

Spring 2012

Woman at the Top: Rhetoric, Politics, and Feminism in the Texts and Life of Annie Smith Peck

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**WOMAN AT THE TOP: RHETORIC, POLITICS, AND FEMINISM IN THE TEXTS
AND LIFE OF ANNIE SMITH PECK**

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**A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of Old Dominion University
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of**


DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ENGLISH

OLD DOMINION UNIVERSITY
May 2012

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ABSTRACT

WOMAN AT THE TOP: RHETORIC, POLITICS, AND FEMINISM IN THE TEXTS AND LIFE OF ANNIE SMITH PECK

Hannah Scialdone-Kimberley
Old Dominion University, 2012
Director: Dr. David Metzger

The purpose of this focuses on the autobiographical rhetoric and public identity of Annie Smith Peck, a scholar, mountain climber and woman rhetor from the turn of the century. My qualitative case study of Peck examines how she worked as a woman rhetor to create a popular identity for herself in both mountain climbing and scholarship. I also focus on how Peck worked to identify herself with her audience; here, I use Burke's concept of "identification," as a way of adding to (rather than substituting for) traditional rhetoric. My project brings new findings in that I examine data on Peck (including her biographical notes, personal letters, and correspondence), which have not been previously used as a source of scholarship. These cultural artifacts not only echo societal and gender norms, but they also work to create these norms as well as break them.

Peck inspired some of her public audience to question what it meant for women to step outside of the constrictions of feminine attire and the domestic sphere and into the professional realm and sphere of action. In fact, media outlets such as the *New York Times* used Peck's image as a springboard for examining societal and gender norms in general. From this perspective, Peck's life can be viewed as a series of performances or reputations built upon those performances, each containing different rhetorical possibilities. Because Peck left her own writings, letters, and biographical notes behind, she worked as a kind of rhetorical autobiographer, or someone whose life and identity

were based on her own rhetorical shaping. Most significantly, Peck discloses that she used her image in the media to create a rhetorical stratagem for the advancement of women and used her climbing career as a way of challenging the traditional notions of sex and gender at the time.

For j.h.r., a fan of gutsy, literate, and spunky women. From, another fan – thanks for everything.

And for S.F.C.K, who has encouraged me always and will inspire me evermore.

And, of course, for Annie, who insisted that this work finally be written.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to gratefully and sincerely thank the members of my committee for their guidance during my writing process. Dr. Jeffrey H. Richards, with wisdom, generosity, and delight in research, lent me unwavering support and encouragement to tell Peck's story, and inspired this dissertation in the first place. I am indebted to Dr. David Metzger, for his willingness to entertain my ideas and my work as well as his mentorship and his expertise in rhetorical theory and practice. Dr. Jennifer Fish provided many thoughtful suggestions for this work. She also encouraged the feminist practice of talking to your subject, even when they are long since gone. I am also thankful to Dr. Dana Heller, who jumped in just when I needed her, and reminded me to "just keep swimming," or whatever it is that muskrats do.

I would like to thank the staff at Brooklyn College Library's Archives and Special Collections for their interest in and help with my project. Anthony Cucchiara, College Archivist and Associate Librarian for Distinctive Collections, Edythe Rosenblatt, Archival Associate, Izabella Nudellis, Archival Assistant, Marianne LaBatto, Associate Archivist and Barbara Allier each had a hand in my many hours of archival research, and I could not have done this work without their help. Dr. Russell Potter of Rhode Island College was instrumental in not only pointing me toward the Brooklyn College Archive Collection, but also cluing me in to the idea of eBay as an archive.

I would especially like to thank Jonathan Valentino for his generosity in sharing his personal collection on Peck with me. I am also grateful for his willingness to meet with me and discuss the life and times of Peck just for the sake of scholarship, history and

insatiable curiosity. His collection and oral history of Peck's artifacts added much insight into my research and writing.

I am also very grateful to my "research assistant" and dear friend, Kathryn O'Kane, who tirelessly combed through physical and digital archives with me and never grew weary from hearing or telling story after story about Peck and her adventures. Many thanks go out as well to Gregory Schneider, my good friend and fearless editor, who read each page of this work and offered suggestions without hesitation or complaint.

Finally, I would like to thank Craig Kimberley for his continued support and encouragement – we made it. What's next?

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"A woman who has done good work in the scholastic world doesn't like to be called a good woman scholar. Call her a good scholar and let it go at that. Tracking the figures given for Mount Huascarán by the triangulation, I have climbed 1,500 feet higher than any man in the United States. Don't call me a woman mountain climber."

-- Annie Smith Peck, quoted in *The New York Times*, June 3, 1911

The above epigraph shows Peck's attempt to rhetorically shatter gender categories by arguing that the public should not identify her based on her sex, but rather identify her by her accomplishments alone, as an individual that has surpassed the previous achievements of both man and woman. In a few sentences, Peck criticizes the notion of the categorization of gender, while, at the same time, points to the fact that she is a woman who has climbed higher than anyone in the United States. Here, she uses apophasis, reasoning based on denial, as a way identifying herself as an important female scholar and climber by denying that her gender is important. By explaining that she does not want to be known as a woman scholar or climber, Peck is describing herself in exactly these terms (woman, scholar, climber). This is useful in that it gives her credit not just for her feats, but also for her feats as a woman, which works to separate her from other accomplished scholars and climbers, and points to her as a prominent individual based on her accomplishments as well as her sex. This, in turn, allows Peck to show that she has not only climbed higher than any woman, but that she has climbed higher than *everyone*. This usage of a rhetorical figurative language is the work of a woman rhetor. Note that the previous sentence holds a double meaning, as rhetoric is both the art of

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persuasion and the study of the art of persuasion. On one side, it means that this is how Peck worked as a woman rhetor to create an identity for herself in the two areas of scholarship and mountain climbing. On the other side, it means that I too am a woman practicing rhetoric because I am working to examine Peck's language at work, or observing the available means of persuasion used by Peck. Work such as this is relatively new, not in terms of women *doing* rhetoric, but in terms of our study of women's rhetoric.

Feminist scholarship in the history of rhetoric has made important strides in the last two decades. Karlyn Kohrs Campbell's *Man Cannot Speak for Her* traces the growth of women rhetors arguing for equal rights from the mid-nineteenth century to the 1920s and the limitations placed upon them by a society that preferred for them to remain silent. Campbell makes a significant contribution to the history of women's rhetoric and at the same time, "challenge[s] those who explore rhetorical literature to incorporate our mothers as well as our fathers into their studies" (xxviii). In terms of rhetorical strategies, Cheryl Glenn has suggested in *Rhetoric Retold* that, within the realm of including women in rhetorical history, a certain "restorying" is involved. Along with restorying, Glenn suggests a "rethinking" of "texts, approaches, narrative- and history itself" (3). In *Reclaiming Rhetorica*, Andrea Lunsford argues that feminist scholarship is an attempt to interrupt the "realm of rhetoric [that] has been almost exclusively male... because the tradition has never recognized the forms, strategies, and goals used by many women as rhetorical" (5- 6). At the same time, other feminist scholars are cautious regarding revisionist history. In response to Campbell, Barbara Biesecker warns that recovering and inserting individual women into the rhetorical canon does not work to "challenge the

underlying logic of canon formation” itself as a system that commemorates the individual, which “fences out a vast array of collective rhetorical practices” (144).

Feminist historians Ann D. Gordon, Mari Jo Buhle, and Nancy Schrom Dye note that recovery of women in history is difficult in that the historian’s “categories and periodization have been masculine by definition” and so women’s institutions have been left out of the span of historical research (75). Joan Wallach Scott notes in *Gender and the Politics of History* that, by categorizing women in history as different from men, we “end up endorsing the ideas of unalterable sexual difference that are used to justify discrimination” (4). Moreover, Diane Helene Miller argues that women should not be a single category for research; rather, scholars should focus “beyond gender as an isolated category to the intersection of gender with variables of race, class, sexual orientation, and other variables of stratification” (376).

On the surface, it appears that Peck might best be examined through a feminist lens. In defining feminism, I refer to identifying femininity and masculinity as social constructs. Included in this definition is a political commitment to advance the rights and equality of women and ending the institutional practices that disadvantage women. She constantly questioned the discrepancy between men’s and women’s rights and access to power. However, as a woman rhetor and suffragist who argued for equality of the sexes, she does not neatly fit into these molds. In *Man Cannot Speak for Her*, Campbell argues that early women’s rights activists employed a “feminine style” of rhetoric, which was personal in terms of their tone and their experience, structured inductively, and involved audience participation and the treatment of audience as peers (12-13). However, this was not the style of Peck. In fact, Peck’s style might be viewed as just the opposite. Peck

placed more importance on her own, single voice being heard than she did on the suffragists' as a collective voice. For example, she refused to continue on the suffragist train because she was not given enough time to speak at each stop and took a separate train back to New York, where she could “talk for thirty or sixty minutes five or six times a day” (Peck, qtd. in “Cold to Women Orators”). Rather than being personal in her arguments, Peck relied on a masculine style and based her arguments for women’s rights on justice by citing Abraham Lincoln and Charles Sumner as suffragists instead of her own experience for the cause.

Many suffragists used the common theme of “social housekeeping” in which women, as keepers of the home, should extend their work to the public sphere, which could be achieved with suffrage (Rynbrandt 96). Rheta Childe Dorr, author and social worker, argues this point in her 1910 book *What Eight Million Women Want*:

Women’s place is home. Her task is homemaking. Her talents, as a rule, are mainly for homemaking. But home is not contained within the four walls of an individual home. Home is the community. The city full of people is the family. The public school is the real Nursery. And badly do the Home and the Family and the Nursery need their mother. I dream of a community where men and women divide the work of governing and administering, each according to his special capacities and natural abilities. (327-328)

Dorr and others such as Jane Addams began to articulate social housekeeping, which, as biographer Jean Bethke Elshtain notes, for Addams, was an “alternative to wedded domesticity” (78). With women as homemakers of a newly expanded domestic sphere,

politics, they argued, would be cleaned up and the public would be cared for as a mother cleans and cares for her family. However, this was not the line of suffrage argument for Peck, who “object[ed] to having our sphere decreed by others” (“From Suffragist Readers”). Peck also placed emphasis on individuality rather than women as a collective group, arguing that women’s ideas differed on an individual basis. She noted that women differed in terms of partisanship, and in terms of reforms such as capital punishment, of which she was a proponent (“Annie S. Peck’s Views”). Peck was also often deductive rather than inductive in her reasoning, and argued her points from general to specific. For instance, in an editorial titled “How to Treat Hunger Strikers” regarding jailed suffragists who were on hunger strikes, Peck suggested a “principle which might be applied to many cases in our city and country,” which is to send them to jail without discussion and to do the same with other criminals as well: “If they were sent to jail, to prison, to the electric chair without any headlines... they will not become martyrs for their cause” (“Annie S. Peck’s Views”). While this stance may make the hairs on our necks stand, it shows Peck’s argument for equality without consideration of gender. Here, Peck questions the assumption that might be made regarding women as caretakers, which calls for further examination of what feminism means through the study of her as an individual.

Peck might have also agreed with Scott and Miller that women not be a single category for study, as she made it very clear that women, like men, were individuals with varying backgrounds and opinions, arguing, “No woman can represent all women any more than one man represents all men” (Peck, qtd. in “In Defense of Miss Rankin”). At the same time, Peck insisted upon her womanliness, and argued that women who made attempts at masculine behavior only disclosed that “they aren’t as good as men, that they

know they aren't, and that they are going 'to try to be just as good by the usurpation of all the masculine trimmings" (Peck, qtd. in "Inferiority Complex is Seen in Copying of Men's Manners"). In essence, Peck argues that gender should not be a category that defines women. Instead, Peck was conscious of gender but imagined herself in ways that gender was not an absolutely defining characteristic, which may have served to liberate women from having to be gendered at all times.

As someone who is working to examine Peck's available means of persuasion, I also question the notion of using gender in terms of identifying and examining a woman rhetor. Likewise, as a feminist, I question the notion of using gender as a means of categorizing an individual or group of people. After all, this is what feminism is about – a concentration on the end of discrimination based on gender (and race and class, for that matter). The word feminist in itself is a gender identity term. However, when using a feminist lens, we seek to examine people, history, literature, and many other areas based on this gendered approach, and by doing so, we also work to reify gendered concepts and spheres. By stressing gender, we view women as a group with common traits and interests, which Biesecker argues has "collective rhetorical practices" (144). Judith Butler argues in *Gender Trouble* that this practice works to create "an unwitting regulation and reification of gender relations" in which men and women become divided based on sex (9). Instead, Butler argues, "A new sort of feminist politics is desirable to contest the very reifications of gender and identity, one that will take the variable construction of gender and identity as both a methodological and normative prerequisite, if not a political goal" (9). Of course, doing away with gendered terms altogether cannot achieve this. As Becky Francis points out, to do away with categories such as gender, race and class "inevitably

eventuates in an inability to discuss or recognise the broad-scale inequalities in our society, removing the tools with which to analyse discrimination and disadvantage,” which is part of feminist social ideals (44). This puts me in a tight spot as a feminist who seeks to examine a woman rhetor, but not by solely using gender as a category. It is very difficult to assign labels to an individual, especially when they are no longer here to label themselves, as it runs the risk of misidentification. In this sense, Peck is a good test case as a woman who achieved a great deal and tried to manage the terms by which she was considered.

Beyond Aristotle’s rhetorical appeals and the topics of invention, the notion of identity is a useful application to the case study of an individual woman rhetor since identity is how we see ourselves, and to be identified is how others see us based on characteristics that make us definable. Kenneth Burke begins *A Rhetoric of Motives*, which he considers a “philosophy of rhetoric,” by exchanging Aristotle’s term “persuasion” for “identification,” as a way of adding to (rather than substituting for) traditional rhetoric (xv, xiv). In that Burke defines us as “symbol-using animals,” we define others and ourselves by the use of symbols, which include words and images (*Language as Symbolic Action*). These symbols work as a way to both unite and divide as a means of identification. In terms of unification, Burke argues that a person might share collective ideas with another person or group of people, which makes them “consubstantial” (*Rhetoric* 21). By the same token, he argues that division is what allows us to identify with others as well, since “if men were not apart from one another, there would be no need for the rhetorician to proclaim their unity,” (*Rhetoric* 22). Peck works to both unite herself with certain groups in the male realm and divide herself from them

at the same time because she is a women working within this realm.

In many instances, Peck's identity as woman climber overshadowed her identity as woman scholar, leaving her with a public identity that worked in a way to caricature her as a climber in pants rather than credit her for all of her accomplishments. Another reason for the stickiness in identification is that Peck continuously worked within the male realm, while identifying herself as thoroughly feminine. In that the self is made up of various roles, identity is not static, and neither is gender. As Butler argues in *Gender Trouble*, if identity is a collection of roles or performances, then gender categories are plural as well, and take place on a continuum (179). As a single woman and suffragist who earned her living as a climber, explorer, lecturer and author, Peck identified with work/outside, or masculine constructs, rather than home/inside, or feminine constructs, which also contributed to her popular misrepresentation. In turn, this identification with the male realm has led current scholars of Peck to identify her as a feminist, although she ruptures many of the criteria that work to define feminism today. Peck heralded her own femininity in her dress, writing and speech. While operating in the male realm, she insisted that she was lady-like and worked to refute any masculine characterization that might have been attributed to her identity.

This project brings new findings on Peck in that I examine new data on Peck (including her biographical notes) from The Annie Smith Peck Collection at Brooklyn College Library and The Jonathan Valentino Collection, the latter of which has not been previously used as a source of scholarship on Peck. This study also contributes to the ongoing scholarship on Peck, in which she is classified exclusively as a climber and a feminist. Through the published writings of Peck herself, including her four books,

numerous scholarly articles, and various newspaper editorials, as well as articles about her, I examine Peck as a scholar of archaeology and geography as well as a climber and explorer, especially in terms of her significant contributions to fields outside of climbing such as geography. In terms of Peck's contributions, she worked in masculine fields. As Gordon, Buhle, and Dye note, historical categories have been "masculine by definition" and so institutions by and for women have been excluded from research (75). Within this context, Peck allows for more than study in archaeology or geography; she also works as a way of investigating women's place in the history of professional fields.

Because this project serves as a biography based on Peck's collection of her work left for her life story, I investigate Peck's life as she lived it, in chronological order. Peck was born at a time when the call for women's rights is barely audible, and she dies with the right to vote and an active participant in political movements. Hence, Peck participates in the broader social and political changes in the United States and South America as they occur. And, during this time, she speaks about changes that she believes should be made by both men and women in order to enact equality for herself and others. Peck gives us a double message: drop the woman/man distinction, but also take note that I am a woman who can surpass men in my field. This leaves us with a difficult task, one which much of feminism grapples with: the idea that we should not base things on gender difference, but in order to point to inequality to achieve balance, we must examine the very difference that we seek to abolish. Each chapter looks at this challenge for Peck at various places in her time. Accordingly, Peck's fight for professionalization and self-identification is examined in each chapter as well.

Chapter 2, "Identification of a Woman Rhetor," will identify my research question

and purpose of the study, the literature review, the research design and the significance and outline of the study. This chapter will also make use of Peck as a way of leading into the methods of the project. I also examine Peck's place in history from 1850 to 1935, and the very curious circumstances that surrounded women at the turn of the century.

Chapter 3, "She Ought to Have Been a Boy" focuses on Peck's early years, from 1850 to 1894, in which Peck first began to question her place in the world. Against her parents' advice, Peck decided to go to college as her brothers had done. Long before her career as a climber and explorer, Peck was a scholar, teacher, professor, and lecturer. This chapter investigates the ways that Peck first began to situate herself rhetorically in terms of her identity as a scholar and how she fits into the "dangerous experiment" of women as they began to first join the coeducational university system in the 1870s (Bordin). I also investigate Peck's masculine rhetorical style in her letters, lectures and manuscripts.

Chapter 4, "The Unmerited Notoriety of Miss Peck," investigates Peck's climbing career from 1895 to 1911, in which she climbed the Matterhorn in Switzerland, Popocatepetl and Orizaba in Mexico, Funffinerspitze in Tyrol and other Alpine summits, Mount Sorata in Bolivia, and Mount Huascarán and Coropuna in Peru. Through an examination of Peck's rhetorical delivery and style, this chapter explores the ways that Peck used her climbing career as a means of identification and as a way of challenging the traditional notions of sex and gender at the time.

Chapter 5, "Peck in Politics," explores Peck's life from the years 1912 to 1922, during time which she published her last three books. This chapter examines Peck's role

in politics as a way of further negotiating/performing her identity as a writer, scholar and professional.

Chapter 6, “The Professionalization of Peck,” covering the years from 1926 to 1935 examines Peck’s work for the Pan-American Union, the Society of Women Geographers, and other organizations. This chapter focuses on the impressions of Peck that we are left with and the idea that she was not considered worthy of biography, including the idea that she is not considered as having contributed to geographical and economic knowledge. Here, I look at Peck in terms of professionalism and what it means to be a professional writer and scholar. This chapter examines how this works in terms of the separation of spheres and what makes Peck’s audience see her as a non-professional, lady traveler (or even a non-professional mountain climber) instead of a professional scholar and climber. I discuss Peck’s contributions to geography, archeology, anthropology, cultural geology, economics, etc. What makes her a professional instead of being caricatured from her climbing? While her pants/persona allowed for many accomplishments, this also took away from her professional status. She’s educated as an archaeologist and a classicist, and she also contributes to other fields. There is competition for the term professional, and I discuss how the term is rendered. In essence, Peck fought over this term as well.

Chapter 7, my Conclusion, asks: How might we make a place for Peck? How might we make a place for other women like Peck? What more needs to be done in terms of feminist rhetoric and feminist biography? Where does this end up?

CHAPTER II

IDENTIFICATION OF A WOMAN RHETOR

I base this project as a qualitative case study of Peck as a nineteenth century woman who structured herself and her identity rhetorically. Because Peck left behind her own writings, letters, and biographical notes, she worked as a kind of rhetorical autobiographer, or someone whose life and identity were based on her own rhetorical shaping. Instead of a purely feminist framework, this project will serve as a new way of rhetorical thinking in which gender is a part, but not the dominant determiner of my study. For this project, I focus on Peck's rhetoric through the lens of the rhetoric of identity rather than feminism (her rhetoric as the available means of persuasion and my rhetoric as the study of her available means of persuasion, or, Peck as the rhetorical autobiographer, and I as the rhetorical biographer).

This project is the first extensive biography of Peck; however, it is different from a traditional biography. Before she died, Peck began gathering materials, including her own autobiographical notes, and preparing for her own biography to be written, thus actively engaging in her own representation until her final days. Consequently, while telling the story of Peck's life based on her published and personal writings, I also examine how Peck negotiated her own identity as a woman rhetor. Of course, as a feminist writer, I have also chosen feminism to serve as a second term, just behind the lens of rhetoric and identity, as a set of bifocals, or variable lenses, that encompass a number of perspectives, which examine Peck's own conception of herself, and as a way of rethinking how we evaluate a woman with agency over her own representation.

In defining feminism, I refer to identifying femininity and masculinity as social

constructs, and include in this definition a political commitment to advance the rights and equality of women, with an understanding that this may not have been the definition of feminism for Peck or others in her time. Karlyn Kohrs Campbell refers to women activists of the early nineteenth century as “feminists,” though “only in the sense that they worked to advance the cause of women” (3). She notes,

To themselves, they were woman's rights advocates (working for the rights of woman) or suffragists (working for woman suffrage). ‘Feminism’ here is inclusive and catholic, referring to all those who worked for the legal, economic, and political advancement of women, beginning in the 1830s. (3)

This meeting point between rhetorical theory and feminism works in a dual fashion. As Lisa Ede, Cheryl Glenn and Andrea Lunsford note,

Rhetoric offers feminism a vibrant process of inquiring, organizing, and thinking, as well as a theorized space to talk about effective communication; feminism offers rhetoric a reason to bridge differences, to include, and to empower, as well as a space to discuss rhetorical values. (401)

In turn, this may allow for other women who might not traditionally have been accepted as feminists to come in as part of the feminist rhetorical canon.

For this project, I rely on Campbell’s conception of rhetorical criticism, which aspires to gain “an understanding of the ways symbols can be used by analyzing the ways they were used in a particular time and place and the ways such usage appealed or might have appealed to other human beings – then or now” (2). Peck is an anomalous figure who was well known during her time, but who has all but been forgotten today. In terms of recognition, Peck is atypical as well, for when she is recognized, she seems to be

frozen in her popular image: a woman climber who climbed in pants. Though this is one of the many images Peck used as a rhetorical construct, it is far from the complex individual that Peck was in reality, and far from the singular way in which she wanted to be identified. Further, Peck differs from other women in her time in that her family and education afforded her a certain social status, but she worked for achievements without funding or support that her family could have presented her.

Like scholars in the history of rhetoric, feminist biographical scholars also focus on how feminist scholarship might advance the history of women's lives in a way that differs from conventional biography. Lois Rudnick notes that while conventions such as gender and class "constrain us in some of the same old ways," feminist biography works to recover women in history while, at the same time, "call[ing] into question the masculinist grounds on which biography has conventionally been defined and accepted" (119). Likewise, discussing her work on Lucy Sprague Mitchell, Joyce Antler notes that feminist biography differs from traditional scholarship in that materials used for biography hold different values for feminist biographers than biographers of male subjects. For instance, the biographer of Mitchell's husband claimed his diaries were not useful as biographical materials, while Antler found significant "contextual material about daily family life" regarding the life of both Mitchell and her husband (103).

Linda Wagner-Martin also notes that the inclusion of women's lives in biography works to create a "blend of external and interior" rather than biographies of men, which are often "dominated by external events" (11). Further, Lois Rudnick suggests that feminist biographers may work to "unmask the once-presumed objectivity of biography because of our sensitivity to the many ways in which women have been socially

constructed” (119). Because this project focuses on the life and times of Peck, the discipline of biography must also be considered. Here, biography serves – in Barbara Tuchman's language – as “a prism of history,” which includes “the universal in the particular” (133). This framework will not only allow for a close analysis of Peck but also an analysis of the political and cultural aspects of her time and those with whom she lived.

From this context, I study Peck as a woman who worked within the institutions of men, such as writing, geography, and climbing and exploration, and examine how she negotiated her own identity as a woman within those institutions. My dissertation asks: In what ways did Peck contribute to scholarly fields? How do her contributions add to the discussion of what counts as legitimate scholarly knowledge? How does her lack of acknowledgment contribute to the discussion on who is allowed to generate such knowledge? In what ways did Peck work to divide and unify herself from others as a way of identifying with them? And, how did she negotiate her own identity as a woman rhetor at various times and in various circumstances throughout her life?

My methodology for this project began with a poster of Peck given to me as a gift. She is featured in her climbing gear, staring off into the distance with the words “A Woman’s Place is at the Top” printed above her image, and her name below. Out of curiosity, I began to research Peck, and found that The Annie Smith Peck Collection at Brooklyn College Library holds 33 boxes (approximately 17.0 cubic feet) of Peck’s diaries (1862-1931), correspondence (1879-1935), printed materials (typescripts, research notes, news clippings, etc.), and ephemera (scrapbooks, posters, fliers, etc.). The collection also holds the papers of Alexander Kadison, Peck’s authorized biographer,

spanning the years from 1910 through 1965. I since have also come across and researched materials from the Jonathan Valentino Collection, a private collection of Peck's biographical notes and correspondence as well as notes written about Peck by Kadison.

When I visited the Annie Smith Peck Collection, most of the boxes were chronologically categorized ranging in dates from 1862 to 1935, although some were categorized by form, such as ephemera and photographs. The Jonathan Valentino Collection was not organized in any manner; rather, these artifacts were pulled from randomly packed boxes in a basement of private home in Brooklyn. At the time, I was not searching for specific artifacts – I was only digging into each box in an attempt to find out who Peck was. Over many trips to the archive, combing through photos, posters, placards, and letters written by and to Peck, I began archiving the archive, or creating my own process for selection and appraisal of materials. For instance, Peck's 1862 diary entry that discusses ice skating with friends did not serve my interest as much as an 1874 diary entry that illustrates her experience at university. From there, I began to copy and collect artifacts that I viewed as descriptive of Peck's life experience and personality.

From my artifact selections, I began the process of arrangement and description. At first, I categorized each artifact in chronological order; however, this only served as a sequential picture of Peck's life. From this arrangement, I began to organize each artifact, and discovered that they could be described in sets by at least two major categories, and from this, the themes of professionalization and circulations within networks emerged. It is not surprising that I chose professionalization since this was a major topic in her sustained correspondence from the time that Peck was in her twenties until her death at

age eighty-five. In fact, many letters that I had collected referenced, in one way or another, Peck's fight for professionalization. For instance, the collection holds several letters of reference for Peck, with which she carried in her travels as a way of introducing herself to professionals and politicians whom she had not met. These letters were written by folks that Peck already knew, which showed that she also had solid networks of friends and acquaintances, many of whom held high positions in the respective fields, such as the Augusto Leguía, the President of Peru. From these correspondences, I began to come across the same names and found that there were sets of letters between Peck and people with whom she communicated (some of which she corresponded with throughout much of her lifetime). Naturally, the topic of my dissertation emerged out of my focus on longstanding correspondence between Peck and others. This process of selection, appraisal, arrangement, and description began to paint a picture of Peck as a well-connected individual who wanted to be understood as a professional in her fields.

Throughout most of her life, beginning in her early twenties until her early eighties, Peck worked to be identified as a professional in her fields. She insisted on the same education as her brothers and sought the same accolades as her contemporaries (who were mostly men) both in her scholarship and in climbing and exploration. Unfortunately, Peck was not always seen as a professional equal to the men in the same fields of climbing, exploration, and science. For Peck, this meant that each of her acts, from climbing mountains to authoring books and articles, was a struggle to attain the same sense of integrity and expertise as the men in her fields.

This lack of professionalization for women still exists today. Gillian Rose discusses this in *Feminism and Geography*, and contends that women in the field of

geography are still marginalized: “The domination of the discipline by men has serious consequences both for what counts as legitimate geographical knowledge and who can produce such knowledge” (2). From this context, it is not surprising that such scholars as David R. Stoddart argue that “women travelers” such as Peck “made no contribution in their time to the emergence of [geography]” (484). Rose attributes male domination in the field of geography to the traditional view of “fieldwork as a particular kind of masculine endeavor” (*Feminism and Geography*, 70). In an effort to critique male domination in the field of geography, scholars such as Matthew Sparke have begun “interrogating the masculinity of fieldwork by turning to feminist work” (214). Feminist geographer Mona Domosh calls for a “feminist historiography of geography” and argues that women such as Isabella Byrd and other women travelers should be included in the geographical history (95). Moreover, Domosh argues that women explorers such as Peck and Louise Arner Boyd “set aside much of their Victorian past to embrace the new scientific community” and so should be considered as contributing the construction of geographical knowledge (100). Fieldwork in geography required independent, often dangerous, trekking, climbing and carving new paths. This required intimacy with the land of South America and demanded certain traditionally masculine qualities, such as strength, courage, individualism, and endurance. There is much symbolism in this aspect of the work, which makes the challenges of professionalism in Peck’s world at the time categorically different to women seeking status, for example, in the medical field. Of particular interest here is how we view and label women subjects such as Peck in terms of professionalization, and how these views and labels have changed or remained the same between Peck’s time and our own. For Peck, professionalization was a means of survival,

but it was also a means of making her mark on the world, and from this perspective, I examine the rhetorical efforts Peck made in order to be accepted as equally important (or as human) as men.

