into the new location of the scrapbook. Their memory albums provide women the power to "manipulate meaning through rupture and the reconstruction that follows" (Ott et al. 16). The "reconstruction" of materials and memories into fragmented narrative results in the construction of identities by the narrative's author. As Patricia B. Buckler and C. Kay Leeper further explain, the scrapbook "actively incorporates scraps and fragments of her individual self" (2). The deliberate selection, gathering, and arrangement of images and materials within the memory text represent rhetorical agency as well as rhetorical identity.

Embodying both recollection and re-collection, the scrapbooks of women veterans of World War II are the literal assemblages of scattered fragments of memory, serving to incite recall and reminiscence, but they also constitute the re-collection of those memories and

revelation and construction of their rhetors' identities—and in both ways act as "records of culture" (Kuipers 84) and of specific historic moments. Buckler and Leeper further explain, "these artifacts symbolize the scrapbook author's personal and cultural identity" (2). However, such albums can also constitute contradictions to mainstream versions of culture and history and personal and cultural identity. While American culture has long placed middle-class white women in their homes, and history has overlooked their participation in service during the Second World War, the scrapbooks of women veterans serve to re-collect neglected and diminished identities of professional women in service and to reveal the liminal spaces they inhabited.

Conceptions of Femininity

As the site for presentation of ethē, the scrapbooks of women veterans serve as cultural and historical artifacts where societal expectations converged with the reality of lives lived. The concepts of feminine and femininity derive from a belief in societally-determined gender divisions of behavior, cemented in the American mindset decades before the start of World War II. Concepts of gender, and subsequently stereotypes, are generally inherited within a society as Amy L. Hillard notes that "modern gender roles can be traced to Victorian ideals" (41). In detailing these ideals through rhetoric, Nan Johnson describes the development of "the icon of the white, middle-class woman as queen of her domestic sphere by promoting a code of rhetorical behavior for women that required the performance of conventional femininity" (2), thus concentrating women's roles in the home. Even when employed outside the family residence, women's ethē often remained linked to their domestic relationships. A small newspaper clipping in Marshburn's scrapbook recognizes that a "surprise luncheon" was given in her honor at a local restaurant by her co-workers in the local office of the Internal Revenue

Department. The brief article, headlined “Ruth Marshburn Feted in Farewell,” indicates the gathering in commemoration of her departure to military service was hosted by nine unmarried women whose first and last names are preceded by “Miss.” The married member of the party is identified by “Mrs.” followed by her husband’s first and last name, illustrating the loss of her individual identity through marriage, an association with her domestic life. Given the acceptance of scrapbook making as a generally domestic activity, women veterans do not upset convention by fashioning their narrative compilations, the genre suitable for establishing personal identities. However, when removed from spaces of domesticity, where they are responsible for household cooking and cleaning and for nurturing loved ones, and placed in, for example, a military hospital in a North African war zone or a military office in Washington, DC, the environment has changed, but expectations of women’s roles based on gender stereotypes do not disappear.

In explaining gender stereotypes, social psychologist Mary E. Kite describes studies of gender-associated values that characterize women as “‘warm,’ ‘kind,’ and ‘concerned for others’ welfare,’” while men are identified as “‘confident,’ ‘independent,’ and “controlling.’” These expected traits are deemed to manifest themselves in specific roles and physical characteristics; women’s expected roles include cooking, shopping, childcare, housekeeping, and interests in fashion and emotion. Physical descriptors include, “beautiful,” “dainty,” “petite,” “pretty,” and “sexy” (Kite). Given such expectations—self-reported as well as societally defined (Kite)—certain behaviors can be construed to constitute femininity. Femininity—even in its mid-century incarnations—is depicted by these women veterans as a broad category rather than as a monolithic concept by taking an “ecological perspective,” basing designation of gender roles on “interactions between individuals, communities, and their environments” (Blackstone 337). As those elements of gender construction fluctuated based on relationships and settings, women

veterans and service personnel during the Second World War conformed in varying degrees to societal gender expectations, thus femininity manifests in multiple ways.

Given conventions of the 1940s, femininity within the scrapbooks is frequently displayed by concern for home and family (domesticity), fashion and physical appearance, and attention to heterosexual relationships, with a particular emphasis on love and marriage. Attention to these expectations of femininity frequently juxtapose evidence of professional identities within the memory albums of women veterans, reflecting how women in wartime service illustrate their liminality between the home front and the battlefront.

Negotiating with Scrapbook Audiences

While a space of women's rhetorical agency, reliance on the scrapbook genre also complicates questions of audience. While such texts might be fashioned for other purposes, the scrapbook compiled from a rhetor's past experiences concentrates on memorialization of that past. Describing audience for women's photograph albums, Motz suggests that the intended purpose of the memory text is the compiler herself, "serving, in part, as a memory aid" (67). Like a diary, the material and personal album is presumed to be created for the rhetor's future self. However, as Kimberly Harrison explains about Civil War diaries by southern women, they also function more immediately to deliver "a space for women to consider traumatic external events and their role within them" (7). During World War II, single women who volunteered for military and extra-military service were displaced from their traditional sites of home and family—and sometimes even their earlier civilian employment settings—and sought to memorialize their service during that time of upheaval, recognizing the kairotic moment and their efforts as worthy of commemoration. First and foremost, then, women veterans of World War II address themselves in their scrapbooks. Kenneth Burke supports the concept of self as

rhetorical audience by noting that "there are also ways in which we *spontaneously*, *intuitively*, *even unconsciously* persuade ourselves" (*Language* 301). Citing Burke, Harrison elaborates, "One can be one's own audience …" (16). While most women veterans did not publicly persuade themselves—or anyone else— of the importance of their professional service, the rhetorical act of creating a scrapbook to memorialize past events implies a recognition of the significance of those actions and events.

Beyond the rhetors themselves, the scrapbook's additional viewers would be those who could interact physically with the tangible memory text in the present moment as well as in the future. Buckler and Leeper explain, "The scrapbook is addressed to the person who composed it, and also to anyone who might read it, then or now" (2), likely family and friends—those known to the compiler—who might even sit with her and turn the page as she verbally filled in the gaps of the anecdotal narrative presented in her scrapbook. In addressing the construction of professional ethos by women physicians in the nineteenth century, Carolyn Skinner notes that "when rhetors lack access to the 'space'—social position—that one audience values, they may turn to another audience who is more appreciative of the ideals that they can demonstrate" (5). Album makers turned to an audience that already knew the veteran in some fashion, perhaps her parents, uncles and aunts, neighbors, and others for whom a sense of the rhetor's identity preceded review of the scrapbook itself. Not only is she limited by the rhetorical ecologies that define her based on gender and class, the album compiler might be hampered by pre-existing knowledge. Because scrapbook rhetors have established identities with this physically immediate audience, the album readers might remember the compiler as a baby, her childhood scrapes, and her high school graduation. The societal messages swirling among and between these readers and the women rhetors who reveal and construct ethē impact the proximate rhetorical situation of

engaging with these memory texts; however, for future readers of the scrapbooks—grandchildren, for instance—different societal perspectives might influence their readings of these memory texts, but, as Amy Blackstone implies, interpretations of gender roles are slow to change even over generations (338). Beyond their own familial posterity, the women veterans could not have predicted when they fashioned their albums that such scrapbooks might be collected and stored for future generations, in the Betty H. Carter Women Veterans Historical Project, the Library of Congress, or in other institutions gathering and maintaining artifacts from specific branches of the military and extra-military in which women have served. However, the woman veterans are able to use their albums as touchstones for narrating their own histories, for telling their stories both feminine and professional, for any audience that might encounter the texts. See Chapter 4, "Teaching with Archival Scrapbooks of Women Veterans," for further discussion of the ways in which these scrapbooks alter twenty-first century students' grasp of women's history and World War II. Recognizing some of the rhetorical ecologies circulating among and around the women veterans, both as rhetors and primary readers of their scrapbooks, and of their more familiar secondary audiences provides context for interpretations of their memory texts and certainly into the placement of women veterans between domestic and military spaces.

While the scrapbooks concentrate on their wartime service experiences, women veterans also reveal an understanding of existing gender values, a consequence of which is identification with potentially conservative audiences. Harrison explains that Burke's theories propose "identification" as "the fostering of human connection and cooperation through language, or more broadly, through symbol use, as rhetoric's primary purview" (3). The women veterans then often connect and cooperate with album audiences by establishing an understanding—perhaps

even acceptance—of traditional attitudes toward gender. Citing Jules David Prown, Buckler and Leeper suggest that, in sharing the experiences of the individual, scrapbooks also reflect "'the beliefs—values, idea, attitudes, and assumptions—of a particular community or society at a given time'" (1). Thus, suggesting an allegiance to ideals valued by the other members of their scrapbook audiences constituted a powerful rhetorical approach. However, as Harrison continues, "Such an emphasis on identification also implies division in human relations that might be spanned, to some extent, through rhetorical acts" (3). Maintaining feminine convention within a personal genre, women veterans support their attempts to persuade familiar audiences, despite potential divisions in attitudes toward women in professional service, spanning the distance between the two extremes of their own liminal placement, feminine domesticity and masculine war. Adherence to conventional ideologies reminds the rhetors and their friends and family that these women have not moved so far from their traditional spaces while they in fact have relocated to sites where convention suggests they should not be.

Evincing identification across potential division, Griffin and Marshburn introduce themselves visually by establishing non-threatening, conventional identities, ethē that adhere to commonly held perspectives on appropriate gender behavior in the 1940s. Kristie S. Fleckenstein describes this rhetorical strategy in the development of a visual ethos as evoking a "credible character that is also a radical character" ("A Reformer Rides," 28). Fleckenstein explains the introductory "photographic ethos" constructed within the memoir of women's activist Frances E. Willard who opens her narrative with a traditional studio portrait. The first image of a woman in a domestic space allows the subsequent photographs to help portray her growing independence through association with bicycling. Burke also explains, "In forming ideas of our personal identity, we spontaneously identify ourselves with family, nation, political or cultural cause,

church and so on" (*Language* 301). Like Willard, by identifying themselves with convention, establishing their femininity within the "womanly" rhetorical genre of the personal scrapbook, these veterans accommodate gender stereotypes as they gradually and simultaneously disrupt expectations in construction of professional military ethē, revealing their identities in a liminal space between conventional femininity and professional service.

Similar to Willard's strategic development of an ethos of independence, the communication of ethē in women veterans' scrapbooks is generally progressive, often chronological, but mingles times and locations within and among pages. These albums of World War II often display an overarching evolution, as compilers frequently accommodate audience expectations by overtly displaying their femininity, depicting themselves in civilian dresses and in domestic settings before disrupting those expectations with portrayals of professional military and wartime ethē. By conforming to traditional gender expectations, these women do not immediately ask their audiences to abandon conservative values, instead allowing them to identify with the rhetor, perceiving her as not dissimilar from themselves. Portrayals of femininity reaffirm that the woman veteran has not abandoned her societal and familial gender roles despite her movement into "masculine" territory. Combatting stereotypes perpetuated by convention and messages from popular media and wartime recruitment, women veterans communicated their evolving multiple ethē in scrapbooks at a time of social upheaval, expressing more fluid depictions of self than the paradoxes of 1940s wartime rhetoric would readily allow.

While creation and reception of the personal genre of the scrapbook is impacted by rhetorical ecologies, the unpublished category of storytelling is not generally intended for strangers. These veterans use the "credible character" rhetorical strategy, but because their audiences are familiar, they do not have to work as hard at establishing feminine credibility.

These are not strangers. In a society facing change and upheaval on the home front, women veterans pronounce themselves feminine—for themselves, their family members, and their friends who might peruse the scrapbooks—maintaining a reassuring status quo. In describing the construction of ethos by nineteenth-century women physicians, Skinner states that such marginalized rhetors were unable to "present a persuasive rhetorical character simply by demonstrating their adherence to their audience's values, because that very value structure may cast the speaker as inherently unworthy to speak" (6). Because scrapbooks allow "speaking" at a personal and individual level, in the case of women veterans of World War II, by revealing an adherence to traditional values, these rhetors suggest their identification with their primary audience of self and for those family and friends who might review their scrapbooks, particularly older generations who might be less approving of women in wartime professions. Through this rhetorical strategy, readers are encouraged to recognize similarities between themselves and the women rhetors who eventually—through the turning of the scrapbook pages—reveal themselves in new locations enabling the audience to realize the existence of the woman veteran in multiple spaces, acknowledging multiple ethē that move beyond stereotypes.

Negotiating between these concerns entrenched in the societal construction of gender, women veterans relied on the feminine genre of the scrapbook in revealing their feminine *and* professional military ethē. In presenting themselves as living people through personal narratives, these women veterans "gain[ed] alternative ethos" (Pittman 59); rather than being pigeon-holed by societal tropes, women veterans illuminate limitations by revealing and constructing multiple ethē, disclosing their efforts to negotiate their locations in liminal spaces. Given this constraint on individual performance of ethos, women veterans ventured into the safe and more private space of the femininized genre of the scrapbook where they could "compose and present versions

of themselves as living people" (Christoph 662). Composition and presentation of their ethē in scrapbooks reveals women veterans pushed and pulled between publicly wrought identities.

As their bodies moved out of traditionally defined "women's spaces," their rhetoric remained within a feminine site and exposed them—at least in part—as conventionally feminine. In this sense, the scrapbook compilers' ethē reveal portrayals of themselves as traditionally feminine members of their societal groups, belying the actual disruption of gender roles created by their willingness to participate in military and extra-military service organizations during wartime. However, their liminality was further exacerbated by wartime rhetoric aimed at American women, rhetoric that reflected personal and social upheaval and that was at best contradictory.

Rhetorical Ecologies and Stereotypes

Among the rhetorical influences on gender stereotypes was popular culture and accompanying media of the period, further ensconcing women in domestic spaces. *Life* magazine published an article in September 1941 headlined "Occupation: Housewife" —a year before the essay promoting the need for women to fill in the need for "manpower" in the US appeared in the same publication. Subtitled "Just for love thirty million women work to make America's homes the best in the world," the article centers on the example of an Illinois woman who is featured in multiple photographs making beds, scrubbing a bathtub, doing laundry, cooking, and bathing children. The caption of a photograph of her hand sewing suggests that Mrs. Amberg's "leisure hours" are spent "lying in her bedroom chair, listening to favorite sweet jazz records while she does family mending" ("Occupation: Housewife" 79). A favorite family excursion involves the happy housewife walking her three children to the local dime store, according to the caption of an image in the photo-heavy layout. The article's content supports a traditional and

conservative perspective on women's roles in American society in which "mending" is defined as "leisure." As Johnson maintains, "the imposition of the cult of true womanhood … lasted far longer and was deployed by more avenues than we have realized" (6). One of those avenues, the popular periodical, suggests that women of the era were most content when they were able to serve their loved ones, requiring no time for their own interests or identities apart from their relationships to husband and children.

Depictions of women at work outside the home maintained an emphasis on femininity and sexuality, and artifacts in the veterans' albums illustrate these rhetorical influences from popular culture. Marshburn's scrapbook contains a newspaper clipping that essentializes women as civilian or military and centers on their status as companions to men. The "Inquiring Fotographer" column from the July 20, 1945 issue of the *Washington Times* has "men on the street" responding to the statement: "A civilian says that girls in uniform are the best company. Is it true?" with headshots of respondents, including their names, street addresses, and occupations—perpetuating their individuality—along with their responses to the inquiry. Disregarding any wartime contributions that their skills and abilities might make, women—identified as "girls"—are classified into two categories and assessed by individual men based on the women's behavior in social environments. As Bob Agnew's examination of issues of *Life* magazine in 1943 and 1945 suggests, "despite coverage of women in uniform and in the workplace, the majority of *Life*'s content depicted women in entertainment or social settings" (93).

Popular culture further maintained traditional attributes for women by focusing on their appearance. Agnew goes on to note that, "Most issues [of *Life*] contained … frequent stories emphasizing glamour and attractiveness of the female form" (93). A cartoon clipping in Army

nurse Shirley Van Brakle's scrapbook illustrates this assessment; the comic features a shapely young woman, in uniform skirt and shirt, seated close to a uniformed man, and is captioned with her words: "OF COURSE I love you, Major, but there's such a difference in our ages. We ought to wait a few years!" The drawing centers on the woman's physical form, her legs and chest slightly exaggerated, and implies that she is not intelligent enough to recognize that the difference in the two characters' ages will remain the same no matter how old they are. Even when adapting to women's military service, popular culture—and consumer marketing—sustained existing stereotypes in cartoons and greeting cards. The cover of a Valentine's Day card adhered to a page of Van Brakle's album features a cartoonish uniformed woman carrying an attaché-like case; drawn with large eyes, a baby doll appearance, and a short skirt, the image demonstrates sex appeal below the heading "EYES RIGHT," but the military jargon and uniform are juxtaposed by the knitting needles and skeins of yard protruding from the character's case (see figure 4). Even in its admission of women's military service, the greeting card attests to the mixed messages conferred on the women veterans who themselves were caught between expectations of femininity and sexual appeal and their actual work as military personnel. Rather than describe women as their altered circumstances required, newspaper articles, cartoons, and consumer marketing preserved old tropes.

Even the rhetoric recruiting women into wartime work in the Second World War contributed to the liminal placement of women in military service, impacting the personal rhetorics of women veterans as evinced by their scrapbooks through displays of femininity. While the October 1942 *Life* article, "Manpower," estimates women in the armed forces would number 300,000, with millions more employed in government and the war industry (29), the American woman of the era was more often than not depicted as highly feminine. McEuen

Figure 4. Valentine's cards. Shirley Van Brakle Collection, Photo by Cindy McPeters.

reports that recruitment materials of the era relied more on publicists' and marketers' perceptions of American women, rather than on social realities: "Washington war agencies, Madison Avenue advertising offices, and Main Street America promoted images of ideal womanhood to circumvent the dramatic social and cultural changes afoot on the home front" ("Introduction" 1). The OWI, along with the War Manpower Commission, communicated national policy and information as well as recruitment of women and "had a profound influence on the public image of women during World War II" (Smith 188). As Michelle Smith notes, much recruitment material "addressed fears that wartime work would threaten women's femininity, suitability for marriage and motherhood, and the American family and home" (196). Smith further indicates that even in conventionally masculine work conditions, like factory work on a military bomber, "women workers in defense plants were [depicted as] young, white, beautiful, and well-groomed, their unconventional work was portrayed as both important and glamorous, without disrupting

the continuity of women's pre- and postwar roles" (196). Thus, public messaging indicated femininity would remain the expectation—even on factory lines and in military tents.

While in retrospect Rosie the Riveter is a prominent feminist icon for American women, the image of a strong and independent woman was not overly publicized in the 1940s. McEuen notes that instead "thousands of hyperfeminized women touted everything from soft drinks to carbon paper to protective headgear" ("Introduction"). Smith also indicates that the image of Rosie the Riveter was an isolated symbol, used only in a single Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company facility for only two weeks (186). Instead of symbolically empowered women, "recruitment rhetoric," as Smith explains, reliably conveyed "norms of gendered work," drawing men and women to work positions that reflected their societally defined gender identities (187). Classifying the OWI rhetoric recruiting women into civilian industry and agriculture as falling under the appeals to patriotism, continuity, and domesticity, Smith asserts that, rather than the feminist appeal of the Rosie poster, most advertising relied on assumptions about women returning to their traditional roles and reiterated "women's rightful and natural place in the home" (188). She also writes, "Given its role in encouraging and discouraging women's participation in certain forms of work, recruitment rhetoric has material consequences for women's lives …" (187). Some of those consequences can be seen in the spaces professional military women of World War II rhetorically occupied where similar tropes were employed to encourage women to join service branches. Through displays of expected feminine behaviors, such as depictions in domestic settings among family and friends, concern for fashion and appearance, and interest in romantic, heteronormative relationships, women veterans maintained the status quo of gender expectations while also negotiating new rhetorical and physical territory in their military professions.

The inclusion of women in US military service during World War II prompted further concerns about the disruption of gender roles and expectations. According to Leisa D. Meyer, the 1942 establishment of the first women's service branch—Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC), replaced by the Women's Army Corps (WAC) in 1943, brought to fruition anxieties "that the mobilization of women for war would undermine the established sex/gender system" and undermine men's and women's roles in society (2). Therefore, much effort was given to reassuring audiences that the change would be short-lived. Smith explains, "…women's wartime work was depicted as temporary emergency measure grounded in a heteronormative view of women as men's helpmates and a counterfactual image of war workers as predominantly white, middle-class women whose conventional femininity remained intact" (187). Such rhetoric defied reality.

When US Representative Edith Nourse Rogers of Massachusetts introduced legislation to create the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps in May 1941, the opposing rhetoric centered on issues of gender (Meyer 19). One Congressman who opposed the WAAC bill suggested that women volunteering for the auxiliary branch would mean "women's potential abdication of the duties of the domestic sphere for military service"; "'Think of the humiliation!'" he publicly asserted (19). While the legislation allowed women to act as "patriots," women were refused "equal rank, benefits, and pay as male soldiers and officers" and were restricted to auxiliary service (16). Passage of the bill led to the subsequent formation of women's service branches in the US Navy, Marines, and Coast Guard, but as Meyer notes, the rhetorical battle over the WAAC legislation "highlights the potential challenge female soldiers offered to the gendered and raced constructions of citizenship at work during World War II" (12). The rhetorical battle followed women into service.

According to Meyer, while women had served in the previous world war, "their service was largely unrecognized because they were civilians" and therefore they did not receive the benefits promised to male soldiers of World War I (14). By the time women entered auxiliary, and later full military service in the 1940s, the connotation of the word veteran with "man" had already been established. As Mariana Grohowski and Alexis Hart explain, "more than twenty thousand American women served as nurses, clerical workers, and telephone operators" during World War I, but were summarily and "swiftly discharged" at the conflict's conclusion (93). The rhetoric surrounding their wartime work diminished the value of their efforts and demeaned their contributions; their exclusion resulted in material consequences when promised bonuses were given only to men because veterans were defined as "male" (93). The language was amended when the World War Adjustment Compensation Act read "any individual who was a member of the military or naval forces" (94). However, despite the increasing numbers of women volunteering for service in World War II, "the military leadership and general public continued to regard women's service as temporary" (94-95). Grohowski and Hart assert that continued limitation on women's employment in the US military has generated a stereotype that influences women's service even in the twenty-first century (96).

The media frequently addressed these societal concerns regarding gender roles by belittling women's contributions in the military, the messages feeding into the gender stereotypes that fueled them. Citing Jean Holm, Grohowski and Hart describe, "The American press also denigrated women's military service. For example, at the Women's Corps' director's first press conference, 'reporters focused on either the trivial or the sensational—underwear, makeup, whether women would salute, whether enlisted women could date male officers and vise [*sic*] versa'" (95). Relying on nicknames for women's training and work camps, reporters referred to

the “Petticoat Army” and “Fort Lipstick,” creating “gross misconceptions of the highly skilled services women provided—including as text pilots, flight instructors, chemical engineers, mechanics, code breakers, and cryptographers” (95). Many reporters concentrated on women’s appearance and relationships with men and disparaged women’s military service as a means to support existing gender norms by aiming their gags at women who could do little to respond publicly.

Because social conventions of the period dictated childcare as women’s responsibility, military recruitment rhetoric also differentiated between married and unmarried women, initially addressing only single women for employment in non-traditional workplaces such as “factories, plants, and on farms” (Brock et al. xvi)—and, of course, the military. In the beginning, “unmarried women without children were the targets of government recruiting efforts” (Brock et al. xvii) As Mady Wechsler Segal attests, “women’s historical primary societal function has been associated with reproduction and child rearing. The extent to which a culture continues to assign women this primary role affects women’s military roles” (770). Adhering to societal gender paradigms, wives and mothers were not to be displaced from their designated domestic spaces, therefore only unmarried women were called upon to join the workforce. However, as Brock et al. attest, with the increasing need for labor, the pool of workers came to include American women with children, despite concerns that “women’s work would lead to a rise in juvenile delinquency” (xvii). Employment outside the home was not new to working-class and African-American women (Smith 199), whether single, married, or mothers, so the new recruitment materials were aimed at single, white, middle-class women for the war effort—whether for civilian or military work. Joining the military meant a woman would be required to leave home, participate in training at one of several US military bases or a women’s college campus, and then

might be stationed where she was needed within the US; if she were a nurse or member of the US Army Medical Corps, she might be stationed outside the country, often in harsh conditions and/or near a war zone; during wartime, women working in the American Red Cross also needed the flexibility to relocate within the US and to foreign destinations. Therefore, the primary targets for military recruitment were single women whose absence from homes would not interfere with women's perceived domestic responsibilities.

