THE LOST MANHOOD OF THE AMERICAN GIRL: A DILEMMA IN EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY GIRL SCOUTING

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In the late teens and early 1920s, when the Girl Scouts Incorporated were sending field workers across the nation to train troop leaders and establish the growing organization's reputation, girls and Boy Scouts of America Scoutmasters tackled the problem of Girl Scout training in their own way: the Scoutmasters, independently or at the request of local girls, taught the girls the basics of Boy Scout training and then wrote to national Girl Scout headquarters for help. The letters often expressed urgency on the part of the girls who had asked the letter-writers to get Girl Scout materials for them. One letter asks, "Would you kindly reply by return mail as the girls want to get their uniforms as soon as they pass their test" (Whitehead 22 Nov. 1920). A Birmingham, Alabama, Scoutmaster justified his involvement as "a duty that I owe these girls," who had recruited his help (Edmy 27 Nov. 1921). The father of a Boy Scout in Davenport, Iowa, reported to Boy Scout headquarters that eighteen girls had called at his home to ask him to find out whether Girl Scouts existed in this country
(the letter was forwarded to the Girl Scouts) (Andrews 14 Oct. 1918). A
Largo, Florida, Scoutmaster addressing Girl Scout staff members as "Dear Co-Workers" reported that local girls wanted "some organization similar to the Boy Scouts of America" (Roberts 19 Nov. 1921). Some of these men volunteered to lead Girl Scout troops themselves (See, for example, Parkins 10 Mar. 1922). Others asked for help in finding a woman leader who could build on the foundation they had laid.

These Boy Scout workers' perception that the separately run Boy Scout and Girl Scout institutions were doing essentially the same work mirrored a popular perception that persists today. The Scoutmasters' willingness to give girls the apparently universal "basics" of Scouting highlights a central question about the founding of the Girl Scouts: How much was founder Juliette Low seeking to offer girls the same program, broadening the scope of activities available to girls and women, and how much were she and early Girl Scout officials softening or "feminizing" the core Scouting material?[1] The men who wrote to Girl Scout headquarters either missed the gendered adaptations that Low had made and that British Boy Scout founder Robert Baden-Powell had earlier built into the Girl Guide program, or they understood the shared (masculine) heritage of the girls' and boys' programs. To some degree, the adults who sponsored Girl Scout troops, allowed their daughters to join them, and provided the infrastructure needed for camping and service projects saw the common Scouting tenets and activities as transcending gender differences, or as relevant to girls

as well as to boys. And the girls' eagerness to get their uniforms underscores the appeal and novelty of the military-inspired features of the program in the World War I era. While at the national level, the separately run Boy Scouts of America emphasized its distinctly masculine identity and sought distance from the Girl Scouts Inc., the girls' organization often highlighted the similarities between the two programs, pursuing parallel activities and health training for girls.

Girl Scouting before the 1930s drew on both feminine gender codes and masculine symbolism, its gendered status complicated by the organization's borrowings from the Boy Scouts, Low's deliberate re-appropriation of Boy Scout forms and symbols, and the mixture of male and female iconography used in the first four handbooks.[2] Girl Scout handbooks appropriated the figures of the pioneer and the soldier, offered girls male examples from the frontier era and the Great War, and chose as their exemplary women those who excelled in nontraditional endeavors, though emphasizing the homemaking skills of the most famous, Louisa May Alcott. In this essay, I examine the masculine heritage of the Girl Scouts, as well as the program's seemingly genderless emphasis on exercise and public safety, in the 1920 Girl Scout handbook, *Scouting for Girls*, the organization's longest and most military instruction manual. The handbook's army analogies were particularly attractive during and just after the Great War, when American girls and women had turned out for war work in record numbers.[3] The military models offered to girls and adult women-at a time when they could not join the armed forces enabled an imagined identity that was strong, capable, and rewarded. The program's relatively new outdoor activities for girls-camping, hiking, and military drill-passed muster with adults because they met a perceived need for health and outdoor exercise in the nation's future mothers. The pioneer-life aspects of the Girl Scouts' camping, nature study, and woodcraft skills assuaged fears that technology would rob young Americans of resourcefulness. At the same time that it allowed girls to play with hatchets and send coded messages with signal flags, *Scouting for Girls* trained girls in efficient "modern" ways of handling the historically feminine provinces of home, sick relatives, and children. Girls learned traditional morality, such as an emphasis on sexual purity, in more up-to-date packaging.

Before the Girl Scouts began in the United States in 1912-13 (first as Girl Guides and a year later rechristened as Girl Scouts), British girls had appropriated the activities described in Baden-Powell's 1908 *Scouting for Boys* (Mitchell 119). Girls' public appearance at Baden-Powell's Crystal Palace inspection of the Boy Scouts, however, spurred Baden-Powell to develop a tamer girls' program, the Girl Guides, to entice girls away from Boy Scouting. Still, Scouting-style activities for girls got some

endorsement from adults on both sides of the Atlantic, and even Baden-Powell's more "womanly" program, developed with his sister Agnes, allowed girls to follow tracks across the moors, practice signaling, and bandage imagined victims of severe injuries. One British *Girls' Reader* editor praised scouting as "'a wholly fresh phase of woman's activity,' for 'healthy, open-air, adventure-loving young women, who go about their work of tracking, spying, signaling and what-not with a zeal and intelligence that may well set an example to their male confreres'" (qtd. in Mitchell 122).

