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ABSTRACT

LOCATING WOMEN'S RHETORICAL EDUCATION AND PERFORMANCE:
EARLY TO MID NINETEENTH CENTURY SCHOOLS FOR WOMEN
AND THE CONGREGATIONALIST MISSION MOVEMENT

by Rebecca L. Fleming Safa

The first half of the nineteenth century was a unique period for women's rhetorical education and work. Chapter I establishes the rhetorical and physical space of the study. Congregationalist and Presbyterian denominations in New England and Ohio, affected by the Great Awakening revivals, founded schools for women out of a desire for literate female congregants and missionaries. Chapter II argues that advocates of women's education justified the value of women's evangelical speaking and writing by explaining how it fit within conservative religious and social goals: women needed to be educated to teach and convert their children and students, and to start schools for women abroad to advance the evangelical cause. Chapter III argues that because the schools for women adopted the classical, religiously-infused curriculum as well as the purpose of many schools for men—to produce ministers—women also were trained as evangelists, though for different audiences. By the last few decades of the period, the schools for women provided an institutional support for their graduates' public speaking and writing that was denied to other women rhetors of the century. Chapter IV argues that because the classical curriculum used in these schools for women had a religious focus, and because most of the textbooks were written by ministers, and had to justify their purpose in terms of their applicability to Christianity, women who used these texts had the opportunity not only for formal rhetoric and logic training, but also to see and model constant examples of arguments for Christianity in other subject matter texts. Chapter V argues that there were important extracurricular opportunities for women to practice their rhetorical skills

at women's schools that were analogous to the traditional literary and debating clubs at schools for men. Chapter VI explains why this unique school environment for women did not last. Around mid-century, the religiously based classical curriculum faded as schools became more vocationally oriented; women's education was offered without need for elaborate religious rationales; and the Congregationalist mission board moved away from evangelizing through mission station schools and so no longer needed trained female teacher/evangelists.

LOCATING WOMEN'S RHETORICAL EDUCATION AND PERFORMANCE: EARLY TO MID NINETEENTH CENTURY SCHOOLS FOR WOMEN AND THE CONGREGATIONALIST MISSION MOVEMENT

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Table of Contents

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my Dad,
who has waited patiently for it a long time.

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Thanks to my committee for their guidance and support,
and especially to Dr. Paul Anderson, who has spent long
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Chapter I

Breaking Rhetorical Boundaries for Women: Religious Education in Early Nineteenth Century New England

In early to mid nineteenth century New England and Ohio, a large number of women attended academies, seminaries, and colleges founded and supported by the popular denominations of the time, particularly Congregationalist and Presbyterian. As a result of this education, the revivalist atmosphere of the time, and the growing acceptance of teaching as a career for women, many women were trained to be rhetors in evangelical settings, often as missionary teachers in the western United States and in other countries, or as teacher evangelists in local schools. At schools such as the co-ed Bradford Academy, located in Bradford, Massachusetts, female seminaries such as Ipswich in Ipswich, Massachusetts, Mount Holyoke in South Hadley, Massachusetts, Western in Oxford, Ohio, and Oberlin Collegiate Institute, a co-ed college level school in Oberlin, Ohio, founders and teachers argued that equal education for women, and their rhetorical work as evangelical teachers and/or missionaries would benefit their religious efforts and society in general.

A significant reason that some of these nineteenth century women were able to broaden the scope of their rhetorical work from the network of their immediate family and friends outward to anyone within reach of evangelical work is due to the curriculum and structure of the Congregationalist and Presbyterian schools for women, especially those that operated in the first fifty years of the nineteenth century. The Congregationalist and Presbyterian schools in this study patterned their curriculum on the classical curriculum that schools for men were using in the nineteenth century, which gave female students a rare opportunity to study logic and rhetoric, important components of the classical curriculum. The other textbooks they used as part of the standard classical curriculum of the day were ideal for helping them construct arguments defending Christianity to nonbelievers, as they were largely written to educate prospective ministers in schools for men.

While women in these Congregationalist and Presbyterian schools did not have the opportunity to practice oration or debating as men did, the schools also developed an alternative informal rhetorical curriculum to train their female students in the practical

aspects of evangelical work. In the schools, instead of debating societies, women were encouraged to actively debate with each other by working for the conversion of students who doubted Christianity. They were prepared psychologically and practically to meet the challenges of a public oral and written ministry in the mission field. These schools encouraged women to play an equal rhetorical role in the evangelical mission field and gave them the rhetorical training to take advantage of those opportunities. After the growth of these schools, women had more rhetorical opportunities to speak and write even to large and/or promiscuous audiences, because of or as part of their mission work.

This history begins in 1803, when Bradford Academy was founded. Other co-educational academies and seminaries for women such as Ipswich followed Bradford throughout the first and second decades. Oberlin Collegiate Institute was founded in 1833, followed by Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, in 1837, which was the first all-female seminary to proclaim its intention of offering a college level education for women. Western Female Seminary, founded in 1855, was one of the last schools for women to follow the pattern of a traditional classical curriculum, with a religious focus. Each school was developed primarily for the education of women, and most designed the schools to enable low to middle class students to attend, rather than only accepting upper class students who could pay the high fee, which was the custom of most other schools for women. The schools in this study generally tried to restrict their attendance to girls older than those accepted at other schools, in order to impress upon the women and the community the rigor of the college-level education and of the religious training that the schools offered. At Mount Holyoke, as at the other schools, the girls who applied for the most part did so out of a desire to prepare themselves for religious teaching or mission work, rather than for secular pursuits (Green 182).

As it was hard for women to get formal preparation for entering a seminary or college-level school, many women read school textbooks at home to prepare themselves, or they picked up various elements of education at different schools as they earned enough money. In their annual school bulletins, schools published the types of texts students should have memorized to be prepared to enter the regular first-year program of study. However, Oberlin, Mount Holyoke, and Western also provided preparatory schooling for women who needed extra work on the basics.

The schools in this study range from the high school through the college level. Academies usually offered curricula for women at a level roughly equivalent to modern elementary and high schools. Academies taught women in the fundamentals of most subjects, which was often enough for them to get teaching positions of their own. A few decades into the nineteenth century, seminaries also became an option for women. These provided a higher level of education than academies, and were more specifically for women who wanted to be teachers. The title of seminary also sometimes meant that a school aimed to provide a college education for women, such as at Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, but was afraid of scaring people away by using the traditionally masculine term "college" for the education it provided.

All of the schools in this study, from the academy to the college level, were supported by the Congregationalist denomination, and at least one also had ties to the Presbyterians. Bradford Academy was founded by Congregationalists. The boys at the academy were taught by Congregationalist ministers hoping to raise enough money for their education, and the girls by pious female teachers, trained at home or at other schools. Oberlin Collegiate Institute, one of the earliest college-level co-ed schools, was founded as a non-denominational school, but it had both Congregationalist and Presbyterian influences. Its two founders, the Reverend John Jay Shipherd and Philo Penfield Stewart, were Congregationalists (Barnard 3). One of its most famous teacher/presidents was Charles Grandison Finney, who was a Congregationalist minister later turned Presbyterian (Barnard 3), and many of its other leaders were Congregationalist. Shipherd, though Congregationalist, had been working through the Plan of Union that united Presbyterians and Congregationalists in western missionary endeavors, and he had been ministering to a Presbyterian mission church in Elyria, Ohio, before founding Oberlin (Barnard 10). Many of the other schools discussed in this study, such as Ipswich Female Seminary, and other academies in the area, also fell under the auspices of the Massachusetts General Association of Congregational Churches. Mary Lyon, founder of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, was actively Congregationalist, and she integrated the teachings of Jonathan Edwards, a Congregationalist revivalist of the eighteenth century, into her leadership of the school (Cole 102). Western Female Seminary, patterned after Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, was founded by Rev. Daniel

Tenney, a Presbyterian minister in Oxford, Ohio, and supported in part by his church, the Second Presbyterian Church.

Some of the women who helped to create a space within early to mid nineteenth century education for women and their rhetorical training and post academy/seminary work include Harriet Atwood Newell and Ann Nancy Hasseltine Judson, graduates of Bradford Academy and missionaries; Fidelia Fiske, a graduate of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary and missionary; and Mary Lyon, founder of and teacher at Mount Holyoke Female Seminary.

Harriet Atwood and Ann Nancy Hasseltine were converted while they were at school, in a great religious awakening led by Preceptor Mr. Burnham's teaching/ preaching at Bradford Academy, in 1806 (Robert 16). Both women were active rhetorically while they remained at school through one on one encounters and persuasive letters arguing for their friends' conversions. Ann Nancy Hasseltine [Judson] dedicated herself to mission work after her conversion, then looked for a husband to partner with abroad. In 1810, came her opportunity. The birth of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (ABCFM), the Congregationalist mission movement, was inspired by a group of students at Williams College and Andover Seminary, among which was her future husband, Adoniram Judson (Pond 83). Adoniram Judson, Samuel Newell, future husband to Harriet Atwood [Newell], and a few other students, went to the town of Bradford to present their proposition for a mission organization to the Association of Congregational ministers (Pond 84), and a few months later, Ann Nancy Hasseltine was engaged to Adoniram Judson. Shortly after that, Samuel Newell was introduced to Harriet Atwood (Pond 86). In 1812, they married and the group left together for abroad (Pond 87). Harriet Atwood Newell and Ann Nancy Hasseltine Judson became role models for future women attending Bradford and other schools. Harriet Atwood Newell died en route to a mission field, but Judson was very active in all aspects of mission work in Calcutta, Burma, and Rangoon with her missionary husband until her death in 1826 (Robert 44-5).

The first missionary volunteer to go directly from Mount Holyoke to the mission field was Fidelia Fiske, an unmarried teacher at Mount Holyoke who was a devoted assistant to Mary Lyon, the founder (Robert 109). Unlike most female missionaries, she

did not look for a husband to partner with, but was recruited as a single woman in 1843 by the missionary Justin Perkins to help start a school for girls in Oroomiah, Persia. She started a boarding school for girls, on the model of Mount Holyoke, with the belief that sustained teaching would convert more girls than a day school only (Robert 110). Her letters and memoirs back to Mount Holyoke continued to enflamed the passions of many future female students to follow in her footsteps.

Mary Lyon, founder and teacher of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, epitomizes the religious women's educational advocate. She born in 1797 into a Baptist family, and was desperate for an education. She intermittently taught and went to school throughout her early years, to raise enough money for the next year of schooling. Throughout the influence of her teachers, particularly the Reverend Joseph Emerson, she began to believe that education was important only insofar as it was linked with serving God. She devoted her talents and intellect to the cause of foreign missions and eventually joined the Congregational Church in 1822, due to his influence (Robert 93-5). She remained single throughout her life, with a single-minded purpose, to offer quality education to women of any means, and to partner women's education to mission service. Her teaching endeavors at Byfield and Ipswich female seminaries helped her plan her ideal school, one which would offer a quality education to any woman who desired it, and train students for rhetorical work post-graduation. Mount Holyoke Female Seminary promoted female education and service to the mission movement beyond Lyon's death in 1849. Her work at Byfield and Ipswich also affected Oberlin Collegiate Institute, as it was Byfield and Ipswich graduates who set up its female department (Horowitz 27). Through her influence, 82.5% of her graduates between 1838 and 1850 went into teaching, and by 1859, sixty Mount Holyoke graduates had entered foreign missionary work (Horowitz 27). By 1887, 175 foreign missionaries to 18 countries had been sent out to establish daughter schools (Thomas 34). Lyon's partnership with Rufus Anderson, the secretary of the ABCFM (Robert 104), helped broaden the religious support for women's education, and provided a place and purpose for women to exercise their rhetorical skills. She planned and built her school through the careful, unending, and behind-the-scenes cultivation of prominent men and women in local communities. She showed her students

and students of other institutions a model of how a conservative religious woman could also be influential and could use writing and speaking to achieve her goals.