Like the words and images on the first page of Griffin's scrapbook, many women veterans compiled albums in which a single page depicts the paradoxical nature of women service professionals accommodating hegemonic gender stereotypes, revealing ethē seemingly in opposition to one another. The second page of American Red Cross worker Esther Gilbert's scrapbook also expresses her identities between worlds. A snapshot on the second page of Gilbert's album depicts the staffer, newly arrived in July 1944 to her first overseas duty station of Brisbane, Australia, dressed in dark jacket and skirt, standing in front of a palm tree, a distant landscape in the background. Were it not for the helmet atop her head, viewers might presume Gilbert, from Norwich, CT, to be a tourist in the South Pacific. In addition to the helmet, two messenger-style satchels hung across her, one from each shoulder, hint that Gilbert's sojourn is more purposeful than sight-seeing. Beneath the snapshot, in addition to the location and date, the album compiler added a caption that alludes to her more professional purposes: "with gear – gas mask, etc." While the image depicts Gilbert's feminine ethos as a smiling woman facing the camera in south Australia, the military hardware—a gas mask—suggests the actual physical danger she faces in her professional duties. Despite those real wartime dangers, women's wartime service frequently goes unrecognized, with Gilbert's memory text reflecting her paradoxical presence.

Accompanying texts and images further illustrate Gilbert's location as she negotiates between spaces. Alongside the photo of Gilbert and the palm tree is taped a small rectangular news brief titled "Esther Gilbert Arrives in Australia with R.C." Its headline in all capital letters is about the same size as the body type, suggesting the brief article's limited newsworthiness, but the text further reveals Gilbert's identities. The daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Walter E. Gilbert, she went to "Australia to serve the armed forces as an American Red Cross staff assistant," but she formerly worked for the Red Cross "as a general field representative" in both Connecticut and Massachusetts. Her previous work identity was as "a service representative" for the regional telephone and telegraph company, following her graduation from Lasell Junior College and Norwich Free Academy. The black cardstock page also contains an immunization record, necessary for foreign travel; a Red Cross welcoming guide to Brisbane; a small snapshot of a former girls' convent turned 42nd General Hospital; and an "Ancient Order of the Deep" card certifying Gilbert's crossing of the equator aboard a US Navy transport ship. With rhetorical agency to intersperse her personal and professional identities across time zones and continents, Gilbert reveals her liminal placement between the home front and the battlefield.

Occasionally the compiler of a memory text includes an individual image that sites her in differing rhetorical locations and speaks volumes about her multiple ethē. Nearly halfway through Gilbert's scrapbook, even after her professional ethos has been thoroughly documented, she included a nearly full-page photograph, likely taken by a professional, possibly military, photographer, based on its large size and the coding in its white margin (see figure 5). Before the doorway of a war-damaged concrete structure over which a sign reads "Power Room No. 3," Gilbert and four other uniformed women casually stand among tall grass and debris, gesturing as if to correct their hair styles, all appearing to look toward something in one woman's hands,

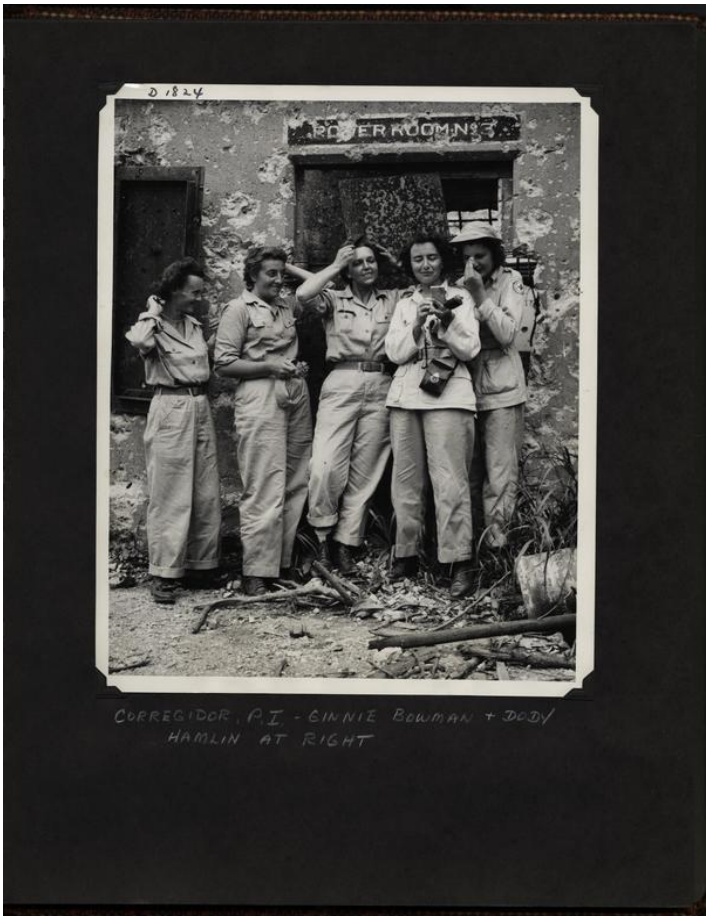
possibly a mirror. However, their disheveled appearance contradicts the attention to details of appearance. The women's uniforms are belted but wrinkled, several with sleeves rolled up, some pants legs cuffed. One of two women wearing a jacket pretends to be powdering her nose below her cloth hat, an American Red Cross patch on her sleeve. Gilbert's caption, neatly printed in all caps in white lettering, "Corregidor, P.I. – Ginnie Bowman + Dody / Hamlin at right," but these women are not neatly attired in dress uniforms, as in many of the photographs that appear earlier in Gilbert's scrapbook, suggesting a professional evolution from tidy and businesslike staffers to veteran inhabitants of a war zone.

Whether the photographer or the women suggested the posing, the image of women meeting gender expectations by attending to their appearances despite their physical location near the battlefront epitomizes the liminal siting of service women during World War II. While Gilbert did not supply a date for this photograph, based on its placement within her generally chronologically organized album, the Red Cross workers were likely on the Philippine Island of Corregidor between May and October of 1945. Corregidor had been the site of fighting just months earlier following an approximately two-week battle that concluded on March 2, 1945, when US forces successfully recaptured the island at the entrance of Manila Bay (Bluhm). However, three years earlier, US forces had lost control of Corregidor Island where American nurses had evacuated from Bataan; when the island fell to Japanese troops, sixty-six American women were taken captive and held as prisoners of war in Manila ("Nurse POWs: Angels of Bataan and Corregidor"). While the damaged building that serves as the photo's backdrop supports their presence on the battlefront, the historical context for the photograph of American Red Cross workers pretending to groom themselves supports the military's communication that the island was once again safe enough for American women, so safe in fact that women could

take time to primp and play for the camera. However, the image's rhetoric also makes a significant statement about societal expectations for women's behavior; women might leave the physical environments of domesticity and the home, but they should continue to behave as if they still were there. Gilbert and her colleagues might be physically in a warzone, but rhetorically, they remained between sites.

Figure 5. "Corregidor, P.I." Esther Gilbert Scrapbook

Perhaps because, as nurses, women maintain traditional gender responsibilities as nurturers and caregivers, some female military professionals faced less criticism and societal



backlash for their military service, as suggested by the scrapbook of Shirley Van Brakle. From Matawan, NJ, Van Brakle enlisted in the US Army Nurse Corps in August 1943, and, after basic

training in New York, was stationed in New Jersey until she was shipped to England in April 1944 where she remained until November 1945. Unlike the albums compiled by Marshburn and Griffin which rely on the establishment of a "credible" and reputable identity or Gilbert's gradual transition from neat-and-tidy desk staffer to warzone worker, Van Brakle never introduces herself and the only photographs of her within the album are contained in newspaper clippings. As Smith indicates, "nursing had long been a socially accepted career choice for women, associated with notions of women as natural caregivers" (197); therefore, Van Brakle's establishment and revelation of her own multiple ethē requires less reassurance of her non-threatening status. Still, as a female military professional, she faced reactions to many of the same fears and rumors as her fellow servicewomen. On an early page of her scrapbook, Van Brakle includes a newspaper clipping that names her as "an Army nurse" and announces her transfer from Fort Monmouth Hospital to Atlantic City, but also acknowledges her existing identity as the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. James Van Brakle of Keyport. Like other veterans, she incorporates the rhetorical authority of print journalism to support her professional ethos.

Rhetorical ecologies surrounding women in military service were rarely supportive of female professionalism, and rumors and slander attacked the women's character, not just their skills or contributions to the war effort. While the news media continued to maintain gender stereotypes, and while reporters and cartoonists frequently belittled women in uniform, and while the OWI targeted only white women for employment, military women faced another aggressive rhetorical dilemma. Despite military efforts to mitigate societal concerns about sexuality and gender, slander about women in service developed, and, as Linda Grant De Pauw explains, "when large numbers of uniformed women became visible in American cities in 1943, many people were ready to believe the worst about them" (252). Grohowski and Hart suggest that the

rumors were particularly malicious and wide ranging and diminished morale and increased division between men and women service personnel (95). Slanderous stories about women in service—"that large numbers of pregnant WAACs were being shipped home from overseas," that army physicians rejected virgin WAAC applicants, that at one military base "90 percent of the WAACs were prostitutes and 40 percent were pregnant" (De Pauw 253)—were sometimes even printed in newspaper columns. Believed to be the work of Axis enemies, the rumors were found to have been spread by ordinary Americans, whether military personnel or factory workers, male or female (255). However, negative commentary did not end. DePauw notes that male personnel whose "letters home that mentioned the servicewomen were overwhelmingly hostile; soldiers threated to divorce wives or repudiate girlfriends who were so shameless as to enlist" (255). Without the rhetorical power to confront rumors and lies, and rather than conflict with the status quo, the women veterans who fashioned albums of their wartime experience relied on their feminine ethos to sustain their reputations as they were sited both within and without domestic spaces.

Confronting Public Perceptions in a Personal Genre

Through expressions of feminine ethos, rhetors could confront such offensive rumors by accommodating established gender conventions, confirming for themselves, their immediate audiences, and for future readers that the slanderous talk was unfounded. So, while maligned for their efforts to contribute to the American war effort and hampered by societal expectations of gender, these veterans expressed their liminal positioning within the personal genre of the scrapbook, where they reflect characteristics of femininity as well as professional ethē.

In her memory text, Van Brakle collects and arranges ephemera displaying qualities of her feminine ethos, remnants of the pretty trimmings, flowers, and gifts that women were

expected to appreciate in the 1940s, while also evincing her transition into military service. A tied, ribbed ribbon, in a bright shade of green is visible through a worn hole in the first page of her memory text. Van Brakle's handwritten caption describes the fabric ephemera from "St. Patrick's Party Colton Manor"; nearby is what appears to be a postcard bearing the color print image of a brick building flying four American flags, identified by the compiler in black ink as "Quarters while in Atlantic City." The Army nurse identified herself as feminine through her interest in remembering her social engagements, her relationships a significant aspect of femininity as described by sociologist Kite; yet she also references her military quarters, supporting her placement between the societally defined world of women and her professional military world. The fact that her assigned quarters are in a hotel suggests a gradual movement from civilian domestic life into the masculine world of war.

Additional ephemera in Van Brakle's scrapbook support both her feminine ethos and her threshold placement in society. The same page contains evidence of missing items where she has written "Eric Easter candy," suggesting a gift of goodies from a friend. Once she was sent overseas to England, as a second lieutenant, Van Brakle glued to a scrapbook page a small envelope, flap side out so contents could be accessed. Handwritten next to the now-empty envelope is "English flowers," while located below in the center of the page is a small stem of a wheat-like plant, adhered to the yellowed page with medical tape. On a subsequent page, she printed "Flowers from Arthur June 7th, 1944" next to a package tag from an English nursery and addressed to her at the 160th General Hospital. Through her scrapbook, Van Brakle gathered artifacts that support the feminine characteristics of her identity, the kinds of decorative items and small luxuries associated with women's interests, while also implying friendships with men, based on the names written near the gifted items. While Van Brakle's work as a nurse was

deemed appropriately feminine, the use of medical tape to fasten the flowers to the page supports identification of her military workplace and the re-collection of her multiple ethē as she is challenged to be in two places at once.

Feminine women of the period were also imagined to focus on fashion, physical appearance, and social activities, even in theaters of war. The scrapbooks of women veterans reflect these expected concerns. After returning to the US, Griffin added to her album the letters she had written home to her mother, relating her tour of Switzerland at war's end. Between departing her former duty station in Italy and joining the 300th General Hospital, Griffin's orders for "Leave-Action in Switzerland" are accompanied by travel ephemera and correspondence that attest to days of golf and sightseeing and evenings of dancing with her fellow service personnel on the tour of a country which she describes as untouched by the war. Traveling by train and stopping for lunch in Andermatt, Switzerland, Griffin notes the flowers, window boxes, and flower shops, and "honest to goodness grocery stores." Through her writing, she shares with her mother, "The houses are exactly as pictures of them show with the colorful decorations and flowers," and a "hot bath at one of those therapy spots perked us up and made us feel like a million." Griffin and her friend, "put on slacks and rented bicycles, and went riding to see the town," returning to "dress for dinner" after the "boys played 18 holes of golf." Conforming to conventional expectations of femininity as she notes appearances and clothing while also providing insightful descriptions of the land and the people she encounters, Griffin also recognizes these as interests shared by her audience. Her accounts written while on military designated leave from duty support her ability to identify with her mother, her nearest and most immediate reader. Griffin continues her letter with more attention to fashion. In Lugano, Griffin and her compatriots met a local couple: "… the lady wanted to look at my shoes a little closer as

she had seen them when we were dancing and liked them very much. And here I had been sitting at our table admiring the beautiful civilian clothes she had on," she writes. Attention to community appearance, small luxuries, and fashion are not solely the purvey of women, but in noting these details in letters home to her mother, Griffin accommodates gender expectations of femininity, re-collecting her position as both woman and military professional.

Often providing details that reflect societal gender norms, the women veterans also sometimes served as reporters, writing letters home to their families, with information shared to local newspapers, remaining true to expectations of femininity despite their military work. According to a newspaper clipping in Van Brakle's album, Queen Mary made an inspection of the hospital where the Army nurse was stationed and remained for tea at the Officer's Club. A long newspaper column features Van Brakle's formal nursing portrait and is headlined "Keyport Army Nurse Meets Queen Mother – Lt. VanBrakle Describes Visit of Royalty to Hospital in England." Serving as a kind of news correspondent, Van Brakle reports on the Queen Mother's attire and on the tea social. The article quotes her letter to her mother: "'Her dress had long sleeves and a high neck and she had a lovely sapphire blue brooch and gorgeous [*sic*] clusted [*sic*] diamond earrings,' the Keyport nurse wrote, 'she wore gloves to match her dress, also stockings, and carried a parasol. Her shoes were gray suede and black patent leather with pointed toes.'" Mothers receiving letters from daughters stationed overseas—and newspaper editors—might not expect Van Brakle to explain the political ramifications of the Queen Mother's visit or to describe the medical needs of patients but instead to describe what the royal visitor wore and ate and drank. Thus, both Van Brakle's letter home and her scrapbook re-collection of that event observe her existence between American social norms and her military duty station, acknowledging her ethē as daughter, nurse, occasional reporter, and woman.

Further revealing the liminality of women personnel, Red Cross staffer Gilbert includes early in her scrapbook a newspaper clipping that reflects a feminine ethos as well as her assignments as a service member. An Australian newspaper headlines the article, "Springtime in U.S." with a subheading that reads, "Skimpy Styles Save on Dress Fabrics." Noting details of American fashion, the article explains that Gilbert, the new assistant director of the American Red Cross Service Club, provided "war-time fashion notes" but fails to identify the audience for Gilbert's presentation. However, the reporter details that Gilbert "wears beige tinted mesh stocking with her blue-grey woolen uniform," the servicewoman's own attire painted as relevant to her profession. Having arrived in Adelaide, South Australia on July 30, 1944, Gilbert's work involved sharing American fashion descriptions as well as organizing the Red Cross service club facilities for use by American service members as a photograph next to the fashion news clipping attests. The image features uniformed personnel relaxing at tables with refreshments while several men play ping pong in the foreground. Gilbert's focus on "women's interests" such as fashion does not diminish the fact that her professional ethos is functioning to assist other Americans during wartime. Australia's proximity to the battlefront—only two years earlier the city of Darwin, Australia had been bombed by enemy forces, followed by fighting in nearby New Guinea ("Australia – International affairs") —implies a genuine danger as well as necessary purpose for Gilbert and her professional ethos. Gilbert's multiple ethē recognize her location between 1940s American fashion and the Pacific Theater of Operations during World War II.

In addition to fashion, shopping and sightseeing are also consistent with expected pursuits for women in the 1940s, but these social activities come alongside professional endeavors within the scrapbooks of women veterans. Van Brakle's album includes a postal label and a piece of paper wrapping with UK stamps of the king, addressed to her at the hospital where

she was stationed in England. She noted in script "cup & saucer / Blue border." Additional ephemera attest to the rhetor's tourism adventures, with a pink ticket stub from "Shakespeare's Birthplace Trust" admitting one bearer to "New Place Museum and Gardens" for sixpence, and another for John Knox's house on High Street in Edinburgh. Van Brakle's need for funds, for shopping, sightseeing, or other activities not related to her military work, is evinced in a telegram to her mother in Keyport, NJ. Unfolded, the Western Union telegram reads "Please send me three hundred dollars. Writing. Love=Shirley VanBrakle [*sic*]." However, these indications of Van Brakle's off-duty activities are interspersed among evidence of her professional military ethos. A typed document unfolds to read "Supplementary Chest Instruments," and she has handwritten next to the pasted page, "Instruments for Chest Surgery 7-44." The Army nurse's ethē include feminine tourist as well as military surgical assistant; the re-collection within her scrapbook acknowledges both traditional expectations and her military work.

Among the traditional expectations for women in the 1940s was an interest in men and romantic relationships with them—even in wartime. The veterans' scrapbooks display the significance of heterosexual marriage to societal norms for women. Several pages of Lucy Griffin's scrapbook are labeled "Maggie & Harris' Wedding / June 14, 1944," and depict their ceremony which took place where she was stationed in Tunisia. Revealing the significance of the event are a series of oversized photographs, not simple candid snapshots, feature black and white images with colorization of dresses worn by two women in the bridal party, one pink and the other pale blue, with the bride clearly veiled in white. The various images are labeled, "The Ceremony," "The Processional," "The Kiss," and "The Recessional," providing a detailed account of the nuptials, staged on a veranda; guests are lined, those against the building wall appear to be men in US military uniforms, on two sides of the makeshift aisle adorned with

several pots or vases of flowers. Griffin's memory text documents every critical stage of the wedding rite, filling valuable scrapbook space with the important moment. A set of six wedding pictures appears many pages later when Griffin was stationed with the 81st Station Hospital in Italy. These images depict a less formal ceremony, with the groom in uniform and the bride in a tea-length white dress and veil carrying a small bouquet; in one photo, the newlyweds are seated in an open-top hospital jeep. Van Brakle's scrapbook also includes a newspaper clipping headed "Weddings" which includes a ceremony write-up for a couple from back home in New Jersey; "the groom, a US Navy seaman, returns to service after a short wedding trip." Societal norms projected that women would be concerned with weddings and the relationships that led to those unions.

Denoting expected feminine goals of heterosexual relationships and marriage, ephemera within Van Brakle's scrapbook frequently hint at male friendships. On the cover of a church bulletin dated February 6, 1944, the Army nurse wrote the name of a private who apparently escorted her to the service at the Station Hospital Chapel. Her album also holds a dance card for the 160th General Hospital's 1944 Valentine Dance. The light pink card opens to a typed "dance program," with dances identified on the left and partners listed on the right. The first two dances, "Straight Draw" are already scheduled as the list on the right begins with the typed words, "Your Valentine Partner." However, names, some just initials, fill six of the twelves typed lines on the right; several appear to be quickly but illegibly written, while line 11 bears the neat lettering of "RAP," for the second "Dealer's Choice" dance. Apparently, the whole crew was prepared to join in for "9. The Houkie Poukie." Not only providing cultural insights at the kairotic moments of World War II, the scrapbooks regularly imply heterosocial relationships, supporting expectations that women should be invested in friendships with men.

Even among the numerous artifacts within the scrapbooks that attest to the attention compilers received from their male counterparts, the women veterans are situated between sites—as friends, as girlfriends, as co-workers, even as officers. Van Brakle's scrapbook contains a collection of greeting cards for her birthday and holidays. Among the greetings from her mother and from "Auntie," are several Valentine's Day cards received from potential male suitors. One appears to be a homemade note, a red heart with cut-outs of two doves and arrow through them; across the arrow, either piercing the birds or on which they are perched, the sender has written his name, preceded by his rank of major. In addition to many commercial greeting cards from family and friends, Van Brakle received numerous hand-drawn images, several from her male co-workers. One cartoon drawing, colored in blue and red pencil, features a woman with nursing hat and caduceus with doves flying above, surrounded by stars; to the lower right is a cartoonish man in US Army attire with red hearts; the thought bubble above his head reads "GOSH! Sigh!" On the left, is penciled, "I reach for you like I reach for a star." Van Brakle has labeled in her own hand in black print, "Caffery." Whatever the Army nurse's feelings about her fellow soldier's attentions, she chose to include his admiring artwork in her memory text. The artist, likely the same Cpl. Caffery who signed a work-related note earlier in the scrapbook that reads, "Lt. Van Brakle, All instruments oiled and dried" was an enlisted man; as an officer, Van Brakle would not have been permitted to fraternize with him. However, their friendship—both personal and professional—is depicted through the nurse's re-collections, conceding that Van Brakle's societally denoted placement between home front and battlefront mingles as do the ephemera on the pages of her scrapbook.

While following a generally chronological organization like many of the other veterans' scrapbooks, Van Brakle's pages feature a haphazard arrangement, suggesting that perhaps she

either did not have the time or feel the need to arrange items on the page to reflect transitions in her multiple ethē. The appearance of Van Brakle's pages suggest that she placed artifacts as she encountered them; the "sheeps wool from sheep somewhere in England" is adhered to the page by what seems to be medical tape, indicating that the Army nurse relied on materials at hand; however, later when her hospital was visited by the Queen Mother, a newspaper article indicates that Van Brakle had mailed home to her mother the paper with the royal visitor's signature for safekeeping and to be placed later in her scrapbook. Griffin relies primarily on organizing materials into four quadrants, or sometimes six neatly aligned items, on a page, her captions below them printed on a faint line below images. The variety of arrangements, some overlapping materials, others neatly spaced, as well as the mix of time and location suggest that, while generalizations and interpretations can be made, the women veterans who compiled these scrapbooks were individuals and cannot be essentialized. However, with the turn of each album page, these texts trace the development toward construction of new professional ethē for women veterans of World War II.

Despite American sensibilities of the period, women's femininity and military service did mingle, as evinced within their scrapbooks; however, as rhetorical ecologies surrounding them frequently made light of their efforts, denigrated them through slander, or disregarded their contributions, women military professionals were located rhetorically in liminal sites, with their albums re-collecting that placement. Given the broad power of the formal and informal rhetorical ecologies—whether social norms, popular media, or wartime propaganda—that surrounded them, women in military service found themselves stuck between the home front and the battlefront, neither fully sited in one location or the other but expected to remain, while physically in the masculine world of war, as they were back home in their domestic spaces.

Through the rhetorical strategies of revealing a "credible" character, of identification with their audiences, and of relying on authority to name their professional identities, women veterans maintained expressions of femininity, reassuring both themselves and their other audience members that they were not disrupting the status quo of gender, while their actions—serving as military professionals—did just that.

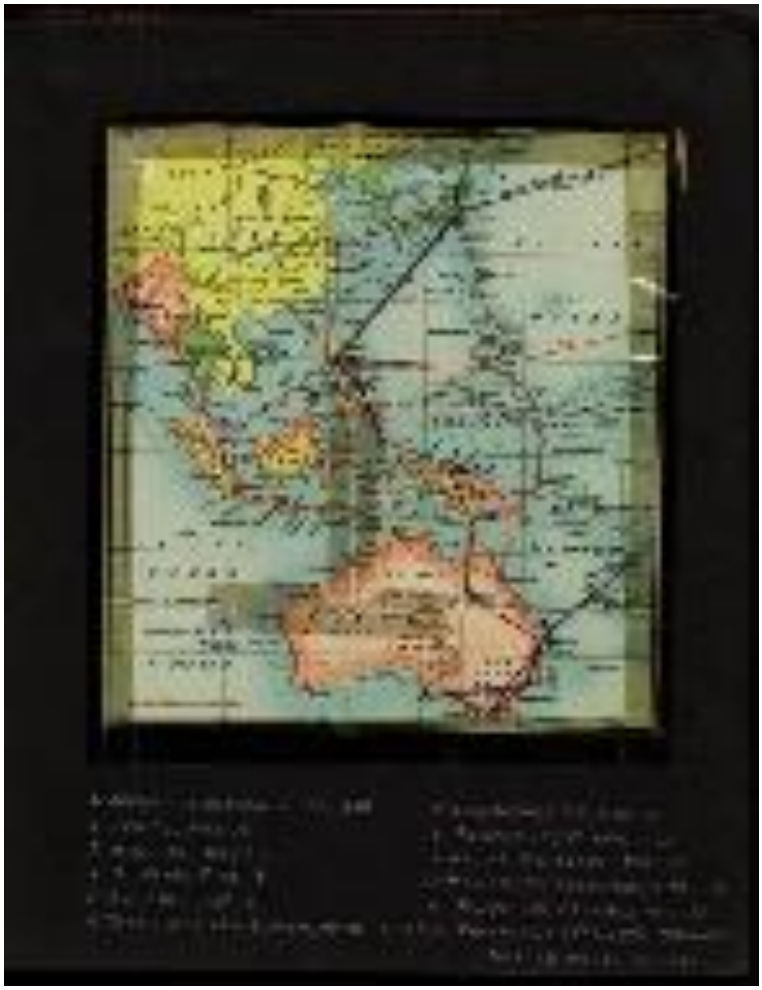
CHAPTER III: WOMEN VETERANS CONSTRUCTING PROFESSIONAL SERVICE ETHĒ

Rather than introduce her scrapbook by placing herself in domestic and familial settings, Esther Gilbert of the American Red Cross boldly initiates an overt professional ethos, one that places her service identity geographically and temporally within the Pacific theater of military operations. On the first of her album's black cardstock pages, she centered a rectangular map, cut from a larger chart and adhered with cellophane tape, visually depicting her journeys and completed with a handwritten key (see figure 6). "E.G.'s route" enters the map from the east, noting the voyage "From San Francisco," with the captions below recording her arrival at her first duty station in Brisbane, Australia, on July 10, 1944. Below the colorful sheet, Gilbert listed twelve locations and dates identifying where and when she traveled, worked, and vacationed, throughout her overseas assignment in the Second World War. Already established as a Red Cross staff member in her home state of Connecticut, Gilbert would crisscross parts of Australia and visit Dutch New Guinea, the Netherlands East Indies (NEI), the Philippines, and Japan, each location marked on the map with an "x" for stopovers and stays through her return to the US when she "sailed March 24, 1946." Substantiating each "x" on the map with photographs, newspaper clippings, and other ephemera, Gilbert's album documents her wartime occupational identity. Through the rhetorical power accessed in the scrapbook genre, Gilbert controls both time and geography in siting her professional ethos in service during World War II.