On this side of the Atlantic as well, fresh-air adventure for girls received hearty adult approval, via "woodcraft" organizations such as the Camp Fire Girls (1912), the Girl Scouts, and the YWCA's Girl Reserves (1918). Outdoor adventures akin to scouting appeared in American girls' series fiction of the 1910s, with Outdoor Girls, Pioneer Girls, Wide-Awake Girls, Red Cross Girls and a host of heroines with their own series taking overnight trips, rescuing accident victims, and hiking outdoors. The unofficial Camp Fire Girl and Girl Scout series by various authors further capitalized on the contemporary climate for girls' outdoor activities, also apparent in Lina and Adelia Beard's, *On the Trail: An Outdoor Book for Girls* (1915). Sally Mitchell places the scouting phenomenon in Britain in a chapter of *The New Girl*, devoted to "Being a Boy," exploring turn-of-the (twentieth)-century girls' adoption of male personae.

The Girl Scouts-like the slightly tamer Girl Guides-used the foundation of Baden-Powell's initial Scouting program for boys, with its models of organization, awards, and moral pledges as well as its "scouting" or wilderness survival training. The feminine overlay included extensive homemaking training, moralistic injunctions to do only those things that could comfortably be exposed to group scrutiny, and an emphasis on childcare and female health. Girl Scouts earned more home-making badges than outdoor ones and had to demonstrate childcare, nursing, and personal health skills to achieve the highest rank, First Class. Still, Girl Scouts wore khaki uniforms visually echoing the Boy Scouts', could earn military inspired lifesaving medals, learned the signaling codes used by the Army and Navy, and marched in patriotic parades during the Great War. Recommended reading for Girl Scouts and their officers included the Boy Scout and Scoutmaster handbooks (1920, 540, 544-45).[4]

The Girl Scout organization benefited from a growing public belief that boys and girls should have similar recreational opportunities. Although the Boy Scouts' chief executive campaigned against the Girl Scout name for seven years through letters and social pressure for the girls' group to become Camp Fire Girls or Girl Guides, his workers in the field sometimes missed the message that Girl Scouting must differ from Boy Scouting for the boys' program to remain "manly." The instructional texts emphasized

the "womanly" character of Girl Scout training, but Girl Scout officials politely, but steadily, resisted Boy Scout Executive James E. West's pressure to change the name,[5] expressing in internal communications their commitment to offering equal experiences to girls. Their belief in separate spheres-in a woman's domain of influence through good home and social management-seems at times incongruously balanced with their insistence that girls be offered some of the same experiences as boys. The incongruity can perhaps be explained by the conservative character-training program that Scouting activities for both boys and girls framed. The underlying program sought to restrain precocious sexuality and instill ardent patriotism and civic service. As Mary Rothschild and Georgeanne Scheiner note, in the 1920s "Girl Scouting saw itself as a conscious promoter of 'up-to-date womanhood' but also as a bulwark against flappers and American moral decline" (317). Girl Scout organizers sought to preserve the sexual mores and domestic focus of traditional womanhood, with a modern recognition of career opportunities and voting powers. They also, however, offered novel experiences to pre-teen and adolescent girls, experiences that included trying on the independence and self-reliance expressed in the group-sanctioned uniforms.

The mature expression of early Girl Scouting's dual impulses towards appropriately feminine training for girls and gender parity appears in the 1920 Girl Scout handbook, *Scouting for Girls.* Prepared during World War I**,** drawing from the nation's experiences at war, *Scouting for Girls* reflects shifting expectations of what girls "can do to help their country," as the title of the earlier handbook puts it. The 1920 handbook outlines ways to give social and government service, includes pictures of the military-style insignia and life-saving medals a girl could earn, and depicts Girl Scout camps with tent-lined streets laid out in military-camp formation and a bugle-accompanied flag-raising at dawn. The instructional and motivational text challenges girl readers to develop the physical stamina necessary to climb a high mountain and draws analogies between soldiers in the Great War and Girl Scouts saving lives. Its 558 pages contain articles by experts on home nursing, nature study, and outdoor living, attempting to transmit to the 10 to 18-year-old Girl Scout the knowledge and experience needed to earn badges on citizenship, pioneering, star gazing, and telegraphy, as well as the more traditionally feminine child nursing, cooking, and gardening. In addition to group badges for Scout Aide, Woodcraft Scout, Scout Neighbor, and Land Scout, all of them including components of health or homemaking, there are instructions for military drill, with variations in the types of marching steps and orders to give so that the groups of Girl Scouts will pivot and file off in columns. These activities are presented as means to discipline and impressive displays for the public.