Although the present study focuses on Peck as an individual, it examines Peck's political, personal, and professional relationships with others, from which emerges a second theme – that of Peck's personal and professional networks, which I label as “circulations within networks.” From this context, we can get a larger picture of Peck through the cultural artifacts left behind by her friends, family, and colleagues. For instance, rather than viewing Peck as a ‘lady traveler,’ Robert Peary, an accomplished explorer in his own right, treated Peck as an equal, and lent her his own equipment for her climbs. This theme also works to open pathways to other unheard of women rhetors such as Harriet Vittum, who hosted Peck in Chicago and, as a “new force in Chicago politics” won the primaries for office of Cook County commissioner in 1913 (Goodwin 135). Likewise, rather than “devaluing collective rhetorical practices,” an examination of Peck as an individual leads to the study of collective women (Biesecker 144). For example, Peck not only belonged to suffragist groups, but was also a member of societies that were formed by women and for women who were excluded from joining the professional societies of men such as the Society of Women Geographers.

While Peck can be categorized as an individual woman in history, she also operated at the same time within the circles of women and men, including scholars, explorers, climbers, and politicians. What set her apart from other women at this time is her breaking of gender norms – both masculine and feminine. The notion of circulations within networks is beginning to show up in various studies and examines networks of

people and how women set up circulations between themselves and others within varying networks. In *Milcah Martha Moore's Book: A Commonplace Book from Revolutionary America*, Catherine La Courreye Blecki and Karin Wulf investigate Moore and her collection of writings in order to discuss her networks and how women set up circulations between themselves. A view into Peck's circulations within networks will aid in the examination of how Peck set up networks of friends and acquaintances (often made up of powerful men or those who might influence them) in order to distribute her texts, promote her image, secure funding for research and exploration, and identify herself as a professional. For instance, Peck was introduced to a young man named E.W. Hendrick, who was her brother's classmate at Brown University. Hendrick introduced Peck to Clara Brown, a reporter in Arizona, who, as one of the first woman journalists in the west, wrote "Tombstone from a Woman's Point of View" for the *San Diego Union* and founded the Southern California Women's Press Club (Lawrence 303). Brown also wrote about Peck's explorations. It is here that the significance of the recovery of women rhetors in history comes into play. While this work highlights Peck as an individual, in doing so, it begs the question, "How many more women rhetors are there out there?" This question, then, spurs even further research.

Both themes of professionalization and circulations within networks may be arched under the major concept of identity. Peck, as a woman rhetor, "used [symbols] in a particular time and place and the ways such usage appealed or might have appealed to other human beings" (Campbell 2). For Peck, the symbols of her self-identification incorporate material culture, including speech, writing, actions, and images, all of which create a site for investigation in terms of the limits she experienced versus the freedom

she employed to exercise her skills as a woman rhetor. Though Annie Smith Peck has been identified as a suffragist, a feminist, a Gibson girl, New Woman, and a woman explorer (both used as a term of honor and disgust), she fits neatly into none of these molds. Peck's life was a struggle for her own public identity, as she defined herself differently from how others chose to define her in the press and other outlets. From this context, I examine the struggle over the terms or ways in which Peck, as a prominent public woman, exercised the right to define herself versus how society has defined her. Here, I study Peck not just as an explorer, scholar, or climber, but also in a more authentic and inquiring fashion by examining her own writings and actions as sources of self-identification.

In terms of discussion on Peck's identity, her written work and actions all operate as a way of describing her sense of self. I examine Peck's identity as a set of performed roles that challenge the traditional conception of gender norms, as the press continuously made reference to Peck in terms of her gender, and Peck also often referenced her gender in her own writings and interviews. Peck was often portrayed in a masculine light in the press. However, her same masculine traits were used as a way of achieving different ends by the authors who wrote about her. In some cases, Peck was used to signify the rise of woman at the turn of the century; in other cases, she was used as an example of what can go wrong when a woman takes on masculine characteristics, especially in terms of her climbing competitors and in terms of Peck in comparison with other women explorers. On the other hand, Peck argued that women should have the choice of operating within the male sphere, while still being considered a woman. In her actions, she did the same. In her dress, she represented herself not as an androgynous or masculine figure, but as a

lady who, when the occasion called for it, donned men's clothing for practical purposes. Peck also worked to keep tight control over how she was portrayed in the press, consistently insisting that, as a woman, she should be able to operate within the male sphere without being criticized as masculine, or 'mannish,' in a negative light.

Because I examine the pieces of life that Peck left behind for her biographer and writings about Peck in this project, my research is based on the study of material culture, which works not only in terms of examining Peck but also in interpreting the social experience of Peck and the times in which she lived. While there are many methodologies that are used to examine cultural artifacts, a feminist methodology serves as my basis for research, as this project centers on the identity of Peck, who worked in the male realm. To examine Peck's letters in conjunction with what was written about her is to study what Shulamit Reinharz describes as "feminist content analysis," or "archival research," which examines "cultural artifacts" that "possess a naturalistic 'found' quality because they are not created for the purpose of study" and are not "interactive" in that they "do not require asking questions of correspondents or observing people's behavior" (147). Cultural artifacts are defined as objects that "stem from every aspect of human life" and are "thus used as a 'text' for research" (Reinharz 146).

While these artifacts echo societal norms, they also work to both "shape norms" and break them (151). For instance, as shown in her 1928 letter to Frederick Collins, while newspapers and magazines described Peck as unattractive or mannish, she responded to these accusations by letter, explaining that she was a very feminine woman who happened to work on projects (such as climbing or writing about economics) usually reserved for men (Peck, Letter to *Good Housekeeping*). Here, the societal norms for the

time would say that women's work takes place in the home, and artifacts such as newspapers and magazines worked to help shape these norms as well as reflect them by identifying a woman who worked outside of the home as different, or even odd. But Peck attempts to break these norms by arguing to a public audience that a woman can be womanly and work outside of the home.

My study of Peck's artifacts also includes visual texts such as photos, printed materials and ephemera on Peck such as her lecture placards and advertisements, which require a visual methodology. Gillian Rose notes that a visual methodology

thinks about the visual in terms of the cultural significance, social practices and power relations in which it is embedded; and that means thinking about power relations that produce, are articulated through, and can be challenged by, ways of seeing and imaging. (3)

In terms of examination of visual texts, I view Peck's image in her lecture placards, advertisements, and press clippings as rhetorical strategies, and examine the effects that her approach to dress had on her audience.

Most importantly, I use a feminist archival methodology so that Peck has a voice in identifying her life's project based on the materials she left for Alexander Kadison, her authorized biographer, from which she expected him to write her life story. In essence, the materials that Peck left in her wake are as much autobiographical as biographical in that she chose which materials her biographer could use that might best describe her life and work as she wanted it to be described. In her discussion on feminist storytelling and auto/biography, Jacky Bratten asserts that female autobiographies are consistently characterized by "self-definition in relation to significant others; so that rather than a

sense of individual autonomy, a sense of identification, interdependence and community is key in the development of women's identity and therefore also central in their stories of themselves" (101). From her various writings, identity for Peck is not grounded on calling attention to her entitlements alone, but on her constructing and performing identity. In her sustained correspondence with her circulations within networks, Peck seeks to insert herself into a community of explorers and climbers, and, above all else, professional scholars.

The following chapters seek to bring Peck's biography back to life, as a recorded memory of Peck and cultural continuity of the time in which she lived. Because the Brooklyn College archive materials and the Jonathan Valentino Collection have not been used as an extensive means of studying Peck in published works before now, these new materials on Peck add to the limitations of previous work on Peck in that they provide us with a more in-depth and complex view of who Peck was, how she saw herself, and how she fits into our history. The newly studied materials on Peck in the Brooklyn College Library Archive and in the Jonathan Valentino Collection lead to greater questions: How did the gendered representations of women in Peck's time inspire her to rhetorical action? In what ways did Peck rhetorically act as a way of securing her place in climbing and scholarship? In what ways does she contribute to our understanding of women in the history of rhetoric? The themes of professionalization and circulations within networks are all representative of Peck's rhetorical actions and work to portray Peck's identity as it was depicted in the public and as she wished to represent herself.

From these resources, I offer a new examination into Peck in terms of women's rhetoric, identity, and feminism. Her own writings address these issues, and these new

data on Peck show that she dances a skillful dance along the gender continuum – performing in a ladylike direction while, at the same time, achieving like a man. They also work as a source of evaluation of Peck’s feminist label, placed on her by previous scholars.

My dissertation is a continuation of research in that it furthers earlier scholarly work on Peck from two key scholars: Elizabeth Fagg Olds, who wrote a biographical chapter on Peck in *Women of the Four Winds*, and Ruben Ellis, who also wrote a critical chapter on Peck’s imperialistic ventures in South America in *Vertical Margins: Mountaineering and the Landscapes of Neoimperialism*. My research design incorporates new findings on Peck, which includes collections that have not previously been used to examine Peck as a climber, scholar, or rhetor.

In her time, Peck was a popular figure as a climber, explorer and suffragist. In my search of United States newspapers from 1900 to 1920, I found over 90 articles about and by Peck. Many of these discuss her achievements in climbing, some advertise her lectures on archaeology and climbing, and others are editorials by Peck that discuss her explorations, women’s suffrage, politics, and popular culture. She lectured throughout the United States and South America on archaeology, geography and climbing. However, after 1935, when Peck died, news coverage of her died as well. In my own collected articles on Peck, I count only four between the years of 1931 and 1940, and found no articles on Peck between 1941 and 1950. Peck briefly resurfaced in a 1978 TABS Journal, as a face for a collection of posters of famous women used as an “aid for ending sexism in school” (Library of Congress, n.d.). In 1981, she was featured in a two-part

journal article in *New England Outdoors* as “New England’s Mountain Adventuress” (Waterman and Waterman, 46).

Otherwise, further focus on Peck’s life and accomplishments were quiet from the 1930s until 1985, when Elizabeth Fagg Olds, a foreign correspondent and bureau chief for *Time-Life* in Mexico, wrote the first in-depth biographical chapter on her in *Women of the Four Winds*. Olds’ book focused on the climbing achievements of four early members of the Society of Women Geographers, including Delia J. Akeley, Marguerite Harrison, Louise Arner Boyd, and Peck. Olds notes that while Peck and her contemporaries in the Society of Women Geographers were not “trained as scientists,” they nevertheless “managed to explore some of the earth’s most unlikely spots” and “contribute much to our knowledge of people, customs, and geography” (2, 4). In 1999, Caroline Louise Houle wrote her Master’s thesis in Geography for Humboldt State University, “Annie Smith Peck: Pan-Americanist,” about Peck’s contributions to the Pan-American Union. In 2000, Dorcas Miller also profiled Peck in *Adventurous Women: The Inspiring Lives of Nine Early Outdoorswomen*. In this book, Miller presents a short biography of Peck and a reprint of Peck’s 1909 article, “The Most Dramatic Event in My Life,” which had been published in the *Delineator*. In 2002, Rebecca A. Brown published a work on women pioneers in climbing, *Women on High: Pioneers of Mountaineering*, in which she wrote two chapters on Peck’s climbs leading up to her 1908 feat of Mount Huascarán. In this work, Brown chronicles Peck and other women climbers from Maria Paradis, who climbed Mont Blanc in 1808, to Miriam O’Brien Underhill, who completed her first ascent on Torre Grande in the Dolomites in 1926, and, along with her husband, was the

first to climb all 48 of peaks of the White Mountains in 1960. Like Olds, Brown argues that Peck was a feminist, noting,

One of the most distinguishing characteristics of Annie Peck is that she was the first woman mountaineer who framed her climbing with overt aspirations of feminism. She also considered her work a way of advancing scientific knowledge and promoting international relations. (146).

Olds and Brown are the first authors to examine Peck outside of climbing, both in terms of gender and scientific accomplishment.

Of further interest, Rueben Ellis offers an even more comprehensive study of Peck in *Vertical Margins: Mountaineering and the Landscapes of Neoimperialism* (2002). This examines the climbing narratives of Peck and two other climbers (Halford Mackinder and John Noel) from the context of neoimperialism, in what is "a simultaneously geophysical and political project" that examines the "less pure side to climbing" (7). Ellis argues that exploration/climbing narratives in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries "recreate the world through the assumptions of priority, superiority, and destiny at play in empire building" (13). Additionally, Ellis examines the style of exploration writing, and its progression from the "journal" style to a combination of the popular and scientific style (30-31). In his chapter on Peck, Ellis does a close reading of Peck's *Search for the Apex of America* and an examination of two of her other books (*Industrial and Commercial South America* and *The South American Tour*) as well as three of her articles written for *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, *Outing*, and *Scientific American*.

Ellis provides a short biography of Peck and chronicles her climbs in Bolivia and Peru within the context of a historical review of politics at the time. From his close reading of *Search for the Apex of America*, Ellis examines Peck's book as a hybrid work that stands as a travel book, an exploration narrative and a promotion of U.S. foreign investment in South America. What is most interesting is that Ellis provides more analysis of *Search for the Apex of America* in terms of its feminist subtext than its imperialist agenda. Admittedly, in my own experience of reading Peck, placing her in a feminist context is something that cannot be helped. In terms of the texts of Olds, Brown, and Ellis, it must be noted that they work to remove the misrepresentation of Peck as someone who was just a woman mountain climber in pants.

Beginning in the late 1990s, Peck surfaces again in numerous anthologies on women's history, where she is noted as an early climber in various timelines and short biographical sketches, including: *Mountaineering Women: Stories by Early Climbers* by David Mazel (1997); *1001 Things Everyone Should Know About Women's History* by Constance Jones (2000); *The Complete Idiot's Guide to Women's History* by Lorna Biddle Rinea and Sonia Weiss (2001); *Women of Discovery: A Celebration of Intrepid Women Who Explored the World* by Milbry Polk and Mary Tiegreen (2001); *Women in Pants: Manly Maidens, Cowgirls, and Other Renegades* by Catherine Smith and Cynthia Greig (2003); and *Her Story: A Timeline of the Women Who Changed America* by Charlotte S. Waisman and Jill S. Tietjen (2008). During this same time, Peck is also written into history in children's literature and portrayed as symbol of 'girl power' for young readers in books such as *Women Explorers in North and South America: Nellie Cashman, Annie Peck, Ynes Mexia, Blair Niles, Violet Cressy Marcks* by Margo

McLoone-Basta (1997); *Explorers* by Carlotta Hacker (1998); *A True Book: Peru* by Elaine Landau (2000); *The New York Public Library Amazing Explorers: A Book of Answers for Kids* by Brendan January (2001); *A is for Abigail: An Almanac of Amazing American Woman* by Lynne Cheney and Robin Preiss Glasser (2003); *Remember the Ladies: 100 Great American Women* by Cheryl Harness (2003); *For Girls Only: Everything Great About Being a Girl* by Laura Dower (2008); and *Women Daredevils: Thrills, Chills, and Frills* by Julia Cummins and Cheryl Harness (2008).

Of special interest in this group is *A Bibliography of Female Economic Thought to 1940* by Kirsten Kara Madden, Janet A. Sietz, and Michèle A. Pujol. Although this is only an alphabetical listing of women's names and publications, it is significant in that Peck's name is included both in the list of contributors, based on her book *Commercial and Industrial South America*, and in the introduction of the text as a "less well known" contributor to economic thought. This single notation begins to give us a sense that Peck contributed to more than the field of climbing, and the books she wrote, along with the biographical materials that she left behind after her death, prove this point.

Peck lectured on her explorations, wrote numerous articles in publications such as *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, *Delineator*, *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society* and *Collier's*, and author four books spanning the fields of climbing, exploration, geography, travel, economics, and flight: *A Search for the Apex of America: High Mountain Climbing in Peru and Bolivia, including the Conquest of Huascarán, with Some Observations on the Country and People Below* (1911); *The South American Tour* (1913); *Industrial and Commercial South America*, (1922); and *Flying Over South America: Twenty Thousand Miles by Air* (1932).

Twenty years after her ascent of Huascarán, the Lima Geographical Society named the mountain's north peak "Cumbre Ana Peck" (specifying "Ana"), so there was no mistaking that a woman was the first to reach the summit (Olds 62). This was welcomed by Peck, for she saw climbing as an advancement of equal rights for women, noting in *The Search for the Apex of America*, "Being always from earliest years a firm believer in the equality of the sexes, I felt that any great achievement in any line of endeavor would be of great advantage to my sex" (ix). For the rest of her life Peck would use her success in climbing as a rhetorical strategy to identify herself as equal to male professional explorers and scholars. From this context, I examine Peck as a woman rhetor. This project addresses not only how Peck rhetorically worked to insert herself into the professional realms of climbing and scholarship but also what her insertion means for these fields.

While Peck self-identified as climber, explorer, and suffragist, she also "believe[d] in femininity," and identified herself as "womanly" ("Inferiority Complex" and Peck, Letter to *Good Housekeeping*). She dressed accordingly, taking great care to delineate herself as feminine by wearing dresses made of chiffon and lace. Peck did not aspire to break apart the patriarchal system; rather, she sought to work within it, and to stand alongside the men who were celebrated within the system. This being said, it does not seem that Peck placed men above women within this system. Rather, Peck's emphasis was on the individual as human; or, those who were able reach to the *apex* should claim the highest accomplishments. In this sense, Peck appeared to be standing alongside men within the patriarchal system because she stood on the *human* summit, which just so happened to be wholly populated by men.

This seems to speak to the patriarchal order itself. Peck did not seek to reverse the order in the sense that women should stand on top; instead, she sought to change the order by rejecting the notion that gender is defined by the context within which women find themselves. This idea can be viewed in terms of Kenneth Burke's pentadic analysis, introduced in his 1962 volume, *The Grammar of Motives*, which puts us in a position to see how accurately a script charts reality by using the pentad as factors that locate motive. Burke uses the pentad as a way of studying the rhetoric of human motivation, or as a way of examining "what is involved, when we say what people are doing and why they are doing it" (xv). This then gives us an opportunity to view not the way things are, but how we *identify* the way things are. Burke notes that an account about a person's motives needs to address certain terms, such as "what was done (act), when or where it was done (scene), who did it (agent), and why (purpose)" (xv). Thus, the creation of pentadic scripts. Once a script is created, some terms tend to dominate, and "pentadic ratios" take shape, which "name forms necessarily exemplified in the inputting of human motives" (402).

From this framework, Peck's identification as a woman rhetor might be understood in terms of a scene-agent ratio. In this ratio, the scene (where something takes place) and agent (who does something) may serve as a framework for Peck and the work that she did. While Peck wrote and climbed in a man's world, she argued that these things could be accomplished by anyone, thereby working to perfect the scene rather than herself as an agent. In the scene-agent ratio, the perfected scene included women's right to an education, women's right to work, and women's right to professionalize. For Peck, the scene within which a woman can be the agent is viewed not in the context of gender, but

in the *human* context.

In the sense that Peck kept letters that she wrote to others, and left these articles with her biographer, we might assume that she meant for them to be part of her public record, since her authorized biographer, Kadison, had planned on writing her biography based on her own written recollections, manuscripts, books, diaries, and letters (Kadison, Letter to William Mershon). From this perspective, Peck's life can be viewed as a series of performances or reputations built upon those performances, each containing different rhetorical possibilities. As such, Peck had much control over her image, from the time that she was living, as well as posthumously, leaving selected letters and biographical materials behind, and destroying others. Peck planned on her life being recorded, and so, by leaving her private writings with her biographer, it is possible that she meant for these to be read in a public context. The fact that she left these specific materials behind as a way of asserting her identity even in death is a rhetorical gesture in itself. The following chapters work to recount the life of Peck. They also serve to answer who she is as an individual rhetor, how she deals directly with gender, and how she stands within time and space of our history and understanding of historical and rhetorical figures.

CHAPTER III

“SHE OUGHT TO HAVE BEEN A BOY”

Annie Smith Peck became so famous in her time as a climber that she was able to walk straight to the steps of White House and directly ask for a meeting with the President of the United States. In her biographical notes, she tells this story:

In 1908, before my fourth trip to South America, I called at the White House. I told the attendant (who had heard of me) that I thought the President would like to see me. (I never flattered myself that any other President would care whether he saw me or not.) The young man smiled and said he had no doubt that T.R. would like to see me. I called on Saturday between twelve and one. The President saw me the following Monday. As soon as he came into the room, he turned to me, the one woman in the room, shook hands, greeting me by name, and invited me into his sanctum, then shook hands with the men and said a few words to them. Then he came into his sanctum and began by complimenting me on my courage. “Well,” said I, “I shouldn’t venture to go horseback-riding with you.” He had been thrown from his horse, the week before, in Rock Creek Park, while jumping a fence. (Biographical Notes)

How does one get to a place in life where she is able to call on the President for a social visit and gain a welcoming response? The press coverage of Peck’s climbing achievements helped, and her numerous publications about climbing, politics, and opinions guaranteed her fame. Of course, recognition and success do not make a woman rhetor, but they do help to get rhetorical voices heard by audiences. Peck used her

celebrity to speak, write, and act in ways that had influence over the opinions of her audience. By exploiting her public image, she attempted to change beliefs about women's limitations, which, ultimately, worked towards making changes politically and professionally for women as well. In order to examine her work as a woman rhetor, it is important to start by examining Peck's rhetorical roots, which burgeoned in her college years. This is where Peck's work as a woman rhetor begins – with the *idea* that one can change audience opinion and belief with only her words and actions. This is also where Peck's circulations within networks grow, along with her determination to professionalize as a woman in the fields of men. Peck's early adulthood can be examined as a period of rhetorical experimentation in pursuit of an expressive identity. She becomes a rhetor not only by being conscious of her mode of expression, but also by her studies in the classics at Michigan University. Because Peck had this classical training, she is not an unconscious rhetor but a deliberate one, who worked to use various strategies that would assist her audience in identifying with Peck as a woman scholar.

During this same time, Peck begins to cultivate her public identity as a scholar and rhetor. This would take careful consideration, for women were not traditionally accepted in either of these roles. In order to break through these gendered positions, Peck would have to walk a line between joining with groups of male scholars and rhetors and separating herself as a woman in order to show that women should have the right to belong to the groups in the first place. Because Peck was a deliberate constructor of her own public identity and faced the challenge of false identity as a woman *acting as* rhetor (rather than *being* a legitimate member of the group of male rhetors), Burke works well as a source of examination into Peck's identity. In his discussion on the rhetoric of

identification, Burke notes,

Because to begin with “identification” is, by the same token, through roundabout, to confront the implications of *division*... For individual universes, as such do not compete. And the *Symbolic* thus considers each thing as a set of interrelated terms all conspiring to round out their identity as participants in a common substance of meaning. An individual does in actuality compete with other individuals. But within the rules of the Symbolic, the individual is treated merely as a self- subsistent unit proclaiming its peculiar nature. It is “at peace,” in that its terms *cooperate* in modifying one another. But insofar as the individual is involved in conflict with other individuals or groups, the study of this same individual would fall under the head of *Rhetoric*. (*Rhetoric* 22- 23)

Peck used her own work and image as a way to both unite and divide as a means of identification. She shared in collective ideas with male scholars, which makes her “consubstantial” and therefore unified with other male scholars (*Rhetoric* 21). At the same time, Peck was also divided from most of her scholarly peers (and later with her climbing peers as well) in that she was a woman, while her peer groups largely consisted of men, which also allowed for her to identify with woman as a symbolic group. Through both unification and division, Peck shows that she as an individual can work in the male scholarly realm while at the same time work as a representation for all women. Thus, she uses unification and division as a way of persuasion, or protection of her own interests.

In the beginning of Peck’s experience as a woman scholar and rhetor among men, she calls attention to the idea that she is still a woman while she publishes and

rhetorically acts alongside male scholars, and attempts to confront the existing idea that women were not accepted in these fields. These early years show Peck's beginning work at unification and division as a means of persuasion, or, as Burke would add, identification. Peck was attempting to be a part of these male groups while also proclaiming her difference from the other members as a way of proving that women should not be excluded from male groups in the first place. This persuasive attempt at identification is exemplified in a 1924 survey completed by Peck for the Alumni Association of the University of Michigan. Looking back on her early years, she remarked on her university experience:

I decided in my teens that I would do what one woman could to show that women had as much brains as men and could do things as well if she gave them her undivided attention. Few do that, I haven't myself. It is a pity that women should have been obliged to do it in order to gain for those who need to work a fair chance and equal opportunity in any line of work. (qtd. in Attaway and Barritt 17)

Here, Peck refers to her own attempt to break into the male field of scholarship, while holding on to her identification as a woman, thus arguing that women should have a place in the academy as scholars just as any man with the same skills and intelligence.

Those who accomplish much in life do not go about achieving great feats alone. Peck's beneficial circulations within networks begin in a personal manner, at home with her family and their friends and acquaintances. From an early age, Peck's circulations initiate sets of connections that she possessed for the rest of her life. Peck was born on October 19, 1850 in Providence, Rhode Island. Her father, George Batcheler Peck, and

mother, Ann Power Smith Peck, had five children: George Batcheler Peck, Jr. (b. 1843 d. 1934); John Brownell Peck (b. 1845 d. 1923); Emily Smith Peck (b. 1847 d. 1847) William Thane Peck (b. 1848 d. 1939); and Annie Smith Peck (b. 1850 d. 1935). Ann Smith Peck descended from Roger Williams, the founder of Providence, where the family remained, living in a house built by Peck's grandfather on Main Street (Eno and Laxton 223). The Pecks were a Northern Baptist, Republican family, and George Peck Sr. supported them in his work as a lawyer and a wood and coal merchant. He also served twice in the House of Representatives, from 1859-1860 and 1864-1865. Ann Smith Peck raised her children on plain food, homeopathic medicine, and little emotional support ("The Healthiest Family"). The Peck clan extended throughout Providence to aunts, uncles and cousins, and these networks extended even further to the university in Providence and the Baptist Church.

As the youngest child and only surviving girl, when she was young, Peck "was encouraged to play outdoors with [her] three older brothers. [She] climbed trees and vied with them in all sports" ("How I Prepared"). Hence, she often found herself in competition with her three siblings, so that she "learned to swim, to row, and to whistle a tune better than her brothers" (*Phrenological Journal* 143). When recounting her younger years, she noted, "My brother William said he had come to agree with the opinion expressed by Mr. Stockwell (at one time connected with the high school in Providence) that the youngest member of the family was the smartest" (Peck, Biographical Notes). It is here that Peck began not only her fierce sense of competition in sport, but also an intellectual rivalry as well. In 1858, Peck attended grammar school, Dr. Stockbridge's School for Young Ladies, which, under the "influence of Brown University in raising the

tone of the community” had opened its doors as a private girls’ school in 1828 for “parents [who] felt that their daughters ought to be put on a footing with their sons, in the matter of their mental culture” (Stockbridge 225). She then went on at age thirteen to attend Providence High School, and after graduation attended Rhode Island Normal School (now Rhode Island College), a preparatory school for teachers, and graduated in 1872. Peck briefly stayed on in Rhode Island, teaching Latin in Providence High School.

Peck had wanted to attend Brown University after her work at the Normal School. Her father and his brothers attended Brown, and Peck’s three brothers also attended Brown. But, when Peck applied to the university, she was refused on the basis that she was a woman. This rejection, the first in a long line of many, is what led Peck to begin her fight for professionalization. Brown University also served as a site for the beginning of Peck’s networks, some of which would last throughout her lifetime. Rather than attending Brown as her brothers had done, Peck moved to Michigan in an effort to live on her own and support herself, where she taught languages and mathematics in Saginaw High School until 1874, under the direction of Horace S. Tarbell, superintendent of the schools at East Saginaw, who saw great promise in Peck as a scholar.¹ After a year in Saginaw, Peck realized that she was not making the same amount of money as her brother William did in teaching, as during this time, women teachers were paid thirty to fifty percent less than men with the same qualifications in teaching (Lerner 44). This fact inspired Peck’s plans to further professionalize in order to earn a better living and seek a full college degree. And it would not be easy to convince her parents that this was a viable plan.

¹ For discussion on Tarbell and his accomplishments in the public schools of Saginaw, see Mills, 289-291.

Peck was not alone in her yearning for a higher education, and her family was not alone in doubting that she had a true need for further schooling. Not only did women lack the same choices for higher education as men, but education for women was also seen as something that was hazardous to their health and out of place in Victorian society. This danger brought on by education was scientifically “proven” by Edward H. Clarke, a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society, Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and professor of *Materia Medica* in Harvard College. In 1873, Clarke published *Sex in Education or A Fair Chance for the Girls*, a treatise against coeducation, which became a best-seller at the time. Clarke explains that American women, who are beginning to seek higher education, are committing a “slow suicide” by using energy on the brain, which takes away energy from the reproductive system (44). In his work, Clarke cites several case studies of young women who have physically and mentally suffered as the result of education. He argued,

The regimen of our schools, colleges, and social life, that requires girls to walk, work, stand, study, recite, and dance at all times as boys can and should, may shut the uterine portals of the blood up, and keep poison in, as well as open them, and let life out. (52)

Clarke claimed that this harm done to women by education placed the United States in danger of losing reproductive women altogether, to the extent that “if these causes should continue for the next half-century... it requires no prophet to foretell that the wives who are to be mothers in our republic must be drawn from trans-atlantic homes” (43). Assertions such as Clarke’s were backed up by Darwinism, which, starting in the 1860s, classified men as more fit than women, who had less developed brains (Harris 58).