Defining Rhetoric in the Context of This Study

Advocates of women's equal education created a unique educational and social space between 1803 and 1853 for women to train and practice the rhetorical skills involved in evangelism. The work of these schools and the female graduates, however, is outside of the main rhetorical spaces commonly studied such as movements for women's rights, temperance, abolition, and struggles for equal opportunities in formal ministry work. The work could be labeled conservative, as the schools and women involved were not progressive in their social ideas, and as the rhetorical work women did was strictly within a religious and often interpersonal framework. Ronald and Ritchie, in Available Means: An Anthology of Women's Rhetoric(s) argue that "rhetoric be reconceived" to include the often non-traditional rhetorical products of a group of people who were discouraged from writing and speaking and so had to first invent a strategy and means to be heard. Women, and especially women from minority groups, have historically been denied even the "means of basic literacy" (xvii) and so have had to "invent a way to speak in the context of being silenced and rendered invisible as persons" (xvii). Ritchie and Ronald's anthology therefore includes writing that "has emerged from contexts other than those normally sanctioned as rhetoric" (xxi). It assumes that since women rhetors have been "excluded from political, ecclesiastical, or intellectual forums," the texts of women writers and speakers often appear outside of formal traditions of rhetoric. To appreciate the rhetorical work of early to mid nineteenth century schools and their female graduates, scholars need to look for the ways schools contributed to the availability and acceptance of women's rhetorical training and professional rhetorical work within a socially acceptable religious framework.

The nineteenth century Protestant women at the focus of this study used their rhetorical training to evangelize not through large gatherings and formal speeches, but through one on one encounters, and through teaching at schools. They sought out potential converts in quiet but persistent ways. They often used more informal means to exercise their rhetorical skills than they might have used had they been men. They were

generally concerned with keeping their activities within socially conservative ideals, though occasionally to do so they needed to argue for a redefinition of terms.

The rhetorical methods taught by the institutions and practiced by students informally and on the mission field are hard to catalogue and to fit into traditional rhetorical anthologies. We do have records of the large number of female missionaries at this time and descriptions of the evangelical work they did in New England schools and missionary schools abroad. As in other eras of women's history, there is unfortunately no obvious body of rhetorical works by evangelical women in the early to mid nineteenth century similar to rhetorical theories and tomes by men for scholars to catalogue (Billington). There are, however, multiple scattered journals, letters, records of curriculum, and other important evidences of women writing and thinking in new public ways and genres that should not be overlooked. As Cheryl Glenn says, in Rhetoric Retold: Regendering the Tradition from Antiquity through the Renaissance, "restorying" rhetorical history to include the writing of women "entails our rethinking texts, approaches, narrative—and history itself"; rhetorical history should encompass, in the words of Gordon, Buhle, and Dye, "personal, subjective experience as well as public and political activities" (3). Glenn's approach offers us an opportunity to look at women in the nineteenth century, even those women who took a path other than the masculine rhetorical one, as rhetoricians, by redefining the sites of rhetoric from large to small and from public to semi-private and private. Like Glenn's mapping of rhetors such as Aspasia, the history of these women cannot be "linear" (5) or follow traditional guidelines for what rhetoric is (oratory, agonistic debate), or for what it means to be a rhetor (large groups, overt preaching). Even those women who were not a part of any feminist movement, did not formally publish anything, and who did not make any obvious claims to ordained ministry nonetheless created an important site for historians of rhetoric because their purpose was the same: to exert influence over others' actions and attitudes.

In defining the types of rhetoric taught and modeled in educational institutions throughout this early evangelical movement, the purpose of the writing or speaking has been key. Most if not all of the writing that will be studied here is made up of letters and articles produced by the female missionaries to their families, their schools, and their

mission organization. In all cases, even the letters to the families were public in that it was expected that they would be shared among the community as a whole and sometimes published in mission magazines as motivational material. In these, the religious/ evangelical goal was so important, the threat of damnation so imminent, that the practical purpose of creating converts to the religion and to the mission movement would have been the most important if not the only goal in their minds. Any literary considerations developed from composition books in school and utilized in their letters would likely have had use to them only insofar as they could make their evangelical appeal greater.

The way these women wrote was likely influenced by the 19th century sentimental literature tradition, but the writings weren't defined by their authors as literary works. They were strictly to serve particular purposes, that of sharing the progress of their mission station, promoting their mission work as valuable and God-inspired, and persuading the public to help by supporting financially or volunteering themselves for mission work. The women wrote with the public in mind, even when writing letters to individual families or friends, as it was a convention that missionary letters were public property to be shared and used as motivational tools. Some of the private journal writing that will be studied was written before women made the decision to be missionaries, and thus provides an opportunity for us to study the way the women constructed their *ethos* in terms of dealing with the Great Commission, the religious call to Christians to convert the world, that they saw as an equally male and female directive. The only orally delivered rhetoric that will be mentioned comes in the form of notes made by students of a teacher's memorable teachings. These will be used to understand the makeup of the curriculum at schools, but will not be studied as rhetorical artifacts themselves.

One of the major resources for women's rhetoric of this time period comes from the women who became missionaries who contributed to the canon of women's rhetoric in the form of journals, or letters that were published for the purpose of educating and persuading future missionaries to enlist. Conversion rhetoric was the dominant form of rhetoric used by missionary women, gleaned from reading the journals of women who had come before, or by absorbing the rhetoric of missionary magazines and ministers' sermons, or from the teachings at the schools for women.

When locating histories of rhetoric in nineteenth century schools, the question scholars should ask is similar to the one asked by Ritchie and Ronald. Where are the women in histories of nineteenth century rhetorical curriculum? This study will answer this question by examining the curriculum created by leaders of women's equal education for the Congregationalist and Presbyterian schools in New England and Ohio in the early to mid nineteenth century. How did leaders of women's equal education at this time create a space for women's rhetorical work inside and outside of school? They found a way to work within the restrictive conventions of society for women to create an innovative curriculum and to justify that curriculum within a conservative, religious society. This rhetorical curriculum for women combined theory with practical experience, and these schools facilitated career opportunities for women where they could use their rhetorical skills.

Often studies of rhetorical curriculum for women in the nineteenth century find very little in the way of institutionalized education until the latter part of the century, when more schools instituted co-ed programs, such as Antioch College, in 1852; schools for men built annexes for female students, such as at Harvard, in 1873, and at Columbia in 1883; and women's colleges such as Vassar, incorporated in 1861, and Smith College, incorporated in 1875, became more accepted and widespread. Scholars often concentrate on a shift of emphasis from rhetoric to composition that happened in the century's last few decades and only deride education for women previous to that. Connors argues that "[t]he early women's seminaries did teach rhetoric to their charges, but it was a curiously old-fashioned analytical rhetoric, not the praxis-based active rhetoric taught to men" (76). Insofar as "praxis-based active rhetoric" refers to a curriculum that encouraged men to recite and debate in classes and literary clubs, this is true. However, restricting the definition of an active rhetoric to these traditional methods limits our understanding of the usefulness of rhetoric to religious women and men at the time. Women in many schools were taught not only the fundamentals of logic and rhetoric, but how to use them to argue for their religion and to convert many different types of people in many varied situations, possibly more challenging scenarios than simple classroom and literary debates.

Royster, author of "In Search of Ways In," in Feminine Principles and Women's Experience in American Composition and Rhetoric, recalls the words of Lillian Bridwell-Bowles, charging scholars to look for ways to "break the boundaries of textual space" (387). The schools at the focus of this study created a space outside of most histories of women's rhetorical curriculum and activities that is worthy of study.

Why These Schools

Because the schools in this study were begun by Congregationalists and Presbyterians, they had a particularly evangelical, outward-reaching purpose. Other schools for women may also have cared about women's equal educational opportunities, but were not also as motivated to support women's rhetorical opportunities beyond the home. There were multiple Protestant denominations in New England that competed to found schools to perpetuate their doctrines, but the Congregationalist and Presbyterian denominations were particularly active in New England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in establishing both schools and mission stations around the world. According to historians, "The biggest patron of American higher education before the Civil War was the American Education Society, founded in 1815 by prominent Congregational and Presbyterian laymen to support promising ministerial students in the colleges" (Rudolph 56). Much of this study focuses on Congregationalist schools and on the Congregationalist mission movement[1], but the Congregationalists often worked with the Presbyterians to organize missionaries to the West, and were sometimes linked in the founding of schools. According to historians, "Before 1820, almost 70 percent of America's colleges were sponsored by Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians" (Kee, et. al 683), and this pattern continued at least into the 1850s for women's schools.

Congregationalism had come to the United States with the English Puritans (Kee, et.al 628), and they set up their own theology based in part on the idea that God worked with individuals through covenants, or solemn agreements (Kee, et.al 612) rather than through mediators such as priests. Though the term congregationalism usually referred to

[1] The Baptists were very active, both men and women, in the missionary movement of the late eighteenth century, even earlier than the Congregationalists, but they did not establish schools to support and train their missionaries like the Congregationalists did.

a particular denomination, it also signified a denomination built around individual, self-governing churches, rather than churches governed by a central, elected body of people, such as existed in the Presbyterian denomination. Presbyterians believed in a centralized authority of elected officials that would establish principles upon which all Presbyterian churches would be based. The motivation of the Congregationalists and Presbyterians was not of course about achieving any kind of secular vision of women's liberation; they were motivated by the need to advance the cause of missions and to achieve other religious goals.

The schools for women in this study were chosen because they offered rhetorical opportunities to women in ways that worked around traditional notions of what women should learn. They also changed how women should use that learning without challenging the societal mores in the more well-known way that the women's movement would starting in the mid nineteenth century, as galvanized at the Seneca Falls Convention. Each school was founded with a primarily religious purpose of converting its students to the goals of devoting their lives to mission and other religious work, and of teaching them to pass this devotion on to others; therefore each school's texts and teaching methods were developed to teach and model persuasive techniques.

Often the schools that come to mind first when one mentions nineteenth century women's higher education are the ones begun by leaders of women's education Emma Willard and Catharine Beecher. Emma Willard founded the Middlebury Female Seminary in Vermont in 1814, the Waterford Academy in New York in 1819, and Troy Female Seminary (later the Emma Willard School) in New York in 1821. Catharine Beecher opened the Hartford Female Seminary in Connecticut in 1823. While these women were certainly important contributors to women's higher education, neither they nor their schools are the focus of this study because, despite some differences, both women ultimately focused on maintaining women's position in the home. This ideology contrasts with other more evangelical mission-oriented leaders who believed that the family of God, which included all the people in the world, could supersede the call of the immediate family structure. The call would justify daughters, sisters, and aunts leaving their immediate familial responsibilities due to the call of the mission movement. Emma Willard and Catharine Beecher did teach in their school some of the same courses as

were popular in men's schools of the day, such as rhetoric and logic (Kish Sklar 61). They also passed on a general religious and cultural training in their curriculum, and knowledge of religious values and manners important to a cultured woman of the day. However, their primary purpose was to create intelligent women who would fit into the general societal pattern for women, not to use formal and informal rhetorical training to teach women to be evangelists, as did the founders and teachers of the schools that are the focus of this study.