No subsequent Girl Scout handbook has held so much information, expected so much of the reader, or supplemented so thoroughly the traditional expectations of girls with physical challenges and the tools for outdoor exploration. Written at the time of a peculiar conjunction of Progressive-era interest in social welfare through play and a war-expanded need for everyone's help, *Scouting for Girls* spoke to the 10 to 18-yearold girl as a capable, efficient being who could prepare herself to have the only cool head in an emergency. Its admonitions to her appealed to her desire to make large contributions to society, presenting personal hygiene, safety knowledge, and physical fitness as preparations for hero(in)ism. This instruction manual was the organization's first to develop technical pictures of girls saving the drowning and using semaphore flags, instruction which, in the two earlier books, 1913 and its revision in 1916, used drawings of Boy Scouts (1913, 24) or soldiers (1916, 77) for signaling and of boys for lifesaving (1913, 92-93; 1916, 122-23).[6] The 1920 handbook represents the organization's increasing adaptations to its audience of girls, but it also displays the Girl Scouts' continued appropriation of the uniform color, insignia, and opportunities of the unaffiliated Boy Scouts of America. Low and her first national secretary wanted to use the Boy Scout emblem, the fleur-de-lis, as the Girl Scout symbol, but Chief Scout Executive James West politely objected, suggesting instead the trefoil, or three-leafed clover, that Baden-Powell had assigned to the British girls' program (West, letter to Johnston, 9 July 1913).[7] The Boy Scouts of America at the national level jealously guarded its uniform, name, and insignia with patents, trademarks, and legal action against imitators (Macleod 156-57). The organizational similarities, the breadth of the handbook, and the image of Girl Scouts as near-adults lasted only as long as this handbook was in effect: the 1927 revision of *Scouting for Girls* cut the length by 94 pages and removed many of the analogies to soldiers. By the time of the minor 1929 revision of the handbook, the uniform color had become grey-green, the handbook itself featured a green rather than a khaki cover, and troop "officers" (Lieutenant and Captain) had become "leaders" (Girl Scouts of the USA, *Highlights* 10). In their early incarnations, though, the captain, lieutenant, optional second lieutenant--a girl 16 or older--and corporal, or assistant patrol leader, represented the military values of authority and obedience.

The pseudo-military appearance of the khaki-clad Girl Scouts and their khaki-clad handbook were a passing phenomenon, a reflection of an unparalleled moment in women's and girls' history. At a time when women did not serve in the U.S. armed forces, the program's inclusion of drill and military uniforms opened an imaginary portal to a realm of ritual and service from which women were excluded. General public acceptance of

the military features of the program suggests that its values outweighed American conceptions of gender norms.

The Girl Scout program, like the analogous one for boys, used pledges and laws-a series of statements about the positive character traits of all members-as the repeated, spoken affirmations that accompanied the girls' ceremonies and weekly meetings. These laws asserted the honor, loyalty, helpfulness, friendliness, courtesy, obedience, cheerfulness, and thrift of the Girl Scout, as well as her kindness to animals and her physical and moral cleanliness. Initial entrance as a "tenderfoot" required memorizing the Girl Scout motto, slogan, laws, and promise, and leaders were to incorporate these statements of faith into their regular activities. In consequence, seemingly values-neutral Girl Scout pastimes carried the ideals of the national organization. The motto and slogan, "Be Prepared" and "Do a Good Turn Daily," conveyed an ethic of service, as did the promise, "On My Honor, I will Try: / To do my duty to God and my Country. / To help other people at all times. / To obey the Scout Laws" (1920 [xii]). Service in the promise is religious, patriotic, and social. It is left to the individual to determine what counts as service to God, country, and others, and when one is doing one's best. However, the rest of the handbook, and, one presumes, troop leaders' instruction, gives a context to the kinds of preparation and service that "count" in the Girl Scout ethos.

The badge and rank ceremonies prescribed in the handbook echo military rites and underscore the ideology of the program. For example, the presiding Girl Scout official tells First Class candidates, "'You should thoroughly understand by now the meaning of duty to God and Country, the privilege of helpfulness to others, and the seriousness of the Scout Laws'" (50). The First Class Girl Scout promises to pay back "in generous service" the effort that many people contributed to her achievement of First Class (51). When a Girl Scout meets the requirements for Scouting's highest award, the Golden Eaglet--now obsolete--the Girl Scout official emphasizes to the Golden Eaglet "'that you understand now even better than the average Girl Scout that your great principles of duty to God and Country, helpfulness to others, and obedience to the Scout Laws, are lessons that no Scout can fully learn as long as she lives'" (53). This understanding stems from the Girl Scout "training."