This scientific reasoning supported what Barbara Welter has described as “the cult of true womanhood,” in which the “attributes... by which a woman judged herself and was judged by her husband, her neighbors and society could be divided into four cardinal virtues – piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity” (152). As Lori Liggett explains in her scholarship on the New Woman in advertising, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, a growing capitalist society brought about the notion of separate spheres in which “the mode of production was separated from the family, thereby creating a new discourse of two spatially separate, gendered spheres” (102-103). In *Beyond Her Sphere: Women and the Professions in American History*, Barbara J. Harris argues “The persistence of the cult of true womanhood was closely connected to the fact that most Americans believed it to be based on a scientific view of feminine nature” (57). So, how did women manage to further their educations and impress a professional status upon themselves? For many, it was a struggle. For instance, when future suffragist and abolitionist Lucy Stone announced that she wanted to further her education by attending college, she first had to teach school and save money for nine years in order to pay for her tuition, since her “father pronounced her crazy and her mother feared for her soul” (Harris 80). Peck would need to work hard to persuade her family that she deserved the same status as her brothers.

While teaching in Saginaw, Peck was encouraged by Horace S. Tarbell to further her education, but when she wrote home to tell her family about her plans to earn a full degree at a university, they thought it was “perfect folly” for Peck to want to go to college and graduate at the very old age of twenty-seven. Further, her brother John argued that she had “too good talents to give them the benefit of a Collegiate education”

(Letter to George B. Peck and John Peck 12 January 1874). In a point-by-point fashion, Peck states her case in a letter addressed to her father and her brother John for needing to professionalize as a teacher and scholar. Although the letters from her father and brother do not exist in the archives, Peck makes a point in her letter to address both her father and brother's criticisms of her choice to go to college. She begins with the logical appeal to her father that she will need money to support herself, rather than relying on her family for the rest of her life. Peck argues that she can earn a good living as a teacher because "the demand will increase as colleges are open to ladies and female seminaries and colleges are established" (Letter to George B. Peck and John Peck 12 January 1874). In the same letter, Peck also notes that, while she currently earns \$700 per year, her brother William earned \$1,100 just after graduation. She argues that, because she is a woman, she will need more education than her study at the Normal School in order to earn more money, stating, "I should like to take a full college course, taking all the Latin and Greek possible, getting a complete education. Then I should wish to teach a few years and then perhaps go to Europe as Wm. [William, Peck's older brother] has done" (Letter to George B. Peck and John Peck 12 January 1874). This was a rational argument, as the public school system began to open to more and more students during this time.

"Common-school reformers," rooted in republicanism, Protestantism and capitalism, began to popularize the idea that an educated public would help to grow good citizens and lessen societal problems such as poverty and crime (Kaestle 75-76). By the end of the nineteenth century, free public education was offered at the elementary level to all American children. In order to meet this new demand, teachers were needed, and since women were paid less than men, they were able to meet the needs of a new educational

system for less money. In keeping with republican, Protestant, and capitalist ideals, common-school reformers believed that women, as mothers and teachers of their children, also required moral and political training, and so opportunities for higher education were opened for them as well (Kaestle 84). This supported Peck's rational argument that she needed to further her education. Although, in all reality, Peck, who had compared herself to her brothers from an early age, saw no reason why the "smartest" child in the family should not have the same education as her brothers (Peck, Biographical Notes). Nonetheless, her argument for an education was based on the same republican ideals of individualism and liberty on which she was raised.

In the same letter, Peck briefly mentions that she is thinking of not only the field of teaching, but is also entertaining the field of lecturing, the former being a "probability" and the latter being a "possibility" (Peck, Letter to George B. Peck and John Peck 12 January 1874). However, in order to do either and earn enough money to support herself, she explained to her father that she needed a college education so as to take "all the Greek and Latin possible" and become a teacher that earns at least "\$1,200 a year" (Letter to George B. Peck and John Peck 12 January 1874). Peck also notes that she will be able to hone her rhetorical skills for the "possibility" of lecturing. In the same letter, she argues,

That I can deliver well is not doubtful. A college course will enforce systematic writing and speaking. My success there may show, perhaps, if I have talent in that direction. A recent lady graduate of Michigan has been lecturing with good success in this state. Still I do not plan at all in that

direction nor found my arguments on that proposition. (Letter to George

B. Peck and John Peck 12 January 1874)

Of interest here is that Peck does, in fact, eventually make her living on the lecture circuit. However, while she briefly admits that she is already prepared for such a course in terms of the rhetorical canon of delivery, or her public presentation of discourse, she makes sure to base her argument for further education on the idea of becoming a teacher who will earn more money with a college degree.² At this time, Michigan University had just opened its doors to women in 1870, and the idea of coeducation and being “associated with boys” pushed the envelope far enough for Peck’s family (Letter to George B. Peck and John Peck 12 January 1874). But the notion of a woman taking the lecture platform might have driven them beyond the limit. While women did speak in public by this time, they still suffered from social criticism for exceeding the sphere considered best suited for women.

By this time, Peck had met other educators who were more liberal in their thinking (such as Professor Tarbell) and she made a point to use them as witnesses to the fact that she should have the same education as her brothers. In the same letter, Peck notes,

Prex. Angell (president of University of Michigan) is interested, so his opinion is 0. Prof. Tarbell is interested in the opposite side, so his opinion is worth very much. He said if he were in my place he would go by all means, if not this year [then] next, and he knows my ability as well as

² Peck’s use of delivery changes as she continues on in her work as a lecturer, which is further discussed in Chapter Three.

almost any one. (Peck, Letter to George B. Peck and John Peck, 12 January 1874)

Peck continues her logical appeal to her father, using the testimony of Tarbell as a witness to her abilities as a scholar.

From Peck's letter, it seems that her brother John believed that a college education was too much education for a woman. This was not unusual for the times, as many believed that education for women should stop earlier than for men. Educators such as Catharine Beecher believed that women's education should focus on domestic study and prepare them for teaching and motherhood. Ezekiel G. Robinson, the president of Brown University, echoed this same sentiment to Peck when she applied for admission, stating, "Women are not encouraged to seek higher education" (qtd. in Eno and Laxton 223). For Peck, who believed wholeheartedly in equality of the sexes, it was outrageous that she might be treated differently because she was a woman. In the same letter, she replies to her brother's comment with indignation:

Your arguments are what might be expected, perhaps, but John's are really absurd in my humble opinion... That a graduate of M.U. [University of Michigan] would not rank higher than a graduate of Vassar or of private instruction is ridiculous. It would be 10 years, if not 20, before I could hope to get a salary of \$1600 if ever without classical training. The number of ladies who have such is very small and must command the best places. Private instruction for reputation is almost valueless... Why did John not pursue such a course for himself? (Peck, Letter to George B. Peck and John Peck 12 January 1874)

At this point in her letter, Peck addresses her brother John's objections to her receiving a college education. By noting that her father's objections were expected, but that her brother's were unsound, Peck works to remove credibility from John's argument. While she continues stating facts regarding money and statistics, Peck adds a further pathetic appeal to her logical argument. She argues that neither Vassar (then a preparatory school for young women with a curriculum that only covered two years of coursework) nor private instruction would compare to a full college course and help to earn her more money as a teacher. Here, Peck uses *inter se pugnancia*, a figure of pathos, to directly address John with a question. This serves as a way of admonishing him in front of her father by pointing out the incongruity between what he says (You do not need a full college education) and what he does (John received a full college education).

In the same letter, Peck continues her answer to John's objections:

“To good talents to give them the benefit of a Collegiate education.” Dare you say that out loud? What if you applied it to a young man? Are you crazy? I am not afraid that my fame would be lessened should I be Valedictorian of the class of '78 in M.U.... I will charitably conclude that you (John) wrote hurriedly and thought hurriedly as well. (Peck, Letter to George B. Peck and John Peck 12 January 1874)

At this point, Peck makes an emotional appeal directly to her brother by employing another question to evoke an emotional response. Here, her rhetorical question works to inveigh against what seems to be a ridiculous reason for a woman not to attend university. By questioning her brother's comment, Peck once again points to his “absurd” arguments as a way of showing that her father's objections were sounder. Of course, it

would be her father who needed convincing, as it was his ultimate decision upon which Peck relied.

The next issue was that of funding. Peck explains that she has already saved enough for the first year of study, and if her father refuses to help her financially, then she will find friends who might loan her money for tuition (Peck, Letter to George B. Peck and John Peck 12 January 1874). One week later, on January 19, Peck writes to her father again. By this time, Peck's mind is made up and her decision to attend the University of Michigan has been made, regardless of whether her family will fund her or not. She notes,

Why you should recommend for me a course so different from that which you pursue, or recommend to your boys is what I can see no reason for except the example of our great grandfathers and times are changing rapidly in that respect.... I wish to be prepared some day to teach the classics in Vassar or elsewhere and mean to be. I don't suppose John [Peck's brother] can teach Greek now much better than I can Latin and I wish superior instruction if I give my whole time to study. I hope you will make yourselves easy about it. I think when we have talked the matter over we shall agree better. I certainly cannot change. I have wanted it for years and simply hesitated on account of age but 27 does not seem as old now as it did. I should hope for 20 years of good work afterwards. (Peck, Letter to George B. Peck January 19, 1874)

Peck asserts that she is one and the same with her brother John when it comes to scholarship; thus, her father's only hesitation to allow her to attend university is based on

her sex. Peck unifies herself with her brothers by reminding her father that she is just as intelligent as they are. In the same statement, she points to her division in the male Peck clan of scholars who were allowed to attend Brown University: she is divided, or not included, because she is a woman. Peck's major point here is that she "cannot change." She cannot alter herself as a woman, nor can she break away from the Peck family. Therefore, she must go forward, as a person who would have had an easier lot in life as a man.

Peck also adds that Professor Tarbell, who is "well qualified to judge my present skill and capacity for the future" might lend her money in order to "complete my education," once again using his expertise to bring credibility to her argument (Peck, Letter to George B. Peck January 19, 1874). Though Peck does not have the same advantages as her brothers for education, she nonetheless associates herself with them, and determines to follow her own path to higher education even without the support of her parents. Peck explains to her father know that by no uncertain terms, she means to get the same education that her brothers received at Brown University. Furthermore, the threat of a man outside of the family (such as Tarbell) paying for her education might prove more humiliating to her father than the idea that of an unmarried, overly-educated daughter.

In the same letter, Peck argues that she needs to make her own living because she will not have the support of a husband. She states, "Years ago I made up my mind that I would never marry and consequently that it would be desirable for me to get my living in the best possible way and to set about it as any boy would do" (Peck, Letter to George B. Peck January 19, 1874). Here, Peck uses her family's own Republican rhetoric, labeling

herself as an individual trying to make her own, independent way in the world. Peck unites herself with her father and brothers by sharing in their Republican ideology. However, because she is a woman in the midst of changing times, or a time that is different from that in which other women in her family experience, she argues that she must follow the path of her brothers. She does not have the support of a husband, so she must make her own way, which, as she points out, is not as unusual as it might have been were she living just a generation before.

The rhetoric of the “Republican ideal” was used not only by Peck, but also by other women at the time who argued that they should be educated alongside their brothers. In her historical account of women in higher education, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America*, Barbara Miller Solomon notes, “Aspiring women eventually applied to themselves the Jeffersonian principle that each man should rise according to his abilities. This social ideal became the instrument through which women in educated families first identified their own yearnings for education” (xviii). If her father funded her education, Peck would be able to earn her own living. Otherwise, she threatened, “Should I remain at home ten years, as some people would have me, I should then be utterly unfitted for active life and should only be a burden to my brothers, useless and unhappy” (Peck, Letter to George B. Peck and John Peck 12 January 1874). Once again, Peck appeals to the Republican/Protestant ideal that “poverty caused by indolence was deserved, but industry was a central trait of the virtuous individual” (Kaestle 83). If Peck had already decided not to marry, she should make her own way in the world instead of relying on charity from her family for the rest of her life. Likewise, she might finally rise to her full

potential, about which her supporters such as Tarbell had already remarked. During this time, the right not to marry was “a more or less viable option for the educated woman,” and because Peck had future plans with which marriage would certainly interfere, she would keep her word to her father and remain single for the rest of her life. (Soloman xix). For all of Peck’s logical and emotional appeals, she finally gained the support of her family and attended the University of Michigan in 1874, where she would complete an undergraduate course of study in the Classics in hopes of becoming recognized as a specialist in her field and earning the same wage that her brother William earned as a teacher.

Peck entered the University of Michigan at a very special time, or what Ruth Bordin considers as a “golden decade for women students at Michigan” (12). In *Women at Michigan: “The Dangerous Experiment,” 1870s to the Present*, Bordin describes the setting: “Exotic, competent, attractive, bright, and not yet too numerous to be a threat to male hegemony, women found a degree of acceptance that in later years proved almost impossible to duplicate” (12). Peck’s letters echo Bordin’s assertion that “women’s experience [at Michigan] was not very different from that of their male peers” (13). Possibly for the first time, Peck was seen as an equal to her male contemporaries, and, in an 1874 letter to her brother George, she notes,

I had a chat with Mr. Sellers, a classmate. Speaking of who is the best scholar, he said, “without flattery, I honestly think you are,” and I said “Nonsense,” he declared that he had heard ever so many boys say the same thing. The girls here are far from being appendages. (Peck, Letter to George B. Peck, Jr. 23 December 1874).

College life seemed to have suited Peck well, and, from her letters, it appears that she worked very hard at earning her reputation as a top scholar, which took extra work in some areas. By the second month of her first semester, Peck had already assessed her position in terms of rank in scholarship. Her diary for October 12 reads:

Recited in Greek pretty well. Not at all in Latin except a few questions as usual. I gave the parts of a verb that as many as eight boys failed on. Gave one or two small things in Algebra Ever so many failed to give the binomial formula. Wamsley put the dem. on the board in good shape. He is very smart and will be a difficult rival to surpass. I think I can equal any of the others without difficulty in a short time. (Diary of Annie Smith Peck. October 12, 1874)

Ever competitive, Peck worked hard to contend with the top scholars in her class, determining to excel in her studies, which might afford her a better job as a teacher. She would continue her competition with “Mr. Wamsley” throughout her undergraduate career at Michigan, who studied with Peck and nominated her to be an editor for the school newspaper. Peck had finally found a place where she stood on equal ground with the top students in her class, both male and female, and possibly for the first time felt that she was viewed as an intellectual equal to men.

It is at this same time that Peck’s letters begin to show her developing circulations within networks. Patricia A. Palmieri discusses the social and professional networks of the female academic community at Wellesley College, “an important power base,” for women during the antebellum period (65). She notes that while their families encouraged these women in their academic endeavors, they were also supported by each other in a

“friendship network,” in which they “encouraged and took pleasure in each other's success” (65). Palmieri characterizes these networks as long lasting and over-lapping, and as systems that “provided both intellectual stimulation and social camaraderie” (66). Peck also joined such networks; however, because she and her family were affiliated with Brown University in her hometown of Providence, Peck's first network seems to consist of three young men that she met at home. The first was a young man who attended high school with Peck (and college with her brother William) named William Vail Kellen. The second connection in the Brown network was Elijah W. Hendrick, a friend of Peck's brother John. The third was Elisha Benjamin Andrews. Each of these young men attended Brown University with Peck's brothers (Kellen graduating in 1872, Hendrick in 1871, and Andrews in 1870 with Peck's brother William). Along with Peck's three brothers, Kellen, Hendrick and Andrews were all members of the Brown University Chapter of the Delta Upsilon Fraternity. Peck's Brown network can be traced through her correspondence with each of these men, as she would ask her friends and family members to send her letters back to her after they read them, or to destroy them altogether, thus leaving her writing preserved. For instance, in a letter to Kellen, she writes this postscript: “Please bring me this note and my last when you come up as I haven't had time to copy them and I don't like to break my rules” (Peck, Letter to William Vail Kellen October 5 1869). Here, by age nineteen, Peck has already established a “rule” of collecting her personal letters.

Peck's writing to and about each of these men works as a way of illustrating not just who she was, but also how her work as a rhetor began, as each of these men helped Peck in her role as a woman rhetor and to professionalize as well. While Peck writes

about her friends at Michigan, and even some dates with young men there, she also relies on Kellen (and later Hendrick) for friendship, advice and professional connections. In fact, both Kellen and Hendrick became lawyers, and both gave Peck legal advice well into her later years. While the Brooklyn College Archives and the Jonathan Valentino Collection do not provide letters from the 1870s to and from Hendrick and Andrews, they do contain eighteen letters from Peck to Kellen, which show her determination to professionalize and her beginning study of rhetoric. Within these letters, Peck also discusses her relationship with Hendrick, and from these discussions with Kellen, it seems that all three of them were friends during this time. Peck also discusses her communication with Hendrick in her letters to Kellen, and she explains to her mother in an 1875 letter that she views both of their friendships as very valuable. From the letter, it is obvious that Peck's mother has questioned her relationship with both men, and Peck responds accordingly:

I correspond with both Kellen and Hendrick. I find it very interesting and profitable. You may be sure I could not have written as good an oration on Milton if I had not had correspondents with whose letters I took pains. The latter writes better than any one else whose letters I ever read (Ask John) and gives me a good deal of excellent advice on various subjects. I don't see where the "more foolish as they grow older" comes in as both have been my friends these half dozen years. I know them rather better than you and think they will stand comparison with Sarah's and Lizzie's husbands in everything but beauty and perhaps old fashioned orthodoxy. In education and intellect they are both superior to Mr. Winans. One thing

should comfort you. Probably I shall marry neither of them and certainly cannot marry both. Meanwhile they are excellent friends of mine and always will be. (Peck, Letter to Ann Power Smith Peck November 24 1875)

Peck, Kellen and Hendrick traded writing with each other and provided each other with feedback. For instance, Kellen reviewed and gave feedback on Peck's work published in the *Oracle*, the university newspaper, and Peck reviewed Kellen's law cases in law school at Boston University. Both Hendrick and Andrews aided Peck in her job searches after college, and Andrews sent Peck money to fund her expeditions when she began climbing and exploration. However, most importantly, what each of these men provided for Peck was a sense of intellectual equality, which she would find invaluable throughout her lifetime. When her mother questioned Peck's relationship with two of them, Peck seemed to care more about what she might gain from her networks than what others might say about her relationships.

Peck and Kellen began dating in or around 1868. From Peck's letters, it seems that she had a courtship with Kellen for a few years; but, in an 1873 letter to her father, she notes that her courtship with Kellen has ended: "All thoughts of anything more than friendship on either side (if we ever had any) were ended years ago, as I should think you might know very well (Peck, Letter to George Peck 20 April 1873). Nonetheless, it appears as if Peck and Kellen continued at least a friendship until 1932, as there is a friendly note from Kellen in the Brooklyn College Archives with this date. Because of their courtship/friendship, Peck and Kellen corresponded often, and Peck shared her thoughts and feelings with him via letters, many of which speak to her experience during

her years at Michigan. Through Peck's Brown networks with Hendrick, Andrews and Kellen, it is possible to examine Peck's identity not only on a personal level, but on a professional basis as well. These letters also point to Peck's beginning rhetorical training.

Although Peck and Kellen stopped dating, per her letter to her father, he nevertheless wanted her to leave the University of Michigan after her first year to attend Boston University, which had opened its doors to women in 1869. However, Peck decided to stay on at Michigan, whose literary department was well established. She explains her position in an 1875 letter to Kellen, who was attending Boston University's School of Law at the time:

I am glad you are settled at last in accordance with your wishes and are so contented and happy. Were I in your place I think I should be too. It is quite a misfortune to be so situated that not only present but even future satisfaction is impossible. Dr. Wells' words she ought to have been a boy were only too true and the older I grow the less reconciled I am to my fate. But it is useless to mourn over the irretrievable and the irrevocable, so like the Cat after the Pilgrimage (described by Mr. Froude) if not happy I am at least not exceedingly miserable...The Law Department is well established and being ignorant and unprejudiced I am willing to take your words for its merits. With the Literary Department the case is different. There are many reasons why I should prefer to spend the next three years in Boston and there are many advantages which I should surely gain, but I intend to act according to what seems best on the whole rather than for a little additional pleasure, and therefore it was with considerable disappointment that I read

Mr. Cutler's very kind letter received a few weeks ago. [Mr. Cutler stated] "I find the general opinion to be the same as mine, that President Angell's [president of University of Michigan] New England reputation and the established position of the University of Michigan make the latter the more desirable place for you." Mr. Cutler is certainly disinterested and I suppose his judgment is good, but I am sorry I have made no decision but think the fates seem inclined to keep me west... I will not forget your birthday. Will you accept a standing invitation to tea on that day until either you or I get engaged? Seven years is a long time to have a friend isn't it? especially a gentleman. I think we both deserve a great deal of credit for constancy, honestly I do. Now we will see how conscientious you can be if you try hard. Your friend as ever, Annie. (Peck, Letter to William Vail Kellen January 24 1875)

If Peck had been a boy, she would certainly have had more freedom and choice in her decisions, especially when it came to professionalization. Peck would reiterate statements about how her life would be easier if she were male throughout the rest of her life. Here, she attaches importance to her gender as a way of reminding Kellen she that cannot take the same liberties with her own course in life as he might because she is a woman. This may have also served as a way of explaining to him that while she was not averse to moving closer to him, she nonetheless needed to do what was best for her own path, and once again shows her ideals of independence.

"Mr. Cutler" was correct in his discussion of President Angell, who was well connected because of his accreditation work with the schools. Angell also worked as "an

employment agent” for male and female students, and would eventually support Peck in her search for employment (Bordin 17). While she would graduate from a coeducational college, her prospects for finding a teaching job at such an institution were slim; therefore, Peck decided to continue on at Michigan, where the Literature Department’s reputation surpassed that of Boston University. It was at Michigan where Peck would receive the same rhetorical training that male students received in the Literary Department as Classics scholars.

Peck’s classical curriculum consisted of Greek, in which she read such works as Plato, Demosthenes, De Corona, Aeschines, and Homer. In her Latin courses, she experienced Horace and Quintillian. In line with the curriculum at the time, Peck also studied physics, calculus, trigonometry, German, French, and Spanish. By her sophomore year, she attended classes in literature and rhetoric. Students in the Classics course were expected to translate and recite each week. Peck was also tasked with public speaking and debate, and found herself once again in competition with “Mr. Wamsley.” It is at this time that Peck begins her work in rhetoric and public speaking, and in just two short years the “possibility” of lecturing was on its way to becoming a “probability,” for Peck found that she excelled in debate on the public platform. In an 1876 letter to Kellen, Peck explains that she has been delayed in writing to him because she has been busy working on her speeches for class. She notes,

My present subject is “Are Trades-Unions beneficial to the working-man?” I have the negative and Mr. Wamsley the affirmative. The latter is considered the best debater in the class, so I was especially anxious to do my best... I enjoy extemporaneous speaking better than I expected. I have

done a little better than expected, and although I cannot hope to become very proficient in this line, I am well pleased to believe I am not the worst.

(Peck, Letter to William Vail Kellen November 19 1876)

One month later, Peck writes again to Kellen to tell him about her victory:

You may like to know that the decision on my debate with Mr. Wamsley was rendered in my favor. Mr. W., however, by no means did himself justice. I handed in my second speech last Monday on the Annexation of Cuba. Mr. Demmon said it was a very good speech and I seemed to have thoroughly exhausted the subject. I deliver it tomorrow. (Peck, Letter to William Vail Kellen December 17 1876)

While Peck downplays her talent as a writer and rhetor here, she clearly emphasizes that she is doing a fine job at research, writing and persuasive speaking, and makes the triumphant point that she is more persuasive than “the best debater in the class.” This is especially unique because many women in college at the time did not have equal access to the public speaking platform. But, from Peck’s letters, it seems as if she had the same opportunities to speak as did her male peers. Harris argues that coeducational universities (including Michigan) “discouraged [women] from challenging accepted ideas about women, developing strong motives for pursuing independent careers, or trying to break into masculine fields” (99). If this were true for the women Classics students at Michigan, then it seems to have no effect on Peck, as her first writings contested women’s place within the patriarchal system.

Because Peck had the same rhetorical training and opportunities to publish as her male peers at Michigan, she worked to question women’s unequal status in education,

society, and politics. This first article illustrates Peck's classical training, which presents her rhetorical sophistication as a deliberate (rather than an accidental) strategy. Peck was an editor for the school newspaper, *The Oracle*, and one of her first published works, an 1876 article titled "Women in the Homeric Age," argues that women have not advanced in education, social life, and family relations, nor in terms of professionalization since the time of ancient Greece. In her essay, Peck argues, "The champions of the rights of woman point triumphantly and hopefully to her ever-enlarging sphere of action; but yet it is a matter of doubt whether the elevation of woman has been more than proportionate to the general development of the human race" (21). Peck bases her discussion of ancient Greece on the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, in which women had "greater comparative advantages" than they do in the nineteenth century (21). Throughout the essay, she displays her knowledge of the topic by indicating that she has studied Greek history and referring to specific instances in both works. From the onset, Peck establishes her ethos as a scholar of ancient Greece and, at the same time, uses her experience as a woman of the nineteenth century to argue her point.

Peck begins her essay by asking her audience to contemplate if the circumstance of women has improved in the last three thousand years, and then, using a rhetorical figure of reasoning, immediately answers her own question in the negative:

Whether the condition of *woman* has improved in the lapse of ages remains, however, a question of considerable importance, a negative answer to which might produce a somewhat discouraging effect on the minds of any who may have considered that the shackles which hamper the gentler sex have long been weakening, and are now ready to fall. (20)

With a pessimistic answer, comes an optimistic point – that women are gaining more freedom than before. It is interesting that Peck uses the term “shackles” here, connoting the idea of slavery, which was abolished a decade before she wrote her essay. This also invokes the notion that, while the fifteenth amendment had been passed just six years before, women still did not have the right to vote. This was an even stronger rhetorical point: If slaves were freed, and men, regardless of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude" had the right to vote, then women were farther behind in terms of independence and liberty.

Peck then asserts that if women of the nineteenth century do not have a “greater comparative advantage” over women in ancient Greece, then her audience should “hide our diminished heads in shame and sorrow, counting our modern civilization a failure, and our fate most deplorable” (21). Here, she appeals to pathos in an effort to embarrass her audience by arguing that women’s lot has not changed since ancient times. This works as way of appealing on an emotional level to the audience's identity as modern, civilized people for whom progress should be of self-interest. Next, she discusses the “improvements” that have been granted to women of the nineteenth century. The first improvement is that of education. She makes the case that, while her position at Michigan is proof that women have advanced in education, neither men nor women attended college in ancient Greece. In dramatic fashion, Peck writes

The improvement which first suggests itself, and of which our presence in Michigan University is in evidence is the great advance which has been made in the cause of education. In the days of which we write women did not go to college. But stop! ere we chronicle this as a long stride toward

equality. In those days *men* did not attend college either. In the department of education then there has been a retrograde movement, instead of the equality which formerly existed. (21)

Beyond emotionally identifying with her audience, Peck also appeals to logic here by admitting to a weaker point (women now have education) in order to make a stronger one (but education does not make for equality between the sexes). Her argument underscores the fact that while she was attending university, there were only a handful of universities that even accepted women. It was only a year before Peck wrote this that she was rejected by Brown University on the grounds that she was a woman. Peck was also conscious that she would not have the same opportunities as her male classmates would have for employment after graduation, and when women did gain employment in the same fields as men, they earned a lower salary. For many women of the time, education was not the great equalizer, and Peck's essay reminds her audience of this point.

Peck then discusses social life and marriage for women, and points out that women of the nineteenth century must still follow the same social mores as they did in ancient Greece. She recalls that Nausicaa sent Ulysses home by another route in order to avoid gossip, and asserts that this practice "has no strange sound to our ears," for if a woman in the nineteenth century is seen with a man, it is expected that she should marry him (21). On the subject of marriage, Peck argues that the women of ancient Greece had more choice than the women of the modern day, as fathers did not dismiss suitors who were deemed unfit for their daughters, and daughters had the right to wait to marry a man of their choosing. Then, Peck notes that women in ancient Greece had a "moral obligation resting alike upon all that they should at some time marry some one" (22).

Peck argues that this is not so for the “the women of *this* generation, but which must have been less grievous when the attractions of the lecture field were unknown, and the immortality to be attained from authorship but dimly perceived” (22). In an ironic fashion, Peck states that women are no longer expected to marry, which may have been the choice for Peck, but not necessarily the expectation for women of her time. For many women, marriage was a cultural imperative; however, Peck was not unique in her decision to remain unmarried.

The notion of a professional woman remaining single was not new during this period, and Peck joined the ranks of other highly educated women of the time who remained single. From the end of the century when male universities opened their doors to women and the early 20th century, it is estimated that between the time that male universities opened their doors to women and the early twentieth century, twenty-five percent of women with bachelor’s degrees and seventy-five percent of women with Ph.D.’s remained single (Harris 101). In her research on women college graduates in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Joyce Antler notes that many career-oriented women “feared that [marriage] signified a relationship of inequality with which any independent work apart from domesticity interfered” (“After College” 419). In her essay, by writing about the “attractions of the lecture field” and the “immortality of authorship,” Peck attempts to rhetorically establish the choice to remain single and work for a living as a norm. By the end of her essay, Peck makes the point that while modern nineteenth-century women had not achieved equality, they nonetheless had expanded their “sphere of action” (21). And, with this expansion came new collections of norms for a small set of women. At the same time, Peck works to state these new choices for a few women as

if they were standard for all women, which may have worked to portray Peck and others like her as less peculiar than they may have normally been perceived.