From the liminal spaces—between societal expectations for women and their actual wartime conditions and contributions—Gilbert quickly rises to assert her ethos as a professional in the face of double standards that require she prove her value and her participation. Her rhetorical strategy of documenting her ethos declares that she was there, that she participated in service, and that her efforts are not to be forgotten. The map and accompanying key establish

Gilbert's professional ethos by placing her in work zones that were also war zones; the remainder of her album reveals a generally gradual transition from overseas newcomer to neatly uniformed office worker to front-line staff member living in tents, an evolution of her professional self as documented by the images and artifacts within her scrapbook. As Patricia B. Buckler and C. Kay Leeper indicate, "the scrapbook author used language and artifact to discover the other and the real world; she realized herself by composing herself through the scrapbook" (2). Gilbert composes herself by re-collecting her maps, photographs, newspaper clippings, and associated ephemera representing her experiences, constructing and realizing her professional ethos and portraying women's actual involvement in wartime duty.

Figure 6. First-page map. Esther Gilbert Scrapbook



The scrapbooks of women veterans of World War II reveal women's transitions into work environments historically constructed as male or masculine by depicting their everyday experiences within those spaces. Embodying both individual and gender identities, these rhetorical texts "are tangible archives of everyday individual experience, concretizing the voices and activities that might otherwise get lost in the (unattended or intentionally dismissed) ebb and flow of daily life" (Christensen 263). Beyond the "everydayness" of the contents, the scrapbooks give voice to women whose status in society, as they moved into new fields, left their identities and experiences in liminal sites between home front and battlefront where they and their contributions frequently remain unnoticed. As Letizia Guglielmo explains, "Women's contributions in male-dominated fields often have been minimized or unrecorded, particularly with regard to how they have been portrayed within traditional texts and widely circulated media" (9). Not only have women's impacts often been overlooked, but their roles in wartime service have been particularly eclipsed. Barbara Biesecker explains that the limitations in documenting women's efforts depend on societal perceptions that typically view women as "passive beneficiaries of military engagement, both at home and abroad" (402). The challenge in portraying women's expanding participation in the armed forces, and within what is customarily the masculine domain of warfare, as Biesecker suggests, is that "women have been *agents* of U.S. history even if they have been excluded from its interested (re)telling" (402), perhaps because their genre and media have only recently been recognized as historic accounts. While American women have been marginalized, neglected and even eliminated from official histories and public memory, as veterans, they have frequently commemorated and shared their historical and military experiences, just not necessarily via public venues. Their material memory texts empower women veterans to defy their exclusion from stories of war by documenting

professional ethē and wartime contributions through displays of individual identity and by siting themselves in physical locations among other service personnel.

Rather than the accepted but reductive version of women's roles in service during World War II, the scrapbooks of these veterans offer glimpses into women's real lives and their real selves. Katherine Ott, Susan Tucker, and Patricia P. Buckler note that the scrapbook serves to reveal facets of the compiler's identity, suggesting that "the makers express themselves with every swipe of glue yet ultimately remain free, elusive, and hidden" (3). As a rhetorical act, re-collection constructs ethē but "is also an active process of disrupting seemingly stable, 'disciplined' memories of women's lives and of cultural truths" (Guglielmo 3). The belief that middle-class white women might temporarily exit their domestic locations to "free a man to fight" was a "seemingly stable" perception of American culture in the 1940s. Guglielmo describes performances of re-collection as "opportunities to disrupt or destabilize established memories created by prior acts of recollection and public remembrance" (4). "Prior acts of recollection and public remembrance" have omitted women veterans from historical narratives of World War II. As Mariana Grohowski and Alexis Hart suggest, "…military women's work is overlooked or rhetorically undercut" (92). Through the feminist practice of re-collection, women veterans disrupt existing perceptions that stereotyped—or even ignored— their identities, revealing instead their ethē existing in multiple sites. The narratives created by these material representations of personal memory counter those neglecting women's multiple ethē as they participated in service during the Second World War.

Sharing Their Stories

Without fanfare or pretense, women veterans customarily share their wartime stories through personal means, such as oral histories and scrapbooks. In compiling oral histories from

women veterans of World War II, Kathleen M. Ryan notes that "the women invariably diminish the importance of their wartime contributions; a common refrain is, 'I didn't do anything important'" (25). Seemingly incongruent with their determination to remember and be remembered, the veterans' overt humility and self-deprecation, is itself "a rhetorical move" (25). As described in chapter 2, societal conventions delineating womanhood and femininity—compounded by the additional influences of wartime propaganda and popular media—created ecologies that rhetorically reduced women's value to the American military war effort. When they downgrade their own contributions by implying that they "didn't do anything important," these veterans conform to norms that dictate women should be self-effacing and modest. Ryan suggests that the interviews, however, allow women veterans "to not only place their experiences into the historical record but also to affirm the importance of their wartime work" (25). The oral history interview can be viewed as an intentional means of sharing one's story with a more public audience, but one that is often recorded many years subsequent to the events it recounts; the scrapbook, often with greater chronological proximity to the experiences it recollects, with its tangible, personal structure serves a similar purpose for more immediate audiences who can turn the pages of the material form of the album, reaching more public readers only many years later through archival gatherings that extend the narratives of World War II by including women's stories.

The scrapbooks of women veterans alter the way American war stories are imagined. The re-collection within these artifacts becomes the "re-membering" that Ryan describes as "not only an affirmation of one's personal history but also a remining or recovering of that same history through the storytelling process" (30). As Linda Grant De Pauw explains, while modern battle

and conquest is justified for "economic, dynastic, or political purposes," narratives of war are preserved in "ritual and art" (10). De Pauw posits:

> In a traditional war story, the male heroes do the fighting and embody the martial virtues. Their reward for suffering hardship and risking their lives is woman's love, including, in addition to sex, all the admiration, compassion, and provision of creature comforts that are associated with the image of wife and mother. Focusing on women in any other role spoils the story. For this reason, not only have women been written out of military history, but all the military functions unrelated to heroic combat or usually performed by women receive scant attention. (17)

In sharing their own war stories, women then disrupt the ritualized narratives of war, but without wider public recognition, such marginalized groups can only chronicle their experiences for smaller audiences, in personal and more intimate settings. Ellen Gruber Garvey states, "scrapbooks are often a form of history writing from the ground up: an attempt to mark a place, and create a history even from positions of little power" (218). Without the power to write their public histories, women veterans rely on the rhetorical strategy of turning to convention to portray their new, non-traditional selves. By enlisting the personal and material means of the scrapbook, women veterans access the power to reveal and construct multiple identities and in particular—contrasting with their medium—to construct and communicate their professional ethē.

Women moving outside the spaces of home, family, and friends were compelled to prove themselves, even more so in masculine spaces of war. Because of established norms, women had to do more than just show up to be deemed valuable and credible in service during World War II. In describing women physicians at the turn of the twentieth century, Carolyn Skinner cites Mary Roth Walsh who maintains that "historians have required greater proof of women's professional medical standing than they have of men's" (3). Whether medical or military, women operating in male-dominated fields had to work harder for recognition. Confronted by what Walsh terms this

"historical double standard" (qtd. in Skinner 3), women veterans authenticate their professional service identities through the re-collection of evidence gathered in their memory texts. Documenting their multiple ethē in their scrapbooks, women veterans reveal their liminal placement as they transition into professional military and extra-military personnel during wartime, positions that disrupt societal expectations of gender.

Documenting Individual Professional Identity

In verifying their professional ethē within their scrapbooks, women veterans rely on multiple rhetorical strategies including image and word within their memory texts. Supporting the women's identities as military and extra-military personnel making useful contributions to support their country's cause, the albums often contain photographic evidence of the scrapbook compiler in uniform, substantiating their membership through "visual ethos." However, the veterans do not rely on image alone. They further base construction of their ethē as individuals participating in wartime service professions on the authority of military officials as well as on the rhetorical authority of print media. The military processes of training, rank, and other operating functions serve as evidence of procedural rhetoric further supporting the album compilers' claims of professionalism, competence and expertise in contributions to the war effort.

Through the outward representation of individual professional ethē, the donning of a uniform, women veterans both embody and perform the message that they belong within their respective service organizations. Visually, their uniforms serve as proclamations of service as depicted in scrapbook photographs, but that evidence is supported as well as by statements of promotions and even campaign ribbons. These scrapbook makers often reveal themselves through formal uniform portraits early in their album, as looking the part is the first step in transitioning into their professional identities. The person who dresses in the same manner as

others in a group becomes one of their company. Kenneth Burke notes the alterations "when an individual dons a uniform," recognizing that the uniform "eliminates many of the individual's personal possibilities" creating a difference from the "individual's nonuniformed identity" (*Rhetoric* 113). The effect of dressing in the uniform is more than a change of clothes for these women veterans; the uniform becomes a visual, nonverbal declaration of a newly adopted professional ethos, one in which, as Burke suggests, they not only alter identity but also conform to their membership organization.

With her proclamation of "Before I donned the uniform" on the first page of her scrapbook, Ruth Marshburn emphasized the change in her identity as she joined the WAVES in 1944, recognizing her altered ethē, her before-and-after selves. In putting on her uniform, Marshburn performs the embodied act of transforming her physical self, adding an additional ethos to her repertoire of selves. Further documenting her transition into military service, her scrapbook later includes a photograph of approximately fifty women standing on building steps at Hunter College, one of the campuses where the US Navy trained female recruits for military service. In an assembly of lookalikes, these women appear to have left behind their individual and feminine identities in joining the women's branch. Their "nonuniformed" selves have not disappeared; instead, these recruits have added to their ethē. Individuality is obscured by conformity, with Marshburn further asserting her placement within military service by identifying her regiment and section numbers: "Hunter College New York Basic Training—Six Weeks Reg. 33 Sec. – 4112." Her military ethos is substantiated through her embodied inclusion in uniform, participation in training procedures, and most certainly by the numbers that classify her as a member within the group the photograph represents visually and numerically.

While the image represents their regimental identity, Marshburn's written comments on the photograph also maintain her colleagues' individuality. She sought to recall as individuals some of her comrades in training as she wrote the names of several women on the photo itself. "Ruth" is printed with a line designating her face among the women in the group with two additional names written in the photo's upper margins and connected by lines to their faces in the crowd. On the back of the image, in black script, Marshburn wrote, "Front Row – from left to right" with several names listed. Perhaps basic training busied the new recruit so that she was unable to return to the long list of names, leaving many unidentified. However, she does explain, changing to blue ink as if added at a later date, that she had met two of the two women on the train ride to Hunter College in the spring of 1944. Through her recollections, Marshburn guides her audience's understanding of the significance of individual women who came together to form the military Section 4112.

Marshburn's additional notes and corrections on the reverse of this group photograph further attest to the creation of ethē imparted by military service. The supervisors of the section are assigned the title of "Miss," before their last names, demonstrating respect for their authority. However, Marshburn later wrote "Lt." over the word "Miss" for the two company commanders, their leadership positions labeled in parentheses after their names. The scrapbook maker's changes semiotically confirm the addition of the officers' military identities but also Marshburn's own. Acknowledging their professional authority in relationship to her rank and identity contributes to Marshburn's own professional ethos through demonstrations of procedural rhetoric that reflect rank and organizational hierarchy.

Marshburn appears a fully indoctrinated member of the WAVES in an oversized image cut from a newspaper. The clipping features a photograph taken from above, looking down on a

street scene of parading uniformed military personnel, an American flag flying in the corner of the image, and is titled "Prelude to Opening of the War Bond Drive Today." While the newspaper describes the event as "the military parade on Fifth Avenue passing the reviewing stand," Marshburn makes her own handwritten notation: "My Regiment—45 blocks down Fifth Ave." Not only does she address the physical reality of the parade—a march of several miles through many city blocks—but she also expresses her membership and ownership in the regiment with the personal possessive pronoun of "my." Marshburn is a member of the WAVES as a basic training recruit in dress uniform, conforming in appearance and step with the rest of her regiment. She relies on both images and language to attest that she belongs.

Even when not on professional duty, Marshburn continues to define her professional ethos with her attire. Back home in North Carolina, she posed in her military uniform and overcoat for two informal photographs on the scrapbook page she captioned with "Home on Leave / September 1944." One image features a uniformed Marshburn standing in the yard of a building, possibly the same house where she sat on the steps for her "before" joining the WAVES snapshot that appears on the first page of her scrapbook; the second photo taken on leave in her hometown centers on Marshburn, still in uniform, beside a woman and man, possibly her parents, with three older adults standing behind them, in front of the same light-colored clapboard house. These individuals might be some of the first readers of her scrapbook, members of the audience she convinces that she retained her femininity while also serving in the military. Although home on leave, Marshburn wears her uniform for these posed photos, not only suggesting personal and familial pride but also supporting her ethē as daughter and as US Navy professional.

In addition to wearing her uniform as an individual who conforms to membership in the military, Marshburn further documents within her album's arrangement her professional military ethos through the written rhetoric of authority. Based on Jean Goodwin's typography of forms of authority, women veterans might be said to rely on rhetoric "based on command" and that "based on expertise" (267). Marshburn's training, where she, as a new recruit learned the rules of the military is the foundation for military procedures, privileging the values of authority. As Ian Bogost posits, procedural rhetoric consists of the "messages embedded in any process or system" (3); thus, for Marshburn and the other women veterans, references—including material and spatial—to government and military rules and regulations, serve to "persuade through processes" (3). Therefore, the printed record from the Navy Department, Bureau of Naval Personnel Service Schools, that certifies Marshburn's satisfactory completion of training and qualification "for the rating of Seaman First Class" on 21 August 1944, is based in command and her own expertise as an example of military procedure. Her handwritten caption establishes the significance of this item as she captioned the form as her "service school diploma" and adds that she was "assigned to duty in Office of Chief of Naval Personnel Washington, D.C." Later in her memory text, Marshburn labeled a printed letter from the US Navy as "Campaign Ribbon." The veteran's name is typed on the form letter, dated 31 October 1945 and from "The Chief of Naval Personnel," and notes her new rank of Y2c (Yeoman Second Class) and permits her to wear "the appropriate ribbon" representing the American Campaign Medal because she "served honorably" for "one year or more within the continental limits of the United States on active duty between 7 December 1941 and a future date to be announced later …" As with the White House letter with President Truman's signature, Marshburn relies on the rhetorical authority of government entities and the military's own procedures in the construction of her own professional identity.

In concluding her service, Marshburn again documents her professional military ethos with both the visual image of her identity as well as written rhetoric from a reputable authority. She included a photograph of herself in formal dress uniform, complete with white gloves, posed on a rooftop, institutional buildings, power lines, and the sky as her backdrop, and wrote "Received my discharged Feb. 1946 – (Discharge emblem on right side)." A tiny newspaper clipping below supplies language that supports the image, proclaiming her return to civilian work and life. With a dateline of Washington, the two-sentence notice is headlined, "Marshburn Discharged," and identifies her rank, parents' names, and hometown, in reporting her separation from military service at the personnel center, having begun her professional military career in May 1944. While not quite two years, Marshburn's period of service is additionally supported by another rhetorical authority. On the letterhead of the Secretary of the Navy, and dated April 19, 1946, James Forrestal praises Marshburn and deliberately timed the post to arrive after personnel had left military service, "to reach you after all the formalities of your separation from active service are completed. I have done so because, without formality but to clearly as I know how to say it, I want the Navy's pride in you, which it is my privilege to express, to reach you in your civil life and to remain with you always." Her active service completed, Marshburn did maintain some link to the professional identity that gave her the new ethos of "veteran" through contact with her military colleagues as she includes ephemera from a WAVES reunion in 1958 and a photograph from a similar gathering in 1967. While Forrestal's written rhetoric indicates that Marshburn's military service was expected to permeate into her civilian existence, the lack of public and historical acknowledgement disregards that declaration.

While she did not begin with the actual photograph, Lucy Griffin included a periodical clipping that features her formal military portrait, materially and visually documenting her

professional ethos. Based on its size and the paper's texture, the clipping likely came from a local magazine and identifies her by her rank of lieutenant and her military operating specialty of dietician in the US Army. Noting that she was serving "in a large hospital near Bizerte, Tunisia," the story's exigence relies on the fact that Griffin had earlier written her mother asking for "one thousand valentines to be used on the trays of soldiers in the hospital on St. Valentine's Day. Needless to say, the valentines were promptly sent." While the text recognizes the thoughtful care that Griffin and her colleagues provided their patients, addressing their mental as well as physical wellbeing, the article also indicates that Griffin "says she is having a wonderful experience," failing to depict the work conditions of a military hospital in the North African Theater of Operations. While the statement may certainly have come from the dietician herself, minimizing for the folks back home any concerns for hardships or dangers she might encounter, the comment also reflects Griffin's liminal placement, substantiating her professional ethos but portraying her activities as if she were on a pleasure tour to Tunisia.

Beginning with affirmation from an outside, reputable source, Griffin then arranges photos from her boot camp training—which would have preceded her overseas deployment—to follow the newspaper article about her new duty station in North Africa. While the arrangement defies the actual chronology of events and attests to her ability to maneuver time and space within her scrapbook, the images reflect her transitions through military service. In one photo, three women in baggy, ill-fitting work uniforms, wearing utility or bucket hats, and spats, stand before the door of a brick building. Griffin's caption of the image as "Three Sad Sacks!" is ironic since the three are all smiling broadly. On the same page with the photo of the grinning women in work uniforms made for men, Griffin included her formal military portrait. In her dress uniform, the caduceus indicating her responsibilities within the medical corps, she bears a more

stoic expression, the formality of the military portrait documenting her ethos as a serious professional.

While the poorly fitting utility uniforms imply that the US Army was not prepared to enlist women, Griffin's inclusion of a typed and folded document further attests to the lack of preparation for female professionals in military service. The document, "Overseas List," identifies necessary and allowable items for service personnel moving to foreign duty stations; Griffin would need to bring her own ironing board, can opener, "washable type" sanitary pads and belt, "nail polish, and only one wash cloth and one bath towel." The list indicates that the total "amount of equipment" should be less than 175 lbs. Additionally, as a dietician, Griffin was classified as medical personnel and was informed that "when reporting to camp, [she should] take any equipment and clothing needed for any hospital position. A minimum of civilian clothing (dresses, coats, hats, etc.)," but perhaps most surprising is that the women of the US Army Medical Corps were not issued military hospital uniforms; the document reads, "Civilian white uniforms, caps and shoes [should be worn] when on hospital duty until Army provides." Initially, women were not provided with suitably fitted work uniforms nor were they supplied medical uniforms for military service. Despite the challenges of appearing an official member of military service, Griffin documents her professional ethos within her scrapbook. By the time she returned home to Sanford, NC, her appearance had conformed to that of an official member of the US military. Below a telegram to her mother, announcing her safe arrival back in the US, Griffin placed a photograph, depicting her in dress uniform, sitting on a step wall, knees crossed. Accompanied by an older woman in a print dress who stands over her, the veteran captions the page as "Home at Last!!" Griffin bookends her tour of duty with images of herself in her US

Army attire, further narrating her experiences of approximately two and a half years in military service on the pages in between, documenting her professional ethos.

Although not a member of a women's branch of the US military, American Red Cross staffer Esther Gilbert also persuades her scrapbook readers of her professional service ethos by displaying herself in uniform, also supported by the rhetorical weight of print journalism. Among the snapshots of koala bears, Sydney Harbor, and the city's skyline, is a photograph of Gilbert with a co-worker. Labeled, "Jean Ferguson and I," the image centers on the two women standing before what appears to be a scenic spot overlooking the city, their faces dappled in shadows from nearby trees, but what is clear is the dark skirts, blouses, garrison caps, and dark jackets with organization insignia. The pair might be sightseeing, but they remain clearly associated with their service agency through their uniforms. Like her military peers, Gilbert included a newspaper notice of her professional identity. Topped with a head-and-shoulders photo of "Miss Esther Gilbert, from Norwich, Connecticut," the clipping identifies her position as "the new assistant director of the American Red Cross service club." Adjacent to the brief article is a photograph further confirming Gilbert's professional status; in her ARC skirt, blouse, and jacket with collar insignia, Gilbert stands with "Col. Martin, Peg Graveur & Area Director, Hinson Trites" in front of store window lettering marking the service club offices, clearly identified with the organization's customary red cross. Gilbert asserts her professional ethos through the clothing that signals her occupational identity, her association with uniformed co-workers (and an officer of the US military), and the rhetorical authority of the newspaper article.

Many scrapbook pages later, Gilbert continued portrayal of her working self, but her uniform becomes much less formal. She smiles for the camera, sitting sideways in the driver's seat of an open-topped Jeep, wearing a pair of slacks, socks, and loafers. The overlit image

makes her shirt difficult to distinguish, but it is collared and appears to have military-style epaulets, indicating that Gilbert remains in uniform, albeit a more utilitarian version, similar to those she and other ARC workers wore on Corregidor Island. While not a member of the military, Gilbert's service in hazardous duty locations in support of US military personnel is documented through the same rhetorical strategies relied upon by other women veterans who constructed scrapbooks of their World War II experiences.

Although not providing photographs of herself within her scrapbook, the same image of Van Brakle appears twice, both reinforcing her professional identity. The caption for a photo topping a newspaper clipping headlined "48 of Monmouth Memorial Nurses in Armed Services" indicates the photo of Van Brakle with the chief nurse at Fort Monmouth, both women in uniform, was taken at a senior tea given 27 January 1944 for forty-four new nurses. However, a later newspaper article moves beyond bolstering Van Brakle's military ethos to disclosing her medical contributions in wartime. A clipping from the *Asbury Park Sunday Press* featuring the earlier photo is headlined "'Shot Thru Heart' No Longer Fatal – Keyport Nurses Figures in Magazine Article on Surgery of Heart." This piece identifies many of Van Brakle's multiple ethē: a second lieutenant, a daughter, a 1942 nursing school graduate, but more significantly confirms her role in "the removal of a bullet from the heart of Pfc. Carl W. Young, Harrodsburg, Ky., in the operating room of the 160th General Hospital in England." Repeating the story as reported in the *New York Herald Tribune* and *Science Digest*, the New Jersey article indicates that "hundreds of American servicemen who have been 'shot through the heart' have had bullets, scraps of metal or pieces of shrapnel removed from their hearts or lungs," and continues to describe the nurses' work "that used to be done by doctors." One major is quoted as suggesting that "these girls are as efficient as veteran doctors." While the rhetoric diminishes the women's

value, denoting them as girls and comparing their skills to others, the text demonstrates the value of the medical work conducted by Van Brakle and others like her. Citing the writer of the original article, the clipping reads: “Meanwhile Lieutenant Van Brakle was getting into sterilized gown, cap, mask, and rubber gloves and preparing the instruments.” The words of the print authority, repeated through several publications, substantiate Van Brakle’s professional ethos in describing her contributions to improved, life-saving surgeries.

Siting Professional Ethos

Given perceptions in the 1940s that domestic responsibilities kept married women with children at home or at least working near their homes, military recruitment targeted single, middle-class white women, individuals who were free to relocate to training camps and to varied duty stations. Joining the military meant a woman would be required to leave home, participate in training at one of several US military bases or a women’s college campus, and then might be transferred where she was needed within the US. For some women, the opportunity to travel might have actually incited them to enlist, and if she were a nurse, a member of the US Army Medical Corps, or worked in another military operating specialty, she might be stationed outside the country, sometimes in harsh conditions near a war zone; during wartime, women working in the American Red Cross also needed the flexibility to relocate within the US and to foreign destinations. By siting their physical selves in military and other wartime locations— their assigned quarters, travel sites, and other wartime destinations—women veterans document their professional military and extra-military ethē.