Recurring themes in the handbook clarify the focus of Girl Scout preparedness: Girl Scout training can prevent accidents or rescue people involved in them; Girl Scout activities such as camping and hiking ensure girls' physical health; and members of the organization learn efficient methods of housecleaning and childcare. The handbook represents membership in the Girl Scouts as strategic preparation for womanhood in the twentieth century. It calls for a return to the broad-scale usefulness of pioneers, but wants girls to combine old-style resourcefulness with the

new household efficiency and civic action expected of twentieth-century women. The woman of tomorrow, while doing some of the same activities as the woman of yesterday, has a new self-confidence and pride of accomplishment: The Girl Scout makes bandages and clothes, bathes babies, or gets meals "quick[l]y and cheerfully," and takes pride in her badges and "the sense of independence that comes from all this skill with her hands" (35). First Aid gives the Girl Scout "a real glow of pleasure to feel that... she may be able to save a life some day," and invalid cooking and nursing "may make her a valuable asset in case of any great disaster or epidemic" (35). Girl Scouts did, in fact, help during the flu epidemic of 1918.

I am emphasizing in this article the adventurous and nontraditional aspects of the 1920 Girl Scout handbook, but the adventurous sections of the handbook are interspersed with more routine expectations of girls. The grandly named Scout Aide designation, for example, goes to girls who earn a group of badges in home economics, child care, First Aid, home nursing, public health, and personal health. The text seeks to establish the primacy of these skill sets:

> This badge will probably be regarded by the outside world as the most important decoration the Girl Scouts can win, and all Scouts who will try for it should realize that those who wear it will represent the organization in a very special sense and will be eager to prove their practical knowledge and ability in the important subjects it stands for. (105)

Household economics, the "Scout Aide" section of the handbook asserts, is "the great general business and profession of women" (105). The text optimistically expects Girl Scouts and voting women to wield power over home and health issues: "Practical knowledge of Personal Health, Public Health and Child Care will add to the efficiency and happiness of this nation, and the women of today have a better chance to control these things than ever before" (105). The organization's domestic feminism, and its emphasis on intelligently handled home management, place it firmly within the home economics movement.[8]

At the same time, the text challenges the reader to prepare herself physically and mentally for whatever circumstances might require. The preparation primarily involves safety knowledge, first-aid training, and physical fitness, as well as developing keen observation skills and visual judgment of distances, heights, and bulk measurements. The motivational text calls the attitude of being a giver rather than a taker "the spirit that makes the older Scout into a fine, useful, dependable woman, who does

so much good in her community that she becomes naturally one of its leading citizens, on whom everyone relies, and of whom everyone is proud. It may end in the saving of a life, or in some great, heroic deed for one's country" (6). While the latter phrase sounds like war service, the reader is reminded that life-saving and grand patriotic acts are simply *"bigger expressions of the same feeling that makes the smallest Tenderfoot try to do at least one good turn a day"* (6; emphasis in original). Even so, lifesaving is one of the goals of Girl Scout preparation enumerated in Section II**,** "Principles of the Girl Scouts." The Girl Scouts is also preparing for "the big duties" (presumably marriage and children) and training her body to be "the fine machine it was meant to be" (3). Personal health and vigor, home efficiency, and emergency preparedness are the stated goals of Girl Scouting. Community service is also a version of "do a good turn daily" (3). As the text explains:

> This is the spirit that makes the older Scout into a fine, useful, dependable woman, who does so much good in her community that she becomes naturally one of its leading citizens on whom everyone relies, and of whom everyone is proud. It may end in the saving of a life, or in some great, heroic deed for one's country. (6).

The hope of performing a grand act is continually dangled before the Girl Scout, but she is also trained for the mundane daily tasks that are more likely to be her lot.

The Scout: A Pioneer Ideal for the Twentieth Century

The handbook's central metaphor for the girl is the scout, the (male) handyman of the frontier. The passages on scouts and their hardiness refer to an idealized pre-technological era when men and women could fend for themselves. These passages' references to the resourcefulness of earlier Americans offer a key to the cross-gendering of the model for the young girl. Worries about the rising generation's self-sufficiency trump concerns about appropriately gendered behavior. Section IV, "Who Are the Scouts?" invokes the tougher pre-machine-age past: Although "[o]ur pioneer grandmothers might have been frightened by the sight of one of our big touring cars, for instance, or puzzled as to how to send a telegram, ... they knew an immense number of practical things that have been entirely left out of town-bred lives, and for pluck and resourcefulness in a tight place it is to be doubted if we could equal them today" (17). The text decries the laziness and helplessness bred by the attitude embedded in the Kodak advertising slogan "You push a button and we do the rest" (17).

On the frontier, "there was no button to press, as we all know, and nobody to 'do the rest': everybody had to know a little about everything *and be able to do that little pretty quickly*, as safety and even life might depend on it" (17; emphasis in original). The anxiety that technology is edging out practical knowledge reflects the same concern that fueled John Dewey's educational philosophy.