After a discussion of Helen of Troy, who “presided over the [Menelaus] household with her wonted grace and dignity,” Peck ends her essay by explaining that the women of ancient Greece were content, for they were “unvexed by the promptings of ambition which now disquiet them, and by the longing for the unattainable” (23). She concludes with the position that women have reached a point of no return – one in which women have more aspirations and drive than they ever had before. She laments that the lot of the “gentler sex” has but slightly improved as a way of preparing her readers for the new ambitions of the modern woman. This is the kind of reasoning that Peck would follow in her writing for the rest of her life.

This essay is also where Peck begins to publicly establish her identity as a scholar and author. She does this in a dual fashion. By signifying that she is both a scholar of ancient Greece *and* a woman – two categories that many of the time did not believe should go together – Peck uses this duality to point to her expertise in scholarship and her experience as a woman, thus identifying herself as an expert among all experts when it comes to her topic. Peck’s use of identification is to cite what all of the Classics scholars already know, as they have worked diligently at translating and reciting works such as Homer and Thucydides in their courses. These references to Homer’s works and life in ancient Greece signify the language of Classics scholars. This unification can be likened to membership in a club (in this case, the Classics scholars club), in which members speak and understand the same language and therefore are unified.

Peck's use of division here is a means of breaking up the audience's likely assumption that men are the only scholars at university and that they are the only authors of the school newspaper – an all-male club. This breaking up of the male club can be seen as Peck's rhetorical attempt to place women in the same sphere as men, or, as she puts it, the "sphere of action," in which things get accomplished and move forward (21). She signifies herself as a woman by noting "*our* presence in Michigan University," and thus works to divide herself from the majority of the student population and the majority of the readers as audience members (21). At the same time, she insists on acceptance by her fellow authors and audience because she has proven via her publication that she belongs in the same group of scholars as the men in her class.

Peck was proud to present her essay "Women in the Homeric Age" to Kellen, and asked for his feedback in an 1876 letter to him, which brought about a discussion of Peck's rhetorical style (Peck, Letter to William Vail Kellen March 17 1876). It is obvious from Peck's next letter to Kellen that he has provided her with feedback on her essay, as she writes in response to his criticism:

I enjoyed your criticisms and consider them just though slightly different from that of our editors. Mr. Harrower objected to its tone but was overruled by the others. Of course the piece was intended to be slightly ironical and I thought the conclusion was in keeping with the rest. I don't know as I should have been disturbed if you had not said my article was womanly. While I consider that it is not necessarily a defect that an article should immediately be recognized as from a woman's pen, still I think it is no defect also if that fact is not apparent at all. If, as is often the case, want

of logic and depth of thought is considered womanly, I shall hope in time to escape it in my writings. (Peck, Letter to William Vail Kellen March 29 1876)

We do not have an explicit idea of what Kellen wrote about Peck's piece, but her response points to the difference between masculine and feminine rhetorical style. Peck makes a distinction here about a "womanly" style of argument, which accompanies Campbell's 1989 discussion of rhetorical style. Campbell notes that because women were denied the platform to speak, they had to create a "feminine style," which would keep their audiences from labeling them as masculine and thus deter from their arguments. Campbell uses the metaphor of learning a craft as compared to the feminine style. Here, style for women included a personal tone and authority based on personal experience, and was inductive in her reasoning. In the feminine style, the rhetor invited audience response and identified with the audience as peers in place of speaker prominence (13).

By Campbell's criteria, Peck's style appears to be more masculine than feminine. Her argument is deductive in that she begins with the theory that women's status has not progressed much since the Homeric Age, and then narrows this idea down with observations and a confirmation. Peck's tone is not personal, except for her discussion of her university experience and her status as a woman living in the nineteenth century. However, instead of addressing her audience as peers, Peck elevates herself above her audience (whose readership is mostly male) by claiming specific knowledge of women's experience. Because Peck does *not* identify with her audience here, her expertise is raised and her ethos is strengthened. By anticipating and answering her audience's questions immediately, Peck eschews audience participation, and instead immediately asserts

authority over her subject. From her March 29 letter to Kellen, Peck claims that she does not see the importance of recognizing a rhetor as male or female from their prose, except for the fact that the feminine style is usually deemed illogical and shallow. Here, she argues that the feminine style of writing is not a “defect;” but, because this style is deemed substandard by audiences, she makes a specific point to concentrate on avoiding a similar in the future. As her writing progressed, Peck would continue to use a rhetorical style that matched other authors in her fields of expertise, most of whom were men. Peck makes two rhetorical points here. On one hand, she rejects the idea that womanly style is flawed; on the other hand, she adopts a style that is masculine and therefore has accepted this as the universal style. This juxtaposition points to Peck as a transitional figure in feminist thought. She worked in a territory in which few women were allowed. At the same time, she is conscious of her language due to her classical training in rhetoric, which many women did not get during this time. Nonetheless, Peck accepts the idea of masculine style as a standard. She is also sensitive to the idea of being considered as a woman rhetor. Nevertheless, her take on one style being better than another based on gender runs against the grain of contemporary feminists that work to valorize female modes of discourse. Peck does not question the legitimacy of these categories and forms; however, she does explain that a womanly style does not weaken an argument. Here, Peck works to make her own space on the human shelf, while also hinting at the idea that there might be a bit of room there for other women, even if their style is different from that of men.

Peck’s essay was also predictive in nature, for she found after graduation that she would certainly make less money than men in her same field. By the end of her study at

Michigan, Peck had decided to teach long enough to save money to study in Europe, noting in a letter to her father, “Necessity for economy will not be over on my part, for I am so old now that I shall desire to save money so as to go to Europe as soon as possible” (Peck, Letter to George B. Peck January 6, 1878). Upon graduating from the University of Michigan in 1878, Peck briefly took a job at Bartholomew’s School for Girls in Cincinnati, Ohio, teaching mathematics, which did not allow for her training in the Classics to shine. She was decidedly unhappy there, and noted in a letter to her father, “It is a great contrast to my life in A.A. [Ann Arbor] and not a gratifying one” (Peck, Letter to George B. Peck January 26, 1879). By 1879, Peck had landed a new job as a preceptress at Montclair, New Jersey High School, but soon returned to the University of Michigan to specialize in Greek and earn her Master’s degree, which she earned in 1881.

Shortly after, Peck began teaching at Purdue University in Lafayette, Indiana, where she continued to save money for more study in Europe. Here, she would use her Classics background to teach Latin, elocution and German until 1883 as a means of saving money for study in Europe as her brothers had done. Once again, her idea for furthering her education was not a popular one at home. However, by this time, Peck could support herself and did not have to ask permission. In 1884, she went to Germany to study German and music and, by 1885, became the first woman to enroll at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, Greece. With as much education as her brothers, Peck assumed she would find work teaching at a university as a Classics scholar. However, when she sought a job at her alma mater after her work in Greece, she was sadly disappointed. While Peck felt supported as a student during her years at the University of Michigan, she was not given the same backing when it came to

employment at the institution. From Attaway and Barritt's study of surveys of early women graduates from Michigan, they found that many women alumnae experienced this same lack of support. "[Women alumnae] sensed that encouragement and support were given generously to male students. They bitterly resented the University's failure to place women on the faculty" (15). Peck would find that she was in the same position as other women graduates, and noted on her survey, "Prof. Pattengill wrote me in 1885, 'You are undoubtedly better qualified for the position than any young man we shall be likely to get. At the same time there is no chance of your getting it'" (18). Maybe Dr. Wells *was* right that Peck should have been born a boy. But Peck was born a woman, and so would need to find a rhetorical way around all of her gender-based rejections in order to gain a place in the "sphere of action."

CHAPTER IV

THE UNMERITED NOTORIETY OF MISS PECK

Without a job offer at her alma mater, Peck began work as the Chair of Latin at Smith College in 1886. However, she only taught for one school year before entering the realm of public lecturer. Peck's previous thoughts on the "probability" of lecturing had become a reality, and she began giving illustrated lectures on Ancient and Modern Greece and Roman Antiquities (Peck, Letter to George Peck 12 January 1874). This would shape her work as a rhetor and professional lecturer, for Peck would become well practiced in the art of public speaking while, at the same time, begin to construct her own public image.

Peck realized that she would need to be recognized as a professional in her field to gain work as a lecturer, but her Matterhorn climb would earn her more distinction than she could have imagined. By 1895, Peck understood that her experience as a lecturer combined with the hype of being a woman climber could benefit her career. It is here that Peck's rhetorical persona begins to take shape. She states in *The Search for the Apex of America* that she began climbing as a hobby, but she soon took on a scientific purpose, as she set out to discover if Mount Sorata was higher than Mount Aconcagua and to "make meteorological, geological, and any other observations possible" (x- xi). Peck also acknowledges that her climbing was a "sportsman's effort, in a small way like Peary's getting a degree nearer to the North Pole" (xi). In addition, after her trips to South America, Peck became a proponent of the Pan-American railway and changed her inclination from science to the promotion of travel and commerce in South America. Most significantly, Peck discloses that she climbed in order to create a rhetorical

stratagem for the advancement of women. Besides attempts to contribute to science and reach a height that had previously not been attained, Peck explains, “Above and beyond this, being always from earliest years a firm believer in the equality of the sexes, I felt that any great achievement in any line of endeavor would be of great advantage to my sex” (xi). Peck would also use this same angle to create a public identity for herself, further her own career as a scholar and climber, and argue for equality of the sexes.

In the context of Peck’s progressing rhetorical agenda, I examine two rhetorical categories, or canons: style and delivery. Beginning in ancient Greece, these canons have worked as both a guide for students of rhetoric and as a way to analyze the rhetorical acts of others. While Peck would have studied them in her own rhetoric courses at Michigan, we can also use them as a means of examining her work as a rhetor. Both of these canons can be utilized to examine how Peck worked as a woman rhetor. Her style in writing works much in the same way as her dress in image, as both style and delivery relate to *how* something is said, rather than *what* is said. In this context, writing style is used in much the same manner as dress for delivery as both concern the artful expression of ideas and the public presentation of discourse.

Because I focus on Peck’s image here, I utilize the work of Roland Barthes, who draws on the use of rhetoric as it relates to the image. From this context, images carry meaning and can be analyzed both as rhetorical tools that work to persuade or move an audience to action in some way and as the effects that they have on an audience. In “Rhetoric of the Image,” Roland Barthes asserts that the image of a photograph itself imparts the notion that the audience is bearing witness to the experience, and calls on the audience itself to personally view the experience. Likewise, because Peck used her

image to question gender constructs: her audience also used her image for the same reason. I also employ the work of Judith Butler for my analysis of Peck, as both her style and delivery can be examined in terms of gender, which points to the ways in which she established her own public identity. By analyzing gender categories in different domains, Butler constitutes identity as a set of performed roles that challenge the traditional conception of gender norms. Peck most often portrayed herself as an individual, rather than as one within a group of women (such as suffragists might have done), which would call for collective action on behalf of the equality of women. Instead, she engaged in her own singular moments of what Butler refers to as “degrounding, when we’re standing in two different places at once; or we don’t know exactly where we’re standing; or when we’ve produced an aesthetic practice that shakes the ground” (Butler, “Gender as Performance” 38). Peck would continuously work to deground notions of gender, and contend that it was perfectly normal to stand in both a masculine and a feminine place at once, rather than taking on a male role altogether.

Style, Aristotle says in *Rhetoric*, must be both “clear” and “appropriate” to be “good” (81). A rhetor’s style needs to adhere to certain virtues, which Aristotle classified as correctness, clarity, evidence, propriety and ornateness. Style may also be positioned at various levels such as grand, middle, and simple (*Rhetoric*). In *Vertical Margins: Mountaineering and the Landscapes of Neoliberalism*, Rueben Ellis discusses the early style of geographical writing, which included alpine narratives that “attempted at all times to be empirical, rational, sane, and understated” (29). Because the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* (RGS) was the most prominent geographical journal, it influenced other geographical journals to publish in the same style (Ellis 31). In 1893, the

Geographical Journal changed its style from a formal, illustrative approach that focused on a few major exploits to a “style oriented toward a popular audience (meaning illustrations and livelier writing) and more sound, concrete scientific content,” which became the “formula for exploration writing,” or the “Royal Geographical style” (Ellis 31-32). Peck’s written work and lectures chronicle her exploits both in the manner of the RGS style and outside of it. While Peck’s narratives disregard the dangers in many instances of her travels, she also shows fear and frustration, mostly in the context of her hired guides, who often disregarded her instructions and thwarted her plans.

In *Nature’s Altars*, Susan R. Schrepfer discusses style in the alpine narratives of early American climbers through the lens of gender. She argues that both male and female climbing narratives employ the trope of the sublime as masculine and feminine constructs. While male climbers conveyed the sublime as a “mechanism of domination,” early female climbers “employed a rich symbolism of fecundity” (68). Male alpine narratives consistently used words such as “assault, mastery, and conquest”; regular application of these descriptors invoked an “attack” on virginal nature and “invited men to struggle against a powerful metaphor of the opposite sex at a time when women’s independence was growing” (54). Female alpinists, often climbing alongside their husbands, employed a “domestic sublime,” and commented on nature as wild, but feminine and beautiful. Women’s alpine narratives concentrated on nature’s “warmth, life, intimacy, and freedom” (6). These constructs also carried over to the sciences – botany as the feminine study of flowers, and geology as the masculine study of rocks and glaciers (234). Peck’s writing contains both male and female aspects of sublimity;

however, as her writing style progresses, she employs more male features in her climbing narratives, setting her apart from other women explorers and climbers of the time.

Aristotle does not consider delivery as “an elevated subject of inquiry” and pays little attention to this canon, relegating it to a brief discussion on voice in *Rhetoric* (80). However, by 55 B.C., the canon of delivery was given new attention, as Cicero believed that it inspired an emotional response by audiences. Quintilian further discusses delivery in the *Institutio Oratoria* as “styled action” that has “an extraordinarily powerful effect in oratory” (243). He carries the principle further by adding a discussion on appearance, including dress. He explains: “With regard to dress, there is no special garb peculiar to the orator, but his dress comes more under the public eye than that of other men” (317). Quintilian distinguishes between appropriate and inappropriate dress for different rhetors, cautioning students of rhetoric to adhere to class and gender norms when deciding what to wear for a speech:

The speaker who has not the right to wear the broad stripe, will wear his girdle in such a way that the front edges of the tunic fall a little below his knees, while the edges in rear reach to the middle of his hams. For only women draw them lower and only centurions higher.
(319)

Carol Mattingly also considers dress as a part of delivery in *Appropriate[Ing] Dress: Women's Rhetorical Style in Nineteenth-Century America*, where she examines gender and dress in order to investigate the significance of nineteenth-century women rhetors' delivery. She adds to Campbell's 1989 argument that women use rhetorical strategies differently from men. Mattingly explores how women used gendered notions of

appearance in their struggle for representation and argues, “Clothing and appearance constituted a major component in the ethos women presented, an element taken for granted by men” (5). Also building on Campbell’s argument that women orators in the nineteenth century created a feminine style of rhetoric, Lindal Buchanan furthers this argument in *Regendering Delivery: The Fifth Canon and Antebellum Women Rhetors*, and examines delivery as a “socially situated fifth canon” in which women adjusted their delivery in accordance with gender norms of the time (9).

Although there is no audio evidence of Peck’s voice or video of her body language, we can examine her dress, which oscillated between masculine and feminine, as a rhetorical means of delivery. The study of Peck’s clothing is significant in that “dress precede[s] verbal communication in establishing an individual’s gendered identity as well as expectations for other types of behavior (social roles) based on this identity” (Eicher and Rocah-Higgins 17). Peck spoke and wrote a great deal about her dress and what it communicated to the world. Here, we can examine Peck’s creative use of dress and how it was used as a persuasive mechanism, especially when it came to her identity and her work to advance the rights of women. Peck rhetorically used her appearance as self-representation in order to promote her exploits, gain funding for her work, acquire acceptance (to a certain degree) as a professional, and change traditional notions of gender. Whether she expected this or not, Peck’s writing and dress would work together in 1895 to gain her instant fame when she returned to Europe to climb the Matterhorn. Peck’s style and delivery would create a rhetorical scene that would situate her in the public sphere of action and work to make her a household name.

By 1889 Peck began her third season of Parlor Lectures in which she gave speeches on Hellenic Topography and Antiquities and Roman Archaeology (Parlor Lecture Circular). Peck realized that she could make a living as a lecturer rather than a professor, and, in an 1891 letter to her mother, she wrote, "It will not take a great many courses to give me a larger income than I have ever had before and I trust the prospect will be realized" (Peck, Letter to Ann Smith Peck August 13 1891). By 1893, Peck developed an Illustrated Lecture Series that consisted of "a popular short course on modern Athens, the Acropolis and A Trip to Peloponnesos [sic]," intended for "clubs, churches, and other organizations," and a "scientific course," adapted for "schools and colleges" in which she instructed on "the progress of archaeological science," including "the results of recent excavations" and the "consequent changes in archaeological theories" (Illustrated Lecture Circular). In a March 1893 letter, Peck describes her best days lecturing: "There was a large audience in the People's Church, perhaps 500, it holds over 2,000, and they seemed well pleased" (Peck, Letter to Ann Smith Peck March 27 1893). By November 1893, Peck had lectured before the National Geographic Society in Washington, the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, the Boston Art Club, the Minneapolis Society of Fine Arts, the American Geographical Society, and nine times before the Chicago Art Institute (Illustrated Lecture Circular). Just as her lectures were presented as both "popular" and "scientific," her articles and books would also be written in this mixed genre as well (Illustrated Lecture Circular). After her ascent of the Matterhorn, Peck wrote in a style similar to that of members of the RGS.

By this time, Peck had not only put into practice her work as a lecturer but had also begun mountain climbing. During her time in Europe, between 1885 and 1886, Peck

ascended the three hundred feet summit of Cape Misenum in Italy and small mountain passes in Switzerland, including Theodule Pass, at ten thousand feet. While in Greece, she climbed Mount Hymettus and Mount Pentecus, both between three and four thousand feet. Back home in the United States, in the summer of 1888, Peck climbed Cloud's Rest in Yosemite National Park with her brother George and then climbed Mount Shasta. From 1890 to 1894, Peck spent her summers climbing the Presidential Range in New Hampshire, and she began to save money for travel back to Europe. Peck again set her sights on the Matterhorn in Switzerland, which she had wanted to climb years earlier during her 1885-86 study abroad, but, on her student budge, could not afford the fifty dollars that it took to secure a guide and equipment. In an article for *McClure's Magazine*, Peck recalls, "Unluckily, the idea of reimbursing myself by a lecture or a magazine article had not then dawned upon me" ("Woman's Ascent of the Matterhorn" 127). By 1895, Peck was ready to make the climb, which had previously been scaled by only two other women.

Her next trip to Europe would serve a dual purpose: to publish an article on the decennial performance of *The Passion-Play* at Vorder-Thiersee for *Century Magazine*, and to climb the Matterhorn, a feat for which she had been practicing since she last left Europe in 1886. This climb would also serve as a way to fund her trip. Peck explains in an 1898 *New York Times* article:

I had never thought of my climbing as anything more than an amusement up to that time, but I had begun to lecture upon archaeology not long before, and I thought, as I was going to climb the Matterhorn, I might as

well make it useful – that it would be a popular subject upon which to talk to people. (“Climbing High Mountains” A2)

Here, Peck classifies mountain climbing as a “popular” subject, but soon enough, she would climb with very different intentions. Once she realized that mountain climbing would afford her a rhetorical venue, she would further mix her popular style with a more scientific bent in order to gain credibility as a professional climber and explorer.

Peck’s Matterhorn climb was widely publicized in the press, along with a description of her climbing costume, which, unlike her two female predecessors who scaled the Matterhorn, included pants. This was a feat in itself, as accounts during this time of women being arrested for wearing men’s attire were often reported in the news. For instance, several papers in various states reported in March 1895 on “a young woman arrested in New York for riding a bicycle in man's attire” (“A Young Woman Has Been Arrested”). In this instance, the newspapers noted that the question of the crime would be settled as to “whether the bicycle bloomers are an infringement on man's trousers” (“A Young Woman Has Been Arrested”).³ Nonetheless, Peck used her new image as a publicity tactic, and, as reflected in her lecture circulars, her portrait changed from that of a Victorian scholar (hair done in a restrained coiffure held up with decorative pins, lace at her collar, and a flower brooch pinned to her shirt) to a rustic climber (hat fastened under her chin, a rope tied about her waist, canvas knickerbockers, leather boots, and a pickaxe held upright in her hand) (Illustrated Lecture Circular and Lecture Placard). This new

³ Mattingly notes that reports of such stories were not unusual at the time, and women had various reasons for donning men’s attire. Well-known cross-dressers such as Dr. Mary Walker, dubbed “the little lady in pants,” wore a dress coat and pants on a daily basis (and, on some occasions, a top hat) as a means of being active in the dress reform movement (92), while other women, such as Emma Snodgrass of Boston who was arrested on several occasions for wearing men’s clothing, did so with the purpose of “flaunt[ing] her disdain for modesty and patriarchal authority” (103).

look may have worked to categorize Peck more as a professional climber than a lady traveler, and her first writing on climbing seems to reflect a crossover area between these two groups of women.

Peck's first article on climbing, "A Woman's Ascent of the Matterhorn," published in 1896 by *McClure's Magazine*, combines the early writing style of the RGS with the female sublime. Her narrative begins with a description of the "quaint little village" of Zermatt, and moves on to a discussion on her visit to the cobbler who added new layers of leather and large headed nails to her shoes (129). Peck then describes her climbing attire, which reads like a supply list intended for amateur climbers: "new woolen stockings," "heavy woolen underwear," a variety of "gloves and mittens," "knickerbockers, either with or without a short skirt with or without a short skirt," a "heavy sweater," a "broad rimmed hat," and a "felt helmet or woolen hood" (129-30). She also recommends an "ice-axe, an indispensable weapon" to substitute for an alpenstock. The use of the word "weapon" is the only hint in her article at something that might be used for an attack of the mountain. In the same paragraph where Peck recommends the ice-axe, she also suggests wearing "black spectacles and a "white veil" to "avoid snow blindness and utter ruin for one's complexion," the latter being a concern more for the lady traveler than for the professional climber (130).

Peck's account of professional climbing attire and her remark that "one feels quite important while making these purchases, and much above the vulgar throng of ordinary tourists," places her above the status of a Victorian lady traveler, but her inexperience and consistent use of words such as "pleasant," "beautiful," "glorious," and "magnificent" to describe the mountains and surrounding area with pure delight seem to imply that Peck is

on vacation rather than conquering a dangerous peak (“A Woman’s Ascent of the Matterhorn” 131). Even after she chronicles the death of three Matterhorn climbers, chocking their demise up to “carelessness” or “lack of prudence,” Peck ends her article by recalling “delightful recollections” of a “perfect day” climbing the Matterhorn (“A Woman’s Ascent of the Matterhorn” 135). Unlike male climbing narratives, the mountain does not instill terror in Peck, and her illustration of climbing the Matterhorn lacks boldness on her part. Rather, Peck sticks to the early RGS style of the unflappable mountaineer who goes off to climb without any struggle. In Peck’s early alpine accounts, she describes climbing as a form of exercise, rather than a life risk, and considers mountains as places to visit rather than virgins to be conquered. However, as she continued in her career, this would change and her narrative style would become more and more masculine, as if to appropriate the style of male climbers while still claiming a certain sense of femininity by consistently referring to her gender.

While she made headlines and garnered popularity in the press, Peck decided that she needed to continue her work in climbing. Much focus was placed on her climbing costume, and it seems as if Peck had decided by this time to surpass not only her own feat, but to begin a competition with others in the field. This inspired Peck to set her sights on a more difficult expedition, as she explains in *Search for the Apex of America*:

The conquest in 1895 of the grand old Matterhorn, and the unmerited notoriety attained thereby, spurred me on to the accomplishment of some deed which should render me worthy of the fame already acquired. The most feasible project seemed to be the ascent of Orizaba in Mexico, its summit the highest point which had been reached in North America. (x)

Two years after her Matterhorn climb, Peck climbed both Orizaba and Popocatepetl in Mexico, which now allowed her to be categorized as a professional climber for several reasons. Orizaba was then the highest peak that had been climbed in North America. Peck also gained funding for this climb from the *New York Sunday World*, and her goals for climbing now included a “scientific purpose” (*Search*, x).⁴ Peck successfully measured the peak of Orizaba with a mercurial barometer at 18,660 feet, proving that it was higher than Popocatepetl, which had previously been thought the higher of the two volcanoes. Now that she had earned *merited* notoriety, Peck begins to broach the idea of climbing as a profession, but her expertise remains in the feminine realm. Her articles during this time are only descriptions of equipment needed for novice climbers, and when Peck does write about the field of climbing, her narratives are aimed specifically at a female audience. For instance, one article, written for *The Watchmen* in 1902, is titled “Mountain Climbing for Women,” and discusses what to pack, wear, and eat while climbing, which can be “healthful, exhilarating and enjoyable” (16). While she had been recognized as having accomplished important climbing achievements, and was considered as a professional among women climbers, Peck had to cater to a non-professional, female audience. This left her out of the sphere of action and with less opportunities for funding. Later, Peck would still bemoan the fact that when she begun climbing in the male realm, even where no men had climbed before, she could never gain the same kind of funding that male climbers and explorers acquired. She laments in *Search for the Apex of America*:

The attainment, without skilled assistants, of a height of 20,500 feet on

Mt. Sorata in 1904 gave me confidence to ask for further aid in a matter

⁴ For an interesting account of Peck’s experience with *The New York Sunday World* and the resulting tall tale article published on her Orizaba climb, see Olds, pgs. 14-16.

that would seem of far more practical importance to the United States than Polar exploration, as extending our acquaintance with sections and peoples for commercial reasons most desirable to cultivate; yet the disheartening struggle continued to the last moment preceding the final triumph. (xii)

Even as she ascended Orizaba, writing about Peck emphasized her status as a woman climber and her identification in the press seems to span the continuum between male and female spheres, but she was not granted the same professional recognition and access to funds as male explorers such as Robert Peary and Sir Martin Conway.

With hopes for further accomplishment, Peck began planning her next task with an eye toward South America, and her rhetorical style of writing becomes increasingly male in nature. Her goals were now set in the sphere of action as well. After her climbs in Mexico, Peck looked away from the female sphere of climbing, where no other women had climbed, and toward the male sphere, where measurements and degrees were taken rather than flowers, and victory was measured by the domination of virgin peaks. It takes her five attempts between 1904 and 1908 to ascend Mount Huascarán, Peck's highest peak climbed, and what she thought to be the highest peak in the western hemisphere. Each of these endeavors is chronicled in Peck's *A Search for the Apex of America: High Mountain Climbing in Peru and Bolivia Including the Conquest of Huascarán, with Some Observations on the Country and People Below*, first published in 1911, which highlights her RGS style mixed with that of the masculine sublime.⁵ It is in this work that we see Peck transform her rhetorical style from that of a climbing lady traveler to that of an out

⁵ Popular on both sides of the pond, *Search* was also published again in 1912 under the title *High Mountain Climbing In Peru & Bolivia: A Search for the Apex Of America, Including the Conquest Of Huascaran; With Some Observations on the Country and People Below*.

and out explorer. This would begin Peck's many attempts at making a place for herself in the professional world of men.

Peck's conquests of mountain peaks in *A Search for the Apex of America* read much like the male climbing narratives described by Schrepfer – stories which “open with anticipatory scenes that lead into false advances followed by retreats, new offensives, spells of monotony, crises of endurance and pain, and “thence to the end or closure, which consists of transformation, reaffirmation, recognition, victory, apotheosis, or defeat” (40). Peck's twenty-seven chapters span her travel to South America and first attempts at Mount Sorata in 1903 to her first ascent of Huascarán in 1908. Peck begins her narrative with eagerness to climb the highest mountain in the western hemisphere. After climbing Orizaba, which no other woman had ascended, she makes plans for a new goal:

My next thought was to do a little genuine exploration, to conquer a virgin peak, to attain some height where no *man* [her emphasis] had previously stood. The most worthy and practicable enterprise seemed to be an expedition for the ascent of Mt. Sorata in Bolivia... its yet untrodden summit having been variously measured as from 21,000 feet above the sea. (x)

By the time Peck sets her sights on climbing in South America, the peaks virgins, and Peck positions herself as an explorer and conqueror rather than a lady traveler. However, “indian [sic] porters” who refused to carry her equipment further on account of unseasonal snow prevented her first attempt at Mount Sorata (50). Additionally, Peck's two Swiss guides and hired geologist, William G. Tight, also refused to follow her.

This would be the first setback of many, all of which included hired male guides who thwarted Peck's expeditions. Indeed, unlike her male alpinist contemporaries, male guides who refused to see Peck as a leader in her expeditions brought on her major crises of endurance and pain. Peck's first desertion by male guides and porters brought her back to the reality that, regardless of her determination, a woman's authority could only command so much. She recalls her first experience of insubordination on Sorata:

Never before had I felt so hopeless. Heart-sick I said nothing. It was not a question of my own capabilities. I could climb, but certainly I could not carry up tents, sleeping bags, etc. To manage three men seemed beyond my power. Perhaps some of my more experienced married sisters would have done better. (51)

Even though Peck had decided to operate in the (traditionally male) sphere of action, this did not discount the fact that she was still a woman, and she always felt the powerlessness of being a female leader of male guides. It is interesting to note that Peck makes reference to her singleness here as well. This may have been a way of pointing to the fact that she, unlike other female climbers who often climbed with their husbands, had even more difficulty leading an expedition than other women, and so her final achievements were even greater than her women climber contemporaries. This may have worked to further place her outside of the feminine sphere, and thus portrayed Peck as more similar to professional male climbers than to female climbers who were seen as wives climbing with their professional husbands.