Adding to the establishment of women’s professional ethē is their physical siting at duty stations necessary for the performance of their service responsibilities during World War II. Marshburn’s service obligations took her from a small town in North Carolina to basic training

on the campus of Hunter College in New York City; her transfer to Iowa for yeoman school placed her again on a college campus. On one page of her memory album, the Navy recruit included two professional photographs, one an aerial view of the campus and the second the face of a brick building with columned portico. In the lower margin of the second is printed, "Main Entrance, Bartlett Hall, Iowa State Teachers College, Cedar Falls, Iowa" with "U.S.N.T.S.—W.A.V.E.S." printed above. However, Marshburn's handwritten label identifies the personal significance of the edifice: "Our Quarters." By locating herself in training locations and through use of the plural pronoun "our," the Navy recruit supports her preparation for and inclusion in military service during wartime and her ethos as a professional.

US Army hospital dietician Griffin also signals her military ethos through photographs that depict her military housing while stationed in Tunisia. On a page following images of co-workers and patients' dining area, she has neatly lined two rows of three photographs each, all in mounting corners, with two snapshots locating her within temporary wartime military housing. Each image features a single woman in light dress work uniform, white socks and dark shoes, standing in front of a wooden door to a canvas tent, the wooden walkway and stakes for another tent in the foreground. Additional tents are visible in the background of the photos Griffin labeled, "Tent #3." Placing herself and her female colleagues in their military-issued and constructed quarters further evinces the siting of the veteran in military spaces with military equipment, promoting women's identities as military service personnel. Several photos at the bottom of a page she titled "Napoli April 1944 – Sept. 1944," include a grouping captioned "Our Abode," depicting Griffin's housing assignment later in Italy. While each image features and names her fellow service women, the settings reveal spaces opening to a veranda or balcony, louvered and glass-paned doors, with a transom over an interior door. An improvement over tent

life, the rooms are crisscrossed by clotheslines in front of, between, and behind the women casually posing for these slightly overexposed snapshots. Their living spaces occupied by drying clothing, the women spent some of their off-duty hours managing their laundry, with their quarters the most suitable place for hanging it to dry. While conditions of Griffin's housing arrangements varied, the photographs of her quarters evince her ethos as a woman in military service during wartime.

Gilbert's early time in Australia saw her quartered in accommodations with a view when she returned to Brisbane "to help Ginny Bowman run Baysmere and Queenscliff." Labeled, "nurses & Red Cross rest billets – October, 1944," the page includes a photo looking across a grassy lawn up toward two three-story buildings. Additional snapshots include several images of the Brisbane River and a caption "view from Baysmere." In photographs appearing later in her scrapbook, military ships and varied boats abound within a harbor identified as "Inner Bay" in Gilbert's Tacloban section of the album. Similar panoramic shots of another harbor, identified by the scrapbook compiler as "Sub Base Subic Bay November [1945]," feature images of Navy vessels as well as a head-and-shoulders snapshot of Gilbert with the scenic bay as backdrop. Gilbert circled and underlined "Manila" and "Subic," indicating her sojourns in those locations, on another colorful map section identifying the different regions of the Philippine Islands, and while the regular inclusion of maps serves to persuade readers of her placement in various wartime sites, the photograph in her utility uniform, complete with ARC and Red Cross lapel pins, confirms the spatial rhetoric that attests to her professional labors in the Pacific.

The scrapbooks of women veterans of the Second World War reveal that travel was not only a necessity of wartime service but sometimes a benefit of enlistment. Marshburn's scrapbook includes tourist photos of New York City and Washington, DC. A snapshot of a

uniformed woman is identified as “Betty Thurber / Portland, Oregon,” who is eating cotton candy while posed before a railing “at Coney Island,” with the beach and ocean behind her. Additionally, their quarters near Washington, DC, afforded the WAVES stationed there opportunities to tour the nation’s capital in their off-duty hours. In one image, Marshburn stands in her winter uniform coat and cap before an old cannon in a snowy Arlington National Cemetery. Another photo features “Peggy” in similar attire, while three additional pictures of uniformed WAVES follow. In these images, the women stand next to a column, a headstone, or just in the middle of the snowy landscape on a page headed as “Snow Storm / Arlington Cemetery.” The uniforms the young women wear in the photographs represent both opportunities to travel to American landmarks as well as outward representations of their professional ethē, their physical locations further documenting their professional identities.

Van Brakle’s profession as US Army nurse also provided her with travel opportunities. Not only was she stationed in England for approximately two years of the war, her military work enabled her to visit several sites, documented by artifacts within her scrapbook. Later in the album, a business card from “Cowan Tailoring Co.” indicates her visit to the Edinburgh business that described itself as “Tartan Specialists – Our Export Department is at your service.” Followed by the statement “We do hope you will enjoy your furlough in Edinburgh,” the marketing is clearly geared toward military personnel. While the album does not indicate whether or not Van Brakle made purchases there; she handwrote, “Black market,” next to the card. On another page, a billing statement indicates that Van Brakle enjoyed a stay at the Royal Hotel, Woburn Place, Russel Square, London, on 29 Sept. 1944. While the card indicates that the nurse was charged “10/--” for a one-night stay that included “Heating, Bath, and Boot-cleaning,” its printed information also describes some of the hostelry’s policies and advises guests to

"PLEASE BOLT YOUR DOOR AT NIGHT." In addition to invitations for Thanksgiving dinner and other hospital events, the album includes ticket stubs for dances and theater programs, all of which bear dates and locations. The details of her scrapbook document Van Brakle in time and space, as she traveled thousands of miles from her home state of New Jersey by virtue of her professional status as a volunteer in the US Army.

Griffin's service responsibilities took her from Camp Butner in North Carolina to North Africa and later to Italy. On an ivory scrapbook page, she placed a Western Union telegram in photograph mounting corners. Stamped in red "1943 Oct 1 AM 11 37," the message sent to Mrs. Jessie Griffin of 301 Gulf Street, Sanford, NCAR" reads: "ALL WELL AND SAFE MY THOUGHTS ARE WITH YOU PLEASE DON'T WORRY." Griffin labeled the page "Safe Arrival!" with additional images on the page supporting her communications to her mother. A photograph of a man in US military uniform standing on a curb features a multidirectional sign, indicating distances to places such as Washington, New York, Berlin, and Kansas City; Tokyo is clearly 10,200 miles from the soldier's location in North Africa. Another snapshot features a local boy in traditional garb standing in the street, facing the camera, a dark puppy in his left arm. The locale is further depicted by people walking on the sidewalk toward a traditional two-story building, a taller modern structure behind it. Also in the photo that Griffin labeled, "Main Street – Casablanca," is a horse-drawn carriage parked next to the street's curb. On the next page of her scrapbook, she continues her tour of North Africa with several photographs of "Casablanca" and the "Sultan's Palace." The snapshot identified as "Tea House – Sultan's Palace Grounds" includes several uniformed US military personnel, both sailors and soldiers, and men and women, and at least one citizen in traditional attire. Her repeated use of exclamation marks concluding her handwritten captions implies an enthusiasm for her travels and recollections. In

her professional capacity as a US Army Medical Corps hospital dietician, Griffin also acts as cultural historian, witnessing a place, its residents, and American military personnel at a particular historical moment while siting herself then and there.

A document pasted to a scrapbook page reads "US ARMY AIR FORCES / AIR TRANSPORT COMMAND / Passenger Transportation Record" and further situates Griffin both geographically and in time. She labeled the form, "Plane Ticket to Tunis," which dates her trip from Casablanca to Tunis on Oct. 21, 1943, assigning her tourist photographs to the moments they commemorate. While her scrapbook depicts Griffin as a professional military worker, she is also at times a tourist but a tourist created by her professional role. One page of her memory text is labeled as "Trip to Rabat" and includes a printed itinerary sometimes amended with typewritten corrections and some tour options marked out in ink. Apparently supplied by the "Société Maraocaine de Tourisme," the day's tourist journey begins with departure by automobile from Casablanca and includes sightseeing, lunch in town, and more sightseeing before leaving for Rabat by rowboat which crosses the Oued "with a beautiful view on all sides," followed by tea and departure from Rabat. The details of her trip further commemorate Griffin's military-sponsored travels.

Standing in front of wooden panels depicting Biblical scenes, Griffin returns to images of her dress uniform for sightseeing after her transfer to duty in Italy. Labeled "Doors of Paradise – Florence," one photograph features Griffin alone; in another, she stands with military colleague "Millie Hutchison," the two women adorned identically, their uniforms confirming their American service ethē, their presence together indicating the off-duty camaraderie of military personnel. Despite sightseeing excursions, scrapbook rhetors do not allow their audiences to be

confused about the women veterans' reasons for re-collecting their past experiences; they are working as service personnel in wartime, and their uniforms continually attest to that purpose.

Her professional military identity is further documented on a later page Griffin titled with "Swiss Tour Aug. 1945" in red. A document adhered there unfolds to reveal "SUBJECT: Orders" from "Headquarters, Southern District, Peninsular Base District" and is dated 13 August 1945. The paper identifies "named officers and enlisted men" who will go to Milan, Italy, on temporary duty, reporting to Swiss Leave Hotel at 18 Via Bonaparte "for the purpose of proceeding to Switzerland on the MTOUSA conducted tour … Upon completion of the temporary duty personnel will return to proper station." Fourth on the list is Lt. Lucille Griffin, her name underlined in red with her new duty station circled in red. Griffin would see familiar faces when she relocated to the 300th General Hospital as two of the other named service personnel on the list were assigned to the same hospital. However, before she joined her new unit, Griffin would spend time touring Switzerland, with several pages of her scrapbook devoted to recollection of her travels. "A Handy Map of Switzerland" introduces visitors to images of a castle and the Alps and a crowd of people at the Landesgemeinde at Trogen. The next page reflects the welcome provided to US service personnel; a card depicting a scenic mountain and lake views indicates that Brunnen, Switzerland—identified as "the world's oldest Republic"—"…extends hearty greetings of friendship to the courageous soldiers of the U.S.A. in the year of Victory 1945." The term "soldiers" does not differentiate between combatants, non-combatants, men, or women, and Griffin was welcomed to the country along with other military personnel. The card also notes, "The Swiss people are united in their determination to live in a free country," implying additional support for the victorious forces. Griffin illustrates her recreational travel through pages that include another map, personal snapshots, professional photos, train

tickets, and the letters home to her mother, but album audiences are reminded that Griffin is on an officially ordered tour between duty stations. In a letter dated 19 August 1945, she pens to her mother that "they took us in the Swiss tour headquarters and there they told us a few things about the country and rationing, etc." Griffin and other service personnel, including the female colleague who would go on to serve at the next hospital with her, went dancing, played golf, bicycled, and generally enjoyed their tour of the country. They were prepared for their summer visit to the snow-covered Alps; Griffin wrote home, "We brought our winter uniforms and it is certainly a good thing because its [*sic*] cold." Later, she noted, "After dinner we bathed and dressed and felt like raga muffins in our uniforms with all the lovely civilian clothes but they were new to them and seemed to hit the spot." While her words suggest that she would have enjoyed more fashionable attire, she and her military companions stick to their assigned uniforms. No matter what the reason for their travel, Griffin and colleagues maintain their military ethē through their dress.

Like Griffin's appreciation for the panoramas of Switzerland, Gilbert includes scenic images of Japan. On a page Gilbert labeled "Mt. Fujiyama – This solitary peak dominates the island, Honshu," three photos, slightly framed by nearby trees, depict a distant snow-capped mountaintop. Travel brochures and a ticket "Good for passage on Imperial Japanese Govt. Railways" as issued by the "3rd Military Railway Service U.S. Army" reveal Gilbert's visit to occupied Japan's mountains during her leave from Feb. 18-25 in 1946. Her vacation is further documented by snapshots, neatly placed in black mounting corners, of snowy images at Taguti Station and the "Kanko Hotel, Akakura." While several photos feature Gilbert on skis, she also included images of the hotel's dining room, skiers, the "G.I. Ski Instructor" and the "Ski Tow" along with scenic mountain views. Captured on film are also a pair of Japanese children, Gilbert

with one child, and a group of Japanese women standing in the snow before the hotel. Smiling and wearing aprons, several members of the hotel staff appear to huddle together in the cold, possibly having stepped outside just to pose for Gilbert's camera. Gilbert's snapshots document not only her presence in the snowy Japanese highlands but also the interactions of American visitors and Japanese residents in the postwar country. These vacation images are followed by photos of Gilbert in her ARC dress uniform posing before Japanese buildings and gardens. She appears small against the large structures, providing perspective on their size but also on the importance of her location. The following page includes a printed menu, a photo of Gilbert in her neat military-style uniform and garrison cap, a shoulder bag hugged to her hip, before a distant mountain top, and a second photograph of a smiling man in uniform facing the camera. Her handwritten caption explains the occasion: "Came up here for lunch with Col. Johnny Dice Officers Leave Club at Foot of Mt Fujiyama." The luncheon menu includes "Frittered Beef Loaf with Catsup" and a selection of vegetables but, more importantly, situates Gilbert in time and space. Through photos and ephemera, she overtly places herself near Japan's highest mountain on Friday, March 15, 1946 and frequently constructs her Red Cross professional ethos through frequent reliance on chronological and physical siting.

Continuing her incorporation of charts, Gilbert adhered a map of Australia among references and photographs to Sydney, Adelaide, and Brisbane, filling half a page in the oversized album. On the following sheet, a small air mail envelope with four canceled Australian stamps is addressed to "Miss Esther Gilbert, American Red Cross," further substantiating the young woman's material presence in Australia. While the envelope does not provide an Australian address, the APO box number in care of the San Francisco postmaster confirms her overseas tour of duty. A later snapshot portrays men and women swimming and relaxing around

what appears to be a large pond, one side edged by stacked sandbags, that Gilbert captions "U.S. Navy Swimming Pool Hollandia, N.E.I." The circumstances had changed drastically as a year earlier Hollandia, nearby airfields, and other areas of New Guinea had been the site of fighting when US forces retook the area (Bisno). Yet another map in Gilbert's scrapbook emphasizes her continued siting in locations that only months earlier had been battlegrounds. A map, adhered on four sides with cellophane tape, fills nearly the whole next page, and two circles and underlined names indicate her stops on Leyte, Philippines. Underlined and circled is Baybay on the island's west coast and in a slightly larger circle and underlined on the map to the northeast is Tacloban; Gilbert's handwriting on the page indicates the latter area on the Leyte Gulf was her duty station from April 29 to Nov. 16. Once again, Gilbert was mere months behind intense combat because the previous October, the area had been the site of a "decisive air and sea battle" that allowed Allied forces to invade the Philippines and regain control in the Pacific ("Battle of Leyte Gulf"). Through her scrapbook, readers recognize that the American Red Cross closely followed American troops as they progressed by noting Gilbert's placement in regions recently impacted by combat, a placement that reinforces her own professional ethos.

Documenting History, Culture, and Ethē

Through their tours of duty, women veterans document their ethē, revealing that they participate in and serve as witnesses to historical moments as well as to the ravages of war. Marshburn's duty station in Washington, DC, afforded her the opportunity to record homeland security measures. For instance, a casual snapshot depicts four men in military work uniforms standing in front of and sitting on an anti-aircraft gun positioned on a building rooftop, a city skyscape behind them. A second photo features service personnel seated in the rear of a military truck, parked along a curb, with another soldier walking away from the truck, toting a rifle and

gear. Establishing her identity in military locations among military personnel, her scrapbook reminds viewers that the war was much closer to home even though it seemed to be on the faraway battlefields of Europe, North Africa, and islands in the Pacific.

Marshburn's position as participant and witness to historical moments continues to substantiate her professional service role. A newspaper clipping in her memory text is headlined "New York Celebrates First Post-War New Year" and presents a photo of the end-of-war celebration on city streets. More personally, Marshburn noted in white lettering next to the large image, "Betty Thurber & I spent New Years [*sic*] in New York. We are in this crowd by Astor Hotel. Had grand time." Later photos of Marshburn and of Betty depict each woman in her military overcoat and cap on broad city sidewalks, in front of the decorated Christmas tree at Rockefeller Center, and at the corner of East 40th Street, looking south toward Grand Central Station. Despite their sightseeing and participation in the annual celebration, they maintained their professional identities, representing themselves and the US Navy as uniformed WAVES.

Her professional ethos is also relevant as Marshburn reports as witness to other significant events of the period. She wrote in the caption for a photograph taken at street level of white horses pulling a wagon carrying a flag-draped coffin: "Pres. Roosevelt's Funeral Procession/April 1945"; a uniformed serviceman, standing to the side, salutes the late commander-in-chief. Two additional images depict the funeral cavalcade and are labeled as "Sailors & WAVES marching in procession." Civilians and other uniformed personnel line the road as the parade goes by. Her presence in Washington, DC, warranted by her professional responsibilities as a Navy Yeoman Second Class, Marshburn presents an account of the funeral parade from the perspective of an ordinary citizen, paralleling the manner in which her

scrapbook presents an account of the Second World War from the point of view of an individual woman in military service.

Due to her military role, Griffin too is able to serve as observer and witness, documenting not only the kairotic historical moment but also her own professional ethos. She included multiple photos in a grouping titled "Ruins of Italy," several of which depict piles of rubble and broken pipes near the remnants of other buildings. In one snapshot, a single-horse drawn cart and nearby pedestrians pass the debris of a destroyed structure, the photographer's shadow evident on the road at the bottom of the picture. Another page features several photos of US service men on and around a freight train. Griffin labels an image of two young girls with the railway and freight cars behind them as "Italian kids," while another photo on the page depicts a uniformed man who stands outside an open cattle car and appears to be handing something to a barefoot local boy. Her images illustrate the reconciliation of two cultures only recently on opposite sides of the war. By placing herself on site, temporally and spatially, Griffin's images communicate an example of damage in the war-ravaged country, images that she would not be able to document were she not also serving as a professional in the US Army.

US Army nurse Van Brakle substantiates her military travel to England with a "WELCOME!" newspaper, addressed "To each American soldier who left home to join the great forces gathering on this island, I send you a message of greeting and welcome … to final victory," followed by the signature of British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and accompanied by his photograph. A few of the newspaper's stories are "U.S. Drive on 150-Mile Front in New Guinea Invasion," "Nazis Isolate Sweden," and "New Guinea, Air Offensive, Russia, Italy, Burma" are gathered under the headline, "AND NOW, HERE'S BIG NEWS SINCE YOU LEFT," suggesting that the periodical was provided to those troops newly arrived

from the US. However, the tone of the stories changes to support the impression that England remained a tourist haven despite the war. Sections titled, "Come Right In—This is Britain" and "Places That Like to Be Visited" create the impression of a traditional tourism marketing periodical, but "There's Still a Lot of it Standing" reminds visitors that they are entering a war zone. The piece headlined "It was a Civilians' Battle" describes the Battle of Britain on 10 August 1940, noting "In three months, 12,696 Londoners were killed and about 20,000 seriously injured." Accompanied by a photo of St. Paul's Cathedral standing behind bombed buildings, the article reminds its readers of past loss and present danger. While society might perceive Van Brakle and other women as not suitable for the battle front, they deployed there anyway.

Supporting her physical siting in the war's final years, Gilbert verifies her professional identity as an ARC worker in the South Pacific and continues documentation of her travels by providing snapshots of indigenous people. Gilbert's neat uppercase lettering as "unscheduled stop in No. Queensland, en route New Guinia [*sic*] – April, 1945" explains two photos of local residents that she identified as "Australian Aborigines." With captions such as "Native Huts" and "Biak Family," additional images depict some of the local places and people Gilbert encountered as she visited Netherlands East Indies. In a photograph labeled as "Native Family Lake Centani – Hollandia," two or three uniformed men stand well behind the featured family grouping along with native structures, a body of water, and trees, and mountains beyond. The local people and their environs are the focus of the tourist-style snapshot, but the presence of service personnel—including Gilbert—attests to military activity.

Gilbert's scrapbook continues with pages of snapshots that portray scenes of local cultures. Photos taken from above and on the street illustrate the "Marketplace Tacloban, Leyte May, 1945." Thatched and fabric awnings cover stalls selling fruit and fish with shoppers and

sellers in varied attire, a few looking directly at the camera. Additional square snapshots feature groups of people doing laundry in a waterway, a street scene that includes a horse-drawn cart, a two-story villa, and traditional fishing boats with outriggers. One page of photos is identified as "More Tacloban (I was here for seven long months)." While Gilbert's parenthetical remark implies her stay might have grown tiresome, her tour of duty there was interrupted by "Leave in Manila October, 1945"; photographs from this visit not only document the local residents and structures but also war's destruction. Oversized images, likely shot by professional photographers, depict some of the physical damage to the city of Manila. Taken through a vast hole in the most immediate structure, one photo centers on a pile of rubble, broken and leaning telephone poles; a uniformed man looking away from the photographer appears to survey the damage. Beyond the crumbled concrete and metal heap, a large damaged church still stands. A second image on the album page features a panoramic street scene; lettering on the photograph itself identifies the photo's main structure, a multi-storied but heavily damaged structure, as "Legislative Bldg. (east side)." With many windowless openings, only sections of the outer walls remain, and the front façade appears to be falling off almost as the camera lens clicks. In the midst of the devastation, a few telephone poles stand, trucks pass on the street, and Gilbert takes a holiday from work. The apparent contradictions exist on the scrapbook page because of the woman's identity as an American Red Cross staff assistant, her professional ethos revealed through the images of life going on amid wartime destruction.

With the conclusion of the war, Gilbert transferred to Japan, where she attests to the US military presence as well as her own work. A nearly page-sized photograph, shot from a building looking below to the street crowded with people— most of those nearest to the camera are uniformed US Navy sailors—features empty lots adjacent to damaged buildings with other

structures nearby appearing untouched by the war. Identified by Gilbert as "Yokohama Arrived here November 28, 1945," the large image portrays the war's damage and the mingling of American military personnel with citizens on the streets. One of several snapshots, captioned "Tokyo Scenes" in her album, centers on a billboard that reads "WELCOME Allied Personnel" with an arrow directing viewers to the "Prov … Marshal Office"; some of the letters are blocked by a man standing in front of the sign that also indicates "You are now in the heart of Tokyo." Another sign to the right announces USO camp show times and locations as city residents in civilian attire walk past. These photographs document the end of hostilities, the arrival of Americans, and the mingling of cultures at a human and individual level—evinced within the scrapbook of a professional American woman.

Siting Professional Selves on the Job

The women's professional ethē, upon which their travel and eyewitness identities rely, are further portrayed by images and ephemera that document their conduct of occupational duties. US Navy WAVE Marshburn illustrates the progression of her military service identity as she moves through training schools, graduates, and is assigned to the Office of Naval Personnel in the nation's capital. She titles the scrapbook page introducing her tour of duty with "Washington, D.C. Sept. 1944 – Feb. 1946" above a small snapshot of The White House. Like many of the scrapbook compilers, Marshburn stipulates dimensions of both time and space in constructing her professional ethos.

Similarly, Griffin positions her professional ethos in North Africa with a series of images titled, "Bizerti – Oct. 1943 – April 1944." In one of these photographs, Griffin appears in slacks and a cardigan, military insignia on her shirt collar, standing in the doorway of a wooden structure, captioned, "January 1944." No longer neat and tidy in her formal dress uniform,

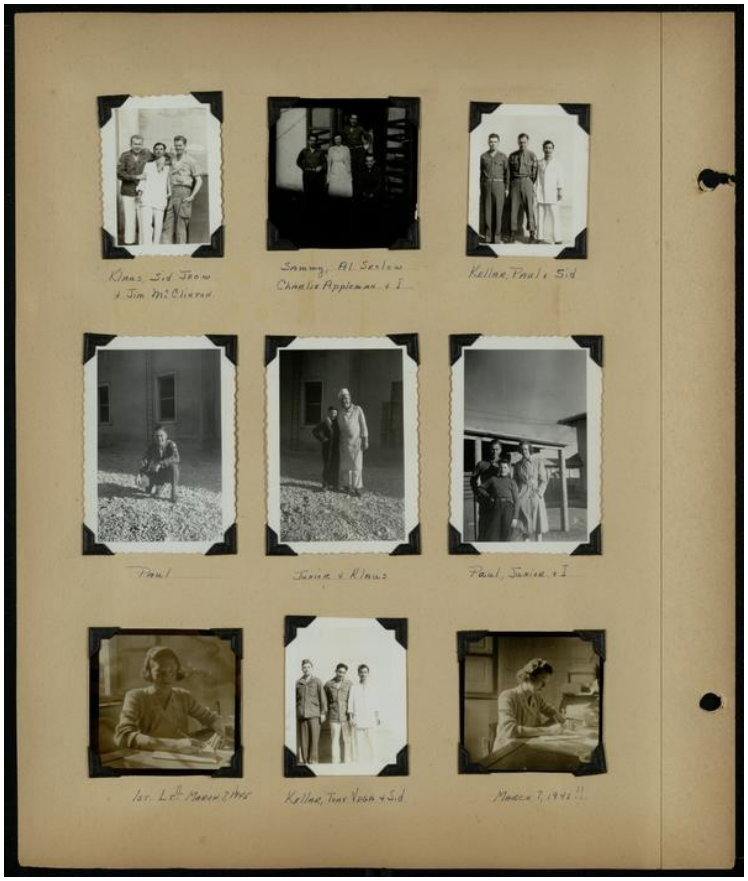
Griffin appears as a military worker, dressed for the tasks of her service occupation, and, through her scrapbook, sites herself through time and place in a warzone. A later photograph depicts some of her work while stationed in Italy. Identified in its margin with an alphanumeric tag, the military photo features what appears to be two sets of freestanding metal sinks filled with metal kegs, mechanical equipment on the shelves beneath the basins. Griffin added the caption, "Diet Kitchen Heating Units," an indication of her own work paraphernalia.