While *Scouting for Girls* offers several young girls as examples of grit and determination on the frontier, its foundational models of the self reliant person are male, "the old 'Scouts,' of whom Natty Bumpo, in Cooper's famous old Indian tales is the great example" (17). The frontier scouts

> were explorers, hunters, campers, builders, fighters, settlers, and in an emergency, nurses and doctors combined. They could cook, they could sew, they could make and sail a canoe, they could support themselves indefinitely in the trackless woods, they knew all the animals and plants for miles around, they could guide themselves by the sun and stars, and finally, they were husky and hard as nails and always in the best of health and condition. (18)

This romanticized image of the Scout--living, incidentally, without women's contributions--is the central metaphor of Baden-Powell's Boy Scouting and appears "whole" in the 1920 Girl Scout handbook. The 1927 edition regenders the passage, making it refer to "our pioneer grandmothers" (14) rather than to men. Because the American program echoed the "Scout" name in the second year of its version of "Girl Guiding," the 1920 passage on male "Scouts" presents the same standards for girls. While one might view Girl Scouting as "softer" than Boy Scouting, the 1920 text enables a self-vision for Girl Scouts that relies on further male examples, the scout as policeman, and the cowboy. The scouts "had to act as rough and ready police (for there were no men in brass buttons in the woods!) and be ready to support the right, and deal out justice, just as our 'cow-boys' of later ranch days had to prevent horse stealing" (18).

The handbook makes its transition from "scouts" to Girl Scouts via examples of nineteenth-century "brave, handy girls, who were certainly Scouts if ever there were any" (21). These girls include the Quebecoise Magdeleine de Verchères, who fended off an Indian attack with the help of her younger brothers for eight days (21), pioneer and future suffrage leader Anna Howard Shaw (25-26), and wilderness guide Sacajawea (21-22). The Girl Scouts could also gain inspiration from the handbook's

accounts of Russian girls assisting in the Russian Revolution by delivering state secrets for revolutionary leaders (30). Seemingly endorsing the revolution, the text recommends similar readiness on the part of American Girl Scouts: "All we have to do is to fix Scout habits in our hearts and hands, and then when our Country calls us, we shall be as ready as the little Russian Scouts were" (31). In the same way that folklorist Jay Mechling yearned for life-saving opportunities as a young Boy Scout (36), Girl Scouts could hope for opportunities for bravery or helpfulness during a war: "Instances like these are very exceptional; they could not occur to one in ten thousand of us; but we stay-at-homes can always remind ourselves that it was the obedience, the quickness, and the skill learned in quiet, every-day Scouting that made these few rise to the opportunity when it came" (31).

Camping and the Twentieth-Century Girl

The handbook emphasizes camping and hiking as the means to health and as preparation for patriotic service. The aspects of camping highlighted in this handbook are those that recover a supposedly lost connection to nature and those that build stamina. As the section on "Girl Scout Camping" puts it, "A Girl Scout likes to hike and camp. She learns to know the stars and becomes acquainted with the plants and animals about her. She gains independence from her ability to help herself, and health and strength from exercise in the sunshine and fresh air" (313).

Camping's development of self-reliance is particularly touted in the passages excerpted from the writings of Baden-Powell and his wife Olave. A Girl Guide handbook passage entitled "How Camping Teaches the Guide Law" tells of a man going naked into the American woods to learn to supply all of his needs-including clothing-for himself:

> In this way, he lived for over a month in the wild, and came out in the end very much better in health and spirits and with a great experience of life. For he had learned to shift entirely for himself and to be independent of the different things we get in civilization to keep us going in comfort. (Robert and Olave Baden-Powell, qtd. in 1920, 36).

The Baden-Powells use this story to explain the frequent camping in the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides: "'[I]n camp life we learn to do without so many things which while we are in houses we think are necessary, and find that we can do for ourselves many things where we used to think ourselves helpless'" (Baden-Powells, qtd. in 1920, 36). The passage hints

at Robert Baden-Powell's anxiety about "softness," or race degeneration, an anxiety that fueled the eugenics movement that sought to breed a genetically superior generation.[9]

It wasn't only the British Baden-Powell who sought to recover lost reserves of physical and moral strength. The relatively new sport of leisure camping via Girl Scouting resonated with early twentieth-century Americans seeking simplicity and a connection to the past. Horace Kephart, whose *Camping and Woodcraft* manual is liberally excerpted in the "Camping for Girl Scouts" section of *Scouting for Girls,* specialized in wilderness survival. Kephart moved to a remote mountainous region of western North Carolina after a nervous breakdown, a crisis in his marriage, and the loss of his job as a library director, seeking to "realize the past in the present" (Ellison 352). His 1906 *Camping and Woodcraft,* drawing on his backwoods experiences, "became in time the standard work in its field" (352-53). Kephart's attempts to recover his equilibrium through outdoor life are akin to the 1920 handbook's laments over a fading pioneer heritage and its admonitions to the reader to learn to shift for herself outdoors without mechanical aids other than a compass. Kephart's inclusion in the Girl Scout manual suggests--as does the handbook's reference list of camping manuals aimed at girls as well as boys[10]--that camping for girls was becoming an accepted part of American culture as city dwellers increasingly retreated to nature, even if they didn't stay there.