After the failed ascent of Sorata, Peck returns to New York and begins a campaign for a new expedition to Peru, this time to make another attempt at Mount Sorata. She recalls her plans for 1904:

As soon as might be, I rallied my drooping spirits and began cogitating upon the possibility of making that long journey once again and a genuine attack on this tremendous mountain. I could not leave it as it was, having merely confirmed in the opinion of those persons who had previously regarded me as insane. (122)

Once again, Peck plans an “attack” on a mountain. She uses this word throughout *Search* when she is planning ascents of both Sorata and Huascarán (55, 122, 174). Peck also employs the words “conquer” and “conquest” in her narrative about Huascarán, reflecting the masculine urge to triumph over the mountain (15, 55, 133, 155, 182, 244, 256). At the same time, Peck makes room for feminine narrative, which is set aside for her description of life in the cities and surrounding areas. Pointed to her female audience, she makes a note to discuss the feminine sphere in her chapter on life in La Paz, stating, “As housekeeping matters are generally interesting to ladies, I made inquiries on the subject of Mrs. Thompson and Mrs. Calderón” (64). Peck then continues on with descriptions of fuel for cooking, the price of food, and the employment of servants.

However, Peck seems to only use a feminine narrative when she describes places or things away from the mountains such as “a pretty island,” “pretty gardens,” and a “pretty park,” drawing a line between the mountains and the space below them (119, 183, 264). Mountains such as Huascarán are described as “beautiful,” but only when she is at a distance from them (130). This being said, she also notes that the explosion of dynamite

used in the construction of the Panama is “pretty,” and remarks that she left her “pretty little 32-calibre revolver” behind at one point in Peru (120, 193). In contrast, the mountains contain frightening landscapes such as “awful precipices,” “glassy, ghastly inclines” and “terrible abysses,” which allowed Peck the opportunity to dominate what she feared (327, 348, 350).

Peck’s style contrasts with that of other women explorers of the time. For instance, Mary Blair Beebe (penname Blair Niles), an American novelist and travel writer, wrote as a single author on her explorations with her explorer husband, Charles William Beebe. However, Beebe’s writing seems to be an addendum to her husband’s in that she writes about her own experience while exploring with him. For instance, in her 1911 *Harper’s* article, “A Quest in the Himalayas,” Beebe writes about her experience as if it were her husband’s expedition, on which she was simply a tourist. She writes,

Day after day W. went tramping in search of pheasants, trips often too long and difficult for me. On such days I would go off to a certain sunny patch of rugged pines, where I knew I should always find redstarts, skylarks, and cole-tits twittering in defiance of the bleakest weather. (498)

Here, Beebe not only describes the lush, welcoming view of nature but she also specifically delineates between male and female roles when it comes to exploring; men take on the difficult work of exploration and women stay behind to enjoy nature. Beebe also describes her husband as “beating the jungle,” on his way to Nepal, but notes, “Had I been going along all would have been serene. As it was, I came dangerously near revealing a feminine unfitness for membership in this pheasant expedition to the Far East” (499). Beebe writes about the possible danger involved in this expedition, but

quickly adds that this may not be suitable for women – only men belong in the field of exploration. However, Beebe’s article suggests that if women do participate, they should do so with caution, and realize that they should not undertake male tasks. In her article, Beebe is clearly her husband’s helpmate, noting, “After our early breakfast I helped W. [William] off for his final arduous tramp in pursuit of the blood pheasant” (501). Beebe’s writing seems to prove Ann Douglas’s point in *The Feminization of American Culture* that

behind all the efforts to train the young middle-class woman in the Northeast, then, whether on the part of conscious conservatives or announced reformers, was a common at least official consumption: she was to serve her male counterpart, not compete or even participate him; her significance was to lie in her connotations rather than her actions.

(60)

Rather than signaling equality between men and women, Beebe’s work serves as a warning to women who might embark on their own expedition: unknown territory and scientific exploration are men’s work – women should travel with their husbands as a means of support, but not as equals. Peck’s writing makes the exact opposite case. She consistently points to her own singularity in her expeditions by always using the title “Miss” to show that she was not married. She also makes the point throughout her work that both male explorers and female explorers traveling with their husbands share an advantage over her – they both enjoy the freedom of authority, which was often questioned by Peck’s male guides. In *Search for the Apex of America*, she complains, “One of the chief difficulties in a woman’s undertaking and expedition of this nature is

that every man believes he knows better what should be done than she” (317). Here, Peck makes the argument that her work in climbing and exploration was more difficult than anyone else because she worked without a male companion who might have afforded her more influence over her guides. However, Peck also makes it very clear that she achieved her goals without the aid of a husband, which worked to argue that her success was even greater than most male explorers.

Another example for comparison to Peck is Mina Hubbard Benson, who, like Peck, In *The Woman Who Mapped Labrador*, Roberta Buchanan notes that Mina Benson Hubbard (also a single woman explorer) describes the wilds of the Labrador as a landscape painting, using the word ‘beautiful’ “sometimes repeated as much as four times in one entry” (36).⁶ Unlike her husband, Leonidas Hubbard, who died on his expedition of the Labrador and found it to be “heartless,” Mina Hubbard found [the wilderness] “kind” and wanted to stay on after her expedition had ended (38-39). Of course, this may have been because Hubbard found greater freedom in the wild than she did at home.

Like Peck, Hubbard had difficulties with her male guides, but of a different kind. While Peck’s guides rebelled against her, Hubbard’s guides treated her like a child, and told her what to do, and she had to ask permission to participate with them (Buchanan 29). Hubbard’s guides do not let her venture alone in the wilderness, and she feels as if

⁶ Peck is often compared with another female climber, Fanny Bullock Workman, who fought Peck for the highest women’s altitude record in the same period that Peck climbed Huascarán. In actuality, Workman had climbed the highest peak ascended by a woman (23,409 feet), Nun Kun, in the western Himalaya Range in 1906, but, at the time, no one was sure of the height of Huascarán; Peck had been the first person to record her ascent, and its height had not been triangulated before her climb. Workman, who explored and climbed with her husband William Hunter Workman, was just as famous as Peck for her climbing feats. However, for the purpose of this discussion on style, better figures for comparison with Peck are Mary Blair Beebe, who authored her own articles about exploration, and Mina Benson Hubbard, who, in 1905, became the first white woman to cross Labrador as a single female with hired guides (in order to complete the expedition that caused her husband’s death two years earlier). Like Peck, Benson traveled as a single woman and wrote and published in the same manner, while Workman traveled with her husband, who was also the coauthor of each of her books.

she is “without protection” without them, but Peck seems mostly to need her guides for heavy lifting and curses their lack of drive throughout her narrative (133, 30). In response, Hubbard promises her guides that she will not wander off alone if they will “accompany her” when she want[s] to “climb a mountain” or “do anything else that I think is necessary for my work” (30). In contrast, Peck’s guides practice mutiny throughout nearly each of her climbs, and she exclaims on her second attempt at Sorata, “Oh how I longed for a man with pluck and determination to stand by me to the finish!” (152). Both women set out with different purposes. Hubbard set out to finish her husband’s work in mapping the Labrador, and in competition with her husband’s expedition partner, Dillon Wallace, reflecting a more private and personal aim. Peck’s goal was to go where no man had gone before, which connotes a more public and professional aim, and was in competition with everyone, including herself. Like Peck, Hubbard published a popular book, *A Woman’s Way Through Unknown Labrador*, about her exploration. While both Hubbard and Peck accomplished their goals, Peck’s style of writing is more in masculine tradition than Hubbard’s, which is reflected not only in her use of a masculine narrative style, but also by her participation in the conquest of the female wild.

Unlike other male narratives, Peck’s journey ends in both victory *and* defeat. She finally conquered “her” mountain (she referred to Huascarán as if she owned it), but it turned out not to be as lofty as she had first surmised. Peck’s rival, Fanny Bullock Workman paid a team of French geographers the sum of \$13,000 to formally triangulate Huascarán, since Peck’s equipment gave out and she was left to estimate its altitude. Workman’s team approximated the peak to be 1,300 feet lower than Workman’s Kara

Konun climb in the Himalayas, leaving Workman the record holder for women climbers (“Mrs. Workman Wins”). Nonetheless, Peck had succeeded in conquering a peak where no man had previously stood, and her writing style rhetorically shows that single women can “conquer” peaks and conduct scientific work just as men do. Peck’s delivery in dress shows the same picture and makes the same argument.

From some of the first accounts of her Matterhorn climb well into the beginning of the next century, accounts of Peck’s successive climbs in Mexico and South America were accompanied in the press with a description of her “striking costume” (“Ascends the Highest Peak”). Even as Peck continued to scale new peaks, news accounts of her clothing either accompanied her achievements or overshadowed them altogether. In an 1898 section titled “Women of Today,” The [Pawtucket] *Evening Times* underscored Peck’s dress for climbing rather than her newly attained accomplishments of scaling the Matterhorn and Mount Orizaba in Mexico by dedicating only half a sentence to her accomplishments and the rest of the article to her climbing attire (“What She Wears”). The emphasis on Peck’s costume rather than her successes differs from that of reports on male climbers of the time. Peck’s male guides and male counterparts who accompanied her on climbs were often mentioned, though the press neglected to single out their attire. The emphasis on Peck’s appearance was not extraordinary; as Mattingly notes, “throughout the nineteenth century, opponents’ rebukes and newspaper headlines read changes in women’s traditional place primarily according to clothing and appearance” (7). Peck was both celebrated and reproached for her dress, and she used both reactions as points from which to employ a rhetorical angle on women’s equality.

Peck inspired some of her audience to question what it meant for women to step outside of the constrictions of womanly attire and into the professional realm. In 1898, the *New York Times* published an article on Peck's accomplishments that spurred dissent from the current restrictions on women's dress. The anonymous author discusses how Peck sewed her own knickerbockers for her climbing costume, and remarks,

That people cannot associate feminine traits with anything that they consider masculine in dress goes to prove a truism – that there is very little originality of thought in the world... the present world... says that pretty soft gowns mean femininity and bifurcated garments the reverse. But all this is not true, and Miss Annie S. Peck, when she took a vacation from her music and her studies, or her cooking... sewed herself some garments and climbed a big mountain. ("Miss Peck, the Mountain Climber")

Here, Peck's dress is used as a springboard for examining societal norms in general. Calling into question the association of Peck's attire with masculinity, the author argues that masculine traits are acceptable for women, especially if the woman displaying them them as a means of accomplishment.

Peck welcomed the description of her climbing attire, as it allowed her to take advantage of the attention paid to her costume, which earned her an international reputation as a climber and gave her a platform from which to speak. Whether Peck purposefully used her climbing attire on her first peak as a way of gaining recognition or not, she would continue to appropriate men's climbing attire, all the while gaining further public identification as a climber. Indeed, the notoriety of Peck's climbing attire allowed her to gain funding for future climbs as well begin a new career as an explorer and

lecturer on her exploits. From this context, Peck's choice of clothing worked as a means of traversing the confines that might normally prevent her from further exploration while at the same time reforming the belief that the realm of climbing/exploration was for men only.

Peck also displayed images of herself dressed in long gowns and heeled shoes, and demonstrated feminine characteristics in press and lecture placard photos pertaining to her climbing and explorations. However, when Peck did pose in women's attire, her portraits often included artifacts from the male realm that insinuated her success in the field of climbing/exploration. In these instances, "dress serves as a sign that the individual belongs to a certain group, but simultaneously differentiates the same individual from all others" (Barnes and Eicher 1). By consistently posing with artifacts from the male realm, Peck sets herself apart from her contemporaries such as Adams who was portrayed as "adventurous traveler" rather than "serious explorer" (Rothenberg 144). For instance, in *Search for the Apex of America*, there is a photo of Peck and her guides as they set sail for South America in 1903 in which Peck is pictured in a floor-length skirt and lace blouse, complete with a brooch and flowered hat (9). The photo also shows her posed with artifacts that traditionally belong to the male realm- resting her arm on her climbing stick, with what appears to be a long carrying case strapped on her shoulder. Two male guides, carrying pick axes, and a scientist, carrying a rifle, accompany her (9). Many of Peck's portraits in feminine attire contain masculine symbols, and therefore served as part of her delivery, or rhetoric that relates to her public staging of the conversation about the rights of women.

In one of her most feminine portraits, also in *Search for the Apex of America*, Peck is pictured in an Edwardian beaded and lace gown, posed in a high-backed chair with her chin in her hand: the ultimate portrait of a lady. However, she holds a silver slipper in her other hand, which was presented to her by the Geographical Society for her exploration in Peru and ascent of Huascarán, and her chair is draped with fur, presumably a replica of the “Eskimo suit” that the American Museum of Natural history had loaned to her for her ascent of Huascarán (opposite title page).⁷ Another photo of Peck in her later years, on her return from a twenty-thousand-mile plane tour of South America, shows her in a laced top with a beaded necklace. However, she also wears a gold medal pinned to the lace, an award presented to her by the Peruvian government for the accomplishment of her climb. Of the various portraits of Peck shown in feminine attire, she is most often posed with objects that signify her exploits in the male realm of climbing/exploration. In his discussion on objects in photos Barthes argues, “Special importance must be accorded to what would be called the posing of objects, where the meaning comes from the objects photographed” and “the objects are accepted inducers of associations of ideas” (Barthes 210). Even though Peck appears to represent the height of femininity, these images include her posing with objects from the male realm. Peck used her feminine attire, along with the objects in the photographs, to signify her challenge to the accepted notion of femininity as well as a rhetorical catalyst for discussion on women’s rights.

Peck’s mixing of masculine and feminine objects was also detailed in an 1898 section of the *New York Times*, titled “Woman,” in which an anonymous author visits

⁷ Peck describes the “Eskimo suit” as one that was brought to the museum by Robert Peary from his polar expedition. Unfortunately, the suit that Peck borrowed was dropped down a crevasse on one of her attempts at Huascarán (*Search* 329).

Peck in her “parlor” and uses the setting as a way of introducing her as a character who is far from the old fashioned norm of womanhood. The author of the article describes the scene: “Upon entering the room [there] is a big spinning wheel, standing in one of the windows which... gives a domestic air to the place” (“Climbing High Mountains”). Then, in following statements, the author contrasts this description, noting the masculine items in the parlor: “there are bookshelves containing a variety of books which seem a trifle heavy for the ordinary housewife,” along with “an alpenstock” and “a pickaxe” (“Climbing High Mountains”). Peck is quoted throughout the article, and she discusses both her “mercurial thermometer-barometer” measurements of Orizaba and “an edelweiss” that she picked from the Matterhorn, noting, “there are fields of them on the mountains, growing in the grass as we see violets” (Peck, qtd. in “Climbing High Mountains”). Here, Peck combines scientific measurements with botanical comments and stands somewhere in the middle of the spectrum between professional and lady traveler.

This description is evocative of the New Woman, first described by Sarah Grand as a “modern girl,” in her 1894 article “A New Aspect of the Woman Question” in the *North American Review*.⁸ For Grand, the “modern girl” was the opposite of “the chattel girl,” in that they were well educated, intellectual, and had “become extremely fastidious in their choice of husbands” (712). The New Women had become “the finest specimens of their sex the world has ever seen in any numbers” who were “the product of the higher education which is truly both higher and an education; and happy is the man who secures one of them for a wife” (714). However, couched within the definition of the New Woman, Peck does not fit the mold. Firstly, she resolved not to marry at an early age,

⁸ For further information about the life of Frances Elizabeth Bellenden McFall née Clark, whose penname was Sarah Grand, see Senf.

making a conscious choice to attend university rather than remain a schoolteacher or become a wife. Secondly, Peck hardly straddled two spheres; rather, she sought a life in the male sphere alone. Indeed, she exclaimed on more than one occasion that she had no “home,” or domestic sphere, to claim as her own once she left the care of her parents. Nonetheless, as one might imagine, Peck’s image, like the image of the New Woman, set off cultural alarms, and many worked at “describing her dress as mannish, eccentric, and vulgar, and her behavior as impudent and improper” and Peck was identified as both a modern girl and a mannish anomaly in the press (Liggett 11). Because of the threat posed by violations of gendered dress codes, Peck’s blurring of the masculine and feminine did not make her wholly popular with her audience.

Peck was admonished for her climbing costume in various ways and in different circumstances. She was often compared to other woman climbers and explorers of the time, and singled out as masculine rather than feminine – sometimes as a way of making her seem less of a ‘true’ woman explorer/climber. For instance, Fanny Bullock Workman not only sought to discredit Peck’s estimates on peak heights, but also criticized her climbing attire. A 1909 *Trenton Evening Times* article describes Workman as compared to Peck by noting, “Her vigorous life has not served to make her unfeminine in appearance or manner, nor has she the slightest desire to be considered mannish” (“Said She is Head Mountain Climber”). The article then quotes Workman, who, “smil[ing] with subtle scorn to the fact that [Peck] climbed in knickerbockers,” claims: “‘I have never found it necessary to dispense with the skirt’” (qtd. in “Said She is Head Mountain Climber”). Here the author of the piece and Workman make sure to note that Workman is feminine while Peck is the opposite, as a means of “punish[ing] those who fail to do their

gender right” (Butler 190). Nonetheless, from the first time that Peck climbed in pants, she used her image as a way of establishing her ethos as a professional by climbing in the male, alpinist costume rather than in female, lady traveler attire. This also gave Peck the opportunity to differentiate between herself and other female climbers such as Workman. After all, Peck had no husband with whom she could explore South America. In this instance, Peck’s delivery creates an appeal to pathos. Her pants work as a way of asking her audience (some of whom have a common interest in women’s rights) to judge who is more professional: Peck, or a woman who climbs in skirts. Because of this, Peck often distinguished herself as a female climber who was no different from her male counterparts.

Peck often recounted the details of what she wore in her own writings, refuting the notions put forth that she was somehow “mannish” and less credible as a woman climber. Peck argued that her attire was part and parcel of the sport of climbing – to be a professional, one should use the same equipment as professionals. She often reiterated this fact in her own writing, noting that pants made just as much sense as a walking stick when it came to climbing. In her instructional 1901 *Outing* article, “Practical Mountain Climbing,” Peck argues that men and women should have the same attire for climbing:

Men, we all know, climb in knickerbockers. Women, on the contrary, will declare that a skirt is no hindrance to their locomotion. This is obviously absurd... For a woman in difficult mountaineering to waste her strength and endanger her life with a skirt is foolish in the extreme. (698)

Peck argues that wearing a skirt while climbing is not only impractical, but dangerous as well, and suggests that many ladies wear a skirt for high climbing “until out of sight of

the hotel or beyond the path of ordinary tourists, then they leave the skirt under a rock or in a mountain hut until their return” (698). She makes the logical appeal to her audience, as she views pants from the standpoint of functionality, lending a sense of pragmatism to her case. At the same time, Peck does not propose that women do away with skirts completely, refuting any notion that she is an anomaly such as women who wore men’s attire on a regular basis that might have been taken less seriously or dismissed altogether. However, from the image of Peck in her posed studio portrait that she employed in countless instances, including her lecture placards and in the press, she is never shown in her climbing skirt. Instead, she is consistently posed in her famous knickerbockers, leaving one to imagine that, at some point, she may have forgotten to retrieve her skirt from underneath a rock or from a mountain hut on a return from one of her earliest climbs. Nonetheless, her pragmatic reasoning for donning men’s clothing confronts the Victorian notion of womanhood at the turn of the century and works as Peck’s call for women’s equality.

Harriet Chalmers Adams, another woman explorer of the time, also decisively sought a feminine appearance and ethos, which was purposefully contrasted with Peck in the press. In 1908, The [New York] *Globe and Commercial Advertiser* asserted that for a “thoroughly feminine” Adams, it was “unfair... to call her a woman explorer. That makes one think of a pretzel-faced person, dressed in leather clothes and odd knickerbockers, standing, staff in hand on top of a high peak” (qtd. in Rothenberg 147). Of course, this is an accurate description of Peck’s dress, especially the studio portrait print that she utilized for her lecture placards and that was often used in the press. In *Presenting America’s World*, Rothenberg notes that Adams found an acceptance by purposefully

portraying herself with feminine-coded characteristics, rather than the “masculine-coded characteristics such as toughness, pride, and wearing knickers,” which ensured a sense of “normalness and approachability” for her audience (146). If Peck was less approachable for her audience, she still managed to achieve certain fame for her climbing exploits, which brought her an audience whom she would work to influence in matters of equality of the sexes.

Peck made a specific point to show that women could be women and still do the same things as men. She argued that much of the criticism of her dress was an attempt to censure her for working in the male realm. If discussion of her dress was one way to deliver the message that women should have the right to act in the male realm, then Peck was willing to take up the issue, even in her later years when women already had the right to vote, which Peck had worked hard to gain. One example of Peck’s insistence that gender and women can be viewed on a continuum comes up in a letter to a gossip columnist, Frederick Collins, who characterized Peck as masculine. In a 1928 *Good Housekeeping Magazine* gossip column, Collins rumors that Caspar Whitney, an explorer and the editor-in-chief of *The Outing Magazine*, is to wed Agnes C. Laut, “a feminist and a politician” (36). Collins questions whether or not Laut realizes that Caspar used to change women writers’ names to their initials for publication “so that sensitive male readers wouldn’t know the author was a woman” (36). Collins then argues that while Caspar had Laut’s name switched to initials, he used Peck’s full name in *Outing*, explaining,

And I wondered why until I saw the two women: Miss Laut, for all her stirring, far-country life, was distinctively feminine; Miss Peck, in her

grim tailored suit, her high, stiff collar, and her hard, mannish hat, was quite the reverse. (36)

Collins cites Peck's dress as a way of pointing to her masculinity, but his description of her wardrobe makes little sense, as Peck only wore her climbing attire while climbing. What is most interesting is that Peck took this as an opportunity to respond to Collins' comment in the form of a typed letter, in which she argues that she is not "masculine," and spends two pages refuting Collins' claim (Peck, Letter to *Good Housekeeping*). Here, Peck walked the line between working in the male realm of climbing/exploration while at the same time creating a feminine ethos so that she might be understood as a woman who was also a professional climber/explorer, rather than a woman who imitates men.

For Peck, no platform was too small and it was never too late to make her point that women were still not treated equal to men. She argues,

That I was called no worse than masculine may Heaven be praised... In former days (though hardly now) it was natural to suppose that a woman who... climbed in knickerbockers to the greatest height attained on this hemisphere by any American, or who writes a book on Industrial and Commercial South America, must be a masculine sort of person, or at least mannish. I have sometimes thought that these facts may be the route of certain criticism. (Peck, Letter to *Good Housekeeping*)

By this time, Peck had also published two more books: *The South American Tour* (1913) and *Industrial and Commercial South America* (1922). She had also worked in the suffrage movement and voiced her opinion on politics through numerous newspaper editorials. That Peck had contributed to the economic discourse of the time was possibly

seen as more masculine than wearing pants. Peck argues that because she has achieved such masculine accomplishments as climbing and publishing a book on the industrial and commercial aspects of South America, it might make sense that some may view her as masculine. After all, she had spent most of her life in the male realm by this point. Here, Peck uses a figure of reasoning, aetiology, to give a causal explanation (she climbs mountains and writes about economics) for why she might be considered masculine, placing gender on a continuum. However, at the same time, she shows Collins' use of a post hoc fallacy by pointing to the fact that his characterization of her is caused by her professional endeavors rather than who she really is or how she really appears, placing herself as a woman on a continuum. Peck continuously called attention to her efforts in challenging gender norms in her written works and actions, and thus enacted an effort to alter those prevailing norms. Here, Peck uses the reiteration of female gender norms in terms in her own identity.

She then counters Collins' accusations by further explaining just how feminine she is:

In regard to comments on my attire, I beg to state that I have never worn a hard, mannish hat anywhere, for any purpose... Nor have I ever worn a high, stiff collar, unless in prehistoric times when every woman did so. At times, of course, I wear tailor suits, ready-made, of such quality as my purse may afford: by preference a pretty gray, a tan, or when fashion permits, a wine color. Lace, chiffon, and velvet, when in any degree fashionable, have always been my choice for all suitable occasions. Regretting always that I had not been a boy, with a fairer chance to make

my way in the world, since I was not one I have ever avoided trying to look like one....that if not so feminine as Miss Laut, whom I never happened to meet, I at least appear womanly. (Peck, Letter to *Good Housekeeping*)

Peck works to explain a woman can achieve masculine accomplishments without being masculine. Her argument also notes that if she were a man, her critics would be less impartial to what she wore, and she would have had an easier time in life at accomplishing her goals. Once again, her dress is used as a means of eliciting an emotional response from her audience – one in which they might have some empathy for her situation and at the same time admire her for overcoming the odds and succeeding in a profession that did not necessarily welcome women in the first place. In this instance, as in many others, Peck actively engages in her own representation, and defies others' attempts to categorize her, while calling attention to the double standard for men who are not so criticized with regard to how they dress.

It is also possible that Peck insists on her own femininity here as a way of undermining what the feminine construct means for society. In essence, Peck says, "Look at me! I am a woman! I am a *womanly* woman and I can accomplish the same things as men!" Peck offers her audience a change in the feminine construct – one that involves a feminine being who does not have to be masculine in order to achieve what are traditionally thought of as accomplishments reserved for men. Instead, she claims that women can achieve the same as men; indeed, this places male achievements within the female sphere and vice versa.

To further her argument, Peck points to her own body as evidence in her testimony that she is a feminine woman:

I preferred emulation in intellectual pursuits, or in sports which require not so much muscle as endurance, good nerves, and a perfectly sound physique. I may remark that I am still comfortable in an AA shoe, can clasp my hand around my ankle, and though five feet seven have a weight oftener below than above 130 pounds. (Peck, *Letter to Good Housekeeping*).

Peck situates *woman* rather than *gender* on a continuum by identifying the categorized physical attributes of woman (small feet, slight frame, endurance over muscle) and uses them as a means of “performativity” in which she usurps “a regularized and constrained repetition of norms” for women in society as a way of working to change those norms (Butler, *Bodies that Matter* 95). Here, rather than solely relying on the performativity of gender, Peck also focuses on the materiality of the body, and insists that the materiality of sex can indeed be understood as a construction. We can view Peck’s identity here on a continuum, just as we view gender on a continuum. Moreover, what Peck does is place *women* as well as *gender* on a continuum, calling attention to and arguing that, as a woman, she should be able to do as the men in her life do, which contests the standing notion of what it means to be a woman. Butler notes,

Performativity cannot be understood outside of a process of iterability, a regularized and constrained repetition of norms...This iterability implies that 'performance' is not a singular 'act' or event, but a ritualized production, a ritual reiterated under and through constraint, under and

through the force of prohibition and taboo, with the threat of ostracism...but not...determining it fully in advance. (*Bodies the Matter* 95).

Peck argued that women need not work to *imitate* masculine-coded characteristics in order to succeed; rather, that women *possess* some of the same characteristics as men, and she presented both sets of characteristics to the public. Peck asserted that for a woman to accomplish the same things that a man accomplishes within a male-oriented realm such as climbing or exploration does not mean that she is part man; rather, she remains a woman who is equal to man.

In fact, she scoffed at women who openly espoused masculine mannerisms. For instance, in a 1928 news article, Peck argued that for women to want to act like men was a sign of inferiority on their part, noting,

The trouble with most women, more particularly the women of my day, is that they consider themselves half men if they do something that men do. They think it's smart to wear masculine clothes, to swear, to be very hail-fellow-well-met. That's all very well, but it's an admission on the part of women that they aren't as good as men, that they know they aren't, and that they are going to try to be just as good by usurpation of all the masculine trimmings. (qtd. in "Inferiority Complex is Seen in Copying of Men's Manners")

The author of the article makes note that Peck "sought a man's education and a man's occupation," but "believes in femininity, and demonstrates it by the bit of lace at her throat, her softly curled coiffure and her narrow, high heeled shoes" ("Inferiority

Complex is Seen in Copying of Men's Manners"). By insisting on her femininity, yet performing comfortably in the male realm and accomplishing masculine achievements, Peck defied the process by which extreme ideas such as women wearing bloomers were integrated within mainstream society and so taken less seriously. At the same time, Peck did not overstate the feminine style, which, as Ann Douglas points out, was the norm for the Victorian woman, whose "pinched waist, swelled bosom, and proliferating profusion of looped skirts and lacy petticoats both obliterated and exaggerated the female body" (61). Instead, Peck's "bit of lace at her throat" was often accompanied by material artifacts that alluded to her success in the masculine realm of climbing/exploration such as her medals for climbing. For most women, Douglas argues, fashion was itself a commentary on the uselessness of women, or a way for the "expensively educated, well-treated, and well-dressed" woman to "advertise male earnings and compensate themselves for their own lost productivity," which illustrates a very different form of delivery from Peck's (61). Instead, Peck deviated from the fashion culture of her class, and her delivery in dress and action continuously asserted that women were meant to be feminine, while doing masculine acts and achieving goals supposedly slated only for men.