Willard was connected to organized religion, and supported the mission movement, but she did not have as her primary purpose the conversion of students and training for the mission movement. Though she personally supported the cause of missions financially, she did not push for her own students to become actively involved as missionaries themselves. Some of her students did go to teach abroad, but the majority of them taught at the new schools particularly in the south that were opening up for women. As Mrs. A. W. Fairbanks, former student and biographer attests, "[N]o spirit of proselytism was ever brought to bear upon the pupils" (qtd. in Emma Willard 29). Catharine Beecher's teaching also was not evangelical in the same way that founders and teachers of schools in this study were. She promoted religious devotion as a means to refinement, not as a means to the conversion of the world. Her biographers relate her struggles with her father's desire that she have an emotional conversion experience that was still seen as necessary to being truly religious. Instead of encouraging her students to see education as a means to God and evangelist work, she wanted to help them to learn female refinement, to exert "an influence 'upon the general interests of society,'" such as educational reform (Kish Sklar 76).

After Beecher's Hartford school was a success, Beecher offered the leadership of the school to Zilpah Grant, a partner with Mary Lyon, who would later found Mount Holyoke Female Seminary. Beecher's appeal to Grant and Grant's response highlights the distinction between Beecher's school and the ones described in this study. Beecher wrote to Miss Grant, arguing that the Hartford school "drew 'pupils from families of wealth,' and that under Zilpah Grant's influence this wealth could be put to evangelical uses..." She appealed to Grant's interest in evangelism likely because she knew that Grant had worked with Mary Lyon and had the same mission-oriented goals for educated

women. According to Beecher's biographers, Grant turned down the position because she thought it was too worldly an undertaking; Grant preferred straightforward, not polished beliefs (Kish Sklar 93). She knew that Beecher's school focused primarily on developing "taste and refinement" in its wealthy female students, "combining middle class evangelical enthusiasm with upper class style of leadership" (Kish Sklar 93). The schools founded by teachers like Lyon and Grant could never be considered "too worldly"; their founders intended them primarily as training grounds for evangelical work. Women trained by Lyon, Grant, and others still operated within the framework of traditional societal values for women, but they were not concerned with learning refinement or delicacy or any other traditionally feminine attributes. They were more concerned with being made religiously "useful," which in this revival era meant to be trained to use evangelical tools to convert as many people as possible or to support others with the same goals.

Willard generally pushed for women's higher education within the framework of women's private sphere. She believed that women still belonged in the home but that education helped to prepare them for this sphere. Women were encouraged to be teachers before they were married, to develop those skills which would help them rear their own children, but primarily women should be happy in the home and should not reach for occupations that would take them away from the home. Emma Willard's daughter-in-law, Mrs. John Willard, thus expresses the modest goals that the Troy Female Seminary had maintained since its founding in 1821 in an 1872 graduation address:

> In the light of your nature, as women, you will have no temptation to wander from your own peculiar sphere—no desire to display your attainments for admiration. You will consider home an ample theatre for the exercise of your highest possibilities. There you may touch the springs which move the world. The family is a type of heaven. There are nourished the gentle graces which prepare us for the heavenly courts, and no less so those forces on which all human forces are balanced. Woman is its centre, hence the centre of all moral forces. Hidden in the seclusion of the family, she may be a quickening, vivifying power, interpenetrating the masses of society. (qtd. in Emma Willard 32)

Women, according to the leaders and teachers of the Troy Female Seminary, could be evangelists within the confines of the home and for their children, but not beyond. A woman's primary duty according to this philosophy would be to have children and raise them in a Godly fashion, exerting a religious influence upon them so that they developed into Christian men or women. In contrast, the women who went to the schools focused on in this study were taught that their primary responsibility as women was not just their immediate family but the family of God, which encompassed everyone in need of salvation. This doctrine encouraged women to feel responsible for those even beyond their immediate families, and to train themselves for usefulness wherever the mission boards felt their presence was most needed.

Similarly to Willard, Catharine Beecher also centralized the importance of the connection of women to the home, in a way that encouraged people to see women's work as important and central to the family and society in general, but nonetheless as limited. Kathryn Kish Sklar says, "[Beecher's] efforts to overcome the marginal status allotted to women….caused her to innovate, to seek new channels of cultural influence, and to design an ideology that gave women a central place in national life. The home and the family, she believed, could be redefined as the social unit that harmonized various national interests and synchronized different individual psyches" (Kish Sklar xiii). She believed women's place was in the home, and she worked to elevate and theorize the meaning of that female self-sacrifice and selflessness.

Neither woman's schools encouraged women to become rhetors, even in the cause of the mission movement, but instead used the classical curriculum to promote general societal values to their students. Beecher and Willard's students tended to lead much more traditional lives, teaching until marriage and then focusing on their home life and other social causes appropriate to wealthy middle to upper class women. The schools that are most interesting for the purpose of this study are those which came from the evangelical Protestant revival movement and adapted women's education to advance the purposes of the mission movement.

One important theme that the founders and teachers of schools of higher education in this study address in their rationales is the importance of helping women to cultivate the power of "influence," which for the schools in this study was a uniquely

feminine type of rhetoric. For Troy Female Seminary, this "influence" was a spiritual influence that was connected to leading men back to home, to God, to morality. Mrs. John Willard said, in the same speech as above, "By [women's] influence over the wills and consciences of men, she can lead them to feel that public interest is as sacred as private, and to prefer duty to ease, honor to wealth, the smile of God to the favor of man, the eternal interests of the immortal soul to the fleeting pleasures of the perishing body…." (qtd. in Emma Willard 32). In the schools in this study, the definition of "influence" is similar, but the way women are allowed and encouraged to enact the "influence" extended their proper spheres from just the private sphere to any public sphere justified by the exercise of the religious commandment to preach the "good news" to the unsaved of the world.

Throughout Beecher's teaching career, she did see women as having a unique ability to reach outside the home as teachers, but she saw their influence as more of a civilizing one than a religious one. In an appeal to the Hartford community surrounding her school, Beecher said, "When women learn how great their 'power over the intellect and affections' of others is…then they will begin to use this power. 'The cultivation and development of the immortal mind shall be presented to woman as her especial and delightful duty'" (qtd. in Kish Sklar 96-7). Later, she said that teaching "'is a *profession*, offering influence, respectability, and independence'" (qtd. in Kish Sklar 97). For the schools in this study, teaching was more than just an avenue to respectability: it was a unique space for women to apply their rhetorical evangelical skills to students with the general approval of society. After Beecher left her Hartford school, she worked to send women West to teach, but the difference between her ideas and the ideas of the reformers in this study is that she didn't have a primarily religious purpose but a social one: to civilize the West. In an address entitled "An Essay on the Education of Female Teachers," Beecher "called for the creation of a corps of women teachers to civilize the barbarous immigrants and lower classes of the West" (qtd. in Kish Sklar 113). She was more concerned with passing on "culture" and "civilization" to students than with converting them.

This study focuses on those schools in the early nineteenth century that provided much more than an education on how to be civilized or cultured for their female students.

The schools that were connected with the evangelical religion coming from the Great Awakening revivals supported the mission movement to the extent of openly training their female students for full participation in evangelical work. This training was primarily rhetorical, as students in order to evangelize needed to learn how to speak and write persuasively, which involved forming logical and emotional arguments for Christianity to nonbelievers. The women learned to establish a particular kind of *ethos*, which was at the same time self-denying and self-promoting, as they emphasized the fact that they were personally unworthy but that Christ had deigned to take over their mortal bodies and efforts and to work through them, which made their evangelical work ultimately valuable and noteworthy.

Not all schools for women in the nineteenth century adopted the same level of education or had the same goals for their female students as the ones examined in this study. Maria Fletcher, in a postscript to a letter from John J. Shipherd, cofounder of Oberlin, to N. P. Fletcher, Esq. in 1834, writes of her struggles to find a pious education. She attended but did not like Catharine Beecher's school because of its lack of devout religious influences, and, then upon finding a tutor she liked, lost him to a teaching post at Oberlin. She says,

> I entered Miss Beechers [sic] school attended three weeks, could not any longer, *conscience* would not suffer me too—I found it a fashionable school no piety, no religion—every thing which was calculated to cultivate these feelings the reverse of which I so much needed, a great deal of time wasted and—I could not pursue the course of study that I whish [sic]. I left the school and placed myself under the Instructuer [sic] of Mr Mahan with hoom [sic] I board he is an excellent Teacher but no sooner got well engaged in study—than Mr Shipherd [sic] came and being so well pleased with him—gave him a call for the Presidency at Oberlin.

She goes on to hope to find a good pious school in the area. Religion played a positive role in terms of motivating the development of more serious forms of education in schools in this time period, as opposed to the alternative, a finishing school type of education.

Need for This Study

The prevalence of religious teaching and missionary training at some of the schools for women in this study has been analyzed by other historians. Boas, for example, in Woman's Education Begins: The Rise of the Women's Colleges, reviews female colleges, focusing on Wheaton Female Seminary, founded a year before Mount Holyoke. She touches on the important role of religion in encouraging education for women, as do many historians, but not in the context of the implications for rhetoric and composition history. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz in Alma mater: Design and experience in the women's colleges from their nineteenth-century beginnings to the 1930s argued for the impact of design/ structure on early institutions for women in the nineteenth century, but again not in the context of its implications for rhetorical training.

Many other rhetoricians have provided a foundation for this work by challenging what could historically be named rhetoric and studying the ways that women's speaking and writing have contributed to rhetorical history, the social and cultural influences that their rhetoric came from, and the impact of race, gender, social class, and other factors in their struggles and motivations. Some of these rhetoricians are Roxanne Mountford, Shirley Wilson Logan, Nan Johnson, and Carol Mattingly.

Roxanne Mountford, in The Gendered Pulpit: Preaching in American Protestant Spaces, focuses on the impact that space, the body, and delivery make in the lives of female preachers. Preaching manuals not only explicitly but also implicitly privileged the male body by warning preachers to be careful to avoid girlish awkwardness, or effeminate gestures. Additionally, she explores the ways that American Protestant architectural and cultural spaces have been designed to privilege the male body. Similarly, the Protestant women in the early nineteenth century schools in this study were certainly aware of the many ways that preaching would not include them. They were not welcome as ministers to promiscuous audiences, yet they were able to create a space for themselves out of the urgency of the Protestant mission movement. They could not preach as ministers in their hometowns; however they were accepted and often encouraged to be preachers abroad at mission stations or as teachers in schools. Their persona was to be that of a teacher/preacher, a vocation which at that time could be coded either feminine or masculine, and they were to minister primarily to young people rather than peers, but even this vocation merged with other areas of public ministry on the

mission field, due to the lack of volunteers and the need for preachers on the mission field.

Shirley Wilson Logan, in "We Are Coming": The Persuasive Discourse of Nineteenth-Century Black Women, studied the public persuasive discourse of nineteenth century black woman intellectuals such as club women, church women, and educators, primarily in the last two decades of the century, to better understand the recurring patterns of their speeches and how they have been shaped by social and cultural factors. The women whose speeches she analyzes were not preachers, but came from religious traditions that allowed women to assume prominent religious roles. She looks to the black church as the institution that helped these women develop organizational and speaking skills. Logan's work emphasizes the importance for other researchers to study the impact of religious denominations on women's nineteenth century rhetorical tradition. Religious causes gave women a largely acceptable niche to train and practice rhetorical skills. Religiously based schools for women, similarly, had much more public support than women's education would have otherwise received.