Ultimately, Griffin's work ends up on the tables and in the stomachs of other service personnel, and she illustrates the results of her efforts through additional photographs. Among these images is a snapshot she labelled "Chow Time," which depicts servicemen lined up alongside a building, some in uniform, and others, likely recuperating patients, wearing bathrobes. On the same page, kitchen personnel and a patient in a bathrobe linger around metal boxes on wheeled carts, an enamel coffee pot and other kitchen utensils visible in the photo; the "Chow Carts" further support Griffin's professional ethos as the hospital dietician. A photograph labelled, "Patient's Mess," provides the album viewers a perspective looking down the interior of a wooden structure, dotted on the sides with glassless windows. A slightly overexposed shot, the image focuses on long wooden benches running across the long building, a narrow aisle through the center; cans and what appear to be bowls are on the tables with uniformed men on one side of the aisle in the foreground. Griffin communicates the fulfillment of her professional duties but also relies on military language to describe her work and her environment. Her incorporation of terms such as "mess" and "chow" persuade her scrapbook's readers that she is a professional member of the military discourse community.

Griffin further documents her professional ethos with photographs that portray her on the job (see figure 7). Two images, dated March 7, 1945, depict the first lieutenant at a desk, pencil

in hand, possibly preparing food and nutrition schedules or reports for the patients and other personnel reliant on her knowledge and expertise. In one snapshot, Griffin looks directly at the camera, portrait-style, verifying her rank and responsibilities. Several pages later, a newspaper clipping further confirms Griffin's status. Headlined, "Lucile E. Griffin Is First Lieutenant," with a dateline of 'PENINSULAR BASE HEADQUARTERS, ITALY," the article announces that Griffin "serves in one of the many units with the Peninsular Base Section, important service and supply organization for Fifth Army and for the ground forces of the U.S. Air Corps and Navy in the Mediterranean Theatre of Operations." Recollected within her scrapbook, images, her own diction, the rhetoric of others, and evidence of military procedures document the process of Griffin's occupational labors, supporting her professional military ethos.

Figure 7. On the job. Lucile Griffin Leonard Scrapbook.



Gilbert too documents her professional ethos by displaying images of herself at work, often illustrating her associated duties and environment. Apparently taken from the entrance to Gilbert's Adelaide offices, a significant photograph displays the Red Cross staffer at work. On the left, a woman in civilian dress staffs what appears to be a reception counter on the left, but Gilbert is the focus of the image. Straight back, central to the photo, Gilbert, in her neat skirt and jacket uniform, looks up from her desk toward the camera; a large sign to the right reads "American Red Cross" above the organization's symbol and "in Australia" below the cross. A small lamp lights the work surface of the desk, while a telephone sits on a small table beneath the sign. The inclusion of this image proclaims Gilbert's professional identity by portraying her not only in her uniform but also in her work environment, at her desk, in her office, where she assists others. Some of the staff assistant's occupational responsibilities are also evident in photos that display military personnel relaxing at the ARC service club, labeled by Gilbert in neat white lettering on the black cardstock page as "Our club for the 380th Bomb Group from Darwin – Fifth Air Base." A large photograph depicts more than a dozen uniformed men, several reading newspapers and magazines, gathered in a room arranged with couches, chairs, end tables, lamps, a rug, and bookshelf, perhaps reminiscent of their living rooms back home. The second image on the page suggests a dining area, small round tables, decorative plants, and a buffet line, echoing the style of an American restaurant. Through these photos, Gilbert demonstrates the morale-supporting efforts of the American Red Cross service club workers.

However, Gilbert's work environment becomes less tidy and less homelike as she portrays the evolution of her professional ethos during her extended stay in the Pacific. Numerous snapshots depict her changed circumstances with captions that reflect her participation in the military discourse community. Seven photos in black mounting corners fill a

page labeled as “Tacloban, Leyte Philippines.” Several of these snapshots depict tents and other temporary structures amid palm trees and jungle vegetation. An image that Gilbert captions “My office at the 28th Repl. Depot” was shot from across a dirt and gravel road with several uniformed personnel walking about. Clearly one in a series of half-walled structures with large open doorways, another image, labeled “My office at the 4th Repl. Depot,” suggests Gilbert’s work spaces varied as her tour of duty in the region continued. No longer housed in a glass-fronted city building, her “office” had become a tent roof atop a wooden floor. Rocks and a wooden rail line the walkways in front of an unpaved roadway, while military personnel in varied work uniforms walk by; the large palms of trees are visible beyond the row of tents lined up beyond Gilbert’s work tent. However, a later photograph snapped inside a Quonset hut suggests a more conventional office space. In this image, three women wearing khaki uniforms sit at individual desks, each talking with a male service member, while a woman in civilian dress sits working at a fourth desk. Along with the red cross image on the wall, Gilbert’s smiling presence at the desk in the snapshot’s rear left confirms her caption of “My office and staff, Navy 3964 Tacloban.” In documenting her work environments and the operations of the American Red Cross, Gilbert constructs her professional service identity in the Philippines during World War II.

In additional images from Tacloban, Gilbert captioned another image of a large wooden structure, its walls partially open to the elements, as “Base K Mess”; a similar structure with a gathering of lawn chairs outside is identified as “Women Officers Club” while a photo crossed vertically by the trunks of palm trees depicts “Base K Billets.” In her occupational endeavors, so close to the military personnel she served, Gilbert acquired the language of those with whom she associated, relying on “mess” to refer to the dining hall or cafeteria and “billets” to denote

military housing. Her extra-military work puts her in regular contact with members of the regular military, and Gilbert's scrapbook reveals her adoption of the terminology of that discourse community. Like Griffin, the ARC staffer authenticates her ethos through her ability to speak the language of her profession.

Unlike the other veterans in this study, Shirley Van Brakle does not picture herself on the job. Instead, her scrapbook supplies several documents that attest to the nature of her work. According to the WVHP's description of her archival collection, Van Brakle served as an operating room nurse for thoracic surgery while stationed with the US Army in England from 1944-45. In addition to a list of "Instruments for Chest Surgery 7-44," she provides other typed pages related to her duties. While some of the lettering is illegible, the "tentative" operating schedule for the "Chest Unit of the 160th General Hospital" identifies surgeries planned for the week of Oct. 30, 1944, listing patient names, dates, times, operations to be performed, and the surgeon team conducting the procedures. For instance, a patient identified as Shaw was to endure the "removal of a F.B. [foreign body?] left upper lobe lung" at 0800 hours on Nov. 3, 1944. Beneath the twenty-four listed surgeries, notes on fluoroscopy and disposition clinics are provided. Perhaps in addition to the level of detail, a powerful note is that the medical teams conducted surgeries six days a week. A similar typed page dated 10 June 1944 appears later in Van Brakle's album; titled "Chest Surgery," the document catalogues the necessary instruments for "Rib Resection Empyema." Within the context of her scrapbook, these lists not only authenticate Van Brakle's military hospital responsibilities, identifying the tools of her trade, but they also indicate the rhetorical control provided by her genre, permitting her to alter times, without need for chronological accuracy.

Siting Identity Among Other Professionals

Through the networks of human relationships that constituted their ecologies during professional service, these women scrapbook compilers further illustrate their own identities as personnel performing work that supported the US during the Second World War. By depicting themselves alongside their colleagues and accompanying camaraderie, these women veterans support their own professional ethē in placing themselves within spaces inhabited by other military and extra-military personnel.

Marshburn, for example, includes numerous images of people significant in the development of her professional military persona. A faded photograph, about wallet size, portrays four uniformed women lined up casually as they smile broadly for the camera. Marshburn captions this image with "Roommates at Hunter." Despite the casual nature of the posing, several women arm in arm, the photograph emphasizes the camaraderie evident and promoted in the basic training experience for recruits. Subsequent pages of Marshburn's scrapbook feature images of her roommates and military colleagues in photos of individuals and pairs. She begins with a snapshot of herself, labeled "Me," and identifies other recruits, many labeled by name in her customary white print; scrapbook audiences learn that her old friend Norma was from Indiana while Wilda Bos hailed from Michigan. Male officers, Lt. Coffey and Ensign Dorney, are also identified. The album's pages continue with individual shots of Marshburn's Hunter College roommates, each a full-body image of a young woman in uniform, facing the camera, one pairing labeled, "Norma & Me." For Marshburn, these colleagues bear remembering as she identifies them by name and establishes their significance to her own ethos as they further site her as a Navy WAVE.

By the time Marshburn entered Naval Training School, she not only identified her colleagues but also used military language. Several small photographs depict four young women in casual uniform, with Marshburn's handwritten lettering labeling the individuals as "Shirley / Margaret / Salley / Me." In addition to images of the foursome, on the same page, are six small headshots of other WAVES, most in formal uniform, all labeled with the names of their home states and identified by Marshburn as "Shipmates." The figurative use of "shipmates" (women were not permitted to serve aboard US Navy ships during World War II) indicates Marshburn's immersion within her new discourse community. Like Griffin's inclusion of the term "mess," Marshburn's word choice locates her rhetorically within military society. Siting herself among fellow WAVES, she adopts the appropriate terminology, further attesting to her own participation in the military as a service professional.

In assuming these wartime roles, women like Marshburn also adapted to new co-workers, made new friends, moved to new locations, and took on new duties, the military relocating service personnel wherever they were deemed useful. A note, handwritten in pencil, adhered at two corners with translucent tape to a page of Marshburn's scrapbook alludes to these shifts. On a small page taken from a pocket-sized spiral-bound notebook, but written across the lines rather than on them, her departing shipmate wrote:

> Ruthie,
> Take care of "Salty," Ruthie. He needs tender, loving care. Been swell knowing you and Maggie, Peg & Kathie. Will miss you all. Gobs of luck. Merry Christmas and Happy New Years. Aloha, Peggy

Peggy signs off with "aloha," because, as Marshburn's caption explains, "Peggy H. left for duty in Hawaii – Dec. 1944," and several pages later, scrapbook readers learn from a labeled photograph that "Salty" refers to a stuffed animal. Numerous informal photographs of colleagues

collected in her scrapbook reflect women's camaraderie in service, further supporting their professional identities, siting them alongside other military personnel.

Women in military venues also functioned alongside their male counterparts despite military efforts to suggest otherwise. In trying to avoid societal upheaval, the US, attempted "to maintain a perception of gender segregation" while also encouraging women to work in the war (De Pauw 251). However, the scrapbooks attest to mingling of male and female military personnel. On a page she labeled "Co-Workers," Marshburn's photos include images of "Peter, Harriet & Steely Veach" posing arm-in-arm outside a brick building. The third snapshot on the page, overexposed because the photographer faced windows with open blinds, of "Steely & Peter" was taken "in the office." Marshburn's album confirms her military office work, identifies her uniformed co-workers, and further establishes the camaraderie of men and women in the military workplace.

Griffin also illustrates her professional ethos with photographs of her colleagues—both female and male. Portraying camaraderie with her colleagues, Griffin's album features several photos of kitchen personnel. On image depicts several men in front of tents and a metal container box and is labelled, "Butcher Shop & Ice Box." Next to that photograph on the scrapbook page is a shot of "Ferrini, Mitcheletti, Sid & Jim," a couple of them in aprons, standing in front of a tent. In a later photograph, Griffin is dressed in uniform trousers and a long-sleeved shirt, next to a man in uniform, standing at ease, his hands behind his back. Additional images on the same scrapbook page feature men and women. One portrays a group of uniformed women, some wearing caps, others in officers' hats, a couple carrying trench coats over their arms, with a uniformed man behind them; Griffin identifies them as "Janie, Ruth, Cutter, Ginny, Dottie, and I."

In addition to the photos of her colleagues in the kitchen facilities in North Africa, Griffin's album reflects camaraderie through pages of posed but casual photographs of her co-workers; mugging for the camera in varying uniforms are "'Sleepy' Smith," "Pop" in suspenders, "Fauske, Steele & Harris," "Big Jim," "Major Joe," and "Blue Moon" in shorts with cap and pipe. Griffin labels a photograph of four uniformed women at her Italian duty station as "'4 Sad Sacs!,'" echoing her captioning of a similar image earlier in her album. The woman on the far left wears her uniformed skirt, jacket, and cap, while Griffin and the other two women wear their Army-issued skirts and blouses. Along with their casual smiles, the women's attire suggests an informal gathering of colleagues outside a brick structure.

On another page, Griffin included a note authenticating her contributions to the community of military personnel. On a paper folded into four squares, the senders wrote, in the upper right square, "From the Operating Room" and in the bottom right square, "to the Dietician" and in tiny lettering, "sigh." Inside the four squares, on the left side is written, "From the Boys" with an arrow pointing to a cartoon officer cutout, "and the Gals," with a second arrow directed to a cartoon cutout image of a woman, "of the O.R." On the right side is a handwritten note dated "21 Feb. '45" at 2:15 pm, that reads:

> Dear Miss Griffin,
> We of the operating room are most grateful to you for making possible such a delectable delicacy.
>
> We the undersigned

The note concludes with 10 different signatures. Inclusion of this informal commendation from her peers within her scrapbook further authenticates Griffin's own professional identity, an ethos recognized and appreciated by her colleagues.

Camaraderie was not always work related as Griffin's album contains a series of photographs ball games and beach trips. One image of women in utility uniforms is titled,

"Teddy Bears," while a second, similar photo of men, is captioned, "The Dead End Kids." A paper folds out to read, "Extra! Extra! Extra!," announcing the two teams would meet on the baseball diamond in celebration of the 81st Station Hospital's second anniversary. Several photos of individual women follow, most accompanied by Griffin's captions naming the ball players. In another photograph, uniformed male spectators sit behind a chain-link fence with the women players on the bench. Griffin wrote, "We want a hit!" The reversal of traditional gender roles displayed in the women's participation on the playing field with the men cheering on the female players epitomizes social changes brought on by World War II.

Additionally, several photographs within Griffin's album portray socializing on the beaches of Italy. Sitting in deck chairs outside the ordnance club in their bathing suits are "Barb Cummings, Tex, Marlene, Dottie, Paul, Ann & Zitz." A similar photo is captioned, "Same gang!" A third photo features men and women in swimsuits in a boat on the water; Griffin is smiling toward the camera, the wind blowing her hair back from her face. Photos of what appears to be the "same gang" cover yet another page with an overexposed image taken into the sunshine implying they also took in some sights. A few columns on the left are visible in an overexposed snapshot labeled as "Pompeii." Sunbathing and beach-going were popular recreational activities as two pages later, five photos again depict men and women in swimsuits on the beach.

Gilbert too provides multiple images of her colleagues, expressing her belonging within her occupational settings. The Red Cross worker mounted six photos neatly in two rows on a page she named "Tachikawa Army Air Base November, 1945 to March, 1946." One photo places Gilbert next to two men, one of whom is identified as "Field Director Albert S. Johnson," presumably one of her ARC supervisors. The word "and" connects this photo with the next

image labeled “Staff.” In the second image, Gilbert stands behind a group of Japanese women, several dressed in traditional kimonos, gathered before a wooden building. In each of these photos Gilbert sites herself within the community of her co-workers. US soldiers in uniform pose in several of the other snapshots, one next to a sign noting the site as the “Fifth Air Force Service Command,” further establishing their geographic location. In another photo, dressed in slacks and a trench coat for the windy day, Gilbert stands smiling in front of a military plane. The images maintain Gilbert’s placement among the people and equipment of wartime service, documenting her professional ethos through human ecologies and spatial rhetoric.

While Van Brakle’s scrapbook does not provide photographic proof of her interactions with her colleagues, her album affords her a site to re-collect material evincing the ecologies surrounding her professional duties. Pages that include numerous invitations, ticket stubs, and notes written by her co-workers imply the camaraderie she experienced working at the 160th General Hospital. A typed paper, decorated with a drawing of an island, features a humorous menu including “Pineapple a la Dole” and “Maise Sans Cob” along with “Jima Java” and “Attoll [*sic*] Ale,” and invites Van Brakle to the hospital’s “Officers’ Mess” for a party held “In celebration of one year of overseas service.” The invitation suggests that Van Brakle and the hospital crew found fun where they could make it despite the long hours and dangers of their wartime work. Additionally, among her Christmas cards are those signed “Always Millie” and “Love, Bernie,” both of which reference “Hut 15” and their shared memories in England. In addition to friendly relations with co-workers, Van Brakle’s album implies positive contact with her patients. In black handwritten script, she identified a piece of green camouflage fabric with four lines of horizontal stitching as part of a “‘Parachute’ from a patient.” The token represents the kinds of social interactions the nurse might have experienced through her professional

endeavors, relationships that are illustrated through the material and personal nature of her scrapbook.

In reflecting the veterans' experiences within wartime, the scrapbooks also exhibit more somber remembrances of the military community. One page of Marshburn's album contains three columns of newspaper clippings, each topped by a military officers' formal portrait photograph, that announce the deaths of US airmen. Marshburn captioned the page, "Good friends who lost their lives." These clippings reflect her networks of relationships within the military population, both inside and outside the service. Two of the service men had attended Marshburn's alma mater, Guilford College, and died in stateside plane crashes. Her scrapbook also serves as witness to ordinary life in wartime and how war might impact a single American family. The newspaper article announcing that 1st Lt. Thomas M. Jones died in action in Australia lists his surviving family and indicates the impact war had on ordinary citizens: one of his brothers was a Chief Petty Officer in the US Navy, while another served as a sergeant in California. A third brother, a private, was stationed in England, and a fourth brother was a private first-class in Arizona. One brother remained at home with their parents. Through her inclusion of these newspaper clippings, Marshburn identifies with those who serve and those who lost their lives in wartime, acknowledging the impacts of the global conflict at a human level.

In addition to multiple photographs of kitchen staff as well as notes of appreciation from her co-workers, Griffin further situates herself as a wartime professional sharing holiday celebrations with her colleagues. On a scrapbook page of photos depicting Christmas cards posted on a wall, labeled "Mess Dept. Xmas Cards 1944," and the tables of the mess hall adorned for the holiday celebration, another image centers on Griffin and a second woman seated

on wooden chairs, legs crossed at their knees, wearing their work uniforms and cardigans, their dark shoes showing dirt and wear. In this snapshot, two men kneel at either side of the women, two packages stacked on the floor in front of the seated women, while one man hands a third package to Griffin's female colleague. A decorated tree and several other men stand behind the central group. Three men at the upper right seem to be patients because they are wearing bathrobes, but their faces are not wholly within the frame of the image. Griffin labeled the photo as "Knoll, Craig, Jones, Ott, & I/German PW's in the back," revealing that the human ecologies surrounding the woman veteran extend to former combatants. The social gathering further evinces Griffin's placement within a network of professional relationships during wartime, a rhetorical network that supports her professional identity.

Personal Recollection and Professional Identity

Through the self-portrayals in their personal scrapbooks, women veterans of World War II disrupt expectations that have permitted their military and extra-military contributions to be neglected. Through reliance on material, spatial, and procedural rhetorics within the personal genre of the scrapbook, these women veterans maneuver their identities through time and space, conjuring their multiple ethē in one rhetorical site but revealing their placement within varied and diverse professional, geographic, and social locations. In affording the compilers opportunities to share fuller, autobiographical pictures of themselves, these albums weave their makers' identities within and through both the home front and the battlefront. Their scrapbook narratives communicate a new history that honors and documents the professional service ethē of women veterans of World War II.

CHAPTER IV: TEACHING WITH ARCHIVAL SCRAPBOOKS OF WOMEN VETERANS

"Does she marry Bob? Does she marry Bob?" Kaari[6] asked eagerly as we began an online search for more information about her selected veteran's life after World War II. In examining the personal scrapbook of a woman who had served in the American Red Cross during the Second World War, Kaari had become fascinated by Carol L. Johnson's correspondence with her mother, letters that featured descriptions of Johnson's daily life, co-workers, and friends. Kaari spent hours deciphering the old-fashioned, cursive handwriting, following the paper trail that recounted the Red Cross staffer's pastimes during her service years in the 1940s. When I initially envisioned introducing first-year college students to a historical archive of materials by and about women veterans, Kaari's reaction was exactly what I had hoped for. Critically analyzing sources on which to base her own rhetoric, this student found meaning in firsthand discoveries; Kaari's interest carried her beyond assigned tasks, revealing her engagement in research that created new memories.

In seeking to recollect her own experiences of WWII within the pages of her scrapbook, Johnson, who served overseas with the American Red Cross from 1943-1949 ("Carol Lorraine Johnson"), becomes a remembering woman. Through her choice of a material rhetorical genre, Johnson endures as a "remembering woman," relying on images, words, and everyday materials to craft multiple ethē within her historical moment (Fleckenstein, "Remembering Women,"139). The existence of the scrapbook itself classifies Johnson as a remembering woman, seeking to recollect and retain memories of her service experience during wartime. Johnson, like Ruth

[6] All student names have been changed to protect their privacy. References to student work and student comments refer to materials held in the author's personal collection. Data collection is approved by the Institutional Review Board at the University of North Carolina-Greensboro.

Marshburn, Lucy Griffin, Shirley Van Brakle, and Esther Gilbert, compiled her scrapbook as an act of "*re-collecting*" (Guglielmo 2), clipping, gathering, and affixing her own bricolaged personal narrative of a historical moment. These veterans of the Second World War access agency through their scrapbooks and re-collect their overlooked stories for audiences able to engage with the tangible texts. As feminist rhetorical acts, these albums interrupt, alter, or disrupt established patriarchal paradigms for rhetoric and for narratives of war. Through the additional stages of gathering such albums into the Betty H. Carter Women Veterans Historical Project (WVHP), reminiscence is continued as the women's audiences are expanded—their rhetorical ecologies broadened—permitting them to be re-written into a history that has neglected them. Furthering the feminist rhetorical practice of re-collection, my students in two Freshman Seminar (FMS) classes enacted an additional level of remembrance when they studied the veterans' memory texts and reconstructed their stories, altering and revising established public memory that has ignored women's military and extra-military roles in World War II.

Narratives of war rarely include the participation of women. As historian Joanna Bourke indicates, women veterans have actually been eliminated from battle tales (473-4) that instead focus on heroic men who "embody the martial virtues" (De Pauw 17). Despite absence from American public memory of wartime, women's vernacular voices within their material rhetorics document their roles within specific historical moments, in this case of World War II, as they share stories that often go unheard. (See chapter 1 for an extended discussion on women's exclusion from history and from war stories in particular.) While the existence of the women veterans' scrapbooks disturbs the dominant World War II narrative, the students' engagement with the scrapbooks re-constructs their own understanding of the global conflict and creates new, more complicated "counternarratives" of that time period. I maintain that, while practicing

collaborative, analytical and composing skills, my first-year students made new meaning by breaking down dominant versions of World War II memory.

Definitions of Public Memory and "Cultural Countermemory"

Definitions of public memory vary, and I provided my students with multiple descriptions. John Bodnar characterizes public memory as "a body of beliefs and ideas about the past that help a public or society understand both its past, present, and by implication, its future" (15); public memory is both recursive and discursive. Bodnar explains, "public memory emerges from the intersection of official and vernacular popular cultural expressions," but not without conflict, as cultural and government leaders often "promot[e] interpretations of the past and present reality that reduce the power of competing interests that threaten the attainment of their goals," whether those goals be political power or maintenance of existing cultural paradigms (14). Matthew Houdek and Kendall Phillips also explain public memory:

> In its broadest sense, public memory entails the acts and processes, through which memories move beyond the remembering individual and become shared, passed on, and in this way, form a broader network through which people gather a sense of collectivity. While shared memories are rarely uniform, uncontroversial, or uncontested, the fact that certain individuals, events, places, and legacies are shared through this network of memory helps to craft us as a collective, as an 'us.'

Power and ideologies influence how the "shared memories" create a "broader network" "to craft … a collective." In short, suppression of diverse American recollections often stems from "painstaking efforts to minimize any event that might disrupt the idea that the United States has a deep-seated commitment to any democratic principles, human rights, and equality" (Dubriwny and Poirot 199). As Rosalyn Collings Eves further confirms: "Public memory is shaped by the competing (and unequal) discourses of official memory, which is promoted by powerful and/or governmental interests, and vernacular memory, which is disparate and diffuse, representing an array of different vernacular cultures" (281). Existing inequities in American society are

therefore replicated in constrained and limited versions of public memory. Thus, the exclusion of the experiences of women veterans from the American narrative of World War II supports a vision of men fighting in war, ensuring the safety of their families away from combat.