For Peck, it was crucial that she separated herself as a professional in the male realm, for her career and future funding depended on it. By wearing masculine attire and posing with masculine objects when she wore feminine clothing, and by writing in the style of the men in her field, Peck made the rhetorical statement that women could do the same as men in climbing and writing. Donning male climbing apparel was a way of seeking fairness rather than tolerance for women in the professions. The lack of

seriousness tied to women's dress inspired Peck to appear as professional while climbing, and society's overt dismissal of women who appeared too masculine moved Peck to defend her own femininity. By changing her style from feminine to masculine, Peck also worked to outfit her writing as a way of realizing her intentions – Peck's writing began as a casual endeavor and saw climbing as a sport, but her style changed to reflect that of other professionals at the time who adhered to the RGS and masculine style. Both her delivery and style served to shape Peck's work as a rhetor and helped her to professionalize. These canons allowed Peck to use mountain climbing as a rhetorical construct – to accomplish all that she had, and in the way that she did, helped her to be viewed as a professional rather than an anomaly.

Societal and political rules for women had begun to change. On the cusp of a new era, women were beginning to break away from what had been the expected sphere of dutiful domesticity. As the standards of the Victorian woman began to bend, Peck sought to take hold of the new rules for women that were already set in motion and change them to suit her needs. At the same time, Peck worked to construct an image of herself. Society's rules did not dictate for Peck how she would represent herself in public. This was unusual for educated American women during this time, to whom, as English social theorist Harriet Martineau noted in her 1837 work *Society in America*, "indulgence is given her [American women] as a substitute for justice" (292). By controlling her own image and being able to speak about her image in a public forum, Peck seems to write back to Martineau, and argues as she had in *Search for the Apex of America* that she (and all women like her in the future) should have access to justice:

To all who had faith in my ability to win ultimate success or who have rejoiced in my triumph, I would express the hope that they may be encouraged on future occasions to aid women everywhere in obtaining equal opportunity with men; justice and not favor. (viii)

Peck's choice to employ both a masculine and feminine rhetorical style and delivery allowed her to construct a self over which she had control, a privilege usually reserved for men. In essence, this may be the most feminist aspect of Peck – the fact that she had this kind of autonomy over how she should be identified. However, as time went on, Peck would find that the rewards she reaped from her image and rhetorical strategies would help with more than just getting popular audiences to think about what it means to be male or female. Peck would also find that her image and rhetorical persona would assist women's fight for equality in the realm of politics.

CHAPTER V

PECK IN POLITICS

By the time Peck published *Search for the Apex of America*, she had become a well-known figure in popular culture: Miss Peck the Mountain Climber. Likewise, her rhetorical training, professional experience and reputation, and firm belief in the equality of the sexes worked together to make Peck a popular figure in both the women's suffrage movement and politics in general. Various organizations sought her out as a recognizable orator and author who might help different political causes. Peck used her popular image as a mountain climber as a rhetorical device to advance the rights of women and argue for the equality of the sexes, while at the same time attempting to identify herself as an individual and independent scholar. Throughout history, women have "done" rhetoric differently from men, and so have worked to reinvent the rhetorical tradition. Because women were restricted from the political platform for so long, their rhetorical practice often took the form of letters, journals, and, eventually, printed columns. For instance, Abigail Adams' famous line to her husband John, "Remember the Ladies" came in the form of a letter in 1776. Women's different rhetorical forms and contexts, while serving the same persuasive purposes as men, differed in terms of invention and style. And so, their rhetoric worked to challenge the prevailing norms of male rhetoric.

At the same time, Peck's rhetorical strategies differed from many suffragists of the time. While Peck used her image as a means of furthering suffrage, her views on why women should get the vote and her arguments for suffrage differed from many of her allies in the movement. Many suffragists used the common theme of "social housekeeping" in which women, as keepers of the home, should extend their work to the

public sphere, which could be achieved with suffrage (Rynbrandt 96). Rheta Childe Dorr, author and social worker, argues this point in her 1910 book *What Eight Million Women Want*:

Women's place is home. Her task is homemaking. Her talents, as a rule, are mainly for homemaking. But home is not contained within the four walls of an individual home. Home is the community. The city full of people is the family. The public school is the real Nursery. And badly do the Home and the Family and the Nursery need their mother. I dream of a community where men and women divide the work of governing and administering, each according to his special capacities and natural abilities. (327-328)

By the end of the nineteenth century, most of women's suffrage rhetoric was steeped in the image of motherhood, or the innate characteristics of woman as caregiver and nurturer, which became a common thread for the suffrage argument. Conventional women's movement leaders, such as Carrie Chapman Catt, Anna Howard Shaw, and, Alice Stone Blackwell, and the organizations and presses that they represented, all advocated the doctrine of Motherhood under the guise of social housekeeping. Dorr and others such as Jane Addams began to articulate social or civic housekeeping, which, as biographer Jean Bethke Elshtain notes for Addams, was an "alternative to wedded domesticity" (78). However, Peck maintained that women differed in terms of partisanship, and in terms of reforms such as capital punishment, of which she was a proponent ("Annie S. Peck's Views"). Peck took an anti-essentialist stance by insisting that it shouldn't make a difference if someone is a man or a woman – each should have the same rights no matter what. She was also adamant that no one should define women's

sphere. This was part of her problem in terms of public relations – she did not fit the sweep of the time. Peck can be categorized as a conservative radical. She had a radical view of human nature; she believed that the differences between men and women were overblown. Likewise, she did not want special treatment for women. Peck was critical of other women who she viewed as misrepresenting women, which meant that they worked to discredit Peck as well. For instance, while Peck noted that Jane Addams was “an admirable woman in many ways,” she also argued that she was “mistaken” in her support for Roosevelt’s campaign (“Wilson Women Wind Up). That both Roosevelt and Addams argued for suffrage was not enough for Peck; rather, Peck was sure that women would get the vote in her lifetime and she did not want her voting rights based on her ‘natural’ inclinations as a woman since she “object[ed] to having our sphere decreed by others” (“From Suffragist Readers”). Addams, along with many suffragists define a generation of progressive women; however, they go about gaining progressive measures via a conservative social basis (i.e., women are naturally nurturing), and Peck rejected outright this kind of reasoning.

The national press began to identify Peck as a popular figure along with other notable suffragists, and her name became associated with suffrage as well as climbing. For instance, in 1910, the Equality League of Self-Supporting Women of New York organized suffrage parades in order to oppose Artemas Ward, an anti-suffrage, Republican Assemblyman who sought re-election. A *New York Times* article highlights quotes from Mary Chapman Catt and other suffragists such as Beatrice Forbes Robertson and Helen Hoy Greeley in their campaign against Ward. The last line of the article reads, “Miss Annie Peck, the mountain climber, lent the support of her presence” (“Oppose

Artemas Ward"). New York suffragists had begun to use Peck's reputation as a popular figure for their fight, and Peck willingly lent her name to the cause. Peck's fame for climbing associated her with some of the top names in the suffrage movement, and various organizations requested her presence at rallies and marches to support the suffrage cause. For instance, a 1911 *Newark Advocate* [Ohio] article describes a suffrage march of more than 1,500 people protesting the New York assembly's decision to halt suffrage. Out of those in attendance, the article lists Harriet Stanton Blatch [daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton], "multimillionaires" Mrs. Belmont, Mrs. Ernest Thompson Seton, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "famous mountain climber" Miss Annie Peck, and "scores of other notables" who attended the parade ("New York Women in Big Parade").

Peck began to write and speak more and more on the subject of suffrage as the early twentieth century progressed. In 1912, Claudia Hazen White invited Peck to accept the nomination as a delegate to the International Women's Suffrage Congress in Budapest (White, "Letter to Annie S. Peck"). There is no surviving evidence that she actually attended. By 1914, Peck was the president of the Joan of Arc Suffrage League in New York; she had begun to join with various other leagues to fight for women's vote in the state of New York, and her image had begun to change from Miss Peck the Mountain Climber to both mountain climber and suffragist. It is interesting to note that Peck became president of the *Joan of Arc* Suffrage League, whose name implies a limited progressive women's rhetoric at best. While Arc was a martyr for her cause, she does not fit the mold of a progressive figure. Here, when women imagine modern, reformist models, it seems as if they do not find them, and so settled on Arc who was executed by burning for her outspokenness. This works to substantiate Peck's position, who is a

generation or two beyond her cohorts when she argues that women should have justice on the grounds that they are equal to men, not because they are inherently nurturing and kind.

While she was not finished with her alpine adventures after her triumph of Huascarán, Peck began to use her fame gained from climbing as part of her argument for women's rights. One example of Peck's melding of climbing action with the suffragist cause is her ascent of Mount Coropuna. Peck returned to Peru in 1911 to climb this peak on the advice that it might be higher than Huascarán ("Miss Peck Returns from Andean Climb"). While there, at the request of the Joan of Arc Woman Suffrage League, Peck also decided that she would use her climbing as a show of support for women's suffrage. The League's founder, Nellie B. Van Slingerland, requested that Peck climb Coropuna in order to "honor our Cause, and our League, by unfurling the Joan of Arc Flag, the first to wave at such a heighth [sic], thereby adding one more star to your own crown of marvelous accomplishments" (Van Slingerland, Letter to Peck). However, Peck once again faced opposition on her way to Coropuna. Neil Smith's *American Empire* describes Hiram Bingham, the scholar and explorer who rediscovered the Machu Picchu ruins in Peru, as being in fierce competition with Peck to climb Coropuna because it might possibly be higher than Huascarán. Smith describes Peck as a particular "thorn in [Bingham's] side" – not only had she earned the title for climbing the highest peak climbed in the Americas but she was also twenty-five years older than he *and* a woman (61). By the time Bingham set sail for Peru, he was in such a hurry to climb a higher peak that "any unexplored country would do," for he felt he "he had to get back to the Andes to answer Peck" (61).

Not one to turn away from a challenge, Peck set sail on the same ship as Bingham's party from Jamaica to Peru. She reached the north summit of the peak before Bingham, but her height was estimated to be a nearly three hundred feet lower than Bingham's final ascent of the higher peak. Nonetheless, much to Bingham's chagrin, Huascarán was still higher than Coropuna, and Peck kept her record of scaling the highest peak in North and South America. By this time, though, Peck had decided that her rhetorical action of reaching the top of the summit was not enough to show what one woman could do in light of women's social and political inequality. As Bingham placed the flag of Yale University on the peak of Coropuna, Peck planted a banner for the Joan of Arc Suffrage League that read, "Votes for Women" (Smith 67). Such acts would further solidify Peck's reputation as a sought-after model for political parties and issues as well as the suffrage agenda.

The following year saw a shift in women's participation in politics and serious political involvement by Americans in general. The Election of 1912, noted by historian David M. Kennedy as "one of the most significant elections in all of American history," involved five presidential candidates (Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Debs, and Chafin) and a splitting of the Republican Party between Taft and Roosevelt, who formed the "Bull Moose" Progressive Party (*Woodrow Wilson: A Passionate Man*). Debs ran for the Socialist Party, and had supported suffrage since 1901, while the Prohibition Party (Chafin) had supported suffrage since its beginning in 1872. Six states had already granted women the right to vote, the Progressive Party had begun to endorse women's suffrage, and the Democratic National Committee officially requested women's political participation for the first time in history. The combined ideals of suffrage and women's

sanctioned political participation inspired women to actively campaign on behalf of each candidate. The *New York Herald* reported this new phenomenon: “With a suddenness and force that have left observers gasping, women have injected themselves into the national campaign this year in a manner never before dreamed of in American politics” (“Women Leap Suddenly into Political Favor”). Like many other women at the time, Peck submitted her image, speeches and writing to the contest.

It seems as if Peck would have stumped for any party except Wilson’s – the Socialists and Prohibitionists had supported suffrage longer than any other party. However, Peck did not support prohibition and it seems as if her longstanding Republican ideals did not match with the Socialist platform. What is most surprising is that Peck did not lend her support to Roosevelt, especially since he supported suffrage (other suffragists such as Jane Addams had already lent him their support) and Wilson would not announce that women’s suffrage was needed until 1918. She nevertheless joined the Wilson Camp. While Roosevelt endorsed women’s suffrage on a national level and was the first man with such notoriety to do so, he also couched much of his suffrage rhetoric in terms of motherhood and domesticity rather than equality for equality’s sake. In a 1912 speech in Vermont, he argued, “The women who bear children and attend to their own homes have precisely the same right to speak in politics that their husbands have who are the fathers of their children and who work to keep up their homes” (“How Women Won Roosevelt to Them”). In the same speech, Roosevelt also noted, “Unmarried women [such as Jane Addams] perform service of the utmost consequence;” however, he also asserted, “the highest life, the ideal life, is the married life” (“How Women Won

Roosevelt to Them”). It may be possible that Peck did not trust Roosevelt’s stance on women in politics. After all, just months before Roosevelt had explained,

I pin my faith to women suffragists of the type of the late Julia Ward Howe. She did, first of all, her full duty in the intimate home relations that must always take precedence over all other relations. Most of the women that I know best are against women suffrage because they approach life from the standpoint of duty. They are not interested in their rights so much as their obligations. (“Roosevelt is for Women Suffrage”)

Obviously, Peck did not fit the mold of Howe or the other women that Roosevelt knew well. Nevertheless, she also seemed to be thinking of politics as a whole rather than just the issue of suffrage. Much of suffrage rhetoric (including Roosevelt’s) based its argument for equality on the Darwinist ideology that women were different from men and defined women in a nurturing, motherly role. However, Peck took a different stand on this and argued that women were equal to men, once again setting a place for herself on the human shelf. In essence, Peck holds on to her original lowercase- r republican ideals of individualism and liberty on which she was raised. In “The Domestication of Politics,” Paula Baker discusses how the “republican vocabulary” changed in the nineteenth century to conform to the rules of gender: “Liberty, independence, and freedom had economic as much as political connotations, while virtue and selflessness became attributes of women and the home” (631). Based on this vocabulary, Peck seems to have appropriated the male terms of republicanism and rejected the female attributes, especially since she argued that she was a single, nondomestic woman who did not really

have a place to call home. She also worked in the male sphere for her own survival and had no husband to lend her financial support. And so, Peck lent her support to Wilson.

Woodrow Wilson's camp had begun their own plan for involving women in his campaign. One of his aides, Archie Alexander, began the Women's National Wilson and Marshall Association. However, as Florence Jaffray Hurst Harriman (Mrs. J. Borden) noted in her autobiography, *From Pinafores to Politics*, they had trouble finding a leader, since "all our birds had gone on the suffrage plank" (112). Shortly after, Alexander died of typhoid fever, and his mother left the campaign. It would be up to Harriman (known by her friends as Daisy) to head the women's group for Wilson. Harriman noted that she was "far from the ideal chairman; but there was nothing to do but grit my teeth since the Bull Moose had gobbled everyone who was ideal" (112). Wilson's Women campaigned in New York, and Harriman began to reach out to women who might speak on behalf of Wilson. Peck signed on for the job and started to stump for Wilson. Harriman noted that during this time "women in politics were a novelty and therefore, news" (113). Being a woman in a man's field was something to which Peck was already accustomed, so she took full advantage of this fact and entertained an audience in Baltimore with her reasoning for why folks should vote for Wilson rather than Roosevelt.

In all of the novelty of women speaking on the subject of politics, Peck's speech turned out to be one of the most popular. The unique opportunity of speaking on behalf of Wilson seems to have also afforded Peck the freedom to use campaign rhetoric in a manner that differed from men's speeches. An article in *The Sun* [Baltimore] entitled "Wilson Women Wind Up" describes one of Peck's speeches for Wilson. Although the title of the article seems to convey that there are many women speaking up for Wilson, it

exclusively covers only Peck's speech, which "was as much unlike the usual campaign address as day is unlike night, and it was pronounced altogether delightful." Peck began her speech by explaining to her audience that they shouldn't think of her as "unbecoming" because she was a woman who "appear[ed] on the stump" since she was certain that all women would soon get the right to vote and so the "men might as well get used to it by degrees" (Peck, qtd. in "Wilson Women Wind Up"). This explanation, which excuses the presence of a woman in the male realm while at the same time prophesying that women will have the vote, calls attention to the fact that she sets herself up as an anomaly that will soon be the norm. Peck then spends a short amount of time addressing the women and men in the crowd by discussing that women are interested in politics for economic and societal reasons such as "better government and lower prices, and they would really like to see the laws enforced" (Peck, qtd. in "Wilson Women Wind Up"). Peck also notes that she does not trust Roosevelt to instill suffrage for women, even though he says he believes in suffrage, because he cannot be trusted based on his previous behavior. However, this is where her discussion of women in politics stops, and Peck immediately launches into an address to the men in the room, or those with the power to vote for Wilson.

Peck devotes the rest of her speech to discrediting Roosevelt; however, after her first mention of his name, she refers to him as "Theodore" for the rest of her speech, "much as a mother would speak of a naughty child" ("Wilson Women Wind Up"). She goes on to describe Roosevelt as a flip-flopper, who once was great friends and a supporter of Taft, but who now was angry with Taft. She also argues that if Roosevelt erred in judgment on Taft, then he will most likely misjudge future political figures. She

continues to recount that Roosevelt “used to be chummy with Quay, Penrose, Aldrich, Platt and others of the same stripe, and it has only been recently that he has discovered what wicked men they were.” Peck then characterizes Roosevelt as someone who takes credit for accomplishments that he has not achieved, such as the Panama Canal: “You know, Theodore says he took Panama and started the canal. Of course, the French started the canal, but Theodore says he did it, so we’ll let that pass [Laughter].” Peck continued her speech in this same manner, which is described at the end of the article:

Miss Peck went in this vein for about half an hour, keeping her audience roaring half the time. She poked fun at Roosevelt and with keen satire pictured him as desiring to be the dictator of the country, accusing him of insincerity and inaccuracy of speech, and ridiculing the plan of making up a national platform of State issues.

Whether Peck intended to seem motherly, or the author assumed that she was acting motherly, the rhetoric of motherhood paid off, and each time she referred to Roosevelt as “Theodore” thereafter, “her audience roared.”⁹ However, what is most interesting about Peck’s speech is that even though she quickly addresses the concerns of women and appears seemingly like a mother to at least one member of her audience, she directs her speech to the men and focuses on the logical, rational (rather than the motherly or emotional) reasons as to why they should vote for Wilson.

If Peck’s speech wavered between the feminine (motherly) and the masculine (men’s topics such as the Panama Canal and States rights), she was sure to stick to the

⁹ For a detailed and interesting discussion on the rhetoric of motherhood, see Lindal Buchanan’s (unpublished) work, - need title/citation

feminine in her attire. Not unlike women's political speeches today, the press was sure to describe Peck's dress – included in this is a description of her body-type as well:

Becomingly dressed in a in a gown of black net over green silk, she was totally unlike physically what many of her audience expected to see. These who had imagined her to be a big, sturdy woman, bearing the marks of her wonderful expeditions into some of the most inaccessible parts of the world were surprised to see a rather slender, middle-aged woman of gentle voice, full of dry humor.

This description relates to Peck's own take on dress – that pants should be worn when climbing and dresses should be worn in public. Peck makes a deliberate choice in dress once again, as the campaign committee expected women to be feminine. Masculine-dressed women were not permitted to speak. As Jo Freeman points out in *We Will Be Heard*, Dr. Mary E. Walker, who consistently dressed in masculine garb, was rejected as a speaker by Wilson's Ohio State Committee party chairman, who explained that "he'd rather have a two-headed calf" speak in the campaign (65). While descriptions of Peck's climbing costume were used by the press to spur discussion on women's societal norms in the 1890s, descriptions of her ladylike attire were now doing the same. That a slender, gentle woman dressed in silk might deliver a speech that inspired political action was just as much a rhetorical statement as a woman who climbed in pants. Peck's dress can be likened to our modern day tee-shirts worn by celebrities such as Ashley Judd, Margaret Cho, Camryn Manheim and Whoopi Goldberg that state, "This is what a Feminist looks like" (these actors were shown wearing the same tee-shirt on the cover of the spring 2003 issue of *Ms. Magazine*).

Of course, Harriman was very pleased with Peck's results, and noted her thanks to Peck in a personal letter:

A brilliant speech like yours, tinged with good-humored cynicism and bright humor, is often more effective than a cut-and-dried effort, and I am sure you must have been instrumental in winning over some of the people who would have supported "Theodore." (Harriman, Letter to Peck)

On top of her surprising physical appearance, it seems that Peck's speech had quite an impact on her male audience, as the author of the article noted, "Men who have been attending campaign meetings of all the parties said it was the best thing of the campaign, and they were sorry Miss Peck had not been heard oftener in Maryland" ("Wilson Women Wind Up"). Once again, Peck places gender (and women) on a continuum by showing that a ladylike woman cannot only make rhetorical speeches in the male sphere but she can also get results. The success of Peck's speech shows her sophistication for public rhetoric that few women had the chance to exercise in a mixed audience.

Soon after, Peck became recognized as a notable speaker on suffrage and on politics in general. Her many visits to South America and her 1913 publication of *The South American Tour* had helped her to be recognized as an expert in fields other than climbing, including economics and politics in Latin America and the relations between North and South America. For instance, Peck published an article in *Prosperity: The Republican National Magazine* titled, "Living Conditions in South America," in which she contributed to the magazine's ongoing conversation on Latin America. What is noteworthy here is that Peck is the sole female contributor to this edition, and her article is published alongside those of distinguished businessmen and politicians such as Frank

Trumbull (Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Chesapeake Ohio Railroad), B.H. Bryant (chief locating engineer of International Railways of America), Frank Bartlett Willis (a Republican politician from Ohio), and *William A. Prendergast* (*Comptroller of the City of New York*). Besides lending her expertise to matters on South America, Peck would continue the fight for suffrage for the rest of the decade.

However, when it came to the argument for suffrage, Peck insisted that women stand alone as individuals and went out of her way to impress upon the public the idea that one individual does not stand for the whole. In essence, Peck worked against the ideas that all suffragists had the same political mindset, that they worked as a whole to accomplish the same goals, and that they would vote the same once they won the right to vote. For instance, in a 1914 editorial titled "How to Treat Hunger Strikers," Peck takes a stand against anarchist activist Becky Edelson, who had been imprisoned for disturbing the peace. Edelson, a student at the Ferrer School and one of the first reported hunger strikers in the United States, had gained the support of the Free Speech League, the International Defense League and leading anarchists such as Leonard Abbot, Lincoln Steffens, Hutchins Hapgood and Mabel Dodge Luhan. However, the suffrage movement did not lend their sympathy to Edelson, since her "case was not in the hands of a man who could be charged with dealing unjustly with her," and instead was managed by a fellow suffragist, Dr. Katharine Davis, the first woman appointed as New York's Commissioner of Corrections ("Fast Hasn't Hurt Becky Edelson Yet"). Besides agreeing with other suffragists, Peck insisted that Edelson be treated as any other prisoner might be, which was to send them to jail without discussion, for "if they were sent to jail, to prison, to the electric chair without any headlines, with no pictures in the papers, they

will not become martyrs for their cause” (“How to Treat Hunger Strikers”). While this stance may make the hairs on our necks stand up, it shows Peck’s argument for equality without consideration of gender. It also shows Peck’s display of “masculine” traits, which countered the “feminine” qualities of passivity, nurturance and tolerance. Here, Peck questions the assumption that might be made regarding women as caretakers.

In the same editorial, Peck directly addresses Davis, and suggests that she stop reporting news about Edelson:

May I be permitted, through you, to offer a suggestion to our Commissioner of Correction, Dr. Katharine Davis. Dr. Davis did well in permitting no interviews with reporters or others – possibly no letters. She would do still better if she withheld all information from the general public as to this person’s conduct or that of any other individual making trouble of any sort or even of anyone’s behavior, good or ill. (“How to Treat Hunger Strikers”)

Three days later, Davis sends a response to the public regarding Edelson. In her *New York Times* editorial titled, “No News About Becky,” Davis reports her new decision to discontinue news coverage of Edelson:

[Davis] reached the conclusion yesterday that it was time to close down upon news about Miss Edelson, as she felt that a newsless hunger strike would be much sooner broken than one in which the striker’s hope was buoyed up each day by publicity. Hereafter I must decline to give information as to the health or conduct of Miss Edelson and the other members of the I.W.W. [International Workers of the World] who are

inmates of the institutions at the Department or Correction. These persons will receive exactly the same treatment as all other prisoners. It is not in the interest of discipline or in the interest of the democratic conduct of our institutions that these prisoners should receive consideration over that accorded to other prisoners or be singled out for newspaper notoriety.

(“No News about Becky”)

It seems as if Peck’s editorial inspired action. However, what is more significant is that Peck argues that women should be viewed and treated as individuals, rather than as a single, homogeneous group, which were either viewed as threatening or were spurned altogether by the anti-suffrage camp. This line of reasoning coincides with Deborah Tannen’s argument that the identity of women is “marked” in various ways. From linguistic markings (suffragette) to physical appearance (whether a woman wears makeup or not marks her, whereas men typically do not wear makeup, and so go unmarked), Tannen argues that the identity of most women is marked, just as femaleness is marked in language via terms such as *actress* rather than *actor* (108). Along these same lines, Peck argues that women should not be the marked case, but that individuals should be marked because it is the individual that has her own unique identity.

Because of her emphasis on individuality, Peck runs counter to many of the other supporters of suffrage, who argued that as homemakers of a newly expanded domestic sphere, they could clean up politics and care for the public as a mother cleans and cares for her family. This stems from the Darwinian argument that women acted as mothers and so would transfer their nurturance from the domestic sphere into the sphere of action. For instance, Charlotte Gilman Perkins, a leading suffragist, fiction writer, and often now

characterized as a feminist, argued in *The Man-Made World* that women were natural nurturers, and so “government by women so far as it is influenced by their sex, would be influenced by motherhood; and that would mean care, nurture, provision, education” (189-190). It is here that Peck breaks from many of her suffragist allies. Instead, Peck insisted that women be accepted in the male realms of profession and politics – not because they were caretakers by nature, but because they were equal to men. Likewise, she stresses the notion of the individual once again. During discussions of suffrage, one fear held by anti-suffrage spokespersons was that women would all vote the same way, as a collective unit. Peck clearly lays out this argument against this notion in a 1915 *New York Times* editorial titled, “Annie S. Peck’s Views: ‘Too Many Men in Politics Better Qualified for Hoeing Corn or Selling Ribbons’ Says Well-Known Author.” By the time this editorial is published, she is labeled as a well-known author rather than Miss Peck the Mountain Climber, which added to her ethos as professional.

In a response to the question from another editorial, “[What is] the programme of the women suffragists in New York?,” Peck responds,

Pardon me if I say that that the question is absurd. What woman is authorized to speak for all suffragists? On one point only are we agreed: We desire the ballot. To suppose that we shall unite upon a definite programme before or after obtaining the ballot is as absurd as to conceive of men doing so. Why not observe what women have done in the states and countries now possessing equal suffrage? They have not attempted revolutionary measures. (“Annie S. Peck’s Views”)

Here, Peck assures her audience that women, like men, will vote as individuals, once again adhering to the republican ideals of liberty and independence. However, she also gives specific examples of how women, like men, differ in their political views:

Why should we be supposed to agree? Are we not also Democrats, Republicans, a few Progressives still [,] and many, I hope, Independents? Some women are Socialists, a theory which many of us oppose, though approving of certain reforms which seem to lie in that direction. Others are strenuous against capital punishment, while I hold the opinion that if 90 percent of our murderers were executed, instead of approximately 1 percent, we should not be disgraced by having a far greater proportion of homicide than any other civilized country on the globe.

The above obviously exemplifies Peck's political leanings, but her point is clear: women will vote just as men always have – as individuals. Peck's assertions hearken to the recent feminist argument over whether women rhetors in history should be recovered as individuals or as a collective group. Karlyn Kohrs Campbell's revisionist rhetorical work, *Man Cannot Speak for Her*, in which Campbell highlights individual women who fought for women's rights and suffrage, Biesecker argues in "Coming to Terms with Recent Attempts to Write Women into the History of Rhetoric" that the inclusion of individual rhetorical texts by women into the canon brings about the fictional understanding that these individuals are rare cases out of the collective group of women (142). Likewise, she argues, "The valorization of the individual is a mechanics of exclusion that fences out a vast array of collective rhetorical practices to which there belongs no proper name. The exaltation of individual rhetorical actions is secured by way of the devaluing of collective

rhetorical practices which, one cannot fail to note, have been the most common form of women's intervention in the public sphere" (144). The fear of leaving women out of the canon by placing other, individual women in the canon is understandable. However, Peck's case shows (and indeed she argues) that, while she belongs to a collective group of women who want the ballot, the women in this group want it for various reasons, and so their rhetorical writings and speeches will naturally differ from one another. For instance, in *Women and Public Housekeeping*, Jane Addams' argument for suffrage lies in the rhetoric of social housekeeping, as she asserts, "A city is in many respects a great business corporation, but in other respects it is enlarged housekeeping (1). Here, like Roosevelt, Addams works to keep a division of the private and public sphere within the sphere of action by bringing the domestic realm into the public, economic realm. But Peck insists that the spheres are a falsehood. The way Peck explained it, women should have the vote because democratic ideals allow for it and because women were equal to men:

Personally, since the subject was first presented to me long years ago, I have believed in woman suffrage on the ground of justice, I desire to be regarded as an intelligent human being. When women have for a generation or two been counted equal before the law they will be so regarded, and not before. That women's sphere should be prescribed by men, that men know better what is womanly and what we are capable than we do we ourselves, has not seemed to me logical or proper. ("Annie S. Peck's Views")

By examining Peck as an individual, which was what she wanted (obviously not without her own personal and political motivations), it seems as if her constant argument is that suffragists as a collective group are wrong in their reasoning for why women should get the vote. Ultimately, it would be the argument for social housekeeping that would help to win women's vote. And, as Peck feared, it would also diminish the equal rights movement after the ballot was won. Peck demanded to be seen as an individual and not as a representative of a premade group, but this belief was at odds with the doctrine of social housekeeping that suggested that women had special, maternal dust in the corners of society that needed cleaning.