Nan Johnson argues in Gender and Rhetorical Space in American Life: 1866-1910 that after the Civil War, when gender roles were being somewhat re-negotiated, women were "redirected" away from potential public spaces for their speaking and writing back to the home by instructional devices such as "parlor rhetorics," elocution manuals, and letter-writing handbooks, which emphasized the appropriate private role of women's discourse, the woman as "queen of her domestic sphere" (3). Johnson argues that pre-Civil War, in contrast,

> the arts of rhetoric were the undisputed province of the male professional classes. Ministers learned to preach, lawyers learned to argue, politicians learned how to persuade the masses, and white, middle-class, young men acquired the rhetorical habits of speech and writing that marked their status as those who would surely make everything happen, and women learned little to nothing about any of it. (3)

She adds that the rare woman who overcame these obstacles in the early to mid nineteenth century was the one: "who overcame strong resistance to ascend to the platform or take pen in hand to champion reformist causes such as abolition, temperance,

women's rights, medical care, education, and labor reform" (3). This study argues that pre-Civil War nineteenth century, there was actually a space made for women to develop rhetorical skills through formal training, and to use these skills, apart from the well-known avenues of the above mentioned United States activist movements. Protestant women who were not as interested in progressive social movements as they were in the conversion of the world, found training for their ambitions in early to mid nineteenth century schools that admitted women. These schools aimed at providing the world with missionaries and teachers, trained to speak and write publicly for the cause.

Carol Mattingly, in her work Well-Tempered Women: Nineteenth Century Temperance Rhetoric, analyzes the way women without formal rhetorical training effectively analyzed their various rhetorical situations to produce persuasive arguments. She recognizes that the rhetorical work of suffragists has often overshadowed the work of female temperance activists, possibly due to temperance activists being seen as less radical in their methods, and more socially conservative in their attitudes and behaviors. Mattingly argues that this positioning of themselves likely helped them to be effective in their roles as rhetors, as audience members could identify with and relate to them. Mattingly also recognizes that temperance rhetors actually represented a large group of people, some who were socially conservative, but also more socially progressive women who saw temperance activism as being related to women's rights. Similarly to Mattingly's work, the group of women focused on in this study could be categorized as being too socially conservative to be worthy of study. They were mostly conservative, religious women, who went to school and practiced rhetoric not for the purpose of breaking social boundaries or achieving a personal sense of justice or equality, but for the purpose of persuading others to become Christians. The schools that trained these women similarly did not provide schooling for any progressive reasons associated with the women's rights movement, but to raise up Christian women who would be prepared to defend their religion and persuade others to convert. A female graduate of these schools did not expect to be writing or orating for large crowds; she would most likely be converting students in a small country school, praying with and teaching women at a mission station abroad, or perhaps only preaching to her small children. The schools that trained these women deserve attention as unique spaces of rhetorical opportunity for

these women. The schools created an environment and curriculum that blended a conservative social training with a progressive missionary training that taught the women that it was their duty as Christian women to be prepared to work within, certainly, but also to step out of their social sphere if called upon to do so, for the glory of God.

The current research on nineteenth century women's rhetoric often concentrates on the rhetoric that was produced as a result of large scale social movements, such as the temperance or women's rights movements. The work of women preachers is also often studied in the nineteenth century. More work needs to be done, however, on women's rhetorical education in this time period. Too often it is over-generalized and underrated by scholars looking only at rhetorical opportunities for women that were constructed exactly the same education for men, for the same purposes, and in the same way. Connors indicates the apparent lack of women's rhetorical education by emphasizing that in women's academies and colleges in the 1820s and 1830s, "the public arts of oratory and debate were forbidden" and that the "prospectus of Vassar in 1865 announced that methods of education would be womanly and that 'no encouragement would be given to oratory and debate'" (Connors 76). Debating societies, which were a key element of men's rhetorical education at colleges, were seen as not appropriate for women (Connors 76). He follows this list with the struggles by Lucy Stone and Antoinette Brown at Oberlin to fight the administration for oratorical training (Connors 77). It is true that some women struggled fiercely for equal rights with men all throughout the nineteenth century, which included struggles for equal educational opportunities and for the right of ordination; however, the women this study will focus on are those who took alternative paths of less social resistance and on the schools that subtly helped them achieve their rhetorical goals.

By looking beyond what was strictly offered by the formal curriculum to an interpersonal, evangelical rhetorical training, we can see that at certain schools women were being prepared to engage actively in public discourse, debate, and other forms of public persuasion, especially through their teaching jobs on the mission field. Classroom teaching became the acceptable form of preaching for women, and the necessities of the mission field often required even more of women, including teaching to people of all ages and sexes. Additionally, the rhetorical training and opportunities women received in

this time period for religious purposes could have expanded into other speaking and writing opportunities, especially with the growing push for women's rights around the country, formalized in the first women's rights convention of 1848.

Limitations of This Study

This study is limited to early to mid nineteenth century New England and Ohio academies, seminaries, and colleges for women that adopted the classical curriculum of men's schools. It attempts to highlight this particular group of women because they could easily be overlooked as not being worthy of participation in the making of women's rhetorical history, because they were socially and religiously conservative. Carol Mattingly explains this connection, in Well-Tempered Women: Nineteenth-Century Temperance Rhetoric. She says, "Twentieth-century feminists often more comfortably identify with leaders of the suffrage associations" than other female rhetors who could be seen as "conservative and complicit in their own oppression" (1). Like Mattingly's temperance rhetors, the women in this study have no specific connections to women's rights movements, and they spent much time and effort arguing that their rhetorical goals were largely within the realm of acceptable social behavior. As Mattingly points out, however, it would be unfair and incorrect to talk about a large group of people as having the same concerns and ambitions. Likely some of the women in this study were conservative, and some had ambitions that were sympathetic to the mid-century women's rights movements.

In a study like this, it is difficult to track any direct cause and effect relationship between the rhetorical work of individual students post graduation and the curriculum they studied at their institutions because sporadic attendance at multiple institutions was common in this time period. Rather, I'm considering the curriculum at these schools as suggestive of a new trend in women's education that could have contributed to the large number of women who explored much more public arenas for evangelical speaking and writing in the mid to late nineteenth century, from teaching/evangelizing at home to having similar roles in the mission field. I argue that the early seminary and colleges for women provided important rhetorical training for women and also important persuasive motivations for encouraging them to take on certain post-educational rhetorical activities.

Overview of Chapters

Chapter II examines the ways in which social and religious currents created a unique environment between 1803 and 1853 for a socially acceptable, institutionalized development of women's rhetorical skills. Advocates of women's education and rhetorical work, and the women themselves, used rhetorical conventions to emphasize the sprit of God in women's rhetorical work and to de-emphasize the gender of the person performing it. The Christian imperative which had come through the nascent Congregationalist mission movement named women as equally responsible before God for the conversion of the world's people. To effectively train women and men for the rhetorical challenges of conversion, whether to help the unsaved of the world or the unsaved of their own families, the schools in this study were developed. The ideology of Disinterested Benevolence, which came from the revivals and Congregationalist doctrine, said that as converted Christians, not only men but women were obligated to devote themselves entirely to God, which was often defined in religious communities of the time as becoming involved with mission work. To make themselves more "useful" for this purpose, women often sought out the schools in this study. Graduates of the schools often became teachers, but they were taught to see themselves as evangelists first, whether their schools were in New England or abroad at mission stations. As women, they had a particular persuasive ability they were to cultivate, often referred to as "influence." This "influence," or feminine rhetoric, was to be exercised in informal groups, or one on one settings, rather than the large promiscuous groups a male preacher might gather. These social and religious currents were unique to the early to mid nineteenth century and offered women institutionalized rhetorical opportunities unlike anything Protestant women had been offered by any group other than the Quakers.

Chapter III argues that advocates for women's education and rhetorical work, particularly those from Presbyterian and Congregationalist denominations, used the rhetorical space described in Chapter II as an opportunity to create schools to train women in the early to mid nineteenth century for their evangelical speaking and writing opportunities. The schools and the mission movement worked in tandem: the schools recruited and trained women for evangelical rhetorical work, and the mission movement provided them professional rhetorical opportunities. The schools also were successful to the degree that they created a safe space for women to engage in rhetorical work. They

worked to establish a community for their female students that would allow students and graduates to continue to support one another throughout school and future work, through constant letters to and from the mission field. They also helped women become more independent, to rationalize leaving their immediate families to work at schools throughout New England or abroad, which helped them psychologically to do the rhetorical work. God became their husband and father, to whom they first owed allegiance, and their responsibilities to the family of God superseded their responsibilities to their immediate families.

Chapter IV argues that the formal classical curriculum offered women in the early to mid nineteenth century a rare opportunity to study rhetorical principles and how to apply them to their later evangelical work. Besides the rhetorical and composition textbooks in the classical curriculum, which could be considered an "overt" rhetorical curriculum, women were studying other textbooks that are often ignored in rhetorical histories, but are actually part of a "hidden" rhetorical curriculum. At schools for women, women studied the classical rhetorical texts, and they also had access to a wide range of religious rhetorical appeals in other texts. All subject areas either directly or indirectly contributed to women's rhetorical knowledge.

Throughout the early to mid nineteenth century, religion retained significant control over the classical curriculum; therefore, most published textbooks modeled rationales for their subject that defended its relation to Christianity. These arguments would be useful for future evangelists, training to argue persuasively for their religion. This was a key type of rhetorical device that women had to learn to be effective evangelists themselves. Additionally, most textual examples came from the Christian faith. This mingling of religion into each course of study was not unusual, since most authors were ministers themselves or religious men.

Chapter V argues for the importance of the informal curriculum, offered to women through Congregationalist and Presbyterian schools in New England in the early to mid nineteenth century, in helping to develop women's rhetorical abilities. Too often scholars focus only on the limitations for women in terms of rhetorical training and work opportunities in this time period. While these limitations certainly did exist, these schools created a unique alternative to traditional literary clubs and debating in the form of

rhetoric in action. They offered women an informal curriculum made up of training in Biblical argumentation, modeling of conversion techniques, training in networking and capture groups, and ministering opportunities within the all-women schools. Mandatory church services and prayer meetings were also standard in the curriculum. These kinds of activities would have been essential to developing evangelists as they learned how to construct arguments defending various parts of the Bible, and apply them to real people in varied situations, and anticipate opposition, especially in a time period where science was increasingly encroaching on Biblical beliefs and Christians were increasingly trying to reconcile scientific findings and Biblical events.

Chapter VI briefly argues that the period of 1803-1853 created a rare rhetorical space for women's education and professional rhetorical work that briefly opened up for women, and then changed after 1853. After 1853, the purposes and curriculum of the schools changed, possibly because of the decline in the demand for missionary teachers (the major rhetorical career for graduates of these schools). However, by then other more traditional rhetorical opportunities were opening up for women, and many mission groups formed by women raised money to send female missionaries women abroad as doctors and preacher evangelists, with no need to cover their activities with the respectability of a teaching position.

Chapter II

Creating the Social Space for Women's Rhetorical Education: Evangelism and the Rise of a Feminine Evangelical Rhetoric

The educational and religious developments in early nineteenth century New England created the opportunity for advocates of women's education to re-conceptualize the role of women. Early to mid nineteenth century New England is an important time and place for the study of women's rhetorical training and professional work because of four important cultural and religious shifts.

First, there was a rise in support for equal education for women especially right after the turn of the century: religious activists, particularly from Presbyterian and Congregationalist backgrounds, were advocating that schools for women adopt the heavily religious classical curriculum of the schools for men in order to better prepare women to raise their children in a Godly way, and to be active in their own churches and in mission organizations.