The girl camper gets to perform novel duties and carry dangerous equipment. The camping group is advised to carry a hatchet (341), and the wood scout, the youngest girl in the eight-member Girl Scout patrol, "carries a spade, pick axe and cutting axe" (326). The "handy scout" oversees all tools and makes furniture and bridges, as well as being "field engineer, carpenter, ... the general maker, mender, patcher, splicer and tinker," repairing tents and clothing as well (326). The "lighter" "has care of the lamps, lanterns, candles, matches, oils, and all 'leaky' stuff' and "must keep the camp well illuminated" (326). She also is responsible for sending telegraphs and solving electrical problems. The camping experience simultaneously offers new responsibilities and the fun of playing with dangerous things. Since girls had not typically gone on hunting trips, these experiences were newer for them than for Boy Scouts. Also, the instructions expect independence of the girls, with no males and no adults other than the captain and lieutenant on hand.

Drawing on male-authored texts, the camping material emphasizes physical toughness. For example, the "Camping for Girl Scouts" section opens with Walt Whitman's poem "The Open Road": "Henceforth I whimper no more, postpone no more, need nothing, / Strong and content, I travel the open road..." (313). Like the Kipling poem "The Red Gods" that appears in the mountain-climbing section, the Whitman poem

celebrates physical vigor and knowledge of outdoor lore. While "The Red Gods" features unnamed male protagonists, the Girl Scout material advises girls to adapt themselves to the demands of camping. Clothing choices also come into play: "When living out of doors, one may make shift for shelter, or even go hungry for a space, but there is no substitute for comfortable clothing that is safe to use if one would keep well" (317). Instead of wearing skirts, which dangerously limit hikers' range of motion, the Girl Scout should wear "knickerbockers or bloomers" (314). The Girl Scout is advised how to care for her feet so she can endure hikes: she is to change her socks daily, never wearing damp ones, and to wear sensible shoes (315) because "no army is stronger than its feet" (316).

To cover ground more quickly in the country, the Girl Scouts are to use the Scout's pace of alternating a fixed number of steps running and the same number of steps walking. They are to commit to the Girl Scout training to learn some simple camping rules and build strength and outdoor know-how by hiking, missing their hikes for only "the worst weather"; even "Soft rain or snowstorms are very pleasant to hike in" (314).

Apart from this advice to hike in light rain or snow, the camping instructions enable Girl Scout officials to present health advice in an adventure context. For example, the Girl-Scout-sponsored text suggests, "Keep the feet straight when walking. If a Girl Scout notices the tracks of an Indian, the first hikers in this country, she will find them invariably straight forward" (316). This advice to girls on posture uses a presumably male Indian as its model and follows up the point with a military reference: "Scientists have invariably agreed that the dancing school habit of turning out toes is one of the causes of flat feet, which disqualified so many men for army service" (316).

Mountain-climbing represents the crowning achievement of the accomplished Girl Scout camper and hiker. In a section entitled "Mountain Climbing" by Eloise Roorbach, we learn that

> Mountain Climbing is the final test of a Girl Scout's perseverance in following a trail, in endurance, courage and woodcraftmanship. . . . No Girl Scout's education is complete until she has seen mountain peaks like waves of the sea flashing with snow white foam, piercing the blue sky as far as the eye can reach; clouds forming below her feet; breathed rare air found only in high places drunk from the pure source of rivers, and heard the mighty roar of waterfalls. A climb to a high mountain top is an experience that will enrich and influence the entire after life of whoever has had the hardihood and wisdom to accomplish it. (367)

As elsewhere in the handbook, this text challenges the Girl Scout to develop the needed strength and endurance for the task. Before tackling "this last test of scouting," one should "be in perfect physical trim, be able to sleep on the ground, have learned to live simply" (367). The author's own mountain-climbing trip to the new Roosevelt National Park there "found her in better physical trim, vigor, strength, and with keenness of vision and joy of life increased daily" (370). The considerable space the handbook devotes to practical instruction in outdoor recreation demonstrates the social acceptability of these vigorous sports for women.

Being Prepared for Emergencies

Throughout the handbook, safety, particularly related to new technologies, arises as a concern. The Girl Scout is to learn safety measures on her own account and must be prepared to rescue the drowning, provide artificial respiration, and put out fires or give First Aid. Readying herself for these practical needs establishes the girl's Scout identity: "If the Scout with the badge keeps her head and shows herself steady, reliable and willing, when called upon to help in illness or emergencies, she proves herself a true Scout who is living up to the Scout motto of 'BE PREPARED'" (217). Baden-Powell suggests that the well-trained Girl Guide (or Scout) can avoid the hysteria and revulsion that some people exhibit in an emergency: "'When you see an accident in the street or people injured in an air raid, the sight of the torn limbs, the blood, the broken bones, and the sound of the groans and sobbing all make you feel sick and horrified and anxious to get away from it-if you're not a Girl Guide. But that is cowardice: your business as a Guide is to steel yourself to face it and to help the poor victim'" (Baden-Powell, qtd. in 1920, 29).

While they appeal to the reader's self-importance and thirst for adventure, the Girl Scout writers are serious about the safety information and about a sense of modernity that is curiously nostalgic in its model of womanhood. The Girl Scouts, in fact, with other youth organizations, became an important conduit of safety knowledge.