In another interesting instance, she asserted her case on the behalf of Jeanette Rankin, a fellow suffragist and the first woman in the U.S. Congress, who, in 1917, voted against the resolution to enter World War I. Rankin was strongly criticized in the press and castigated by the public for her vote. Like Edelson, the suffrage movement also scorned Rankin – even the National American Woman Suffrage Association cancelled their plans for her reception in a display of disapproval of her vote (Harris 118). Peck used this case as another opportunity to explain that one woman did not represent the whole of women. In a 1917 *New York Times* editorial, Peck defends Rankin's choice to vote against war:

May I be permitted a little space to say a word in behalf of the first woman Representative in Congress? It seems to me that courtesy and justice demand that she should receive no more critical attention for her actions and votes from editors or correspondents than would the man who

might have been elected in her place or any other new member of Congress.

Also it should be insisted that Miss Rankin does not represent women, but her own state and her personal convictions. For the last two years I have talked and written that it was our duty to join the Allies in the defense of liberty and democracy. Had I been in Congress I must have made a strong if brief speech for war and voted a hearty aye.

No woman can represent all women any more than one man represents all men. Let us, either men or women, not be too savage or unkindly critical of a young woman who in a difficult, untried position acts conscientiously according to her lights. ("In Defense of Miss Rankin")

Peck counters the prevailing opinion of other suffragists in order to maintain her insistence that individual women should not be marked as the whole (It is also worthy of note that Peck makes a point to say that she would have voted for the war if she were in Congress, which hints at her future political aspirations). Peck's argument that women should be seen as individuals and are not born nurturers also points to her unique stance on suffrage and the equality of the sexes in general.

Peck relies on the rhetorical principle of logic and places emphasis on individuality rather than women as a whole group, arguing that women's ideas, like the ideas of men, can be at variance and should be based on the individual rather than the collective. In the end, as Harris argues, the line of reasoning that women were nurturers

and could expand this into the male sphere cost the women's movement its ultimate goal – that of equality. She notes that the suffragists

promised to end war, corruption, immorality, exploitation and urban squalor. The very vagueness and loftiness of their hopes masked the fact that women who supported the suffrage movement came from very diverse classes and would never agree on the concrete changes necessary to achieve their exalted aims. Even more crucial, the suffragists failed to recognize that by arguing for the vote on the ground that it would produce good results, rather on the basis that it was just, they made it conditional.

(131)

Peck's rhetoric points to Harris' conclusion. In essence, she takes away the "conditional" and argues that women differ in opinion on topics such as capital punishment and involvement in the war, and perhaps, most importantly, she believed in the vote on the grounds of justice, not favor.

Once women did win the right to vote, as Harris points out, the Nineteenth Amendment changed very little for women in American politics. While they had won the vote, they would not gain political advancement. Peck's rhetoric did not call for the chance to work for men, but the chance to work alongside them, and once the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified, she quickly began working on securing a position in politics. Now, rather than stumping for a male leader, she thought she might put her experience abroad and her scholarship to use in a diplomatic position in Latin America. In spite of her experience and expertise in South America, her efforts were fruitless. Henry P. Fletcher, then Under Secretary of State and previously the U.S. Minister and Ambassador

to Chile (he and Peck had met in Santiago), explained the reality of women in politics to Peck in a 1921 letter: “With reference to the inquiry contained in your letter, I may say that I have not heard of any intention on the part of the President to appoint ladies to the diplomatic service” (Fletcher, Letter to Annie S. Peck). A few months later, she received another response in a similar vein from New York Senator James W. Wadsworth, Jr. He also explains that qualified women had little chance at paid political service. He states,

Certainly, your experiences have been most interesting and there is no doubt of your familiarity with South American conditions. Recent talks with the President, however, compel me to the conclusion that New York State cannot expect any additional appointments as minister. Some of the New York leaders have been urging two or three gentlemen for these appointments – each of them highly qualified, and have been unsuccessful. Under these circumstances I am constrained to say that I think your chances for receiving such an appointment are very small. (Wadsworth, Letter to Annie S. Peck)

It would not be until 1933 when Roosevelt would appoint Congresswoman Ruth Bryan Owen (daughter of William Jennings Bryan) to a major diplomatic post as the minister to Denmark. Like today, in terms of both sex and race, political appointments as well as Congress remained disproportionate to the general citizenry.

Nevertheless, Peck continued to voice her political opinion to various outlets, and because of her keen rhetorical insight and effective writing and speaking, different political figures continued to seek her support. For instance, in 1920, less than a year after New York ratified the Nineteenth Amendment, Peck had a hand in the race to nominate

an official Republican candidate in the upcoming U.S. presidential election. She had become disenchanted with Wilson since he intervened in Mexico in 1914 and worked to oust Huerta from the presidency and lend support to Carranza and Villa in his place. In an article in the *Inter-American*, Peck wrote about her disgust for Wilson's intrusion in the Mexican:

President Wilson did not approve of the President of Mexico, of his character, or of the manner of his election. Is it treason to say that these are not our affairs? In spite of doing everything to provoke war, we really do not want it. Then at any sacrifice of pride let us avoid a decade of bloodshed, the permanent hostility of Latin America, the blow to our commercial interest there, and the reputation, despite all protest, of a shameless war of aggression against a smaller nation weakened by internal strife, with which we should certainly go down in history. ("An American Woman's View of the Mexican Situation")

Likewise, by 1920, Wilson had become increasingly unpopular with many people who were upset with the current recession and disillusioned with war and his support of the League of Nations. In an effort to get new blood in the White House, two months before the Republican National Convention, Peck wrote a letter to Senator Penrose (known as the party boss) urging him to vote for Leonard Wood as their candidate. She then sent Wood's campaign a copy of the letter. On April 20, in a response to her letter, Herbert Satterlee, the chairman of the Wood Campaign Committee, responded to Peck and wrote,

I think your letter gives the best general view of the situation that I have read yet. I am glad that you wrote along these lines to Senator Penrose. I

am going to have some copies made of your letter in typewriting for use among our own people and unless I hear from you to the contrary, I will take the liberty of putting your name at the end of the letter. (Satterlee, Letter to Annie S. Peck April 20 1920)

Satterlee's letter to Peck is especially significant because it shows that the Wood Campaign Committee thought that Peck might not only influence voters, but might also influence Senator Penrose, who was ultimately responsible for choosing the Republican candidate. That Peck's rhetoric would work as an influencing force must have encouraged her to continue her work in politics, and she responded to Satterlee with an offer to speak for the National Committee. On April 26, Satterlee responded to Peck and noted,

I should not think it would be convenient for you to wait so long to find out whether the National Committee will employ you as a speaker. If you do wait, and your application is on file, I will be glad to say a good word when the time comes, but there is nothing that I could do to help in the matter now. I hope, myself, to hear you speak sometime. (Satterlee, Letter to Annie S. Peck April 26, 1926)

As it happened, in the famous smoke-filled room of the Blackstone hotel, Penrose ordered the nomination of Harding as their best bet for President, and so he was (McCartney 25). However, Satterlee's support of Peck shows that she was indeed an influential figure in the political realm.

Peck, ever the independent, would again speak out against the Republicans in 1928. This time, she sent an editorial titled "The Moral Issue" to Royal S. Copeland (a

member of the U.S. Senate and a Democrat) that showed her disapproval of the Republican Party on the “national assumption of moral leadership.” In this editorial, Peck argues that Republicans “boasted love of peace” contrast[s] with our objections to the World Court and the League of Nations.” She speaks out against American hypocrisy in foreign affairs by citing “our disavowal of imperialism while invading the rights of Hawaii, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua and other states which we call independent nations: with a string attached to Cuba.” Peck also asserted that religious support for Prohibition was hypocritical, and argued,

Is it not in order to inquire of these professing Christians how it is that they set themselves above Christ in their demands for excessive virtue? That Christ was a wine-bibber surely indicates that He drank wine according to the universal custom in those countries. His practice was to lay down principles instead of rules of conduct. (“The Moral Issue”)

This passage shows not only Peck’s point at Republican hypocrisy but may also illustrate to her disagreement with temperance and prohibition. During the suffrage movement, the Women’s Christian Temperance Union had a largely Republican base, and under the leadership of Frances Willard argued for suffrage under much of the same grounds as those who used the rhetoric of social housekeeping. Willard argued that women were morally superior to men and should have the vote as “citizen mothers” in order to “cure society’s ills” (Blocker 298). For Peck, the principle that men and women might both act as citizens would inspire good conduct.

In “The Moral Issue,” Peck also discusses religious intolerance and anti-Catholicism in her support of Al Smith, the Catholic democratic candidate. Copeland, to

whom she had sent the article, responded to Peck with much enthusiasm for her views. In his letter he states, “Your material should go on the wire. It embraces the national issues and should be sent out under the auspices of the National Association” (Copeland, Letter to Annie S. Peck). Nonetheless, much of the public identified the Republicans with a booming economy, and the voters were not yet ready to show tolerance for a Catholic President, and Hoover won the election by a landslide.

One major obstacle for Peck – once again – was that of funds. For all of her writing for political campaigns and speaking on behalf of candidates, she still could not manage to get paid for her work or get appointed to a diplomatic post. Peck was a proponent of Pan-Americanism and close friends with John Barrett, a diplomat and director of the Pan-American Union. They corresponded often, and worked together professionally as well. Barrett wrote the introduction to Peck’s *South American Tour*, and Peck wrote a chapter on travel and trade routes in South America for the 1919 Pan-American Conference publication *Pan American commerce: Past-Present-Future, from the Pan American viewpoint*, a report of the second Pan American commercial conference held in Washington, D. C. However, although she wanted to speak at the 1928 Pan-American Conference, she could not get funding to travel to Cuba. The Pan-American Union held these conferences starting in 1889, which worked toward creating closer ties between the United States and Latin America. A 1928 letter to Peck from Carrie Chapman Catt explains the reasons for Peck’s lack of funding to the conference:

Some effort was made to bring influence to bear upon the powers that be to select a woman or two as delegated to the conference in Havana. I think we must make our request a little more insistent another time. I believe the

Americans probably imagine that it would be displeasing to the Spanish to have a woman delegate, but it will surprise them some day when a delegate comes from one of the Spanish countries who is a woman, and this will surely happen. I regret that you cannot go to Havana. I think it would be very helpful to have you there. I am not at all sure that you could pay your way by writing articles, because, as you have illustrated, the papers do not pay very well for anything with real sense in it. (Catt, Letter to Annie S. Peck)

Here, Catt explains the dual cause of Peck's inability to attend and speak at the conference: she could not get paid to write professionally and she was a woman. The kind of engagement that Catt is seeking shows Peck's contact with other women who want to see Peck speak at a public forum, signaling that women are citizens of the world and have contributions to make to that sphere.

This letter also points to how women engaged in the political sphere. For every success there were more setbacks and limitations. While women had won the right to vote, they had not earned political power that should come with it. And, once women did get the right to vote, they were not able to keep their social housekeeping promises of temperance, an end to war, and obliterating urban filth and ignorance. Likewise, women's organizations that fought for suffrage dissipated once the consolidating issue of suffrage disappeared. While Peck still demanded equal treatment until she died, in the end, the numbers of successes that she was able to maintain were small because there were no cohesive women's organizations left to push a progressive agenda. Peck, like many other

hard-fighting suffragists, retreated from the unified, rallying call of equal rights once suffrage was won, and so the fruits of her labor are not shown until years after her death.

CHAPTER VI

PROFESSIONALIZATION OF PECK

By 1922, Peck had published articles in the *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York* and had two outside articles cited in the in *The Geographical Journal's* "Geographical Literature of the Month." She had lectured for the *American Geographical Society of New York*, the Pan-American Commercial Congress in Washington and the Pan-American Trade Conference in New York. She gave numerous lectures at universities across the United States as well as in Central and South America. She had published two editions of *Search for the Apex of America* (1911, Dodd Mead, and 1912, a UK edition for Fisher Unwin), three editions of *The South American Tour* (1913, George H. Doran, 1914, a UK edition for Hodder and Stoughton, and 1916, George H. Doran), and two editions of *Industrial and Commercial South America* (1922, E.P. Dutton and a UK edition for Fisher Unwin).¹⁰ However, these were not necessarily considered scholarly pursuits. For instance, Phi Beta Kappa rejected Peck's application into the honor society. And, recently, there has been discussion over how Peck and other women like her might fit or not fit in as contributors to the field of geography.

Being unacknowledged as a professional was not new to Peck, since her career in mountain climbing overshadowed her academic pursuits. What is interesting here is how we view and label women subjects such as Peck in terms of professionalization, and how these views and labels have changed or remained the same between Peck's time and our own. Indeed, there is still scholarly discussion regarding the professionalization of women like Peck, and the argument over their contribution to scholarly fields continues

¹⁰ Peck would go on to publish another edition of *The South American Tour* in 1924 (Doran) and another edition of *Commercial and Industrial South America* in 1927 (Thomas Y. Crowell Company); she would also publish her last book in 1932, *Flying Over South America*.

today. This chapter examines other explanations as to why Peck's scholarly contributions have been overlooked. By viewing Peck through the lens of feminism, she (and others like her) may be viewed within the rhetorical constructs of politics as well as science, thus answering the call from scholars such as Domosh to acknowledge the gendered construction of the history of geography and begin the "exploration of the relationship between its social practices and the gender stereotyping of society as a whole, and a reassessment both of the particular historical reasons for the invisibility of women in the discipline" (102). I argue that Peck did more than just write travelogues or pieces of writing about travel; rather, she contributed to several scholarly fields, including geography and economics. For Peck, professionalization was a means of survival, but it was also a means of making her mark on the world, and from this perspective, I examine the rhetorical efforts Peck made in order to be accepted as equally important (or as human) as men.

Peck made several inquiries regarding her admittance to Phi Beta Kappa between 1912 and 193, including writing to Harry Burns Hutchins, then president of University of Michigan in 1912, and to E.M. Carroll, the secretary of Phi Beta Kappa, in 1922, who explained that "future elections from the alumni should be determined by scholarly attainments achieved since graduation" (Hutchins, Letter to Annie S. Peck and Carroll, Letter to Annie S. Peck). However, the University of Michigan branch would never induct her into the honor society. She had already accomplished much: fame as a mountain climber, four book publications (each with new editions), and a reputation as a sought-after public speaker. Nonetheless, in most news articles and publications, Peck was known as only a mountain climber, often accompanied by a description of her

climbing costume, which caricatured her as simply a climber in pants rather than as woman with many accomplishments. Peck wanted more, something that few women received during her time: acknowledgment for her contribution to scholarly fields, or recognition for her professional status. In fact, in her biographical notes, Peck stated, “I’ve often thought I should have on my monument: ‘Educator, Mountain Climber, Publicist, Author, Friend of South America’” (Peck, Biographical Notes). Even in death, Peck had a plan for how she wanted to be identified, and she made it clear that her scholarship was just as important as her reputation as a climber.

Why was recognition from Phi Beta Kappa so important? Peck’s need to demonstrate her contributions to academic fields and her denials by Phi Beta Kappa were couched in her construction of the idea of professionalism. Peck believed that part of professionalism meant having a degree, and she had two. However, her degrees were linked to a moment in time when she was one of “the first women” to attend universities and climb mountains. These firsts gave her popular appeal, but popular appeal does not equal scholarly contributions. Peck took Phi Beta Kappa’s rejection of her status as a professional to heart. In fact, she requested consideration for admission to the honor society several times and through various means and connections, including the president of the University of Michigan, Clarence Cook Little, and the general secretary of the Alumni Association, T. Hawley Tapping. In a 1928 letter to Little, Peck notes that some of her 1878 classmates have received membership, “while I apparently had been overlooked,” and argues that she has indeed achieved “scholarly attainments” since graduation (Peck, Letter to Clarence Cook Little). Being the first woman might distinguish Peck in the public sphere, but not the academic sphere. Peck makes this

argument when she notes in the same letter that President Angell (of University of Michigan) “said that I was the best scholar in the class, and any of the boys, I am sure, would place me among the first half dozen.” She makes a point here to explain that she was a better scholar than most of the men in her class, which may also indicate what she views as distinctive about being a first woman in a field. Peck specifically acknowledges that she has been framed as contributing to popular culture rather than scholarly fields.

In her letter to Little, Peck explains that she understands that mountain climbing and her book *Search for the Apex of America* are not scholarly pursuits, “however highly praised by prominent English and American Journals” and that *The South American Tour* was equally not in the reckoning.” She concedes the point that mountain climbing is popular rather than academic. However, she argues, her master’s degree, during which she read the “whole of Thucydides,” and her status as “the first woman student at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens” distinguish her as a scholar of merit. Peck then explains that she has given many lectures on Greek archaeology, including seventeen lectures alone at the Chicago Art Institute, and that she has taught Latin, German, and Public Speaking at Smith and Purdue (Peck, Letter to Clarence Cook Little).

Finally, Peck cites her work in *Industrial and Commercial South America* and notes that she is considered a “leading expert on south American affairs” and cites her “lectures in Spanish and Portuguese on the United States and American Industries 1915-1916 in the South American capitals” as proof. Peck then questions the criteria for Phi Beta Kappa, stating,

If what I have accomplished did not seem worth a Phi Beta Kappa, I cannot expect that it would merit a Doctor’s degree; but in any case, I

cannot but take a little satisfaction in feeling that I have measurably succeeded in a greater variety of fields than any one else I happen to know about who has carved his or her own way. (Peck, Letter to Clarence Cook Little)

Peck makes interesting rhetorical points in her letter. She sets the stage by noting that some of her classmates have been inducted into the society; but, even though she was the best scholar in her class, she was not inducted. She is also specific with the word “scholar:” she uses the term as it applies to the general population of the class, not the female portion. Her list of accomplishments serves as a means of questioning, even critiquing, the criteria of admission into Phi Beta Kappa. Likewise, by mentioning the idea of an honorary doctorate degree, Peck plants the seed that she is considered an important alumnus to the university, which begs the question as to why she is not important enough to be considered for Phi Beta Kappa.

One problem may have been that Peck had her foot in so many fields. Her classical studies in ancient Greek, Latin and rhetoric led to her archaeological work in Greek and Roman antiquities. These fields worked in conjunction to set off her career as a lecturer. Her lecture engagements were aimed at a variety of audiences, from students at the School of Commerce and the Department of Geology at the University of Oregon, to the Art Institute in Chicago and The Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia. Peck is a difficult scholar to categorize, and the academy, even today, holds an interest in academic specialization.

Another problem is that Peck’s career in mountain climbing seemed to overshadow her academic pursuits, and she was often overlooked as a serious scholar.

Peck had another setback as well – she was a woman. And she speaks to this in the same letter:

Being a woman has interfered with my financial success. I heard of one man who would not look at a book of mine that was recommended to him because it was written by a woman. So few people now want facts that there is no profit in books or articles such as I write. In spite of fine notices, \$256.00 was my royalty for the first edition of Com. and Ind. S.A.; for the second I have received for the year \$252. For “The South American Tour” in 13 years hardly \$1000.00. If I were a man, businessmen admit that I would be receiving \$5,000-\$10,000 a year instead of less than \$1,000. Mr. Merrill, president of the All America Cable and of the Pan American Society, who had my book on his recent tour of South America, and bought 15 more after his return, said I ought to have been a delegate to the Havana Conference, but no such luck befalls.

(Peck, Letter to Clarence Cook Little)

Here, Peck writes about her style of writing and her gender as hindrances to her success. She also associates professional status with compensation. While *Search for the Apex of America* did tell of her adventures, it was at the same time filled with facts and statistics regarding the regions of South and Central America. However, men and women were still not equal in terms of the ways in which they were categorized as professionals. Peck not only questions the idea of scholarly attainments but also hints at the problem of her sex when it comes to being perceived as a professional in her fields.

Still, Peck was most often characterized as ‘Miss Peck the Mountain Climber.’ This is a title that she would wrestle with throughout her life, as it gave no credit to her scholarly pursuits, political contributions, or her other accomplishments. Even toward the end of her climbing career, after her numerous publications and her work in politics, Peck was still often only known and described as a mountain climber. For example, in a 1924 letter from the editor of *Who’s Who in America*, Albert Nelson Marquis expresses his objection to Peck’s desire to have her descriptive heading changed from “mountain climber” to “author and lecturer,” and states, “It enables people to identify you at once” (Marquis, Letter to Annie Smith Peck February 6 1924). More than three years later, Marquis would insist again on changing her label in the *Who’s Who* publication, and in another letter to her he noted, “Pleased to see that you have changed the identifying title in your sketch to ‘mountain climber.’ That is the proper way... you are known the world over as a mountain climber and will always be known that way” (Marquis, Letter to Annie Smith Peck November 14 1927). Her climbing career would cease as she entered her eighties, but Peck was still fighting for professionalization at the age of seventy-seven, and would continue to insist on her expert status until she died.

Peck’s encounter with Marquis is emblematic of what she dealt with throughout her lifetime. Although she performed in many professional arenas, she was not taken seriously as a scholar, and thus was mostly identified with mountain climbing. There is also a reality here in terms of public relations – well-meaning people who are willing to publicize her life and career refuse to see beyond the commercial. In essence, Peck’s successes were almost unwittingly bought by tacit (and sometimes forced) agreements to do things the way they have always been done. Today, women represent a commercial

market. It seemed that if Marquis wanted to sell copies of his publication, he wouldn't get much excitement out of Peck's image as author and lecturer, but he could get interest with the image of a woman climber. So, Peck was stuck with her marketing image, still advertised as a woman in canvas pants (even though she insisted that she preferred chiffon and lace), and she did not have the power to overcome it. This was the world that Peck encountered, and she worked to rhetorically weave her way through it in order to earn her living.

It also seems as if this is the same world that Peck's image still encounters, and there remains discussion over her work in terms of professionalization. In "Toward a Feminist Historiography of Geography," geographer Mona Domosh calls for a feminist historiography of geography and encourages further attention to women's travel writing such as Peck's. In an argument against Domosh's article, Geographer David Stoddart notes in "Do We Need a Feminist Historiography of Geography and If We Do, What Should It Be?" that early women explorers such as Peck do not "meet the obvious criteria for competence in fieldwork" (485). While Domosh only parenthetically mentions Peck's name in reference to Olds' *Women of the Four Winds*, she argues that Peck belonged to a "transitional group between lady travelers and modern women scientists" (100). Domosh states, "The professionalization of the discipline removed most geographers from the arena of exploration, and women from their histories of exploration" (101). However, Stoddart argues,

Simply for a person to travel about the world in the late nineteenth century did not by the emerging standards of the time constitute a contribution to the discipline of geography. I am not aware, for example, that Isabella Bird ever

made a measurement, a map or a collection, or indeed ever wrote other than impressionistically about the areas she visited. (484)

While Peck gets lumped in with a group of lady travelers, or wealthy women who traveled for travel's sake during the Victorian Era, I argue that Peck should be counted as an explorer who contributed to the fields of geography and economics. Peck's explorations come just after the Victorian Era, and she fits Stoddart's criteria of making measurements, maps, and collections.

Peck did work to produce geographical knowledge by adding to what geographers such as Isasiah Bowman did, which was to help the United States "foster its own geography of economic expansion" (Smith xvii). Bowman, the Director of the American Geographical Society from 1915 to 1935, was the territorial adviser to President Wilson at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 as well as the territorial adviser to the U.S. Department of State during World War II. Neil Smith discusses Bowman's contribution to geography in *American Empire: Roosevelt's Geographer and the Prelude to Globalization*. He notes that Bowman's 1911 expeditions in South America "recorded, mapped, and interpreted various facets of the region's geography: geomorphological analyses of structural uplift and climate change, regional physiographies and settlement geographies, economic and commercial inventories, and cultural archaeologies of relic Indian communities" (55). Interestingly, his work was overshadowed by Hiram Bingham's race against Peck for Coropuna and the "discovery" of Machu Picchu (55). Peck also interpreted the geography of South America by charting its various regions and taking economic and commercial inventories in both *A Search for the Apex of America* and in *Industrial and Commercial South America*.

Peck based her early writings on her observations during her travels. Peck's early work, such as her 1893 *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York* article, "Greece and Modern Athens" reads like a travelogue, or a lecture on travel, as Peck describes the "rugged mountains," "frowning cliffs," and "dusky glens" of Thessaly and the "cloud-capped Olympus" (487). However, her later work is less impressionistic and Peck begins to write in the style of exploration instead of travel, and her work becomes grounded in measurements, statistics, and facts.

By 1911, Peck wrote *The Search for the Apex of America* in hybrid style. In *Vertical Margins*, Ellis notes that Peck interweaves a mountain climbing narrative with an inventory of South American resources such as coffee and copper (113-114). However, publishers and reviewers only wanted Peck's tales of adventure rather than a discussion on American economic opportunities in South America. When she first presented her manuscript for *Search for the Apex of America* to Little, Brown, and Company publishers, they noted that while she had "a thrilling story of a really remarkable achievement," her "style...is most unfortunate," since she "deal[s] a great deal with trivialities" (Letter to Annie S. Peck). Little, Brown and Co. suggested Peck do away with her discussion of commercial prospects for foreign businessmen and stick to her exciting narrative of adventure. However, Peck adhered to her original format of narrative and statistics and published with Dodd, Mead and Company. This may have been because she wanted to follow the accepted Royal Geographical Style (discussed in Chapter 3).

How do we gender geographical narratives written by women? If the Royal Geographical Style is adventure plus facts, Peck seems to face what, at the very least, is a

double standard, the discursive effects of which at some point do not make sense. Peck is removed from the rational, scientific part of exploration by virtue of her gender and the adventure part of her writing makes little sense to her audience. Still harking back to Darwinist conceptions, scientific pursuits were considered rational, logical and masculine, and men were still being hired over women at the university level. In her discussion on women and the professionalization of academics, in “American Women and the Professionalization of Economics,” Claire Hammond notes, “Restricting academic jobs to men not only enhanced the credibility of the professions, but also eliminated one source of competition for the available positions” (351). Peck may have insisted on writing in the Royal Geographical Style so that she might be considered as more professional than the lady travelers of her time would.

What are the characteristics associated with Victorian Lady Travelers? In *Victorian Lady Travelers*, Dorothy Middleton describes “lady travelers” as women, who, from the “1870s onward,” traveled to foreign lands for the adventure alone. She notes,

Nearly always they went alone, blazing no trail and setting no fashion, their solitary ventures altogether different in kind from, for instance, the all-woman expeditions to the Himalaya in recent years. Though this outburst of energy is undoubtedly linked with the increasingly vigorous movement for women’s political and social emancipation, it was neither an imitation nor a development of the male fashion for exploration which was such a feature of Victorian times. (3)

Peck’s need for professionalism may have been one of her attempts to distinguish herself from the Victorian Lady traveler. For example, she hired professional climbers and

scientists to accompany her on her expeditions, much like Peary did in his exploration of the Polar Region. In fact, her first intention was to make scientific observations about the mountains and lands that she explored. Peck writes in *Search for the Apex of America* that she started her 1903 journey “to make the expedition of scientific interest by observations in the line of geology, geography, and meteorology” (6). She traveled with both mercurial and aneroid barometers, hypsometers, and psychrometers for measurements on the mountain. She also carried cameras, with which she took her own photographs to document her work.

Peck’s aim was to be counted among the best male climbers and explorers in her own time. In fact, Peck makes arguments that her own research were more useful than explorers such as Peary, noting in *A Search for the Apex of America* that her own work seemed “of far more practical importance to the United States than Polar exploration” because she “extend[ed] our acquaintance with sections and peoples for commercial reasons most desirable to cultivate” (xii). While Peck notes that reaching the highest point in the western hemisphere was “worthy also of a sportsman’s effort; in a small way like Peary’s getting a degree nearer to the North Pole,” she works to best him by arguing that sporting expeditions are irrelevant when compared to her success of being not only the first woman to climb such a height but by changing the economic landscape of South America.

During her 1898 ascents of Mexico’s Popocatepetl and Orizaba, Peck recorded her observations on the land, people, and altitude. C.F. Marvin of the U.S. Department of Agriculture’s Weather Bureau corresponded with her, regarding the “reduction of her observations” on “the small matter of .006 of an inch involved in the correction of [her]

barometer for instrumental error” (Marvin, Letter to Annie S. Peck). Peck was concerned with exact measurements, especially since she would be discussing them in her upcoming illustrated lecture, “A Visit to Mexico Including Ascents of Popocatepetl and Orizaba,” for the National Geographic Society, hosted by the president, Alexander Graham Bell, with whom Peck stayed during her visit to Washington, D.C. (Bell, Letter to Annie S. Peck). Other examples found in Peck’s 1903 notes from her exploration in Bolivia record the presence of “atacamite” and “caliche,” also known as “salt peter” or “nitrate soda” (Peck, Exploration Notes). These same notes document graphs, which show daily readings of temperature, wind velocity, and humidity from her aneroid barometer and mercurial barometer. Likewise, Peck also took notes on the health conditions of her crew, including Professor Tight, who seems to have suffered from a fever and being “sick at bowels.” (Peck, Exploration Notes). She recorded sphygmomanograph readings on their blood pressure as well as respiration and pulse readings for the members of her team at various levels of altitude. Peck also hired a geologist on one of her trips, but he abandoned the expedition. Peck starts with a scientific purpose, but her crews, which often included scientific men, abandoned her at each attempt up Huascarán. At the end of it all, she winds up covering the next best thing in terms of scholarship beyond adventure writing – economics.