Second, in the first few decades of the nineteenth century, society began to show increased acceptance of women as teachers, and teachers were encouraged to see their teaching work as primarily evangelical, a home version of the mission work going on abroad.

Third, the revivals inspired by the Second Great Awakening, and supported by Presbyterians and Congregationalists, among other denominations, swept through colleges in Protestant New England in the first decade, encouraging both young men and young women to finish their education, then to dedicate their lives either to supporting mission and community revivals from home, or to go abroad as missionaries. These revivals, which began in the 1730s and rose again in intensity in the 1800s, "brought new life" to many of the denominations, Congregationalist and Presbyterian among them (Noll 628). According to historians, the Great Awakening was "a religion of conversion, of individual experience," and it "deplored the religion of faith and of form which had come to characterize the more settled churches, communities, colleges, and colonies"….It was a "movement of popular dimensions: it spoke not for the learned clergy, not even so much for learning, as it did for a clergy and a people who had known the sweet taste of soul-shattering religious experience" (Rudolph 11). A religious movement that privileged

individualized personal conversion experiences over large groups and formal ministries, and emotional spiritual experiences over formal learning gave women had more of an opportunity to find acceptance in evangelical work. The Protestant ideals of spiritual equality that came from the revivals could have helped to provide newly educated Congregationalist and Presbyterian women confidence to claim salvation for themselves, and to assert individual responsibility for the Christian imperative to witness and minister to others.

Fourth, and finally, the Congregationalist mission movement, which came about as a result of the revivals, combined a belief in the importance of educated and passionate male and female missionaries with an urgent need for volunteers. The leaders sought out both male and female missionaries to start schools and convert the native populations, and where better to train women rhetorically and academically for the challenges of mission work, than in the new schools for women. The schools for women in this study and the Congregationalist mission movement therefore began an informal partnership in the early nineteenth century that would last into the 1850s-60s. Society looked with much more favor upon female missionaries than women who wanted to be female ministers, ordained or otherwise, giving these women a chance to exercise their rhetorical abilities professionally with the blessing and support of those around them.

The new vision of women's role that many advocates of women's education and evangelical work argued for as a result of the above cultural and religious shifts, created a space for women to become rhetors in some domains outside of the circles of their families and friends. Though Protestant religious doctrines continued to advocate a humble, quiet role for women, certain religious denominations such as Congregationalist and Presbyterian began to see the intellectual improvement of women through formal schooling as an important facet of their religious training for usefulness. Moreover, this usefulness was defined in such a way that included evangelical speaking and writing opportunities for women within the framework of the new Congregationalist mission movement, begun in 1810.

Advocates of women's education and evangelical rhetorical work used these four influences to achieve their aims, which were to train women to be useful evangelists who could help convert the world to Christianity. Proponents of higher education for women

and the women themselves, who were students and missionaries, laid important rhetorical groundwork in the first few decades of the nineteenth century for a later period of institutionally supported rhetorical work by evangelical women. They helped to reshape current cultural views about women's place by creating new arguments, and utilizing centuries-old arguments, thereby legitimizing women's education for the purpose of religious speaking and writing to the public. They used the constraints and opportunities of the time to create a unique space for women to receive a rhetorical education and to use that education professionally as rhetors.

Rhetorical Groundwork for Women's Speaking and Writing

Both Protestant and Catholic denominations since at least the fourteenth century have provided rationales for demanding that women refrain from public writing and speaking; however, religion has also historically also been one of the main areas where women have had some success in arguing for their right to speak and write, as long as they restricted themselves to religious matters, when they were discouraged from contributing to politics, literature, and other public spheres.

Ironically, sometimes women historically have often able to speak in the public sphere precisely because of their religious status. Julian of Norwich, for example, a Benedictine nun who lived ACE 1343-1415, publicized her mystical visions in writing and was respected because she spoke within a religious framework (Glenn 103). As Glenn argues, "[t]he silenced Christian woman could breach that silence whenever her voice brought forth her religious convictions" (Glenn 150). Religious identity, though not always accepted by the public, was historically often used by women as a rationale for independence, both in private and in public ways (Cott 140), from Julian of Norwich and Margery Kempe in the fourteenth century and fifteenth centuries (Glenn 87), to the Quakers in the late seventeenth century, to the Methodist female preachers in the eighteenth century, and to the female teacher/evangelists of the nineteenth century. Religious callings or motivations for actions or speech gave women the impetus to rely on an authority beyond the world of men and provided a crucial support to those who stepped beyond accepted bounds—reformers, for example (Cott 140).

At early periods in the history of the United States women also justified their speaking with writing, with differing degrees of success, by making it part of a public

religious ministry. Sometimes they evangelized with the support of institutional religion, such as within the Quaker religion, and within the Methodist religion for a short period in the eighteenth century, but most often they spoke under threat of exile from their religion, imprisonment, or worse. These female ministries have been hard for historians to recover in detail, as few of the women wrote for formal publication or had others record their sermons for posterity. According to Lindley, author of You Have Stept Out of Your Place": A History of Women and Religion in America, Puritans from the time of the Protestant Reformation in England in the sixteenth century carried "at least a theoretical potential for greater spiritual equality for women," because "[l]ike men, women were a part of the priesthood of all believers, responsible directly to God for their faith (rather than through the mediation of priests or saints). Women, like men, were encouraged to study the Bible and the state of their own souls" (Lindley 6). This theoretical equality did not often transfer from the spiritual world to the physical world. In the physical world, Puritan men retained authoritative roles over women in the community; however, the idea of spiritual equality and individual responsibility for salvation would serve as arguments women would use especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to justify their public religious work.

Women in the early to mid nineteenth century who chose to be active rhetorically in support of missions patterned their ideology after that used by women who had gone before them, to avoid invoking societal censure for their rhetorical work. For example, they used the rhetorical convention of deflecting attention from themselves by emphasizing that their work was possible only because God working through them, that they could have done nothing on their own. In October 1810, Harriet Atwood [Newell], a recent graduate of Bradford Academy, and one of the first missionaries for the new Congregationalist mission movement, the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (ABCFM), wrote to a friend about her own inclinations for foreign missions, indicating both her view of her own physical weakness as well as her confidence in her responsibility to do what she could for God as little as it might be, a common feeling among women of this time:

> A female friend [Ann Nancy Hasseltine Judson] called upon us this morning, She informed me of her determination to quit her native land

> forever, to endure the sufferings of a Christian amongst heathen nations, to spend her days in India…Is she willing to do all this for God; and shall I refuse to lend my little aid in a land where divine revelation has shed its brightest ray?" (qtd. in Pond 81-2)

In her writings, Harriet Atwood [Newell] always doubted her own abilities, but counted on God working through her weaknesses. Her presentation of her "little aid" prevented any reader from worrying that she was trying to be too masculine in her rhetorical evangelical goals. Harriet Atwood wrote to her future missionary partner and husband Samuel Newell before their marriage, August 9, 1811 that her "…heart sometimes exults at the prospect of being made the favoured instrument of bringing home one heathen to Jesus…" (qtd. in The Life and Writings 117). As with most missionary women, she saw herself as only an "instrument;" therefore, any barriers society tried to put up to stop a woman developing rhetorical training and speaking and writing publicly could be deflected because it was God who did the work, using her body and mind only to transmit His teachings. This distancing of her female identity and emphasis upon the male spiritual identity that would be the active one helped to rationalize her own and other women's evangelical roles at home and on the mission field abroad to themselves and to society in general. Women's religious writing and speaking—whether private or public—was often successful because the texts emphasized the author as an empty vessel, or an unworthy, weak person, who counted on the power of God to turn the work into something significant. In this way, women deemphasized their gender and emphasized that it was really God doing the work. This rhetorical method had been popular with female preachers, especially in the Quaker tradition in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was no less so in the nineteenth century with Protestant women active in support of female education or the missionary movement.

In seventeenth century American colonies, Quakers encouraged both men and women to develop a personal relationship with God, an ideal that would help to justify the education and public ministry of women in the nineteenth century. The Quakers were unique among Protestant religions in that, as a result of that relationship, women received institutional support to speak and write about spiritual topics not just to other women, but to mixed audiences (Larson 10). Female preachers were able to travel and be

independent, even leaving young children while they followed a calling to preach in public all over the country and even in other countries for years at a time. Larson writes,

> Although the Puritan model of female submission to male ministerial authority has shaped our views of women in early America, in 1700 Quakerism was one of several religious alternatives for colonial Americans….Women's participation in the ministry, traditionally a masculine prerogative, sprang from Quaker belief in both genders' capacity to be guided by the Holy Spirit in inspired preaching. (4)

Sometimes Quaker women traveled with other women, but often they traveled alone. There were committees that regulated the travel and ministries of Quaker men and women, but to a large extent they honored an individual's belief that she or he had in of receiving a religious calling (Larson 4-5). A husband was to honor his wife's calling and vice versa (Larson 4-5). Each individual would appeal to their local meeting to gain approval and monetary and other support from the community (Larson 64). This kind of public persona for women was possible because the Quakers believed in the inner light—that each person was equally capable of carrying the inner light, and was individually responsible to God if they were called to preach (Larson 64). They believed that men and women were equally capable before God, and they recognized in both men and women the capability to be led by God to speak and to write (Larson 64). In some ways the Quaker culture still labeled men and women as different, by segregating the men from the women in church, and segregating the business meetings, but if women were called by God (and each woman would decide this for herself), they could speak before men.

Conversion for both Quaker and Protestant women was often described as a converging experience, whereby their spirits became at one with God. When looking to convert others, Quaker women looked for the "spiritual witness" in every person (Larson 274). According to Quaker theology, both genders had a "capacity to be guided by the Holy Spirit in inspired preaching" (Larson 4). "All had access to the Holy Spirit...and God qualified certain 'instruments' to voice His messages" (Larson 5). Quaker men and women preachers were known to sit for a whole meeting without saying a word, if the Spirit did not inspire them at that time (Larson 274). They encouraged each person to also find their own inner Spirit, or to "turn inward to their own relationship with the Divine" (Larson 274). Congregationalists' view on conversion was slightly different, with less

gender freedom, though the theory was similar. Along with this idea of spiritual conversion, the Congregationalist mission movement often called upon "heathen" groups such as Native Americans in the western United States or natives of other countries to convert socially, which involved adopting American dress and ways of behavior.

The importance of "spiritual witness" "inner light" in converted men and women alike would also be important for Protestant women in the nineteenth century as they justified their writing and speaking. The idea that the spirit of God was working through them, put less emphasis on their gendered bodies. Conversion showed that greatness of God that he could fill them as one would fill an empty vessel, enabling them to speak and write for religious purposes. Margaret Fell, who was active in the Society of Friends and helped to establish Quaker doctrine in relation to women's rights to preach in the mid seventeenth century, argues, "And God hath put no such difference between the male and female as men would make" (363). Her arguments were based on an analysis of Scriptures that depicted women who were filled with the Holy Spirit preaching, and being accepted in that role by the leading Jewish and Christian men of the day, including Jesus Christ himself. She distinguishes between these holy women and those not filled with the Holy Spirit, who should be forbidden to speak: the type she believes the Bible talks about as those "under the Law, who were not come to Christ, nor to the spirit of prophecy" (372). Protestant women who taught and evangelized as part of the mission movement at this time empowered themselves (or were empowered) to evangelize because they believed that they were not alone anymore, operating on their own initiative or powers.