Through research on women veterans' artifacts of the WVHP, the seminar students interrupted such accepted accounts of culturally endorsed memory and constructed new historical meaning through an awareness of women's participation as service personnel in World War II. In their memory texts and associated artifacts, women veterans as marginalized rhetors compiled artifacts of "cultural countermemory," sharing personal stories that interrupt existing "ritualized" stories of war (De Pauw 16). In confronting existing historical accounts, my pupils' revised perspectives further upset existing historical accounts, fashioning "cultural countermemory" as they established "alternative rhetorical options to culturally sanctioned forms of memorialization" (Eves 280). The realization of this "cultural countermemory" emanated from the research and compositions of first-year students as they employed critical thinking, reading, and writing skills to create revised versions of others' past experiences.

Course Guidelines and Pedagogical Considerations

Archives afford students and instructors significant pedagogical opportunities for development of analysis and composition skills because the study of historical artifacts is frequently fluid and ambiguous. However, students do not immediately recognize the open-endedness as a benefit. While my first-year students initially found a lack of clear resolutions disheartening, they came to rely on their own investigative skills, executing projects that blurred lines between rhetoric, history, composition, digital and public humanities, and gender studies. Susan Wells confirms that "gifts" of the archives include their lack of definitive answers and stimulation of scholarly freedom beyond disciplinary parameters (59-60) and calls for "inventive

reading and patient, courageous rewriting" (64). An example of this reading and rewriting occurred when my students pieced together geographic and temporal chronologies of women veterans based primarily, and in some cases entirely, on scrapbook exhibits. These novice writers modeled Wells's charge through their own critical reading and analysis of primary sources, and like other researchers occupied in archival studies, they engaged in literacy skills beyond reading conventional words on a traditional page; further, students constructed meaning through an interpretive reworking of the memories of woman veterans, ultimately creating their own compositions as displays of "countermemory" by including women service professionals in narratives of World War II.

Inspired by Jane Greer and Laurie Grobman's introduction to *Pedagogies of Public Memory: Teaching Writing and Rhetoric at Museums, Archives, and Memorials*, I developed a freshman seminar (FMS) course, "The Rhetoric of Remembering," conceived as a survey of rhetoric's role in the construction of historical remembering. I began the courses with foundational questions about the relationship of rhetoric and public memory; students then spent the second half of the semester creating collaborative projects requiring them to delve into women's personal and material rhetorics. I was further influenced by Dr. Heather B. Adams' in-house pedagogy workshop titled "Undergraduate Research in English" which cemented my efforts to combine authentic student investigations with my own scholarly concerns. Concentrating on artifacts within the University's own special collections, the students and I narrowed our focus to the World War II era, due to the recognizable shifting of gender roles in that period and to the relationship with my own research interests and knowledge. A total of twenty-four first-year students in two FMS sections, fifteen in spring 2019 and nine in the spring

2020 section, interrogated these materials for interpretation and analysis, formulating meaning from primary sources, and subsequently creating media through which to share those discoveries.

The FMS program asks that course readings center on "original literature (rather than textbooks)" with "writing based on primary texts" ("Freshman Seminar Program") so I sought to give first-year composition students opportunities to critically analyze primary source material as sites for creating meaning for themselves in their production of unique narratives; established Student Learning Outcomes for the course are "1. Critically evaluate written, oral, and/or visual arguments" and "2. Construct cogent, evidence-based arguments" ("Freshman Seminar Program"). I could think of no better means to engage students in such analysis than through exploration of UNCG's own Betty H. Carter Women Veterans Historical Project. While materials within the WVHP have been the sources of a few publications focused on World War II history, little attention has been paid to their rhetorical value or to their use in introductory composition courses.

To contextualize the learning environment that led students to later interrogate historical primary sources in the WVHP as rhetorical artifacts, I note that we began with an introduction to rhetorical terminology, applying academic language to everyday communications such as television commercials and their own text messages. Beyond recognition of the rhetorical triangle, *kairos,* and rhetorical appeals in their everyday lives, we took a straightforward and pragmatic approach to tackling broad questions about how language describing history impacts versions of public memory; we used terms such as "collective memory" and "social memory" interchangeably to designate public memory's construction by groups. Bodnar's claim that official public memory vs. vernacular public memory is "an argument about the interpretation of reality" (15) encouraged students to recognize the roles of power and authority in construction of

public memory, and I briefly introduced them to examples such as South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission with the AIDS quilt and *Saving Private Ryan* as instances of vernacular memory. When asked to identify names from history, students considered why they were unfamiliar with people like Crispus Attucks, Frances Perkins, and Dolores Huerta or places like Mankato, MN, and Angel Island, CA. Students also examined the influence of rhetoric in disputing Japanese and American interpretations of World War II "comfort women" through an NPR news article describing San Francisco's *Column of Strength* memorial. They questioned power structures related to public memory when they read an Associated Press text describing the Confederate statue that stands in Tuskegee, AL, a predominantly Black town. These definitions, discussions, and texts foregrounded student understanding as they entered their first major composing assignments associated with rhetoric and public memory.

In both sections of "The Rhetoric of Remembering," students wrote essays that practiced the kind of critical thinking enabling them to engage analytically with the library archive as a site of inquiry and invention. The students drafted a Personal Narrative of a Public Memory, allowing them to place themselves alongside a historical or cultural moment. Chelsea described her participation in a Hmong New Year celebration, while another student wrote about her family's experience of 9/11 while living in New York City. Several students put human faces on issues of ancestral and contemporary immigration—and deportation—while others shared narratives about family heritage and naming practices, refuted cultural stereotypes of "tiger parenting," and described childhoods as people of color in predominantly white neighborhoods and schools. Exercising their rhetorical muscles with a more formally structured essay, they also wrote a Rhetorical Analysis of a Public Memorial. Several students composed essays that critically analyzed the February One statue, invoking its placement on the nearby campus of

North Carolina A&T, a historically black university, as just one aspect of the rhetoric of the Civil Rights' memorial. Jamar composed an analysis of the North Carolina Historical Marker that identifies the location of the former Black Wall Street, once Durham's "center for black enterprise" during Reconstruction, noting that the sign permits "people to see the change in the city … reminding African-Americans of a time of black prosperity and entrepreneurship, and the legacy it leaves behind." The student who examined the memorial to Revolutionary War heroine Kerenhapuch Turner noted that the statue was the first in Greensboro to memorialize a woman, suggesting that the "memorial serves as a gentle reminder not to leave behind the women of history who have made sacrifices for their causes as much as men did." These kinds of observations formulated by students attest to their growing awareness of the constraints placed on public memory by those with the power to determine its rhetorical compositions, an appropriate segue for their research on women veterans of World War II.

Memorialization of women's activities during World War II encouraged student engagement. Many students eagerly pursued additional information, beyond that prescribed by their assignments; Kaari, for example, sought details on her veteran's life beyond wartime. Mia chose to document through photographs even the labels sewn into her veteran's uniform. Wendy Hayden concurs that archival research assigned to students in undergraduate rhetoric and composition courses enhances student effort and engagement, and her scholarship corroborates my own classroom experiences. She writes, instructors "find that incorporating archival projects leads to a level of student engagement not often observed in traditional research projects" (406). In my classes, that interest led students to their own epistemological constructions and prompted them to participate in their own remembering, and for some, to investigate beyond their assignments.

Goals and Collaboration in the Archives

The vernacular and material nature of their primary sources permitted students to recognize their subject matter as both "ordinary" and "tangible," and I acknowledged that the WVHP was also at the heart of my own dissertation research. Following our preparatory conversations, WVHP Curator Beth Ann Koelsch offered a range of materials for student research and provided metadata and artifact analysis assignments, guiding students in their investigations in the special collections reading room. Both groups' assignments also featured a collaborative element, the 2019 class working in small groups to create final presentations, and the 2020 group creating a whole class website.

For each group of students, I allotted the final weeks of each semester for the process and production of the larger collaborative WVHP-related course project. My overt learning goals for both sections of FMS 115 were (1) that they apply critical thinking, collaboration, and communication skills to (2) the analysis of primary source documents created by women, (3) allowing them to examine and engage with historical and rhetorical primary sources, while (4) exposing them to the women veterans' personal collections as rhetoric and as history. However, through multiple collaborations—teacher-archivist, small group, whole class—my students' research also disrupted their existing perceptions of women's professional contributions during World War II.

Koelsch's foundational introduction to the collection and to the roles of American servicewomen during World War II offered key framework about the war itself. Following her presentation, students in the 2019 section extracted details from the scrapbooks to complete metadata sheets, familiarizing them with the albums that would serve as their primary texts for the remainder of the semester. Students initially seemed timid to handle the artifacts, but they

commented on holding and touching the physical objects themselves, valuing their tangibility over reading about them in a book. I heard lots of "oh, how cool" comments. One student when initially reviewing materials, lamented that she was unable to read the cursive handwriting in a veteran's letters, but Kaari's first look at that handwritten correspondence would eventually lure her into her veteran's story. After Koelsch's introduction to the WVHP, each student in the 2020 class individually completed a version of the National Archives & Records Administration artifact analysis worksheet to acquaint them with materials associated with their individual veterans, encouraging them to more carefully examine at least one artifact, which might later guide their critical readings.

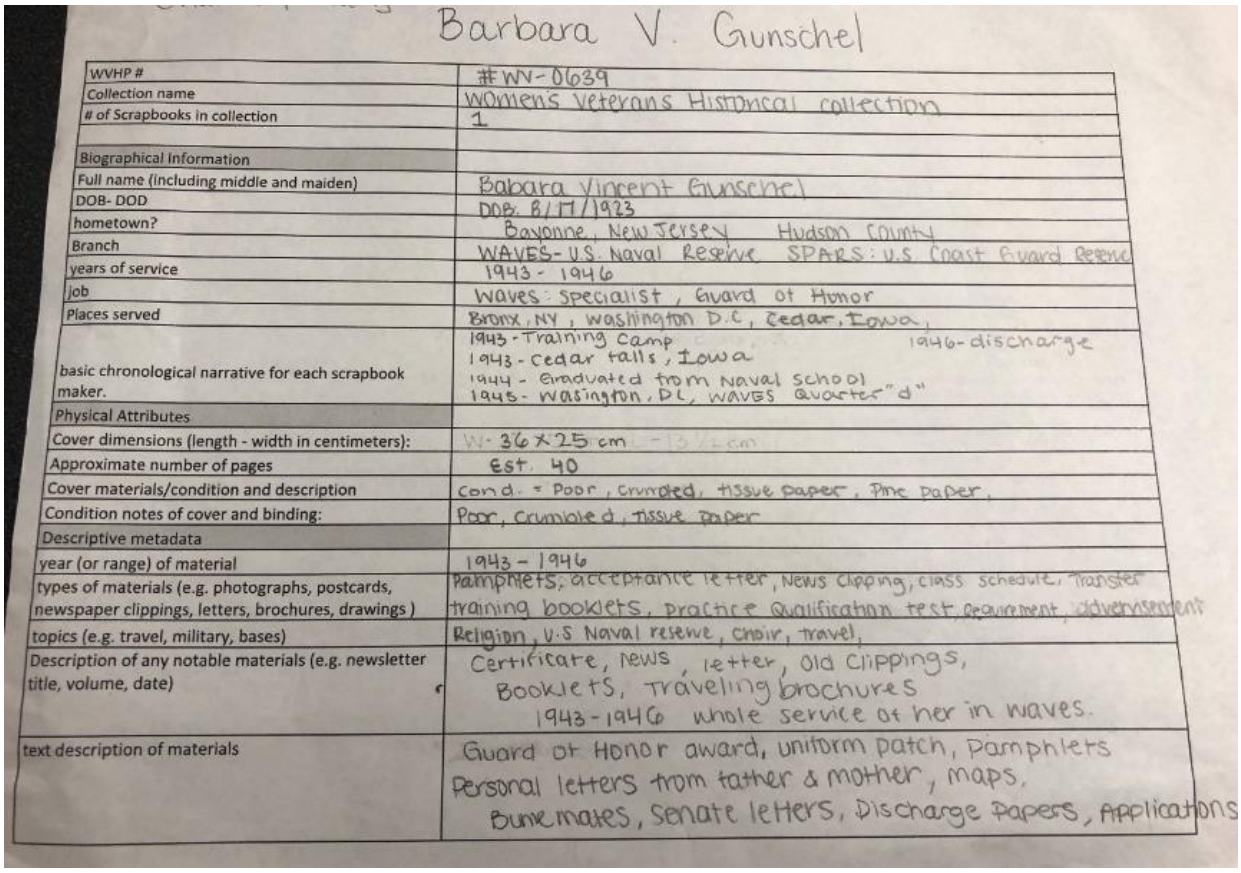
Reference and Rhetoric in Scrapbook Analysis

In spring 2019, students in my first FMS 115 course interpreted material memory texts to gather data and to translate and communicate descriptions effectively. Koelsch selected for their study a number of scrapbooks that had not yet been described and processed; in small groups, students completed metadata forms with descriptors and key words (see figure 8). Through their analysis, students in this way indexed the albums, providing "finding aids" for future research and giving their efforts increased significance. Through their own investigative and rhetorical strategies, they critically considered women veterans' scrapbooks and developed new insight into the roles of women during World War II.

In groups of three or four, most students began by creating a basic chronological narrative for each scrapbook compiler. I asked students to rely on detailed analysis of materials, through both critical reading and rhetorical awareness, and to ensure factually accurate representation of the materials. Together students examined WVHP scrapbooks, along with associated materials, to complete the metadata forms provided by Koelsch. Beginning with the

facts, students gleaned the scrapbook compiler's basic biographical information and described the physical scrapbook itself, noting obvious aspects of its construction such as size, number of pages, and types of materials. Joelle's description in her semester-ending portfolio put the activity into context: "This project had a lot of different parts to it allowing us to be more active and hands on. This wasn't just any ordinary project, this made me feel like I was a historian. Our class went to the special collections in our library, which I've never heard of or been to before doing this project." The "hands-on" characteristics of their investigations offered these learners tangible access to the past, and, in this way, class reading and writing took on authentic implications.

Figure 8. Student-completed metadata form. Student provided photograph.



Barbara V. Gunschel

WVHP #	#WV-0639
Collection name	Womens Veterans Historical collection
# of Scrapbooks in collection	1
Biographical Information	
Full name (Including middle and maiden)	Babara Vincent Gunschel
DOB- DOD	DOB: 8/17/1923
hometown?	Bayonne, New Jersey Hudson County
Branch	WAVES- U.S. Naval Reserve SPARS: U.S. Coast Guard Reserve
years of service	1943 - 1946
job	Waves: Specialist, Guard of Honor
Places served	Bronx, NY, Washington D.C, Cedar, Iowa,
basic chronological narrative for each scrapbook maker.	1943 - Training Camp 1946 - discharge 1943 - Cedar falls, Iowa 1944 - Graduated from Naval school 1945 - Wasington, DC, WAVES quarter "d"
Physical Attributes	
Cover dimensions (length - width in centimeters):	W- 36 x 25 cm
Approximate number of pages	Est. 40
Cover materials/condition and description	cond. = Poor, crumpled, tissue paper, Pine paper,
Condition notes of cover and binding:	Poor, Crumpled, Tissue Paper
Descriptive metadata	
year (or range) of material	1943 - 1946
types of materials (e.g. photographs, postcards, newspaper clippings, letters, brochures, drawings)	Pamphlets, acceptance letter, News clipping, class schedule, Transfer training booklets, practice Qualification test, Requirement, advertisement
topics (e.g. travel, military, bases)	Religion, U.S Naval reserve, choir, travel,
Description of any notable materials (e.g. newsletter title, volume, date)	Certificate, news, letter, old clippings, Booklets, Traveling brochures 1943-1946 whole service of her in waves.
text description of materials	Guard of Honor award, uniform patch, Pamphlets Personal letters from father & mother, maps, Bunkmates, Senate letters, Discharge Papers, Applications

Little of the data students sought was directly stated so they worked together to become more critical "readers" of the artifacts, interpreting from photographs, military documents, letters, and various ephemera the facts of their veterans' experiences in service during World War II. When a scrapbook included, for example, a newspaper clipping about the album makers' enlistment, students found overt background details such as parents' names and hometowns, but these facts then had to be linked to other scrapbook elements like photographs and greeting cards, many of which lacked written explanation. Students examined albums to identify additional details, such the scrapbook's range of dates, the time period represented in its contents. Dacia explained:

> With this assignment, we are also making an argument about what we learned and how we came to put things together. In the Scrapbook, we analyzed the written arguments such as entries, newspaper articles, and the texts behind the photographs. We also analyzed the visual arguments such as photographs and maps to help us create a rough timeline of her life and to make an argument that we actually learned something about [Louise] Roy's life.

Students assessed and then described what they considered the most noteworthy elements of the albums as well as the topics addressed by the scrapbook, prodded by Koelsch's metadata sheet to determine if, for example, "daily life" and "military bases" were characterized within the scrapbook. Groups then composed short biographies gathered from their critical readings of the diverse materials—photographs, newspaper clippings, ephemera, greeting cards, and letters—within veterans' own rhetorical compilations. At the conclusion of each class session in the library, in their designated writer's notebooks, students were asked to spend a few minutes in written reflection about their research, the rhetorical choices made by their veterans as evinced within the scrapbook, and their own rhetorical moves in determining how best to relate the information they had discovered. They referenced these notes in preparing both their veterans

projects and their critical reflection essays at the end of the semester, and many of their comments are shared in this chapter.

For my first group of FMS students, the final stage of the project involved creating small-group class presentations describing their veterans' rhetoric evinced by the scrapbooks as well as their own rhetorical choices in describing the veteran and her album. Instructions for the WVHP Collaborative Presentation were purposely open-ended, providing space for students' own construction of meaning based on the inquiries they undertook during the research process, asking students to document and share their efforts but with an emphasis on recognizing their own thought processes and conjectures; their assignment sheet included this caveat and explanation:

> Your presentation should reveal your own metacognition* of the processes involved in the research activity. **This is NOT a report on your scrapbook maker**; **this is an explanation of the rhetorical skills you employed, not the WHAT you did, but the HOW**. How did you learn some critical fact about the veteran? How did you and your teammates choose the language that describes your scrapbook maker? How did you track your discoveries? How did you decide which details were important enough to include in your descriptions?
> *"Metacognition is, put simply, thinking about one's thinking. More precisely, it refers to the processes used to plan, monitor, and assess one's understanding and performance. Metacognition includes a critical awareness of a) one's thinking and learning and b) oneself as a thinker and learner." Chick, Nancy, "Metacognition." Center for Teaching, Vanderbilt University

Hunter, in his final essay reflecting on the course learning outcomes, translated the assignment:

> In this project the goal was to obtain as much information as possible from a given source and to construct a story that accompanied what you learned. In addition, we had to create an argument based on our findings that allowed us to explain how we came to get the information that we did. To be able to look at a book of all pictures and to create a well detailed timeline requires significant critical thinking. The presentation to go along with all the findings focuses on letting the audience know HOW we as a group came to learn the information, which is a completely different take as opposed to simply relaying the information. It would be much easier to talk about the things that our person did instead of taking [*sic*] about how we came to learn the information.

Constructing the story required that students make new meaning by pulling together miscellaneous facts and details. Further, as Hunter expressed, the discovery of that meaning-making process relied on student analysis of their own reading and composing processes. Working together in small groups, with Joelle likening herself to a historian, Dacia noting rhetorical arguments made by the scrapbook makers, and Hunter recognizing the creation of an argument supported by archival evidence, these students embodied the very connection they were studying, acknowledging that memory is constituted by rhetoric. Finally, another student wrote, "the library work helped me be a better thinker that allowed me to think outside the box." Addressing resource materials with innovative perspectives prompted learners to practice their skills of critical reading and analysis, and the collaborative interpretations of primary source documents by women led these students to fulfill the course goals of the FMS program as well as my own student learning objectives.

Creating an Alumnae Veteran Digital Scrapbook

Like the first class, the seminar students in my spring 2020 FMS 115 course examined women veterans' archival collections for rhetorical interpretation. While expanding their understanding of World War II history, they also sought to share the recognition of women's participation during the war to a broader audience through a class website, a kind of digital scrapbook. I chose to revise the earlier assignment so that students might have a more public-facing assignment to encourage awareness of audiences beyond the classroom, inspired in part by Jessica Enoch, et al.'s upper-level undergraduate public memory project which invited members of the community to participate in transcribing—and making more accessible—the writings of a nineteenth-century Maryland woman (See Enoch et al., "Decoding (a Woman's) Diaries: The Transcribe-A-Thon as an Undergraduate Public Memory Project"). While our task

was different in scope, I appreciated the additional level of authenticity with a publicly presented project. However, I also asked for student input in defining the parameters of the project. Guided by their suggestions, Koelsch provided a listing of women veterans who had served in WWII and who had also been students at our university, in its previous incarnation as the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina. As the list narrowed to nine—one veteran per student—engagement was mixed at this point, with some appearing genuinely enthused about the veteran research and/or the media selected, while others merely gravitated to whatever veterans' artifacts were on the table before an empty seat.

Instructions for their digital scrapbook collaborative project required students to share the personal narratives of women veterans based on their analysis of primary sources. The assignment sheet also asked them to consider what claim is made through the collection and maintenance of these women's documents, photographs, and textiles within the University's archives. Each student formulated an argument in creating a single web page focused on the veteran's story, with an understanding that critical aspects of the project included research, technology, and composition. I asked that they focus on the women's experiences as a student at the Woman's College and as a veteran during World War II, suggesting they compose with words and images their veteran's narratives to illustrate the larger event through the experiences of an individual, and each student would compose a page of the class website.

Through her reflection essay at the conclusion of the semester, Mia described the assignment in her own words:

> Our current motivation was to find information on our woman veteran in order to create a brief biography of her life in school, as well as during her time serving. Later, we had to take into account the audience, which would be anyone reading the website. The writing has to impact the audience in some way so that it can make the audience more aware about what they are researching about. In addition, there were constraints when writing this draft. Due to our current condition of quarantine, we had to work with what we had

> online, as well as with the photos we took before all classes were cancelled. Although it was a constraint, we still managed to complete the draft with accurate information.

Engulfed in a sense of urgency, our second visit to the library's special collections came on the last day of face-to-face classes before moving our course online due to the COVID-19 pandemic. In the midst too of our planned project, we had been able to allot only one class session to training with unfamiliar website technology. Before leaving campus, we had joined Multimedia Instruction Coordinator Paula Damasceneo of the Digital Media Commons in a library computer lab where she introduced us to the basics of Weebly.com as a means to document and share student research. None of the students reported any familiarity with Weebly or any other website production application, and many expressed concern about not having additional in-person technological guidance following our pivot from a face-to-face, on-campus class to an online one.

Student worries over a lack of substantial research and unfamiliarity with technology were compounded by anxieties outside the classroom. I became ill, underwent emergency surgery, and dealt with medical complications that limited my online presence during the course. While I had organized low-stakes Canvas assignments to scaffold our larger endeavor, I was not able to reassure students as much as they needed during this period. I sent class announcements regularly and augmented a professional Weebly introduction video with a simple homemade video of my own efforts at learning how to set up a website, sharing with students my own non-digital-native understanding of the processes. However, grounded in Damasceneo's introduction to the basics of Weebly, I had confidence that—if I could handle the technical aspects of our project—my first-year students could too.

Students' Reflections on Their Own Engagement

Students recognized the scrapbook makers as human beings with whom they could relate, leading them to not only care about their projects but to also reflect on integrity in research and on transferable skills. Most students in both classes became overtly engaged in their research, some expressing excitement as they connected with the veterans as women who lived genuine lives, working, dating, traveling. Engrossed by the details of familial, romantic, and professional relationships communicated through the memory texts, students were intrigued by the humanity of the scrapbook compilers. One student's journal entry describes the process: "During our time in the library, we focused on really getting to know our veteran and how she really was. We went through their scrapbooks containing letters, pamphlets, and newspapers. Our group constructed a cohesive story about our person." The student's language in her reflective comments expresses a sense of ownership, a sense that the veteran under study "belongs" to her student group. Student attachment to "our person" suggests an increased level of genuine interest.

Examining materials associated with her veteran's scrapbook, Kaari, the same student who claimed she was unable to read cursive writing, delved so deeply into the handwritten letters of her veteran, paying particular attention to the veteran's dating relationships, that her curiosity spurred her to ask excitedly and repeatedly, "Did she marry Bob?" as she neared the end of her research. The student's interest in her veteran's social life revealed that she had discovered a human being in history, not a fact or a statistic but a woman who volunteered for service during tumultuous times and still maintained a personal life, depicted through her scrapbook and accompanying letters.

Recognizing the humanity of—and some connection to—their research subjects enhanced student engagement. A member of the class focused on UNCG alumnae, Jazmin

shared in our online discussion board that her veteran "was a really cool person overall but to me, the most intriguing fact about her time at the women's college is that it is where she really connected with her love for books and being a librarian." Jazmin added, "The fact that they all attended the same school I am attending now makes it a lot more interesting." Identification with a historical woman, one who lived and worked at the same university, and who found her future career there, engrossed a first-year college student in analysis and composition, as Jazmin constructed knowledge from disparate historical artifacts related to another woman's experiences of seventy-five years earlier.