Among the rather routine safety advice in the handbook are admonitions to pay attention to one's surroundings on the street and to avoid strange dogs. The Girl Scout is also to prevent fires at home by keeping cloth, paper, and fabrics away from flames and keep stairs and hallways clear, and redressing "innumerable other careless things which will occur to you" (166). The modernization of America, with its burgeoning cities, produced the need for advice about using public transportation: "In getting off [street]cars you should face in the direction in which the car is going. A simple rule is to get off by holding a rod with

the left hand and putting the right foot down first. This brings you facing the front of the car and prevents your being swept off your feet by the momentum of the car" (165). Readers also get information on preventing and treating electric shock (198-99), preventing and extinguishing fires fueled by kerosene, gasoline, or benzene (202), and avoiding natural gas fires (202).

If there is a fire in the building, the Girl Scout is to "[k]eep cool, in order to remember what to do, and do it quickly" (200). She is given not only knowledge but authority: "Turn in a fire at once. Send someone else if possible who may not know what to do to the fire" (200). The Girl Scout, presumably, will know because of the handbook she has studied. She is, though, to follow the instructions of the firefighters when they come because "they know exactly what to do" (201). She should "Keep the doors and windows closed if possible to prevent draughts from fanning the flames to fiercer effort" (201). If she must enter a burning building she should "leave some responsible person guarding the door, in order that it may not be left open by some one in excitement and the flames fanned beyond control" (201). The child or teen is apparently making the decisions about who is responsible. Whether real situations ever worked out this way, girls in the text are presented as potential rescuers and people in charge.

The Girl Scout handbook simultaneously gives children additional rules to follow and admits them into a world of adult knowledge and superiority that many children covet. The rescue charge is empowering and genderless. The child learns what to do for a rather thorough list of accidents. She is to "give the most help and relief immediately, before expert help can arrive, and to have the victim in the best condition possible for the doctor when he comes, in order that he may not have to undo whatever has been done before he can begin to give the patient relief from his suffering" (166). The text details the now-familiar First Aid procedures, such as keeping the crowd back, loosening the patient's clothing, turning the head so the patient won't choke on his or her vomit, and arranging to move the person by fireman's lift, a seat of four arms and hands, or an improvised stretcher (167-69). The Girl Scout learns to deal with heat exhaustion, choking, and dislocations and fractures (17678), and she learns to make a range of bandage types and determine which body part each bandage works best for. The current saturation of Red Cross teaching makes these concepts familiar to us; the idea of children and teens providing such care was radical in the World War I era and the 1920s. The rescue material presumes a fit, capable girl reader, or encourages her to become that, and the technical instructions take the girl reader seriously.

Monitoring the Young Girl's Health

In addition to caring for the health of the people around her, the Girl Scout was to monitor and safeguard her own health. The health messages in *Scouting for Girls* represent a core value that I believe made Girl Scouting's less traditional activities for girls acceptable to parents and volunteers. The text recommends outside play to give the body the air, heat, and sunlight it needs (263), and suggests when in a day to drink six glasses of water. To earn the "Health Winner" badge required for the Scout Aide designation, girls had to fill in a health chart to track their growth and ensure that they had daily bowel movements, twice-weekly baths, and daily exercise, outdoor work, and play (271). The girl was to compare her height and weight to a national standard for her age, and if she were underweight, she could follow the advice in the manual (269-70). Although one might argue that the girls are being protected as potential mothers of the nation, Girl Scouting's approach to health is the same as Boy Scouting's and offers the same remedies: outdoor exercise, active games, and self-monitoring. A 1924 school health textbook by physician Woods Hutchinson offers the same advice of cultivating play for health, suggesting that girls read the Boy Scout handbook as well as joining girls' groups (156).

The text recommends that girls practice daily setting-up exercises--a series of stretches (65). The girl reader is introduced to the setting-up exercises as a way of "oiling and testing" the machine of the body (273). If one neglects this, "the machinery gets rusty and clogged, or the instrument gets out of tune and makes horrid noises" (273). The text suggests a morning tune-up "before you put on your clothes" and at night to "rest the tired parts and exercise the parts that have not been used, so you can even things up" (273). Setting-up exercises, like much else in Girl Scouting, have a military origin. The Oxford English Dictionary defines the "setting-up drill" or "setting-up exercise" as "a course of gymnastic exercises used to give an erect carriage"; its first entry, *A Military System of Gymnastic Exercises* (1862) by Archibald Maclaren, refers to "The setting up and position drill of recruits."

Another military-derived drill, marching maneuvers, had health benefits and helped captains to handle troops "in an orderly and dignified manner" (84). Drill, used in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries for boys' physical fitness classes, offered adult instructors control. The 13 pages devoted to "Girl Scout Drill" praise drill formations as ways to give "an erect carriage, alert habit of obedience, and ability to think or act quickly" (84). Tenderfoots learn to stand at attention, mark time, march, and do half-step, side step, and back step, all in quick time or double time (88). They learn to march by flank, move to the rear, and change step. The more complex Second-Class Drill includes "oblique march," in which

Girl Scouts march at an angle in two facing columns, and turning on fixed and moving pivots (94). The even harder First-Class Drill includes diminishing the front of a column of squads. At the weekly meetings, while lined up for drill, the Girl Scouts underwent military inspection. The Captain checked the girls "for posture, and for personal appearance, which should be neat and clean in every particular, and uniform, which should be correct as to style, length, placing of insignia, etc." (56). Traditional expectations of good grooming and posture for girls thus assumed the novelty of soldierly training.