Other women who had spoken and written under Biblical authority in New England from the sixteenth century on also used rhetoric of submission and sinfulness to emphasize the fact that they spoke not out of their own abilities, but solely because God spoke through them. This submission of the body often helped to allay fears and concerns from the society about their overstepping the private domain of the home. Brekus, in Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America, 1740-1845, argues that in order to gain acceptance from others and the confidence in themselves in their evangelical work, women often used a more passive voice when talking about their own and others' conversions while men used more active voice. She says,

> [F]emale converts tended to describe themselves in particularly passive and submissive language. For example, in the surviving narratives from John Cleaveland's New Light congregation in Chebacco, Massachusetts, women tended to use the passive voice more frequently than men. Female converts such as Sarah Butler, Elizabeth Marshall, Ester Willi[a]ms, and Sarah Eveleth all described how they were 'bro't to see' their sinfulness, while men such as Nathan Burnham and Abraham Choate described what they 'saw.' (43)

Women gained confidence to evangelize to others by seeing themselves as completely inhabited by God. It was no longer important that they were women with physical bodies with "feminine weaknesses"; it was important that God used the lowest for his purposes and worked through everyone, male or female, who let Him. In the eighteenth century, Sarah Edwards, the wife of missionary evangelist Jonathan Edwards, exemplified this transition from person to vessel. Her

> sense of peace and calm came from feeling that she was no longer an individual, but a part of God. Conversion had stripped away her personal identity and her self-reliance, but it had also made her feel more secure and more confident than ever before. Paradoxically, she gained greater personal religious authority even as her mind, her social status, and her *sex* were eclipsed in mystical communion with God. She was no longer an ordinary woman beset by fears and temptations, but a holy vessel of Christ. (Brekus 43)

"Heartfelt experience" became "the most important qualification for ministry…anyone who had experienced the new birth could be an evangelist for Christ" (Brekus 44).

According to Cott, author of The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835, religious identity often allowed women of this period to assert themselves, both in private and in public ways. It enabled them to rely on an authority beyond the world of men and provided a crucial support to those who stepped beyond accepted bounds (140). In Prophesying Daughters: Black Women Preachers and the Word, 1823-1913, Haywood argues that the post-conversion female self could be seen as a "new creation…free from the bondage of sin and fit for service as an instrument of the

divine will" (34). This Protestant idea of each believer having an individual relationship with God, similar to the reasoning that led earlier groups of women such as Quakers and Methodists to evangelize, gave other denominations of women in the nineteenth century the courage to evangelize in their own ways. Religious faith allowed women a sort of holy selfishness, or self-absorption, the result of the self-examination intrinsic to the Calvinist tradition (Cott 140). The Methodists also laid the doctrinal groundwork for women to have access to a spiritual development that could justify public speaking and writing. From John Wesley's doctrine of "Christian perfection" or "freedom from all known sin" to Charles Finney's ideas of God's "perfect love" and Christians' "entire sanctification," the doctrine allowed for the possibility that men and women could attain a perfect religious state after conversion, which put them on equal spiritual footing (Noll 664). Anyone who had been converted to Christ could "go on with the Spirit to seek the perfection that the Father promised to those who sought him with their whole hearts…with no barriers of gender" (Noll 664). Women as well as men could find 'the second blessing' of the Holy Spirit" (Noll 664). As a result, "it became increasingly common to see women involved in revivals…" (Noll 664).

In the early to mid nineteenth century, advocates of women's education and rhetorical work argued that "usefulness" for Christian women was defined as active participation in Christian mission work, even if rhetorical and public in nature. Each individual, male and female, according to Congregationalist and Presbyterian theology and the spirit of the Great Awakening revivals, was personally responsible for the souls of unsaved people all around the world. According to Robert,

> The desire to be useful was shared by the first [missionary] wives, [Harriet Atwood] Newell and [Ann Nancy Hasseltine] Judson, and it continued as a strong motivation throughout the early nineteenth century. The desire to be useful, to have one's life count for something, appeared for many women as a product of their conversion and thus was a wide-spread feature of female evangelical piety in the early nineteenth century. (33)

Achieving maximum potential for "usefulness" was not only argued to be a privilege, but also to be a duty for every Christian woman. This rationale also was used in arguments

for females pursuing evangelical teaching and mission work, and other relatively public rhetorical activities for women.

To women such as Eliza Grew Jones, who would be one of the most prominent Baptist missionary wives in Burma in the 1830s, the missionary life offered an opportunity for evangelical work and Christian usefulness that she still could not find at home. While still a young unmarried woman, she was certain that despite her gender, God had a specific active purpose for her. She wrote,

> Do I long for heaven because I have no work to do on earth? Tongue cannot utter, thought cannot conceive, the vast extent of labor which lies before the Christian. Were I a minister of the gospel, commissioned to proclaim salvation to a perishing world, should I wish to leave my work and go home to glory? No, the longest life would then be too short to accomplish all I should wish to do for God and my fellow sinners. But there is within my own sphere of action much more to be done than I can hope ever to accomplish; and shall I let one talent remain unoccupied because I do not possess five? Shall I wish to be dismissed from my Captain's service and go home, because I am placed in the rear of his army?'" (Robert 14)

Eliza Grew Jones emphasized her unworthiness, but using Scripture, justified why even her unworthy, meager talents could be made useful to religious causes.

Hannah More, a prominent English evangelical writer and educational reformer in the early nineteenth century, argued that education for women should be geared toward making them of service to others, or "useful," rather than transmitting ornamental accomplishments that served merely to assist women in finding husbands but that gave them no goals or skills for the rest of their life. More says,

> To woman therefore, whatever be her rank, I would recommend a predominance of those more sober studies…the exercise of which will not bring celebrity, but improve usefulness. She should pursue every kind of study which will teach her to elicit truth; which will lead her to be intent upon realities; will give precision to her ideas; will make an exact mind; every study, which, instead of stimulating her sensibility, will chastise it;

> which will give her definite notions; will bring the imagination under dominion; will lead her to think, to compare, to combine, to methodise; which will confer such a power of discrimination that her judgment shall learn to reject what is dazzling if it be not solid; and to prefer, not what is striking, or bright, or new, but what is just. (363)

These goals of cultivating a mind that is methodical and rational would help to justify to conservative women and to a cynical public the purpose of a rigorous, intellectual education for women. If Christian ideals defined a useful women as one who had these qualities, then advocates of women's education could argue that this kind of education was an obligation, not a luxury. Women, advocates for female education argued, would also be more successful homemakers and mothers given a chance to better themselves academically and spiritually. In this way and in many others religion was used to support arguments for greater rhetorical freedom for women in the early nineteenth century.

In her journal of May 12, 1807, Ann Nancy Hasseltine [Judson] made a similar argument:

> As Providence has placed me in a situation of life, where I have an opportunity of getting as good an education as I desire, I feel it would be highly criminal in me not to improve it. I feel, also, that it would be equally criminal to be well educated and accomplished, from selfish motives, with a view merely to gratify my taste and relish for improvement, or my pride in being qualified to shine. I therefore resolved last winter, to attend the academy, from no other motive, than to improve the talents bestowed by God, so as to be more extensively devoted to his glory, and the benefit of my fellow creatures. On being lately requested to take a small school, for a few months, I felt very unqualified to have the charge of little immortal souls; but the hope of doing them good, by endeavouring to impress their young and tender minds with divine truth, and the obligation I feel, to try to be useful, have induced me to comply. (qtd. in Memoirs 28)

She argues that not getting an education or taking every opportunity to improve herself intellectually and spiritually would be "criminal." This type of argument fits well only within the framework of evangelical men and women caught up in the revival spirit of

this time period; otherwise women have to rely on arguments based on improving themselves for their children.

The women who trained to be teacher evangelists in the nineteenth century were not concerned with arguing for any kind of secular sense of equal rights for women and men. The type of rhetoric that supported the work of evangelical female teachers and mission workers in the nineteenth century included "accommodation and subversion working together in very important ways" (Available Means xxiv). Women did nothing that they could not justify within Congregationalist religious doctrine, though sometimes they were creative in their interpretations. They were generally supported and even encouraged by leading male religious figures, perhaps mostly due to the practical need for women on the mission field.

A Space for Women's Preaching Through the Occupation of Teaching

The minister who gave the sermon for the first band of male and female missionaries sent from America, which included Harriet Atwood Newell, Ann Nancy Hasseltine Judson, their husbands, and a few other couples, justified the rhetorical work the women would do by comparing it to the work of the women who "testified" of Jesus during his life and after his death (Thurston 16). Thus women could be seen as performing an act of retelling, rather than a creative agonistic act such as "preaching." The Reverend Jonathan Allen preached to this group probably the first farewell sermon to set apart women for a ministerial role though the women were officially only "assistant missionaries" (Robert 1). [2]

In his sermon, Allen also "praised the women for being willing to leave their families in order to promote Christ's kingdom" (Robert 2). Congregationalist religious doctrine in this period placed more importance upon the family of God over the family of

[2] Though women were usually called "assistant missionaries," they often had the same evangelical career goals as their husbands. In fact, "[m]ost biographies of early missionary wives indicate that the women looked favorably upon the missionary enterprise prior to meeting their husbands" (Robert 20). This was true for Harriet Atwood [Newell] and Ann Nancy Hasseltine [Judson], among others. Mission boards preferred married couples to go to the mission field; therefore for the success of the movement, the board often initiated contact with promising young women from schools, such as the ones in this study, to marry and go with young male missionaries. Occasionally single women took the initiative of dedicating themselves as missionaries. They would then appeal to the ABCFM to find them a suitable husband to partner with them on a missionary life.

man, which effectively weakened a woman's societal ties to her biological or marital connections.

Finally, Allen charged the missionary wives with primary responsibility for the salvation of the women in the mission field:

> It will be your business, my dear children, to teach these women, to whom your husbands can have but little, or no access. Go then, and do all in your power, to enlighten their minds, and bring them to the knowledge of the truth. Go, and if possible, raise their character to the dignity of rational beings, and to the rank of christians in a christian land. Teach them to realize, that they are not an inferior race of creatures; but stand upon a par with men. Teach them that they have immortal souls; and are no longer to burn themselves, in the same fire, with the bodies of their departed husbands. Go, bring them from their cloisters into the assemblies of the saints. Teach them to accept of Christ as their Savior, and to enjoy the privileges of the children of God. (qtd. Pioneers in Mission 277)

Because it was not appropriate for male missionaries to meet individually with women in a mission field to preach to them, and women could not always come to their public gatherings, logically, denominations were left with the only option of freeing their own women from their traditional place at home with their families, and calling upon them to convert these women abroad. As with earlier Quaker arguments for women's preaching, men and women who were both under the spirit of God became more equal, more gender neutral. Thus the convention of declaring oneself to be only a vessel for God's work was not always only a female convention. Men also adopted this language, though not as much. When the seventeen individuals to be sent to the Pagan Islands of the Pacific were organized into a missionary church in the early nineteenth century, the minister emphasized the power of God in comparison with the powerless people He would use for His mission:

> Beloved members of the mission, male and female, this Christian community is moved for you, and for your enterprise. The offerings, and prayers, and tears, and benedictions, and vows of the churches are before the throne of everlasting mercy. They must not be violated; they must not,

> can not be lost. But how can you sustain the responsibility? A nation to be enlightened, and renovated, and added to the civilized world, and to the kingdom of the world's Redeemer and rightful sovereign! In His name only, and by His power, can the enterprise be achieved. (qtd. in Thurston 16)

Though these kinds of benedictions, the missionary men and women both were to understand that what they did was not under their name; their work was authorized and directed by God. Men and women carried out God's work, not their own work; therefore, their gender became largely (but not totally) irrelevant. The call of missions trumped the cultural dictate to keep women quiet and at home. According to Robert,

> Allen's charge to Harriet and Ann was the first public exposition of a distinctive mission theory for the missionary wife….In his speech to the women, Allen made the revolutionary assumption that the biblical mandate to 'Go' was incumbent upon the women as well as the men of the church. But instead of going to preach, a prerogative confined to men by New England Congregationalism, Allen advised the women that they were going to teach—a mandate biblically parallel to the expectation that their husbands should 'preach the gospel to every creature.' In contrast, "In the ordination sermon of the husbands, preached the next day by Professor Leonard Woods of Andover Theological Seminary, Woods charged the missionary men from the Bible scripture to 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature'" (3).