It is important to note, however, that geography and economics went hand-in-hand during this time – and so Peck’s work, as she argued in her comparison to Peary, was socially relevant. For her, economics was part and parcel of geographic exploration. In a sense, we can view much of her work as a veritable study on how people choose to use resources in that Peck addressed the resources and collective behavior of industries

and businesses throughout South America, and oftentimes provided advice on how to combine these in order for foreign investors to create products and services. Geographer David Harvey explains this phenomenon in his article, “On the History and Present Condition of Geography: An Historical Materialist Manifesto,” in which he notes that geography’s past, or “bourgeoisie geography,” involves an imperialistic exploitation of resources, including people. Harvey connects geography to economic exploitation by explaining,

The rise of merchant, and later industrial and finance forms of capitalism in the West, paralleled as it was by increasing spatial integration of the world economy under Western politico-economic hegemony, demanded and depended upon the crystallization of new forms of geographical knowledge within an increasingly fragmented professional and academic division of labor. (1)

While writing about her own tale of adventure in *Search for the Apex of America*, Peck also takes note of resources in each place that she visits, and argues throughout her narrative that South America is a place that offers not only climbing, but economic advantage for westerners. For instance, in a discussion of her travels through Oroya, Peru, Peck explains that the failure of “Italians and other colonists” to financially succeed in the coffee industry was “due chiefly to incompetence and poor management” (107). In the face of the failure of Europeans to thrive in the coffee industry, Peck still recommends that readers invest in Peru. She uses a coffee plantation that she visited to illustrate her claim:

The coffee is equal to the best that is grown anywhere, while the yield is better than in Arabia and in Java. 80 plants to the acre produce each 2 pounds annually. With a million and a half of plants the production of the estate is now more than double that of the early settlers. The industry in Peru, not yet largely developed, offers a great opportunity for investors.

(107)

Here, Peck both maps and measures the economic possibilities in Peru, which Stoddart considers to be the job of the geographer. If Peck charted her own climbing path in her work, she also charted out places for potential Western investors. Her last paragraph of *Search for the Apex of America*, divulges that her expedition “contributed far less to scientific knowledge than [she] had previously hoped” (370). However, at the same time, she recognizes that her tours throughout South America “have served in some degree to foster the awakening interest, to disseminate a little information in regard to a portion of what is fitly called the Land of To-morrow and the Continent of Opportunity” (370). If Geography is the scientific study of place and space, which examines how people relate to and situate themselves within their environment, then Peck added an economic side to this in her writing.

The Peruvian Government also recognized Peck’s contributions to South American trade and industry, and, in 1908, awarded her a gold medal in recognition to her service to the country of Peru. The medal represented a two-fold acknowledgment: first, for her exploration in “biographical and industrial data,” and second, for “her ascents to the lofty summits of the Peruvian Andes” (367). Interestingly, Peru places Peck’s professionalism in terms of industrial exploration before her professional status as

a mountain climber. This may be why she so often worked to travel back to South America, where she could lecture and work as a professional in economics rather than as a mountain climber. Peck would continue to support the Peruvian Government as well as other countries in South America in their efforts at economic trade and expansion with foreign investment.

Her next book (and its two subsequent editions) *The South American Tour*, would work to promote travel to South America. In this work, Peck continues her endorsement of South America for travelers and businessmen in a guidebook that steers readers from the Panama Canal to Colombia, Venezuela, Guiana, North Brazil, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Southwest Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay, Eastern Argentina, and Eastern Brazil. While the Pan American Union (PAU) did not officially endorse her book, John Barrett, Director General of the PAU, wrote the introduction, noting, "There are few persons better qualified [than Peck] to write a book of this character" (v).¹¹ In the 1913 edition, Peck explains her purpose: "In the hope that by inciting travel and acquaintance it may promote commercial intercourse, with the resulting ties of mutual benefit and respect" between North and South Americans (vii). In essence, *The South American Tour* can be viewed as the precursory work to her professional contributions in the fields of geography and economics: between 1916 and 1932, much of Peck's writing and lectures would focus on Pan American commerce.

¹¹ The Pan American Union formed in 1890 to foster cooperation between the countries of Latin America and the United States. Barrett notes in his introduction that the purpose of the union was "developing commerce, friendship, better acquaintance, and peace among [Latin American countries]" (v). In 1948, it would become the Organization of American States. Peck had a long-lasting friendship with Barrett, and they corresponded regularly throughout their lifetimes. This friendship offered Peck various opportunities for writing and speaking engagements; she first spoke at the Pan American Commercial Conference in Washington, D.C. in 1911.

Just after the 1911 publication of her first book, Peck began plotting new expeditions in South America; however, this time, she would be exploring the commerce and industry that she spoke about throughout *Search for the Apex of America*. Rather than searching for the highest peak in the hemisphere, Peck's next quest would be of both a geographical and economic nature, and she would propose the idea that an understanding of geography (physical characteristics, climate, population, and resources) could contribute to how commerce might be conducted between nations. In 1911, Peck planned to return to South America in order to lecture on U.S. industries, and she began to seek funding for her trip. Peck met with Frank D. La Lanne, President of the National Board of Trade, who "highly approve[ed] of [her] plan," to travel throughout South America to lecture in Spanish on the possibilities of trade and commerce between the North and South (La Lanne, Letter to Annie S. Peck). Once again, her only issue was that of funds.

Peck began to contact corporations who might be interested in advertising to South American countries on her lecture tour. For this expedition, funding came a bit easier than it did for her climbing adventures. Peck found support for her cause from various corporations, including the Standard Oil Company, the Clinchfield Coal Corporation, American Express, and Borden's Milk (Peck, letter to S.C. Meade). Peck would collect photographic plates and pictures as well as information on these companies and lecture about them throughout her tour of South America. Interestingly, Peck's 1915-1916 lectures correlate with American businesses that began to sell their products in South America. For instance, Peck received plates of pictures and extracts from trade journal articles from Clinchfield Coal Corporation in November 1915 so that she could use them in her upcoming South American lectures. Charles E. Bockus, president of

Clinchfield Coal, paid Peck \$500 for her services (Stewart, Letter to Annie S. Peck). In April of 1916, Clinchfield Coal exported 5,000 tons of coal from Charleston to Buenos Aires (*Commerce Reports*, 1916, p. 274).

Peck also incorporated information on Borden's Condensed Milk in her South American lectures. At the onset of World War I, American milk industries began to capture much of the European market for milk exports. European companies could no longer supply countries such as Argentina and Chile with milk, and so American exports to South America began to increase. In 1913, the United States shipped 792,373 pounds of condensed milk to South America; by 1919, they exported 9,216,275 pounds (Baumgartner 29). In 1915, coinciding with the rising demand for condensed milk in South America, Borden's Condensed Milk Company contracted Peck to show over twenty slides that depicted the milk production during her lecture tour. These slides included descriptions of "dairy country," "pasture scenes," "barns," and "a few of the many thousands of pictures of babies which we have had sent to us unsolicited by grateful parents in all parts of the country" who used Borden's Condensed Milk for "infant feeding" (Borden's Condensed Milk Sales Co., Letter to Annie S. Peck). The company also supplied Peck with "a supply of various confections" and "malted milk in powder form" (Borden's Condensed Milk Sales Co., Letter to Annie S. Peck). In essence, various companies were paying Peck to do their advertising for them as she traveled throughout South America.

These lecture tours would also serve as information-gathering expeditions for her next book, which would be geared toward Western businessmen. In 1916, Peck was writing for the tourist as well as the businessman; she had written several editions of her

travel guide and contributed a description of travel and trade routes in South America to the Report of the Second Pan American Commercial Conference in Washington, D.C. (*Pan American Commerce: Past-Present-Future*, 402-404). However, by 1919, Peck would place her entire emphasis on the geography of economics in *Industrial and Commercial South America*, noting, “With our expansion of shipping facilities following the conclusion of the War, we may hope for a continuing increase of movement from North to South on this hemisphere, making for friendship and political harmony as well as for material advantage” (xviii). This “material advantage,” Peck argues, could not be considered from commercial point of view without a

study of the physical characteristics of the individual countries, their advantages and drawbacks; the climate and soil; the resources, including the animal, vegetable, and mineral products, and the water power; the character of the inhabitants including the quality and quantity of human labor; their present needs and wants; the future possibilities; the opportunity for investments of various kinds of political conditions affecting these; the instruments of exchange, banking and trade regulations; the means of communication and transport by land and water. (xviii)

This is the study that Peck set out to write in *Industrial and Commercial South America* – she investigates and reports on ten countries, highlighting various geographical aspects of each one, including sections on area, history, government, population, physical characteristics, and economic opportunities that these aspects might provide. Like geographer David Harvey, Peck understood that geographical knowledge coincided with economic thought.

In *Industrial and Commercial South America*, Peck works to create an image of South America as a land that is literally ripe for the picking. For instance, in her discussion of sugar plantations in Peru, titled “Resources and Industries,” she notes,

The cane has more than 14 percent sucrose, often 16 to 17 percent. The returns have nowhere been surpassed; the production to the acre is double that of Cuba. Just back of the port is plenty of good sugar land, now desert but easily irrigable. As the nitrates have never been washed out of the land by rain, the soil is of extraordinary fertility. Labor is cheaper than in Cuba, formerly 60 cents a day, but with housing and other prerequisites. Much sugar has been exported to Chile; recently to Europe and the United States. There is still a field for investment in desert land, suitable for those with sufficient capital to arrange for irrigation. (186-187)

Peck explains the land in Peru that is still available for growing sugar cane, the expenses involved in the production process, and the potential profit that stands to be made. She makes the same advertisement for coffee, cacao, grapes and olives. At the same time, she states that coca is also exported, but is “injurious and stupefying when its use is continuous,” and that the Peruvian government has a “monopoly” on tobacco (189, 191).

Peck gives the same type of advice for each country she visits in South America, discussing forestry, stock raising, mining, industries and investments. This kind of mapping is the formation of what geographer Marie D. Price calls the “geographical imagination,” by which “regions are the most common spatial abstraction geographers create” (Price 334). Price uses Peck as an example of an “explorer-geographer” who “distinguished the Andean states as a region of hospitable and energetic people,” which,

along with the writings of other geographers such as Leonard Dalton, “attracted foreign merchants and foreign geographers” (340).¹² *Industrial and Commercial South America* literally maps out areas throughout South America for foreign investments, which influenced U.S. companies such as Borden’s Condensed Milk and Clinchfield Coal to advertise and invest in Latin America.

Industrial and Commercial South America, like her lecture tour, is rhetorically aimed at influencing the attitude of Westerners toward South America – it essentially argues that South America is a friendly place that has yet to be exploited for all of its resources. However, Peck also argues against imperialism, stating, “We would enjoy the fruits of the whole earth, not by imperialistic conquest, but through friendly acquaintance, the sharing of ideas, and the exchange of products” (xvii) – even though this sharing seemingly only takes place between the upper classes of both countries. For example, Peck observes that in Peru, there are three classes:

the whites, the real governing class, chiefly of Spanish origin, some with a slight admixture of Indian blood; the mestizos, more nearly half and half, white and Indian, largely the artisan and tradesman class; the Indians, most numerous in the sierra, much as in Inca days, but probably poorer in mental and physical condition and in creature comforts than in the earlier period. (153)

Likewise, she describes the 600,000 Indians in Colombia as “more or less civilized; perhaps 150,000 wild Indians, some friendly, others hostile” (11). Presumably, these are the same classes of people whose labor is cheaper than that in Cuba.

¹² Although Price only devotes two sentences in her article to a discussion of Peck, it is interesting to note that she categorizes Peck as a geographer, which contrasts with Stoddart’s argument.

Rather than being an imperialistic venture, Peck explains that her aim was to “aid in promoting acquaintance with South America and, as a natural sequence, friendship and trade” (v). This being said, throughout her travels, it was the “real, governing class” with whom Peck socialized and worked throughout her travels in South America. For instance, Peck met J.W. Flanagan through a mutual friend, General Palmer E. Pierce, who then sent her with letters of introduction to the managers of the Andian National Corporation (owned by Standard Oil Company) in both Cartagena and Bogota (Flanagan, Letter to Annie S. Peck). Peck also socialized and corresponded with government officials, including Luis E. Feliú, the consulate of Chile, who awarded her the *Decoration al merito* on behalf of the Chilean Government and Augusto Leguía, who twice occupied the presidency of Peru (Feliú, Letter to Annie S. Peck). Leguía considered foreign investment as part of the path to Peruvian modernization and welcomed propaganda such as Peck’s. In a 1923 letter, Leguía suggested that he could arrange for Peck to lecture monthly over a period of a year in Peru and congratulated her on “the very effective manner in which [*Industrial and Commercial South America*] has been compiled” (Leguía, Letter to Annie S. Peck). These connections earned Peck more than wages for her lectures. They worked to promote trade between the United States and South America. By the end of the 1920s, over 60% of exports coming from Peru were sold by foreign accounts (Drake 112). If Peck made friendships in South America, then she made them with the ruling elite rather than with the working class.

In his study on *Search for the Apex of America*, Ruben Ellis questions why “Peck, so interested in the exploitation of South America’s every commercial niche, explicitly award[s] business opportunity exclusively to men when she herself is a vigorous middle-

aged woman” who earns her own living (131). He works to answer his own question by stating that “one could argue” that Peck views the mountainous regions of South America as “open” and the populous regions as “set aside, closed, already claimed for economic purposes that at least functionally are male” (131). Ellis asserts that Peck situated her climbing “within a complicated, male dominated world of gender, politics and business” as a way of taking part in the male realm, but this is based on reading Peck’s books alone (133). A more complete picture is constructed when viewing the artifacts that Peck left behind. From her letters, we see that Peck did participate on the ground level, outside of the mountains, in both politics and economics, and includes Peck’s acknowledgment of the troubled relationship between imperialism and economic development.

In fact, Peck began to receive payment for her writing by the governments of South America. By the time she began her fourth book, *Flying Over South America*, Peck was paid by Venezuela, Peru, Brazil and Argentina to publish favorably about each country. For instance, one letter from The U.S. Embassy in Argentina (whose author’s name is illegible) states,

The Argentine Ministry for Foreign Affairs has made an exception to its rule of strict economy in your favor and has decided to accord you two hundred pesos gold for the purpose of assisting you in the compilation of that part of the book dedicated to this country. (Unknown Author, Letter to Annie S. Peck)

In another letter, the Venezuelan Minister to the United States Pedro, Arcaya writes, “I am willing to pay two hundred dollars instead of the one hundred agreed upon previously to have double the amount of material on Venezuela inserted into your forthcoming

book” (Arcaya, Letter to Annie S. Peck). In yet another letter from Peru’s Inspector General of Aviation, H.B. Grow, states, “Concerning the amount which Peru can give you to help in the publication of your book, I suppose we can do the same as Brazil, \$300” (Grow, Letter to Annie S. Peck). These letters seems to say that Peck was involved in South American business – maybe not via trade or finance, but in the business of politics and the propaganda that goes along with it. Peck invested in these countries with her words and earned payment for doing so.

Her investments paid off in the form of recognition for her professional status. In a 1919 letter in which she proposed a lecture tour of South America to S.C. Meade, the secretary of the Merchant’s Association of New York, Peck explained, “I am able to state that a woman qualified for such a task receives greater consideration and more favorable opportunity in South America than in the United States” (Peck, Letter to S.C. Meade). Once again, Peck associates professional status with payment. With her publication of *Industrial and Commercial South America*, Peck was understood to be a professional in the economic affairs of Latin America by members of the Pan American Union. Beyond the written words of John Barrett, Charles M. Pepper, The Pan American Railway Commissioner, congratulated Peck on the value of her work. In a 1924 letter to her, he states,

It is both educational and practical. You have recognized the fundamental fact that in order to trade with any country it is necessary to know what that country buys, and to know what a country buys one must have knowledge of its resources as well as of its geography. (Pepper, Letter to Annie S. Peck).

In the same year, the Peruvian International Committee of College Graduates granted Peck an Honorary Degree. Likewise, in 1930, Chile granted Peck with the *Order al Merito*, an award “reserved for the best servants of Humanity among the Friends of Chile (Feliú, Letter to Annie S. Peck). Perhaps Peck the reason Peck invested so heavily in South America, and has such close ties to the Pan American Union, is because she felt that she was awarded some sense of professionalism there.

In terms of our views of Peck’s professionalization today, we might question naysayers such as Stoddart in a similar vein as Peck questions Phi Beta Kappa. What criteria constitute a contribution to the discipline of geography? Is it, as Stoddart claims, making measurements, maps and collections (484)? Is it writing about people and places without impressionistic flair? Is it earning an academic degree?¹³ For Stoddart, these may be the criteria for professionalization. However, when looking at the artifacts that Peck has left behind and the publications by and about Peck, we see that she accomplished many of these things. Nevertheless, if she *has* contributed, in which field might we place her? Officially, Peck was a classicist. She graduated with a master’s degree from University of Michigan. She also taught Latin at both Smith and Purdue. Her degrees and teaching experience in the university provides these credentials for Peck to be considered a professional in this area.

We might also consider Peck as being a member of the field of archaeology. She graduated from the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA) and

¹³ Stoddart notes in his reply to Domosh: “But I did state [in *On Geography and Its History* (1986)] that ‘Particular mention must be made of that small but distinguished band of women, lineal descendants of the formidable lady travelers of the 1880s and 1890s, who entered academic geography early in the present century and who had simultaneously to fight for simple equality in the universities’” (485).

lectured on Hellenic topography and Roman Archaeology for various universities and popular audiences. However, as the first woman to attend the school at Athens, Peck most likely would not have participated much in the way of archaeological fieldwork, since “women were initially only tolerated as second-class members at the School and treated accordingly” (Allen 17). She also would not have had the same opportunities as men in the field, since during Peck’s time of study archaeology was “almost exclusively a male exercise” (Hinsley 94). Peck quickly realized that she was not offered the same teaching positions as the men with whom she graduated. Likewise, her pay as a university professor was considerably less than the males’ in her same position. For Peck to continue in the fields of the classics or archaeology, she would have been placed below the “human shelf” upon which she so doggedly fought to stand.

Ultimately, Peck found that she could do “fieldwork,” or the same work that men were doing, rather than “housework” by exploring and climbing. In fact, Joan M. Gero shows in “Socio-Politics and the Woman-at-Home Ideology” that recent statistics reveal that men in the field of archaeology continue to do much of the fieldwork, while women “still have to do archaeological housework” such as analyzing materials and studying motifs. Women also receive less funding for field-related research than do men. Because this inequality existed in Peck’s time, exploration and climbing would be her best chance at achieving at the same rate as her male counterparts. However, it seems as if, even today, Peck’s work in the field is not considered equal to males doing the same kinds of work. Gillian Rose discusses this in *Feminism and Geography*, and contends that women in the field of geography are also still marginalized, noting, “The domination of the discipline by men has serious consequences both for what counts as legitimate

geographical knowledge and who can produce such knowledge” (2). Rose attributes male domination in the field of geography to the traditional view of “fieldwork as a particular kind of masculine endeavor” (70). Rose also critiques Stoddart’s work, *On Geography and its History*, and explains that Stoddart and many other geologists use dualistic thinking in their field which separates mother/culture and woman/man. This line of reasoning places men above women in their field.

Peck is educated as an archaeologist and a classicist, and she also contributes to the fields of geography and economics. However, there is competition for the term professional, and it is often rhetorically used as a way of blocking others into the fold. In essence, Peck fought over this term as well. While her mountain climber persona allowed her to accomplish many things, this also took away from her professional status. Here we find a distinction between what people call the popular and the academic. Olds and Domosh argue that there should be a third category between lady travelers and modern women scientists, and assert that Peck and others like her mark a transitional space between these two categories. As a result of our examination of Peck’s professionalization, we are now in a position to identify some of the characteristics of this transitional space.

One such characteristic is Peck’s agency in the use of inherited categories to suggest that women share the attributes of those previously identified by those categories. In Peck’s case, she attempts to use the categories that she has inherited (climber, explorer, scholar) to suggest that she is equally deserving of her place within them. Another characteristic is that when we begin to create a narrative of a life within this transitional space, it tells not only the story of an individual, but of the failure of that

social narrative to conceptualize women as professionals. We find this in the example of Peck's letter from Marquis, in which he insists that Peck be categorized as a mountain climber in *Who's Who in America* rather than a scholar. The difficulty here is that the story of the failed narrative is stressed as something that persists within an individual subject's contingent experiences.

Peck points out this failure to see her as a professional as well when she recalls a man who would not purchase her book simply because it was written by a woman. Peck is also unsuccessful in the political realm; although she is a sought-after political speaker, she is not paid for her speeches, and then is refused appointment in the political sector once women do get the vote. Nonetheless, Peck continued to label herself as a qualified expert and constructed her identity as a professional. For instance, she published her books with the acronyms "A.M." and "F.R.G.S." after her name. These showed that she was not just a lady traveler who enjoyed the sport of climbing, but that she was a scholar with a master's degree as well as a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, thus appealing further to her ethos and lending additional authority to her name.¹⁴ While Peck was never appointed as an ambassador, she nonetheless represented the Pan-American Union as well as promoted international cooperation and trade between North and South America. Her exploration turned from mountains to commerce, and when the North disallowed her in politics, she found encouragement in the South. For each contingency that Peck met, she matched them with persistence. What makes Peck transitional is that she develops the story of our failure to conceptualize women scientists and women

¹⁴ Peck was proposed as a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society in 1917 by A.W. Greely, a polar explorer, and seconded by Sir Martin Conway, a British mountain climber.

professionals as a category of identity. In essence, Peck contributes to the tipping point for us to say, “Well of course a woman can contribute to science.”

In many ways, Peck attempted to redefine the notion of what it means to contribute to scholarly fields, such as geography and economics, in which the sex of the individual practicing did not matter to the production of knowledge. Peck understood herself as a pioneer and contributed to feminist causes, but she was careful not to justify her work as simply a “first” performed among her gender. Rather, Peck’s rhetoric suggested another kind of identity, an emerging professional one that, nearly one hundred years later, has taken hold more in the manner she envisioned.

CHAPTER VII

LESSONS FROM THE ARCHIVES

I first learned of Peck via a poster of her given to me as a gift. From there, I began a long series of what Cheryl Glenn and Jessica Enoch refer to as “detective work,” or the process of “combing through libraries large and small, studying catalogs, and tracing collections – all with the singular purpose of identifying specific kinds of archival documents, manuscripts, and personal papers” (Glenn and Enoch 13). I have pored over her diaries, letters, and publications – all of which have worked to grow a certain fondness in my heart for a woman that I have never met, yet wanted very much to be remembered. “Oh, Annie!” is an exclamation that I have often found myself saying repeatedly throughout the process of writing this work. This remark has signaled my own preconceived expectations for how I thought Peck might react to certain situations as well as my surprise at how she reacted to other circumstances during her lifetime. For instance, I expected Peck to be the kind of woman who would march for suffrage, but I did not expect that she would also be firmly in favor of capital punishment. In essence, I have come to form a relationship with a ghost, from whom I have learned much, and who I now deeply want to be remembered. This experience has also allowed me to develop a picture of Annie Smith Peck’s compelling, useful, and creative contribution to the history of women professionals.

Through this process, the archive has taught me valuable lessons, one of which is to refrain from judgment before all of the available facts have been reviewed. I had originally been prejudiced against one of Peck’s climbing rivals, Fanny Bullock Workman, who, in 1909, paid a team of French geographers to triangulate Huascarán to

prove that she held the record for climbing the highest peak rather than Peck. Workman's claim was true – the north peak of Huascarán is 21,833 feet, while Workman's Pinnacle Peak in Kashmir measures 22,810 feet. Like Peck, I was outraged that Workman spent \$13,000.00 to measure the height of Peck's peak when Peck had scrimped and scraped to raise just a few thousand dollars to climb it over a series of years and previously failed attempts. Peck noted in *Search for the Apex of America* that she could have "triangulated and climbed many mountains and accomplished other valuable exploration" with the amount of money that Workman spent on triangulating Huascarán (358). Besides, Workman was wealthy, climbed with her husband, and could afford to hire porters to carry their equipment. In fact, her Balti porters sometimes carried her in a dandy!

Workman's experience of climbing with a supportive husband and plenty of money is a far cry from Peck's solo undertakings and constant fight to raise funds. However, if I think back on this clash between two women climbers, I imagine that they were more alike than not. Both women were fiercely competitive; both sought to attain the highest peak and world climbing record for women; and both Workman and Peck climbed with the political goal of woman's rights in mind. To be honest, I can envision Peck behaving in some of the same ways as Workman behaved had her lifestyle been different and had she received more funding. After all, being at the top of the top is what competition is about in the world of climbing. For me to find Workman's competitive and aggressive behavior objectionable, I would have to view Peck's in the same light.

Early on, I gained insight about the dangers of discounting evidence based on my own preconceived notions of what happened with the characters that surrounded Peck. When I first stepped into the archive at Brooklyn College, there were some of Kadison's

(Peck's original biographer) papers in the collection, but I ignored them and went straight for Peck's artifacts. In fact, at the time, I deemed Kadison unimportant, dismissed him as a failure, since he did not follow through on his promise to Peck that he would write her biography. However, after discussing Kadison's own circumstances with the owner of another, private collection of Peck artifacts, I discovered that I was wrong about Kadison. Kadison left evidence in the Jonathan Valentino Collection that he was unable, not unwilling, to publish a biography about Peck. In a 1935 letter from Russell Doubleday of Doubleday, Doran, and Company Publishers, he received this news: "While we understand the greatness of that fine woman, none of us feel that a biography of her would be a success. I regret very much the necessity of showing a lack of interest in it," (Doubleday, Letter to Kadison). Kadison had tried to publish Peck's biography, but had not been able to garner any interest in it. Women subjects such as Peck were just not saleable.

Although Kadison never finished Peck's biography, his intentions for the project were made clear in a 1934 speech he gave to Peck and her friends at her 84th birthday celebration: "Well, I've been impressed with many things while working on what I hope will prove to be an adequate biography of Miss Peck. I've been particularly impressed with the necessity of correcting that popular idea that Miss Peck is only a mountain climber" (Kadison, Speech on Annie Smith Peck). Not only had I been wrong about his intentions, but Kadison came to the same conclusion that I have – that Peck's biographical project was indeed about her desire to be recognized as a professional.

After attentive study and steady reflection on Peck's artifacts, I have formed a relationship not only with her, but also with the archive itself. In *Archive Fever: A*

Freudian Impression, Jacques Derrida describes the archive not as “a so-called live or spontaneous memory (mneme or anamnesis), but rather a certain hypomnesic and prosthetic experience of the technical substrate” (25). We use the archive as a way of shaping memory – as a source from which to create new memories, which is both powerful and frightening at the same time. Peck left her artifacts behind because she wanted to be remembered, and, because she left behind certain artifacts for the archive and discarded others, the way in which she gets us to remember is rhetorical. Within a rhetorical study of Peck, memory becomes a social, cultural and political action. She leaves us evidence showing that inasmuch as she achieved both athletic and scholarly goals, her gender was often called into question. She tells us that women differed in their political goals, and from this we gain a clearer historical picture of political movements when we examine individuals as well as political women in groups.

It is important that we acknowledge the value of Peck’s singleness, which may not be traditionally feminist, since historically, the long-established, male rhetorical canon commemorates the individual, and so this focus may not work to confront the formation of the original rhetorical cannon. However, Peck’s own conception of herself can be seen as a way of rethinking how we evaluate a woman with agency over her representation. For instance, when it comes to the political goals of women of her time, she uses a different set of standards for a measure. Rather than holding on to the rhetoric of social housekeeping that other suffragists and identified feminists such as Margaret Fuller and Jane Addams adhered, Peck argued that the masculine and feminine spheres should not be separated into gendered categories. Peck also imagined herself as exemplifying traditional virtues of the American – she had nationalist leanings anyway –

she asked to be judged on the terms of a broader, national character rather than the confining terms of gender.

Peck makes space for the individual. This took great courage; she was willing to be a single person rather than part of a group or groups of women fighting for her same causes. As great a mountain climber and scholar as she was, Peck was also did well to define herself in ways that other women of her time were not able to do, and so she works to change the ground on which women have traditionally been evaluated. Peck's own conservation and archiving of her life – the textual practice of memorializing herself, and of adding memories of herself into our present lives – forms the construction of her memory as we see it today. By a certain amount of social station and relatively stable economic circumstances, Peck was able to do a lot, whereas other women without her resources would not have had a prayer. Peck used her position as much as anybody could not only to advance herself, but also for a larger social question. The number of successes that she was able to maintain was small. However, this takes nothing away from her accomplishments. What *is* so impressive about Peck is her persistence and her continuous work to be known as a professional and her determination to retain ownership over her own image.

Peck's identity has been a difficult concept to tackle. Even now, when we have a language (performativity, gender, etc.) which we might use to describe Peck, she is still hard to categorize. Her identity was problematic then and it is problematic now; gender constructs still don't characterize her easily. While I have worked to historicize Peck's gender identity, I would also make it a contemporary concern. To what extent do we still rely on the explanatory force of these categories to make sense of our lives and the lives

of those we remember? Perhaps Peck would have been uncomfortable with these categories. She tried to write her own story against limiting frames that were popular in her day (“She wrote it, made it, did it, but...”), and – to a certain extent – are just as prevalent today. My only answer to this is that we are still working on issues of representation of women’s lives, which at least brings further discussion to the table, and this is one more reason for Peck to be remembered.

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