Conclusion

Girl Scouting of the early twentieth century provided a blend of separate-spheres thinking with attempts to offer girls the same outdoor opportunities available to boys. The organization was committed from its founding to instructing the girls in the details of traditional domesticity, but Low and other leaders insisted on procuring for girls the hiking and camping experiences, exercise, and military-style uniforms that Boy Scouts enjoyed, albeit in an altered fashion. The women who re-made the Girl Scout program from Boy Scout and Girl Guide models found ways to combine boys' pursuits with those more traditionally offered to girls. In doing so, they created a uniquely twentieth-century venture that has twenty-first-century resonances. Whatever their gains outside the home, most American women still have responsibility for work within the home, and the Girl Scouts continue to offer a girls-only program that addresses questions of gender-equity as well as providing some training in domestic tasks. As historian Leslie Paris has said of girls' summer camps, Girl Scouting's "capacity for allowing girls to reinvent themselves was an important part of [its] power and appeal" (49). The 1920 handbook allowed girls to reinvent themselves as "male"--capable, independent, leaders--while at the same time fitting into the culture in which they were raised and meeting the expectations of their families and peers. Today, when Girl Scouting focuses on addressing problems commonly facing girls and seeks to expand girls' opportunities in math, the sciences, and technology, the anachronistic lessons in signaling and knot-tying still address those early fears that technology would replace American's ability to fend for themselves. The Scouting game cloaked traditional messages for children's and girls' behavior, but it also opened some new imaginative possibilities.

NOTES

[1] Charles E. Strickland praises Low's perseverance in overcoming her "Southern belle" upbringing to create new roles, noting her private championship

of women's suffrage though the organization remained silent on the matter before 1920. Mary Aickin Rothschild argues that Girl Scout officials promoted domestic feminism, deliberately widening girls' opportunities within the context of marriage expectations and an updated version of the well-prepared homemaker (115). Sherrie A. Inness, on the other hand, sees the program's active aspects as promoting a "fleeting sense of agency" masking its conservative agenda of pointing girls toward marriage and motherhood that terminate careers (234). Julia Kirk Blackwelder contends that the Girl Scouts in the teens and twenties taught girls to expect a career as well as marriage and children, noting that middle-class girls--Scouting's largest audience--could afford that novel expectation (86).

[2] Katie Kent briefly notes the contradictory impulses in the Girl Scout organization of "an emphasis on patriotism, duty, religiosity, and purity" and "the establishment of a social sphere for women in which they could wield power, assume male military titles, aid in national defense, and participate in physical activities formerly denied them" (353).

[3] For an account of women's organized efforts during the Great War, see William J. Breen, chapters seven to eight.

[4] The 1920 handbook urges Captains and Lieutenants to read the leaders' handbooks of what it dubs allied organizations, the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, YWCA Girl Reserves, and Girls' Clubs of the National League of Women Workers (545), which show that despite differing terminology, "our ultimate aim and our broad general principles are precisely the same" (544).

[5] See Rothschild's "To Scout or to Guide?" for a discussion of West's opposition to the Girl Scout name and the to-him overly boyish nature of the girls' scouting activities.

[6] For ease of reference, I cite the handbooks by their publication years rather than their authors' names. The three different authors and two different titles of the four manuals cited make the usual reference by author or author and brief title difficult for the reader to follow. The 1913 handbook, *How Girls Can Help Their Country*, lists Savannah naturalist W. J. Hoxie as its author, though anecdotal evidence suggests that Juliette Low revised the Girl Guide material that formed its core (see Schultz and Lawrence 320). The 1916 handbook of the same title lists Low as the copyright holder, but the title page names only Robert and Agnes Baden-Powell, as the authors of the text adapted for the American book. The 1920 handbook, *Scouting for Girls*, names "Girl Scouts" as its author and "Girl Scouts Inc." as its publisher, as does the significantly abridged 1927 handbook of the same title.

[7] The Girl Scouts did, in fact, adopt the shamrock, or trefoil, as their insignia.

[8] Rima D. Apple and Joanne Pas set link Girl Scouting and high school home economics classes in an illuminating way to examine girls' socialization into domesticity.

[9] Michael Rosenthal examines at length Baden-Powell's and the British government's worries about the deterioration of the British "race" in Chapter 5

of *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement.*

[10] The recommended camping books include *Camping and Hiking, Campward Ho!, The Boy Camp Manual, The Camp Fire Girls' Vacation Book,* and *Camp Kits and Camp Life* as well as *Wilderness Homes.* The range of this list and the inclusion of other organizations' resources as well as works on the playground movement indicate that Girl Scout officials saw themselves as participating in a broader recreational movement whose proponents had similar aims.

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