Even if the need for female missionaries to reach the women abroad trumped the societal pressure that they stay at home, the language reaffirms the separation of the sexes in this new context. In actuality, though the context and type of audience for men and women's evangelical work was often different, the purpose and rhetorical challenges of the work were the same. However, women's work was carefully labeled "teaching" and men's work "preaching."

Hannah More gave intellectual education for women in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century a significant push by contradicting arguments that a serious education would make women act like men or otherwise take them out of their proper

sphere. On the contrary, she promoted the religious benefits of usefulness and Christian influence that would come from a serious higher education for women. Hannah More was named by Harriet Atwood [Newell] and Ann Nancy Hasseltine [Judson] in their memoirs as a role model. In the early to mid nineteenth century, women were thought to be bearers of a particular persuasive power over others, often called "influence." More argued that

> Among the talents for the application of which women of the higher class will be peculiarly accountable, there is one, the importance of which they can scarcely rate too highly. This talent is influence. We read of the greatest orator of antiquity, that the wisest plans which it had cost him years to frame, a woman could overturn in a single day; and when we consider the variety of mischiefs which an ill-directed influence has been known to produce, we are led to reflect with the most sanguine hope on the beneficial effects to be expected from the same powerful force when exerted in its true direction. (313)

A feminine persuasive ability called "influence" was thought to be the prime force women had to form the minds of their own children and/or their students in religious ways. Exerting influence upon the minds of others was a rhetorical skill women in this period were expected to not take for granted, but to exercise and develop. Teaching was an acceptable vocation for women in the nineteenth century largely because women were supposed to already be good at the kind of "influence" that they would use to train children morally and spiritually. Women in particular were thought to be responsible to exert a particular kind of spiritual "influence" on those around them, including their children, their students, and their peers. Influence was to be applied to anyone, of any age, who needed a special indirect or gentle persuasion, especially of a moral or ethical nature, which was assumed to be appropriate the proper Christian women's domain (Stow 105).

In the early to mid nineteenth century, women typically were encouraged to be the moral compass of their home and religious guide for their children. As Anna Julia Cooper says, in A Voice from the South, "Woman, Mother,--your responsibility is one that might make angels tremble and fear to take hold! (22). The common ideology of "True Womanhood" argued that women should have four cardinal virtues—piety, purity,

submissiveness and domesticity" (Welter 152). Though, under the weight of these values and their restrictive interpretations, there were few professions by which single women could provide for themselves, teaching was one newly opened to women. Education for young people was becoming more of a priority and, presumably, schools realized that they could pay women less than men.

Women in the early to mid nineteenth century were more frequently allowed and even encouraged to become educated, even if the studies were similar to those at men's colleges, but the acceptable reason for the education had to be religious or nationalistic in purpose: to make Christian mothers, wives, teachers, and citizens. This ideology of "Republican Motherhood" also controlled the norms of women's public activities in the early nineteenth century. As Lindley says,

> In order most effectively to raise such sons and daughters, a woman herself had to be educated, and her own virtue had to be an informed one. Thus the men and women who promoted more and better education for women emphasized that such education, far from threatening women's traditional domestic roles and duties, would enhance those responsibilities and make women more capable of fulfilling them effectively and intelligently….Education for women, enabling subsequent education by women as mothers, should therefore combine intellectual, domestic, and religious training, and would result in political benefit for the nation. (51)

Unlike earlier time periods when learning household chores was considered to be the best education for women, the voices, which argued that women should receive at least parts of a more classical education in order to train their children, were becoming louder. Mothers, it was thought, were the ones who could most effectively inculcate the virtues of public-spiritedness and self-sacrifice that were so essential to the life of the republic, and they could do so more effectively with an education. Women had a "special capacity for the religious life as persons who could understand intuitively the virtues of sacrifice, devotion, and trust that were so important to the Christian faith" (Noll 664).

Gradually promoters of women's mission work extended these definitions to include the world as women's proper domain as well, since all were part of the Christian family. As Anna Julia Cooper argues, in A Voice from the South, "The earnest well

trained Christian young women, as a teacher, as a home-maker, as wife, mother, or silent influence even, is as potent a missionary agency among our people as is the theologian…" (79). This logic shows the confidence of the culture in the power of women's influence, even though before the nineteenth century most women were restricted to using this influence within the home. The leap then to using this influence for the good of the mission movement, as women could most effectively persuade other women, was not a large one.

A factor that likely helped to encourage women to begin to serve as missionaries was that teaching even in local schools at this time was often thought of as "mission work." Mary Hasseltine, secretary of a society that supported the establishment of schools for the instruction of poor children in New England, received the following letter commending the work of local teachers: "I know of no mission which promises greater good, if it be accompanied by equal smiles of Providence. I think that under God everything here depends on the adaptation of the instructress to the arduous office….Neither Europe nor America will gaze on her fortitude. Nor will 'extracts of letters' from China or Labrador trumpet her praises" (qtd. in Memorials 69). Teaching not only provided women with an activity and source of income in this time; it provided women with a sacred mission similar in importance to that of the glorified missionary.

Teaching at the schools for women in this study was more than just passing along knowledge; teachers were expected to be shapers of students' characters (Pioneers of Women's Education 278). The teachers at the schools in this study were taught by Congregationalist and Presbyterian doctrine to see themselves first as evangelists and secondarily as teachers. The practice of using teachers and the school setting to convert and train the youth for evangelical work had begun with the Reformed Presbyterian tradition in Europe through the leadership of John Calvin and continued in nineteenth century New England. John Calvin "stressed the need for an educated ministry—and laity" (Warch 20). He believed teaching to be "a specialized form of ministry and thus reinforced the particular connection between school and church" (Warch 20). Pre-nineteenth century, the predominantly male teacher population was dominated by ministers who taught school as a second job to fund their education or supplement their ministry. Ministers saw schoolkeeping as "simply a social extension of the pulpit, an

effective and distinct mode of implementing their sacred calling" (Mattingly 22), and this purpose transferred to female teachers. Teaching became more possible as a career for women as educational opportunities for them increased. Teaching then facilitated their movement into evangelical work.

Female teachers in America and missionary wives in foreign locales meshed the jobs of evangelist and teacher by starting schools with the primary goal of converting their students, and the secondary goal to teach them academic subjects, thereby gaining greater acceptance from a public still skeptical of the prudence of female preaching. As missionaries, women could pursue their evangelical desires with less restraint than at home, and their open preaching was more acceptable in a foreign society. Teaching allowed women to focus on evangelical work directed at more socially acceptable audiences of young people, such as young female students. Buchanan argues in Regendering Delivery: The Fifth Canon and Antebellum Women Rhetors that "[a] number of antebellum women selected the available (and gender-appropriate) means of indirect influence rather than direct persuasion and devised a manner of rhetorical presentation to match, one that simultaneously subverted social norms dictating women's silence and invisibility and cloaked the public and persuasive nature of their discourse" (Buchanan 78). Like mission work abroad, teaching provided opportunities for women to evangelize in multiple ways with their students: sometimes they worked with large groups, and sometimes in smaller break out sessions, or one on one with particular students, each calling for different rhetorical tactics. Teaching was a rhetorical opportunity for converting young minds, complete with a captive audience and textbooks that often used the subject information, whether science, history, rhetoric, or philosophy, to defend Christianity.

The missionary fervor that spread from the Great Awakening revivals included women as well as men in the race to convert the lost before the end of the world. As missionary work was at the heart of many teachers at home, starting schools and evangelizing through their teaching would be a large part of woman's missionary work overseas. Especially from the 1820s on, female students and their teachers were encouraged to take their training to the mission field to start schools for women there for evangelical purposes. There, the expected constraints of the female teacher's job changed

due to the exigencies of the situation: if a husband was temporarily away from the mission, often a wife would take over his evangelical work. The expectation was that she would sacrifice "propriety" for the sake of the mission. Though some Congregationalist women in the mission field were limited to regular home duties, many others continued the rhetorical legacy they had been taught in seminaries or academies by beginning schools of their own. One of the formalized mission goals of the ABCFM was to support schools for women in the United States so that women could be formally trained in the classical curriculum and in evangelical techniques, and then use this training to begin similar schools abroad.

In the early nineteenth century, religious leaders often encouraged women to engage in public mission work and church activities, as long as they were not in leadership positions over men. A key doctrinal belief that supported women's mission work was "disinterested benevolence," or devoting oneself to Christian philanthropy, that came from Jonathan Edwards and the revival movement. Christians were taught that both men and women should become co-workers with God in the "way which produces the highest good and brings the least possible personal honor and profit," namely through mission service. Many educators in schools for women harnessed the spiritual zeal of their students, motivated by ideas of "benevolence," and thereby motivated them to become foreign missionaries (Robert 97).

In female missionary writings though women question their strength and abilities, they never question their spiritual responsibility to do the work of evangelist teachers and missionaries at home or abroad. This general acceptance of women's evangelical mission work within the religious communities of the time was largely a result of the Great Awakening Revivals and the religious fervor that followed them, which emphasized the emotional side of conversion and the religious life more than religion often did. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the evangelical spirit from the revivals encouraged men and women to not be satisfied with traditional formalized piety, but to look for a more emotional conversion experience, and then to fully dedicate their resources in terms of time and money to mission movements.

The two primary leaders of the revivals were an ordained minister of the Church of England, George Whitefield, and a New England Congregationalist theologian,

Jonathan Edwards (Noll 628), both of whom figure prominently in the theology supporting the schools in this study. Whitefield has been called a Calvinist, after Calvin, from whom Presbyterian theology is derived, because he "stressed the power of God in salvation" (Noll 630). He was known for his plain talk, charisma, and emotional appeals (Noll 630). He "did not read his sermons like so many ministers of his century but, rather, spoke directly to his hearers. His style drove home the message that it was not formal education or prestige in society that mattered most. Rather, it was the choice of the individual for or against God" (Noll 635). He preached that "God's grace made it possible for even the humblest individual to take a place alongside the greatest of the saints" (Noll 635). Jonathan Edwards contributed to the revivals by providing a theoretical foundation for them: most of his works grew out of his "efforts to defend the colonial revivals as real works of God" (Noll 630). One of his major works, "A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections," argued that "true Christianity is not revealed by the quantity or intensity of religious emotions. Rather, true Christianity is manifest when a heart has been changed to love God and seek God's pleasure" (Noll 631). The theology that would support women's rhetorical work in the mission field was a combination of the emotion of Whitefield's preaching and the emphasis on men and women's equal responsibility to actively work for the salvation of the world, found in Edwards' theology. The fact that the men leading the revivals and preaching these kinds of personal religious experiences promoted a relationship with God not founded on education or status likely helped women to feel more justified in having their own relationship with God, and to adopt a personal responsibility to evangelize.