Through their interrogations of women's personal rhetorics and other artifacts, students in both classes discovered meaning in lives lived, beyond mere dates and facts. According to Kaari's research, Red Cross veteran Carol L. Johnson and her mother wrote "practically every day." In addition to learning about the veteran's relationship with her mother, my student noted that Johnson was "apparently very well-liked and worked very hard." Another student, Mia, was intrigued by her veteran's wartime marriage. The couple had less than two weeks to marry before Louise Dorsett's fiancé would be deployed to Africa, not knowing when he might return. Mia discovered that the young woman waded through various levels of military bureaucracy to gain permission for travel to New York City for a weekend to wed, and "she then didn't see him for about 33 months." Chelsea also attested to revelations about a woman's personal identity through the interpretation of scrapbook materials; "with all the information we studied, my group and I were able to construct our own written discussion about [Barbara] Gunschel's relationships, personal beliefs, and role during her service in the WAVES …" Holly too described her fascination with the "normal lives" led by the women they researched; she wrote, "They went to college and got degrees as well as served in the war." The scrapbooks, uniforms, personal and

military records, and oral history interviews of these women veterans of World War II engaged students in ways that secondary sources could not. “The biggest reason [that this project was so cool] being that we had such close access to actual copies, letters, and uniforms of women veterans,” Mia explained.

Several students also spoke to the necessity of relying on critical thinking in approaching archival materials. Brandy addressed her reliance on analysis but further emphasized the responsibility she felt in speaking for others. In commenting on the WVHP project within her critical reflection essay, she wrote that

> …it was up to us to interpret what their scrapbooks meant. Who was the person that sent them so many letters? Why does the veteran have someone else’ dog tag? What did the veteran actually do in the military? These were frequent questions we asked ourselves. In this project we took as much of the concrete, historical information as we could and then made educated assumptions about the woman’s life, based on the historical context.

Additionally, Spencer recognized the transferability of skills practiced in the project:

> … this project had us applying skills we learned in freshman seminar to a scenario that could very well be a student’s everyday life after college. Having that experience got me thinking about where else I might be applying the things I’ve learned in freshman seminar. Is there anywhere in the medical field that I would need to be cross referencing documents and inferring information? Yes! There are tons of filing of documents involved in dealing with patients and being able to have reliable information, what sources focused on what information as well as making inferences about how the sources were found and kept. I felt a bit like a detective and that’s not a bad thing.

Identifying and gathering evidence—“like a detective’’—to provide accurate representations of the lives of women service personnel in World War II led to engaged practice of critical reading and writing skills. Rather than merely learning historical facts and events, these students were intrigued by the authentic lives of women veterans who shared their World War II experiences through scrapbooks and how they themselves might in turn communicate those experiences. Meeting their study subjects as human beings and knowing their efforts would be reflected in materials existing beyond our course—metadata forms for library reference and a

digital scrapbook website—prompted these first-year writers to a level of responsibility and integrity they might not have otherwise felt for a single research paper submitted for a class requirement. Additionally, in reflecting on their own processes—of thinking, reading, and writing—as they made new meaning from existing artifacts, many students acknowledged the applicability of skills to other contexts.

However, awareness of one's own learning can be challenging. Alice acknowledged her own struggles in reflecting on the thought process involved her archive-based project when she wrote,

> When putting together our presentation, the concept of metacognition was daunting. As with most skills, hearing it and trying to perform it were two vastly different things. For me, it helped to put together a linear progression of my thought process in my mind. I started by thinking about the message I gleaned when reading through Thelma Eaton's scrapbook. I then considered what of this message would be helpful or appropriate to include in our assignments. This was followed by considering how to include it, what stuck out to me, and what I could recreate for my audience. The last step was reflecting on the choices I made throughout this process, and how that connects to my understanding of rhetoric.

She concluded by explaining how she came to examine her own metacognition: "you have to work your way up, and put all the skills you've learned together to form the final picture."

Reflecting on their own reading and composition processes, these students recognized the active production of rhetorical choices, their own and those of the scrapbook compilers, and by engaging critically with the veterans' memory texts, they came to define their own learning.

Disrupting Established Public Memory

Collecting and arranging their personal artifacts represents the desire on the part of women veterans to remember and to be remembered, and my students participated in the chain of memorialization through their compositions and in gaining new understanding of women's roles

during World War II. As Jordyn Jack suggests, such study prods students to realize "that the women they study are often virtual unknowns in the public imaginary" (Enoch and Jack 525).

Analysis of scrapbooks compiled by women service personnel led students to recognize the benefits of individual narratives in filling gaps where women professionals had been missing from histories of World War II, thus disrupting existing versions of public memory. Ezekiel noted, "This course has helped me to learn the value of personal stories to enhance larger narratives."

Through their research on women veterans, my students uncovered vernacular details of social norms and gender roles during historical moments. Sandie included information about her veteran's home life on the class website; she writes: "Nina was born to a poor working family … [but] there was always food on the table," before she enrolled in the Woman's College in 1930. In our class discussion board, one student commented, "My veteran attended the Women's [*sic*] College during the Depression, and she recalls being stuck on campus with no money, unable to go home or anywhere else." Contemporary students enduring pandemic quarantine and isolation seemed to readily identified with the financial and circumstantial limitations of college life described by their veterans.

Examples from my students' projects illustrate the era's societal attitudes and behaviors, helping them contextual the women's lives. In describing her veteran's time on campus, Sandie took particular note of "the strict guidelines" for student behavior in the 1930s. On her page of the class website, she describes how the young women enrolled in the Woman's College "were not allowed to be seen with a man or coming out of a car after 6 pm" and that the deadline to be back in the dormitories was 10 pm.

Another student in the website group shared her insights into the historical period in our online discussion board:

> I think it was interesting how she and many other women at the Woman's college perceived the women at the Greensboro College [GC]. She claimed that everyone from the Woman's college thought that 'GC girls' were a bunch of 'high hats,' as they wouldn't go in public without hats, gloves and high heels. She said that women from the Woman's College never cared and went out in whatever they wanted.

Engaged students developed new perceptions, extending their understanding of public memory to include women veterans, memorializing women's participation in World War II, and many echoed Jazmin's fascination with "learning about different women WWII veterans." Flipping through a veteran's scrapbook, another student took time to read the typed stories affixed within her album. Hunter looked up to explain that he was interested in anything about World War II and was really enjoying the artifacts. He later reflected in his journal:

> Reading through this scrapbook today opened my mind and allowed me to lose myself in the story/narrative of Ms. Louise Roy. Seeing things from her [illegible] [illegible] is different and astounding because as you may think that you know a lot about WWII, this exposes a new undiscovered story.

Students repeatedly commented on a new recognition of the roles that women played in service during World War II. Stephanie explained, "Before learning about these woman veterans, I pictured a woman in service in a white and red dress, tending to male soldiers. After learning about all the roles women performed outside of nursing, my view has been greatly expanded." Jazmin concurred with the sentiments of many of her classmates: "Women are strong and absolute heroes." Graham's statements sum up how students came to realize new versions of the past: "The fact that women had such a major impact in the war, also have very big roles, that maybe are not talked about enough, was something that I found interesting." Understanding that women participated in the American war effort through military and extra-military service opened the eyes of many students who came to reconstruct their own perceptions of World War

II. Their new knowledge is the first step in reforming and sharing narratives omitted from public memory and, as my students suggested, "exposi[ing]" stories that are "not talked about enough."

Reflections

I relied on a kind of active-learning pedagogy that exposed students to historical materials and unfamiliar campus resources and allowed them to grapple with the relationship between rhetoric and public memory. None of the students reported having previously visited Jackson Library's special collections or its reading room, the space dedicated to reviewing artifacts that remain in the facility. Further, several students reported that they had never worked with historical artifacts or engaged in a project of this nature so many were also being introduced to the use of primary sources, often with tangible objects. However, through their work in the WVHP, my FMS students analyzed rhetorics by and about women and in turn implemented their own rhetorical choices in compositions they formulated about those women veterans, gaining awareness of women's roles in history. Prevailing messages about women's roles during the US's involvement in World War II emphasize images of women at work on the home front with the popularity of reproduction posters of Rosie the Riveter. Portrayals of women's war involvement depict them as temporary workers, secondary to the men who fought the "real war," cementing a gender hierarchy privileging men as patriotic contributors to the war effort. My first-year students discovered much more and never questioned the professional ethē communicated through the scrapbooks.

I had conceived my public memory pedagogy as providing first-year college students the opportunity to engage with archival materials, more than satisfying the seminar course's requirement to concentrate on original resources beyond the textbook, and I made some mistakes. I should have given my students more detailed instructions on our initial visits to

examine our primary sources and identified specific goals for each archive visit, rather than tell students to "familiarize" themselves with the materials on a first encounter. Employing "more tailored, specific prompts" (Anderson et al.) might have encouraged students to delve into their investigations more quickly. Overall project goals and associated learning outcomes were clearly communicated verbally and in writing, but, as Julie Golia and Robin M. Katz indicate, "Students thrive in the archives when they have a clear understanding of why they are there (beyond it being a 'cool experience') and how the visit relates to the broader aims of their course. This is especially true in courses that don't traditionally work with primary sources." A lack of "clear understanding" did initially haunt both groups, but especially the 2020 students, likely because of our hurried final visit to the reading room, when the COVID-19 pandemic forced us to move our studies online. As an instructor, I find the difficulty lies in finding a balance between direction and freedom, wanting students to make their discoveries independently while also leading them toward assignment goals.

Additionally, reliance on primary sources compelled students to reach beyond their customary information outlets and to rely on unfamiliar technology. One student indicated, "This was good in broadening the ability to not rely on the internet to be able to understand what happened in a person's life." However, not all students eagerly let loose of their dependence on electronic sources. One student complained: "This assignment is stupid. Who is going to care? Why are we researching a nobody? If they were someone, there would be information on her. Not even google knows who we are looking at. GOOGLE!" This particular student clearly missed the value of thinking for himself and also seemed to accept existing public memory paradigms that deemed these veterans' roles as insignificant—because they were not "Google-

worthy." Such attitudes limit pedagogical efforts to incorporate archival resources and dismiss the significance of personal narratives in larger retellings of history.

As Jessica Enoch and Jordyn Jack concur in scholarship on women's primary sources in their courses, unfamiliar technology can also create a constraint (519). While a large scanner was available in the special collections reading room, students relied heavily on their cellphone cameras rather than investigate options that might better duplicate photographic images and reduce glare. Also, with the first class, all student groups chose traditional slide presentations. With more time devoted to technological options, they might have wandered farther outside their comfort zones to consider other platforms. Certainly, the second group of students who created pages for our class website would have appreciated additional guided, in-person technology instruction. Although introduced to interactive applications such as timelines and map makers during our single technology instruction session, they too avoided more complex formats. However, despite no webpage design experience, those first-year college students managed the Weebly pages construction, some quite creatively.

Through their interrogations of rhetoric by and about women veterans, my pupils amplified the voices of everyday women who have remained obscured in American history. By investigating in greater detail the experiences of women in military and extra-military service—documented through their scrapbooks, letters, postcards, photographs, military documents, and uniforms—and enacting an additional level of recollection, these first-year college students advocated a version of history different from that promoted by dominant public memories. Thus, my FMS students' rhetorical activities involving the archive of the WVHP introduced them to "alternative public memories" (or "countermemories") as well as to "the public remembrance, forgetting, and commemoration of rhetorical women" (Enoch and Jack 521), building an

awareness of the recollections of women as well as the amnesia that neglects their participation in WWII. While these pedagogical approaches strengthened undergraduate students' analysis and compositional skills, they also—in small ways—transformed history.

CHAPTER V: CONTRIBUTIONS OF WOMEN VETERANS' SCRAPBOOKS TO HISTORY, SCHOLARSHIP, AND TEACHING

In the Old Tennent Churchyard cemetery of Monmouth County, New Jersey, two stones mark the final resting place of US Army veteran Shirley Van Brakle Bentley and her husband Robert. The first is a typical shared upright granite marker, headlined Bentley in all caps, identifying the husband and wife by name, providing also their birth and death dates. A second single grass-level stone also commemorates their lives. Mr. Bentley's name is carved at the top of this marker with the notation reading "LT US NAVY / WORLD WAR II" at the stone's center, with his wife's name identified at the bottom of the stone ("Shirley June Van Brakle Bentley"). What is not commemorated is the fact that Mrs. Bentley, as 2nd Lt. VanBrakle, also served in the US military in the Second World War. Her service is not acknowledged in any way on the small monument, customarily provided for military veterans. The omission of her veteran status on the stone erases her participation from memory. Van Brakle's work as a military professional—her operating room nursing, her participation in innovative heart surgeries, and her tour of duty overseas are not only neglected, they are "excised from history."

Despite women's involvement through the centuries, few stories of war memorialize—or even acknowledge—their participation and contributions. As Linda Grant De Pauw explains, "Women have always and everywhere been inextricably involved in war. This thesis is simple and is supported by an abundance of evidence, but because it has profound, complex, and emotionally charged implications, the roles of women in war are hidden from history" (xiii). Reasons for their absence are multiple but include the marginalization of women's rhetoric as well as the disruption that their inclusion causes to war stories that maintain traditional social

order. Thus, through the rhetorical agency and control afforded within their scrapbooks, women veterans of World War II disrupt dominant historical narratives by revealing their multiple ethē and constructing their professional identities in military and extra-military service branches during wartime. Through archives, scholarship, and education, the inclusion of their personal stories and documented ethē moves women veterans into public memory.

Documentation through Re-collection

To summarize, the aim of this dissertation has been to illustrate the rhetorical agency and authority of a personal genre—often characterized as feminine—to construct a rhetor's professional and more public self, at a historical and cultural moment when women moved into workplace environments previously restricted to men. As acts of re-collection—literal and metaphorical bricolage—the scrapbooks of women veterans of World War II afford a site empowering their compilers to compose complex depictions of multiple ethē. Their reliance on a personal genre of anecdotal narrative to document professional participation and contributions during wartime exemplifies their paradoxical circumstances as they combined the identities of "feminine" and "professional," defying classification by 1940s cultural norms, something made more difficult by their transition into wartime professionals, a sphere deemed masculine.

Rather than traditional conceptualizations of ethos that discount difference, oppression, and marginalization, this project relies on definitions that contextualize ethos, emphasizing ethē as plural, situated, and collaborative. Given the multiple facets of identity displayed by women veterans within their scrapbooks, the plural form of ethos is appropriate, while the situatedness of their identities as based on "location or position," (Reynolds 326) is generic, physical, and social. Taking meaning from both "habitus" and "ethos," the veterans' ethē are situated within the rhetorical sites of the scrapbooks as well as in varied geographic locations and in their

positionality among networks of human relationships, all specified within the albums. Ethē further encapsulates the collaborative constructions of ethos as rhetor and audience create intersecting versions of identity, influenced by surrounding rhetorical ecologies. Acknowledging, as James Baumlin and Craig A. Meyer explain, that ethos can exist before a rhetor begins speaking but can also produce an identity of difference prompts recognition of the women veterans' established and revealed feminine identities as they construct new professional military and extra-military ethē within their scrapbooks.

Each of the texts examined in this dissertation advances self-representations that accommodate expectations of femininity, earning the scrapbook compilers ethotic credibility. Even conservative audiences, likely familiar with negative rumors and slander surrounding military women, were less likely to condemn women in service when they conformed to the unwritten but expected rules of femininity. White, middle-class American womanhood is illustrated through expressions of concern with fashion, physical appearance, and personal relationships. Their photographs and ephemera— Marshburn's stylish civilian outfit, Griffin's pages of wedding photos, Gilbert's fashion notes, and Van Brakle's flowers—reveal acceptable identities. Furthering their acquiescence to submissive feminine behavior, the women frequently defer to the rhetoric of others in confirming adjustments to their ethē. The official documents and letters, newspaper clippings, and military forms—even a patch bearing rank insignia— on the pages of the albums proclaim that the women did indeed serve their country in wartime. Grounded in traditional depictions of American womanhood, these items create an addendum to the "contract" of ethos, as described by Nedra Reynolds (328), by placing these veterans in "unaccustomed places" (327) and by challenging societal expectation. As the women also

ventured into the masculine world of war, the rhetorical agency of their albums provided a site to further document their professional participation and contributions as wartime service personnel.

Juxtaposing images of femininity among those of military and wartime service supplies the necessary evidence to document the simultaneous existence of both "woman" and "professional" ethē. As Carolyn Skinner attests, "ethos is a space in which potentially incompatible social positions, such as femininity and professionalism, can coexist" (183). Siting their portrayals within the rhetorical space of the scrapbook, these women cut, gathered, and arranged materials for inclusion in the physical texts that came to represent their experiences and wartime identities. Depending heavily on the creation of "visual ethos," the veterans present themselves as members of military and extra-military service through their selection of photographs. Displaying themselves visually in uniform, alongside their uniformed colleagues, and at their duty stations, women veterans construct wartime ethē without erasing their established feminine selves. Representing their identities existing in physical locations—military offices and quarters in Washington, DC, Army hospitals in North Africa, Italy, and England, and various service settings throughout the South Pacific—women veterans access the material affordances of their scrapbooks to further establish themselves as professional wartime personnel through the rhetorical messages entrenched within the procedures of their military and extra-military service branches. Established through maps, brochures, and snapshots, their travel enabled them to witness both war and culture, cementing placement of their professional identities, while the implications of training, rank, structural hierarchy, and other military procedures persuade scrapbook readers of the women's situatedness within these rhetorical processes. Required to substantiate their professional status in the realm of war, these women rely on their albums to document work as yeomen, lieutenants, and directors. Despite liminal

placement by society between the home front and the battlefield, the veterans' scrapbooks permit them to rewrite ritualized stories of war.

Expanding audiences for their war stories—through archival collection, active-learning pedagogy, and even the recent establishment of physical sites of commemoration—further interrupts established narratives by sharing the vernacular voices of women veterans. Students' meaning-making through analytical descriptions of the scrapbooks for future archival researchers and the online exhibition of women veterans' stories have the potential to reach—and teach—wider audiences. Exposing students to the scrapbooks not only engages their critical thinking and expands their rhetorical knowledge but also provides substance and exigence for constructing new versions of public memory, countering dominant accounts with more inclusive retellings of World War II. Mariana Grohowski and Alexis Hart remark, "As a form of collective social protest, the sharing of military women's stories substantiates their sacrifices and contributions to U.S. military and national histories" (104). Students then become the next generation of storytellers to upset the historical status quo. However, including women in war histories requires additional education, because the baseline of existing social and cultural knowledge is limited. As Barbara Biesecker indicates, the Women in Military Service for America Memorial at Arlington Cemetery is more museum than memorial as visitors must also learn of the "unacknowledged accomplishments of the more than two million U.S. women who had served in domestic and international crises since the Revolutionary War." The necessity of a "strategically engineered … pedagogical effect" implies that viewers must first be taught that women "have been vital participants in rather than passive beneficiaries of military engagement, both at home and abroad" (402). The mere fact that the memorial exists along with expanded curation of artifacts related to women veterans—particularly in "gender-specific archives" like the Betty H.

Carter Women Veterans Historical Project (WVHP)— "have helped to extend the definition of 'veteran' to be more inclusive of women, not just men, thereby expanding cultural understandings of 'the veteran' and 'military service'" (Grohowski and Hart 102).

"Expanding cultural understandings" can now rely on the digitization of historical materials and archived artifacts associated with women veterans, increasing accessibility for a bigger and broader audience. A Findagrave.com user identified as Alice290 electronically attached images of Van Brakle's newspaper obituary to her entry on the website where photos of her grave markers are shared. While the newspaper is not identified, the clipping does note, "She joined the Army Nurse Corps and was sent overseas as a second lieutenant. In England, she became chief operating room nurse, and was also chief assistant to Dr. Dwight Harkin, who performed the first open-heart surgery and received a citation for her work with him" ("Shirley June Van Brakle Bentley"). While not a physical memorial commemorating her military service, the addition does acknowledge and honor Van Brakle's wartime contributions. Some WVHP's artifacts are also virtually available through Gateway, a publicly accessible, "collaborative digital collections platform that's hosted by the UNC Greensboro University Libraries"; among the priority areas listed for new digital projects is "women's history" ("About Gateway"), implying further commemoration of women's experiences of the past. Additionally, as Grohowski and Hart explain, many women veterans have turned to "digital spaces that preserve and present military women's stories." The scholars note that contemporary service women are afforded rhetorical outlets via the social web (92), paralleling the opportunities for rhetorical agency and authority found in scrapbooks by World War II veterans.

The recovery by scholars of artifacts within wide-ranging genres—women's "available means"— allows women's articulation of their own identities, not resorting to other narrators to

tell their stories and subsequently providing material that also supports their inclusion in public memory. This dissertation suggests productive possibilities for expanding approaches to the inclusion of women's rhetoric to the narratives of American history. Exemplifying its interdisciplinary nature, this project contributes to scholarly conversations on women's personal rhetoric, particularly their construction of ethē, and on the genre of scrapbooks—both of which in turn contribute to questions of larger public memory. Because marginalized groups live under a "double standard," these women must provide evidence of their contributions, and their scrapbooks enable veterans to *document* ethos, to communicate their liminal placement as they transitioned to wartime service but also their participation as professionals in those duties. As an alternate "model of ethos" (Skinner 173), documented ethos recognizes the value of personal rhetorics and material artifacts attesting to the construction of identity. This study seeks to amplify the voices of women who not only contribute to but are active participants in the production of public memory, relying on the affirmation of personal rhetorical genres as a means to incorporate women into historical narratives, recognizing the rhetorical agency and control afforded by their albums. The scrapbooks empower women to alter and converge the elements of time and space. Through the manipulation of ephemera, they appear in multiple places with multiple ethē simultaneously, the pages of their scrapbooks embodying the varied placements of their experiences. Each veteran constructs a new self on the pages of her scrapbook, her personal memories crucial to expressing her multiple ethē and to more inclusive versions of public memory.

While added recognition of women's roles in the Second World War provides a more accurate historical narrative, their participation in that particular historical moment is critical for a number of reasons. The fact that enlistment of women was seen as a temporary expedience

acknowledges that women were not expected to have long-term exposure or experience of war. On a page in her album, Marshburn captioned the photo of a uniformed young man with "Peter the sailor who replaced me," epitomizing the discharge of women from military service at the end of the US's wartime efforts. In direct contrast, she arranged a clipped poem on the same page. Attributed to James Prosen, "To the WAVES," notes that WAVES were like "other girls" who wanted new fashion and curly hair, but "prefer[red] their Navy Blue." More significantly, the rhymed lines suggest that the women's work was important, but that they were no longer needed. The final verse reads:

> When the war has been won,
> And all your work is through,
> It's a man's job you've done;
> We're mighty proud of you.

An informative note follows the poem, stating that "4,983 WAVE yeomen" were "on duty in the Washington area as of 1 July 1945." Women veterans of World War II entered "so many fields that previously had been the prerogatives of men [and] They served in greater numbers than in any period in the past and they performed in job categories that were traditionally filled by men" (Gruizhit-Hoyt xvii). Despite their contributions, those WAVES and the thousands of other women who joined military and extra-military service branches remain unheralded in most historical accounts, yet their service helped indirectly to normalize women working in traditionally masculine fields. Olga Gruizhit-Hoyt asserts that "there is no doubt that military women today owe much of their advancement in the services to those women who served in World War II. By virtue of their vast numbers and their display of proficiency in the many and varied areas in which they served, they proved that women could and should participate in the defense of their country" (xix). Their personal and material stories advance more diverse opportunities for women and more inclusive versions of the national narrative.

Further, the exigence for historical inclusivity grows as the global conflict recedes deeper into the past and as the nature of war changes. As De Pauw writes:

> No war comparable to World War II can ever be fought again because total war between nuclear nations would have no front lines, no home front, and few if any survivors. This makes full preservation of the history of the roles of women in World War II a unique imperative. If their war stories die with the generation that witnessed the events, no comparable war will occur in the future to give hard evidence on this scale against the persistent myth that only men go to war or suffer and die fighting for their country. (231)

The unique circumstances inviting women to do "a man's job" during World War II cannot recur. The generation that saw the war, societal changes, and the first official and broad enrollment of women in US military service is disappearing. Seeking their stories—whether material or oral—becomes more urgent. More inclusive renderings of World War II history require the authentic voices of women as wartime service professionals.

Present Limitations and Future Questions

Concluding this project on the ethē-construction of women veterans of World War II, I acknowledge that a limitation to my analysis rests in the fact that the scrapbooks, the compilers, and their motivations are open to interpretation. As Ott et al. suggest, scrapbooks remain anecdotal (203) so readers of these albums must fill in the gaps by "seeing the noticed and unnoticed" (Royster and Kirsch 20). I hope that my own attempts to fill in some of the gaps through "critical imagination" (Royster and Kirsch 20) do these women veterans justice, given the often ambiguous and inconclusive nature of primary sources. For instance, a newspaper clipping in Van Brakle's scrapbook indicates that she was "a graduate of Monmouth Memorial General Hospital class of 1942"; however, WVHP records attached to her scrapbook note that she volunteered for the US Army on 2 August 1943. I conjecture that Van Brakle worked as a nurse in her hometown in New Jersey in the chronological gap between her graduation and her enlistment. I also have made some assumptions about the veterans' scrapbook audiences,

proposing that older relatives and neighbors who remained on the home front would frequently perceive the women's military and extra-military service as compromising to traditional perceptions of gender roles, adding to the assortment of societal expectations the veterans negotiated. Further, the context for some elements is ambiguous and cannot be discovered with certainty. In captioning a photo with "Louise, Addie, Perk, Betty, & I," Lucy Griffin does not explain their relationships; because I cannot know if the other women were co-workers, fellow nursing staff, or even lodgers in her mother's boarding house, my focus rests instead on what *is* evident within this photograph and within the scrapbooks as a whole, "being mindful" in contemplating and interpreting their incomplete narratives (Royster and Kirsch 85). Esther Gilbert's consistently dated, chronologically arranged album only occasionally features elements that lack context, such as the unidentified, candid, and more personal photographs she placed at the end of her scrapbook; I did not locate explanations for these images. Despite the possibility of variable interpretations, the veterans' efforts to document their wartime experiences remain consistent.

This dissertation examines one scholarly avenue for analyzing the rhetorical and historical matter discoverable within the memory texts of women veterans of World War II. While examining commonalities among a handful of albums, I underscore the construction of professional service identities by white middle-class women who were already venturing into civilian workplaces. This project fails to address the experiences of women from varied racial and economic backgrounds who also volunteered for service. Their absence from this study raises questions about the availability (or lack) of historical resources that contribute the voices of women of color to narratives of World War II. At this writing, the WVHP does not hold any scrapbooks compiled by women of color.

As neglected resources, these veterans' memory texts are a treasure trove of rhetorical and historical material reflecting societal mores and women's roles during a "temporary," transitional period that drew women into occupations from which they had been previously excluded. Many questions remained unanswered—about *all* women veterans' access to rhetorical agency, about how their collections of ephemera confront established narratives and cultural norms, about inhibitions to their construction of new identities— as they transitioned through cultural, occupational, and physical sites, disrupting and reshaping prevailing visions of rhetoric and dominant versions of public memory. Future scholarship involving women veterans' scrapbooks might include examination of a larger number of albums, inclusion of women veterans of color, supplementation with additional personal genres, and more detailed reviews of surrounding rhetorical ecologies.

Supplementary investigations reviewing additional memory texts might discover other rhetorical tactics and nuances of ethē construction. Specifically, I am interested in conducting a more expansive and detailed review of all the WVHP scrapbooks of women veterans of World War II. Unlike those album compilers within this study, some women veterans had not attended college or joined the workforce prior to their service engagement. By including the memory texts belonging to women who transitioned straight from high school or the home to military and extra-military service, I would engage in a more inclusive review of albums, possibly comparing the experiences of women who had careers before wartime service to those for whom any workplace was a new ethotic location, hopefully also identifying and amplifying the voices of women of color and of other social classes.

Although white middle-class women were the targets of wartime recruitment propaganda, women from diverse ethnic and economic backgrounds served, and the discovery of rhetorical

genres in which indigenous women and women of color re-collect their wartime experiences and construct ethē would constitute a distinctive and valuable course of investigation. While their personal rhetorics offer insight into a single branch of military service—they were refused admittance to all but one branch of military service (Moore 2), African-American women's stories would offer details of their personal experiences and insights into a segregated America only seemingly united by war. As Leisa D. Meyer argues, the designation of "soldier" during World War II was both gendered and raced, with only white men allowed to carry weapons, thereby "denying all women and African-American men the right to "mak[e] claims on the state as full citizens" (12). Therefore, additional resources acknowledging this racial disparity would further disrupt dominant public memory by revealing gender and racial inequities.

Examination of women veterans' self-portrayal through a wide variety of genres supplementing scrapbooks is also likely to elicit additional findings and confirm the significance of women's World War II service. The "supporting materials" saved over the years, as Kathleen M. Ryan notes, "belie the claims that their work was not important" (38). Lucy Griffin included letters home to her mother within her scrapbook, providing robust details of the veteran's wartime travels. Rhetorical study of similar letters as well as diaries and other materials not included within memory texts would likely create fuller representations of women's service during World War II. While Van Brakle's memory text does not contain any snapshots of its compiler (one photograph that is part of a newspaper clipping within her album does provide her image along with drawings by friends), the WVHP contains a number of the Army nurse's photos not attached to the scrapbook. Review of these ancillary artifacts would further contextualize the rhetoric of the memory texts. Additionally, I have only glanced at the wealth of rhetorical ecologies surrounding women veterans of the era. Future projects might further situate

women's voices in history by detailing the rhizomatic networks of social and cultural messaging extant in the 1940s, reflecting more extensively on the women veterans' responses within a variety of personal rhetorics.

Continued Disruption

This project attends to the ways that women as a marginalized group resist cultural narratives that historically restricted their professional identities and contributes to a "*praxis of unsettling"* (Kirsch et al.) by disrupting existing public memories through inclusion, by opening up new avenues for diverse voices, and in recognizing their value to hinder a single perspective, thereby establishing a more "holistic history" (Lerner 413). Dominant public memories of war focus on the names of generals and battles, overlooking the experiences and contributions of individuals. When those individuals are the marginalized members of a society, their untold stories become even more difficult to discover. Their muted voices often rely on limited "available means" outside the parameters of mainstream paradigms of rhetoric. Recognizing rhetorical genres that defy traditional definitions enables scholars to locate and amplify the voices of the historically disenfranchised whose stories go untold within dominant narratives of the past.

REFERENCES

"About Gateway." *Welcome to Gateway*. Gateway Partners. www.gateway.uncg.edu/about. Accessed 2 October 2022.

"About the Women Veterans Historical Project." Betty H. Carter Women Veterans Historical Project, University of North Carolina-Greensboro. libcdm1.uncg.edu/cdm/abouttheproject/collection/WVHP. Accessed 15 Jan. 2019.

Adams, Heather B. "Undergraduate Research in English." UNCG Department of English Workshop. April 2019.

Advertisement for Cashmere Bouquet. *Life*, vol. 13, no. 13, 28 Sept. 1942, p. 2. *EBSCOhost*, search-ebscohost-com.libproxy.uncg.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=lma&AN=112618147&site=ehost-live.

Agnew, Bob. "'A Woman's Place....': '*Life's'* Portrayal of Women, 1943 and 1945." *Australasian Journal of American Studies*, vol. 20, no. 2, 2001, pp. 91–97.

Anderson, Alice, et al. "Our Findings," *TeachArchives.org*, accessed 7 June 2020, wwww.teacharchives.org/articles/our-findings/.

Anderson, Karen. *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations, and the Status of Women during World War II*, Greenwood Press, 1981.

Applegarth, Risa. "Genre, Location, and Mary Austin's Ethos." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, vol. 41, no. 1, 2011, pp. 41–63.

Augustine, Saint. *Confessions*, Catholic University of America Press, 1953. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.libproxy.uncg.edu/lib/uncg/detail.action?docID=3134878.

"Australia – International affairs." Encyclopedia Britannica, www.britannica.com/place/Australia/International-affairs. Accessed 28 February 2022.

"Battle of Leyte Gulf". Encyclopedia Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/event/Battle-of-Leyte-Gulf. Accessed 9 May 2022.

Baumlin, James, and Craig Meyer. "Positioning Ethos in/for the Twenty-First Century: An Introduction to Histories of Ethos." *Humanities*, vol. 7, no. 3, 2018, https://doi.org/10.3390/h7030078.

Biesecker, Barbara. "Remembering World War Ii: The Rhetoric and Politics of National Commemoration at the Turn of the 21st Century." *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, vol. 88, no. 4, 2002, pp. 393–409.

Bisno, Adam. "Securing New Guinea: The US Navy in Operations Reckless and Persecution: 21-22 April 1944." Naval History and Heritage Command. Accessed 9 May 2022. https://www.history.navy.mil/browse-by-topic/wars-conflicts-and-operations/world-war-ii/1944/reckless-and-persecution.html

Blackstone, Amy. "Gender Roles and Society," *Human Ecology: An Encyclopedia of Children, Families, Communities, and Environments,* edited by Julia R. Miller, et al., ABC-CLIO, 2003, pp. 335-38.

Bluhm, Raymond K. "Battle of Corregidor." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, www.britannica.com/event/Battle-of-Corregidor. Accessed 28 February 2022.

Bodnar, John. "The Memory Debate: An Introduction." *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*, Princeton UP, 1992, pp. 13-20.

Bogost, Ian. “Chapter 1: Procedural Rhetoric.” *Persuasive Games: The Expressive Power of Videogames*, MIT Press, 2007, pp. 1-64. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.libproxy.uncg.edu/lib/uncg/detail.action?docID=3338706.

Bourke, Joanna. “Introduction ‘Remembering War.’” *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 39, no. 4, 2004, pp. 473-85.

Brock, Julia, et al. “Introduction.” *Beyond Rosie: A Documentary History of Women and World War II*, U of Arkansas P, 2015. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.libproxy.uncg.edu/lib/uncg/detail.action?docID=2007822, pp. xi-xxxvi.

Buckler, Patricia P. “A Personalized Version of the Mexican War, 1846-48,” *The Scrapbook in American Life*, edited by Susan Tucker, et al., Temple UP, 2006, pp. 60-78.

Buckler, Patricia P, and C. Kay Leeper. “An Antebellum Woman's Scrapbook as Autobiographical Composition.” *Journal of American Culture*, vol. 14, no. 1, 1991, pp. 1–8.

Burke, Kenneth. *Language as Symbolic Action: Essays on Life, Literature, and Method*. U of California P, 1966.

---. *A Rhetoric of Motives*. U of California P, 1969.

“Carol Lorraine Johnson.” *Carol Lorraine Johnson Collection*. Betty H. Carter Women Veterans Historical Project, Martha Blakeney Hodges Special Collections and University Archives, UNCG University Libraries.

Christensen, Danille Elise. “Materializing the Everyday: ‘Safe’ Scrapbooks, Aesthetic Mess, and the Rhetorics of Workmanship.” *Journal of Folklore Research*, vol. 54, no. 3, 2017, pp. 233–284, https://doi.org/10.2979/jfolkrese.54.3.04.

Christoph, Julie Nelson. “Reconceiving ‘Ethos’ in Relation to the Personal: Strategies of Placement in Pioneer Women's Writing.” *College English*, vol. 64, no. 6, 2002, pp. 660–79.

Cicero. *Cicero In Twenty-Eight Volumes*. Translated by E.W. Sutton, Harvard UP, 1967. [Cicero, *De Oratore* 2.86.354]

Code, Lorraine. “Introduction.” *Ecological Thinking: The Politics of Epistemic Location*, Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2006. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.libproxy.uncg.edu/lib/uncg/detail.action?docID=3053313.

Collings Eves, Rosalyn. “A Recipe for Remembrance: Memory and Identity in African-American Women’s Cookbooks.” *Rhetoric Review*, vol. 24, no. 3, pp. 280-97.

Cooper, Sara. “Radcliffe’s Strongest Woman: The Bricolaged Body in One Progressive Era Women’s College Scrapbook,” *Rhetoric Review*, vol. 41, no. 2, pp. 95-115.

“Definitions and context.” Betty H. Carter Women Veterans Historical Project, University of North Carolina-Greensboro. libcdm1.uncg.edu/cdm/context/collection/WVHP. Accessed 15 Jan. 2019.

De Pauw, Linda Grant. *Battle Cries and Lullabies: Women in War from Prehistory to the Present*, U of Oklahoma P, 1998.

Dubriwny, Tasha N. and Kristan Poirot. “Gender and Public Memory.” *Southern Communication Journal*, vol. 82, no. 4, 2005, pp. 199-202, https://doi.org/10.1080/1041794X.2017.1332448.

Edbauer, Jenny. “Unframing Models of Public Distribution: From Rhetorical Situation to Rhetorical Ecologies.” *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, vol. 35, no. 4, 2005, pp. 5–24., https://doi.org/10.1080/02773940509391320.

Enoch, Jessica, et al. “Decoding (a Woman's) Diaries: The Transcribe-A-Thon ss an Undergraduate Public Memory Project.” *College English*, vol. 81, no. 5, 2019, pp. 407–431.

Enoch, Jessica and Jordynn Jack. “Remembering Sappho: New Perspectives on Teaching (and Writing) Women’s Rhetorical History.” *College English*, vol. 73, no. 5, May 2011, pp. 518-37.

Eves, Rosalyn Collings. “A Recipe for Remembrance: Memory and Identity in African-American Women's Cookbooks.” *Rhetoric Review*, vol. 24, no. 3, 2005, pp. 280–297.

“First Women Soldiers Join Army.” *Life*, vol. 13, no. 10, Sept. 1942, pp. 74–80. *EBSCOhost*, https://search-ebscohost-com.libproxy.uncg.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=lma&AN=112618077&site=ehost-live.

Fleckenstein, Kristie S. “A Reformer Rides: Radical Photographic Ethos in Frances E. Willard’s *A Wheel within a Wheel*.” *Rethinking Ethos: A Feminist Ecological Approach to Rhetoric*, edited by Kathleen J Ryan, Nancy Myers, and Rebecca Jones, Southern Illinois UP, 2016, pp. 26-49.

---. “Remembering Women: Florence Smalley Babbitt and the Victorian Family Photograph Album.” *Remembering Women Differently: Refiguring Rhetorical Work*, edited by Lynée Lewis Gaillet and Helen Gaillet Bailey, U of South Carolina P, 2019, pp. 137-54.

“Freshman Seminar Program.” College of Arts & Sciences Academics, University of North Carolina-Greensboro. aas.uncg.edu/departments/freshman-seminar-program/. Accessed 12 October 2018.

Garvey, Ellen Gruber, "Introduction," Writing with Scissors: American Scrapbooks from the Civil War to the Harlem Renaissance (2012, online ed, Oxford Academic, 24 Jan. 2013), https://doi-org.libproxy.uncg.edu/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195390346.003.0001.

"Gender on the Home Front," The National WWII Museum, www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/gender-home-front. Accessed 13 Dec. 2021.

Gilbert, Esther. "Esther Gilbert Scrapbook." 1944-1946. WV0297. *Esther Gilbert Scrapbook.* Betty H. Carter Women Veterans Historical Project, Martha Blakeney Hodges Special Collections and University Archives, University Libraries, The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Golia, Julia and Robin M. Katz, "Crafting Effective Learning Objectives," *TeachArchives.org*, www.teacharchives.org/articles/learning-objectives/. Accessed 7 June 2020.

Goodwin, Jean. "Forms of Authority and the Real Ad Verecundiam." *Argumentation,* vol. 12, no. 2, 1998, pp. 267.

Greer, Jane and Laurie Grobman. "Introduction: Complicating Conversations: Public Memory Production and Composition & Rhetoric." *Pedagogies of Public Memory: Teaching, Writing, and Rhetoric at Museums, Memorials, and Archives*, Routledge, 2015, pp. 1-31.

Griffin Leonard, Lucile. "Lucile G. Leonard Scrapbook." 1940-1946. WV0228 *Lucile Griffin Leonard Collection*. Betty H. Carter Women Veterans Historical Project, Martha Blakeney Hodges Special Collections and University Archives, University Libraries, The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Grohowski, Mariana and Alexis Hart. "Not Simply 'Freeing the Men to Fight': Re-Writing the Reductive History of US Military Women's Achievements on and off the Battlefield." *Remembering Women Differently: Refiguring Rhetorical Work*, edited by Lynée Lewis

Gaillet, and Helen Gaillet Bailey, University of South Carolina Press, 2019, pp. 91-108. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.libproxy.uncg.edu/lib/uncg/detail.action?docID=5763913

Gruhzit, Hoyt, Olga. *They Also Served: American Women in World War II*, Carol Publishing Group, 1995.

Guglielmo, Letizia. "Introduction: Re-Collection as Feminist Rhetorical Practice." *Remembering Women Differently: Refiguring Rhetorical Work*, edited by Lynée Lewis Gaillet, and Helen Gaillet Bailey, U of South Carolina P, 2019, pp. 1-17. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.libproxy.uncg.edu/lib/uncg/detail.action?docID=5763913

Hallenbeck, Sarah, and Michelle Smith. "Mapping Topoi in the Rhetorical Gendering of Work," *Peitho*, vol. 17, no. 2, Spring/Summer 2015, pp. 200-225.

Harrison, Kimberly. "Introduction: Words of Honor—Evidence, Exigence, and Rhetorical Selves." *The Rhetoric of Rebel Women: Civil War Diaries and Confederate Persuasion*, Southern Illinois UP, 2013, pp. 1-24.

Hayden, Wendy. "'Gifts' of the Archives: A Pedagogy for Undergraduate Research." *College Composition and Communication*, vol. 66, no. 3, February 2015, pp. 402-26.

Helfand, Jessica. *Scrapbooks: An American History*. Yale UP, 2008.

---. "What We Saved: Pictures and Ephemera in the Twentieth-Century Scrapbook." *Aperture*, vol. 183, no. 183, Summer 2006, pp. 40-45.

Hillard, Amy. L. "Explicit and Implicit Stereotypes: Current Models and Measurement of Attitudes," *Stereotypes: The Incidence and Impacts of Bias*, edited by Joel T. Nadler and Elora C. Voyles, Praeger, 2019, pp. 22-44.

Houdek, Matthew, and Kendall R Phillips. "Public Memory." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication*, Oxford UP, 2017.

"The IOWAVE [Class Magazine]." UNI ScholarWorks. University of North Iowa. https://scholarworks.uni.edu/iowave_magazine/

"It's Your War, Too." 1944. Video Recording No. 111.M.958; Records of the Department of Defense, Department of the Army, Office of the Chief Signal Officer, Record Group 111 [Online version: https://catalog.archives.gov/id/35837 National Archives and Records Administration, March 3, 2021.].

Johnson, Nan. "Introduction." *Gender and Rhetorical Space in American Life, 1866-1910*, Southern Illinois UP, 2002, pp. 1-18.

Kirsch, Gesa and Walker Smith, "Introduction to Part I: Unsettling Archival Studies." *Across the Disciplines*, vol. 18, no. 1/2, Jan. 2021, pp. 1–4. *EBSCOhost*, https://doi-org.libproxy.uncg.edu/10.37514/atd-j.2021.18.1-2.01.

Kite, Mary E. "Gender Stereotypes." *Encyclopedia of Human Relationships* (Vol. 1, pp. 758-760), edited by Harry T. Reis and Susan Sprecher, SAGE Publications, https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412958479.n241

Koelsch, Beth Ann. "Re: Curation processes." Received by Cindy McPeters, 30 Sept. 2022.

Kuipers, Juliana M. "Scrapbooks: Intrinsic Value and Material Culture." *Journal of Archival Organization*, vol. 2, no. 3, 2004.

Lerner, Gerda. "Placing Women in History: Definitions and Challenges." *Perspectives on Women's Archives*, edited by Tanya Zanish-Belcher and Anke Voss, Society of American Archivists, 2013, pp. 15-30.

"Letters to the Editors." *Life*, vol. 13, no. 13, Sept. 1942, pp. 2–11. *EBSCOhost*, search-ebscohost-com.libproxy.uncg.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=lma&AN=112618147&site=ehost-live.

Locke, John. *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, edited by Peter H. Nidditch, Clarendon Press, 1975.

"MANPOWER." *Life*, vol. 13, no. 25, Dec. 1942, pp. 27–31. *EBSCOhost*, https://search-ebscohost-com.libproxy.uncg.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=lma&AN=112622448&site=ehost-live.

Marshburn, Ruth Mildred. "World War II Scrapbook." 1940-1946. WV0227 *Ruth Mildred Marshburn Collection*. Betty H. Carter Women Veterans Historical Project, Martha Blakeney Hodges Special Collections and University Archives, University Libraries, The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

McEuen, Melissa A. "Introduction," *Making War, Making Women: Femininity and Duty on the American Home Front, 1941-1945*, U of Georgia P, 2011. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.libproxy.uncg.edu/lib/uncg/detail.action?docID=3038985, pp. 1-5.

---. "Women, Gender, and World War II." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History*. 09. Oxford UP. Date of access 16 July 2021, https://oxfordre.com/americanhistory/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-55.

Mecklenburg-Faenger, Amy. “Trifles, Abominations, and Literary Gossip: Gendered Rhetoric and Nineteenth-Century Scrapbooks.” *Genders*, vol. 55, no. 55, 2012, Gale OneFile: Business, https://link-gale-com.libproxy.uncg.edu/apps/doc/A286826971/ITBC?u=gree35277&sicIYBC&xid=3251c527. Accessed 5 Feb. 2020.

Meyer, Leisa D. “‘What Has Become of the Manhood of America?’ Creating a Woman’s Army.” *Creating GI Jane: Sexuality and Power in the Women’s Army Corps during World War II*, Columbia UP, 1996, pp. 11-32.

Moore, Brenda L. “Introduction.” *To Serve My Country, To Serve My Race: The Story of the Only African American WACs Stationed Overseas during World War II*, New York UP, 1996, pp. 1-23.

Motz, Marilyn F. “Visual Autobiography: Photograph Albums of Turn-of-the-Century Midwestern Women.” *American Quarterly*, vol. 41, no. 1, 1989, pp. 63–92. *JSTOR*, https://doi.org/10.2307/2713193. Accessed 3 Feb. 2020.

“Nurse POWs: Angels of Bataan and Corregidor.” The National World War II Museum, 5 May 2021, www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/nurse-pows-bataan-and-corregidor.

“Occupation: Housewife.” *Life*, vol. 11, no. 12, Sept. 1941, pp. 78–85. *EBSCOhost*, https://search-ebscohost-com.libproxy.uncg.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=lma&AN=112428418&site=ehost-live.

Ott, Katherine, et al. “An Introduction to the History of Scrapbooks,” *The Scrapbook in American Life*, edited by Susan Tucker, et al., Temple UP, 2006, pp. 1-25.

"Our Legacy." Military Women's Memorial. https://womensmemorial.org/about/. Accessed 3 Oct. 2022.

Pittman, Coretta. "Black Women Writers and the Trouble with Ethos: Harriet Jacobs, Billie Holiday, and Sister Souljah." *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, vol. 37, no. 1, 2007, pp. 43–70.

Reynolds, Nedra. "Ethos As Location: New Sites for Understanding Discursive Authority." *Rhetoric Review*, vol. 11, no. 2, 1993, pp. 325–338.

Ritchie, Joy and Kate Ronald. "Introduction: A Gathering of Rhetorics." *Available Means: An Anthology of Women's Rhetoric(s)*. U of Pittsburgh P, 2001, pp. xv-xxxi.

Royster, Jacqueline Jones, and Gesa E. Kirsch. *Feminist Rhetorical Practices: New Horizons for Rhetoric, Composition, and Literacy Studies*, Southern Illinois UP, 2012.

Ryan, Kathleen J., et al. "Introduction." *Rethinking Ethos: A Feminist Ecological Approach to Rhetoric*. Southern Illinois UP, 2016, pp. 1-26.

Ryan, Kathleen M. "'I Didn't Do Anything Important': A Pragmatist Analysis of the Oral History Interview." *The Oral History Review*, vol. 36, no. 1, Winter/Spring 2009, pp. 25-44.

"scrap-book, n." *OED Online*, Oxford UP, www.oed.com/view/Entry/173320. Accessed 4 September 2021.

Scrivener, Laurie. "US Military Women in World War II: The SPAR, WAC, WAVES, WASP, and Women Marines in US Government Publications," *Journal of Government Information*, vol. 26, no. 4, 1999, pp. 361-383.

Segal, Mady Wechsler. "Women's Military Roles Cross-Nationally: Past, Present, and Future." *Gender and Society*, vol. 9, no. 6, Dec. 1995, pp. 757-775.

"Shirley June Van Brakle Bentley." *Find a Grave*, www.findagrave.com/memorial/12800574/shirley-june-bentley, Accessed 21 May 2021.

Skinner, Carolyn. *Women Physicians and Professional Ethos in Nineteenth-Century America*, Southern Illinois UP, 2014. *ProQuest Ebook Central*, https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.libproxy.uncg.edu/lib/uncg/detail.action?docID=1598119.

Smith, Michelle. "In Rosie's Shadow: World War II Recruitment Rhetoric and Women's Work in Public Memory, *Women at Work: Rhetorics of Gender and Labor*, edited by David Gold and Jessica Enoch, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2019, pp. 186-208.

Van Brakle, Shirley. "World War II Scrapbook." *Shirley Van Brakle Collection*. Betty H. Carter Women Veterans Historical Project, Martha Blakeney Hodges Special Collections and University Archives, University Libraries, The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

"Vietnam Women's Memorial." National Mall and Memorial Parks, Vietnam Veterans Memorial. National Park Service. https://www.nps.gov/places/000/vietnam-womens-memorial.htm.

Vuic, Kara Dixon, "Introduction." *Routledge Histories: The Routledge History of Gender, War, and the U.S. Military*, edited by Kara Dixon Vuic, Routledge, 1st edition, 2018. *Credo Reference*, https://libproxy.uncg.edu/login?url=https://search.credoreference.com/content/entry/routgwaum/introduction/0?institutionId=1220.

Wells, Susan. "Claiming the Archive for Rhetoric and Composition." *Rhetoric and Composition as Intellectual Work*, edited by Gary A. Olson, Southern Illinois UP, pp. 55-64.