Conclusion

In the first few decades of the nineteenth century, it was individuals who became prominent as leaders in the public forums by taking advantage of the various social, educational, and religious currents in the early to mid nineteenth century to create a space for women's rhetorical training and professional rhetorical opportunities. Advocates of women's education argued for equal educational opportunities for women, founded schools, and connected the schools to the evangelical mission movement. The early schools for women and the ABCFM mission movement were largely dependent upon each other, with schools openly pressuring women into missionary careers and preparing

them for the evangelical rhetorical challenges they would face, and with the mission movement supporting the rhetorical training in schools for women at home and the professional rhetorical work of their graduates. A large function of the mission movement was to evangelize through new mission schools abroad, and women were called upon to fill this need, and to be prepared for any other rhetorical situations that arose.

The opportunity and religious duty to convert lost souls was coded gender-neutral in a unique way in the early to mid nineteenth century. Rhetorical work was delineated in different ways to men and women, but the duty was seen to be equal. Whether this religious imperative was out of desperation to prepare for what people thought was the coming end of the world, or whether it was actually out of a belief in spiritual equality before God, the result was that female evangelical work through teaching and/or mission work was often encouraged, and schools built to train women for their work. Thus women were allowed and even encouraged in some circumstances to transcend the private sphere even though in secular terms they were not feminists or activists, and though they were still often shut out from the secular public sphere if the work they were advocating was not deemed religious or moral in nature, or if there were men present. Not only was conversion of sinners a proper occupation for both men and women, it was also literally seen as a life and death situation. Because of this urgency, rhetoric came to the women's schools earlier than it otherwise may have, and women likely took more drastic measures than they otherwise would have, in the form of missionary work in the sparsely settled places of their home country or abroad, under the auspices of the missionary organizations that were formed in the early nineteenth century.

Because the purpose and goals of converting non-believers were religious in nature, and because the contexts could be private, small group, and single-sex in nature, missionary work could be justified as an appropriate form of public argumentation for women. According to mission historian Robert, "With college-educated clergymen or devoted women as the instructors, the better academies provided an atmosphere that encouraged youthful piety alongside useful educations for girls. This combination of education and piety at the academy was the explosive mixture that propelled young women into the world as primary school teachers, as clergy wives, and as missionaries" (Robert 16). Additionally, this could have been the inspiration for many women's

"manly" self-assertion and self-expression in support of the evangelical cause (Conforti 89) and part of what gave them the theological foundation to look beyond their own family to everyone as part of their Christian family, who they had a duty to care for and to convert.

Many religious women opted for the dangerous poorly paid work of missionaries, since it was the main outlet for evangelical work for them, as traditional preaching was closed to all but the most tenacious women. Lindley argues that "[f]or single women especially, missionary work was an avenue to a full-time religious career, when preaching and ordination were effectively closed to Protestant women in America…" (Lindley 80). Antoinette Brown Blackwell, one of the first graduates of Oberlin's theological program, recalled being encouraged by her family around 1844, when she was about 19, to channel her ministerial ambitions into a missionary career, as the latter was similar work, but considered more appropriate for a woman. "Her family and even her community embraced and encouraged her childhood interest in pursuing a religious vocation even as they steered her toward work as a missionary or minister's wife, vocations that were more acceptable for women than ordained ministry" (Zink-Sawyer 31). As Mountford observes in The Gendered Pulpit: Preaching in American Protestant Spaces, preaching cultures have often made it a point to demean anything coded feminine, from the architecture to instructions on appropriate delivery, to the cultural traditions (3). In addition, the "sheer sense of adventure held out by foreign missionary work, as well as the possibility that a woman could do something significant with her life and use her skills to the fullest in what was often called a 'larger life,' cannot be ignored as motivations" (Lindley 80). Especially for women connected to the Congregationalist mission movement, controlled by the ABCFM, the role of missionary was encouraged for women with rhetorical ambitions. The schools in this study were designed to help train women for Christian usefulness and success on the mission field usually as "assistant" missionaries to partner/husbands, but also occasionally as single missionaries.

Even if women stayed in the United States as teachers they still saw their teaching as primarily evangelical work. They worked to convert students so that the students were not just nominal Christians, but were willing to dedicate all their energy and resources to the cause of converting the heathen in the west or overseas. If the women went either by

themselves or with husbands they had more opportunities away from the social constraints of United States society to teach and preach not just to their own schools for women, but to other groups of women in their areas, and sometimes to groups of men, if their husbands were otherwise engaged. They also were involved extensively with writing back home, trying with their letters to encourage people at home to support the work of the mission movement by contributing money or their own services as missionaries themselves.

Chapter III

Creating the Educational Spaces For Feminine Evangelical Rhetoric: The Origins and Development of Five Religious Women's and Co-Ed Schools of Higher Education

Much was happening in the early to mid nineteenth century in terms of women's rhetorical training and practice that should interest scholars of rhetorical curriculum. Select religious schools were providing at least near-equal educational opportunities to women, an education that included rhetorical training, for the purpose of advancing Christian goals. These religious leaders and educational advocates wanted well-educated female teachers to lead schools both in New England and at mission stations around the world, and they gave women rhetorical training in evangelical speaking and writing to advance these goals. Their cause had a chance to be embraced by a public skeptical of women's equal education, let alone women's rhetorical training, because of its religious purpose.

The leaders and founders of the nineteenth century Congregationalist and Presbyterian schools justified women's evangelical training and professional work within the religious and social conventions prescribed for women. Just as the original purpose for seminaries and later colleges for men up to the mid-nineteenth century was to prepare them for the ministry, so many of the first schools of higher education for women promised to prepare women for the parallel religious careers of being teachers and/or missionaries. These were goals for women which fit in well with the intensely religious climate of the day, and helped to assuage the minds of those still skeptical of the purpose for women's equal education. At this time religion and education often went hand in hand. Though this situation was often discomforting for women who went to these schools and who were not looking for religious careers, for religious women, it was an opportunity for extending their rhetorical reach in a way that few other venues in society could afford them.

In Rhetoric Retold: Regendering the Tradition from Antiquity through the Renaissance, as Cheryl Glenn examined some of the rhetorical activity of other early women, she asked what it took—what were the criteria—for women she studied to rise in the social order to play an active, public role (x). Her research describes "women's

resistance to and negotiations within the rigidly dichotomized social order, as well as within their educational boundaries" (x). The male and female leaders of equal education for women in the nineteenth century also tried make "negotiations" within their social order to not only raise the post-secondary level of education for women to be equal to that of men, but also to make the education have a vocational purpose: speaking and writing for the purpose of religious persuasion.

Intersection of Schools and the Mission Movement: the Academy

Bradford Academy was one of the most influential early nineteenth century co-ed academies. The members of First Church of Bradford, Massachusetts, the same parish that hosted the founding of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), the first Congregationalist mission board, in 1810, founded Bradford Academy (Robert 15). The academy turned out some of the first women to dedicate their lives to the ABCFM by following the accepted Christian goal of the time, to train women academically and spiritually to be useful. Bradford was one of the first schools to try to give women an academy education similar to that of men in terms of curriculum and evangelical purpose. This and other early schools served as models for the larger, more ambitious schools to come around the 1830s. Initially these schools aimed to give women an education equivalent to men, to convert them to the Protestant religion, and to train them to be useful and exert their influence for religious purposes. Later schools would take this purpose and develop it more specifically towards sending women to the mission field as evangelists, an occupational goal which embraced the rhetorical and logical training of the classical curriculum.

Bradford Academy originated, in the words of its Trustees, in the sense of want which was felt in relation to education and especially female education (qtd. in Memorials 47):

> The founders of Bradford Academy desired something better for the daughters of the land. The school admitted both sexes, according to the universal custom of the times; but the disproportion between them in the first term indicated the predominant purpose of the founders and the leading design of the Institution. Of the fifty-one pupils all but fourteen

were females. And this tendency increased, as if an organic law in the Academy, till it became exclusively a Female Seminary. (Memorials 48)

Often schools like Bradford were connected with and supported by local churches, as churches played a significant role in encouraging the education of women during this time period. Women who went abroad as missionaries would then continue the church's work by setting up schools patterned from the ones they had attended. When the Congregationalist mission board (ABCFM) sent Bradford graduates Harriet Atwood Newell and Ann Nancy Hasseltine Judson, with a group of new missionaries, to overseas positions, they were to set up religious schools for women patterned from their own school, Bradford Academy, which had helped to convert and nurture them. While these women were away, Bradford Academy continued as a nurturing ground for other women who would need skills and motivation to follow in the paths of Harriet Atwood Newell and Ann Nancy Hasseltine Judson. Robert argues that "[o]ne of the most striking commonalities among the early missionary wives was their high degree of education relative to other women of the time" (Robert 15). The need for educated women on the mission field to start schools for women no doubt encouraged and fed the New England movement for women's equal education in the first place.

The first missionary wives for the ABCFM, Harriet Atwood Newell and Ann Nancy Hasseltine Judson, had both attended and been influenced by the rhetorical evangelical teaching at Bradford Academy, and had absorbed the Bradford teaching enough so that they each had individual evangelical callings for mission work before they were married. Harriet Atwood Newell, wrote to her friend, also an early missionary wife, in January 1812, the following: "Nothing but an ardent wish of more extensive usefulness, first led my thoughts to the heathen world" (qtd. in The Life and Writings 146). When Harriet Atwood [Newell] and Ann Nancy Hasseltine [Judson] were proposed to by men about to start missionary careers, they recognized their opportunity to fulfill their evangelical callings.

Like many schools of the early nineteenth century, Bradford Academy was run primarily by prospective ministers, who used teaching as a means to raise money to obtain seminary degrees, and to exercise their evangelical techniques. From 1805-1807, the preceptor was Abraham Burnham, who, like other leaders of the school, would

influence many Bradford students to see their education as training for a missionary life. Burnham was thirty when he graduated from Dartmouth in 1804, and he "brought to his position as preceptor a consecration, both intellectual and religious" (Pond 72). He "looked upon his office as an opportunity for the personal guidance of each student into a religious experience as a preparation for a life of Christian service" (Pond 72). Many revivals in the school and surrounding areas were begun or encouraged by Bradford preceptors and preceptresses, and they lost no opportunity to encourage their male and female students to dedicate their lives to missionary work.[3] Founders and teachers of the schools in this study frequently report in their annual school bulletins with pride how many revivals there were in their schools, how many students dedicated or rededicated their purpose in life to God, and how many became missionaries or assistant missionaries.

From 1806-1809, ages 13-15, the religious teachings of Bradford Academy influenced a student named Rufus Anderson. Anderson would later shape the Congregationalist mission movement in its first few decades as secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, providing important support for sending women to mission stations to evangelize through teaching. His stay overlapped with the time Abigail Hasseltine, a future leader of women's education, Harriet Atwood [Newell] and Ann Nancy Hasseltine [Judson], two of the first female missionaries, were being trained for their religious missionary work there, and he watched them being ordained as missionaries in 1812. Anderson helped to spread the ideals of Bradford Academy as a trustee and president of the Board, supporting throughout his life equal education for women to better prepare them for missionary work at Bradford and other schools for women. According to Pond, "[Anderson's] interest in missions brought many a brilliant missionary daughter to the school, and sent out many more to follow the example of Harriet and Nancy. It is easy to count twenty names of Bradford girls between 1816 and 1846 who went abroad to carry the Christian message, and it is very probable that many more are not listed in our incomplete alumnae records of those days" (96). As secretary

[3] Early preceptors had an influence over both groups of students, as they could teach both in the male and female department, depending on the knowledge of the current preceptress.

of the ABCFM, Anderson argued that "potential missionary wives needed to acquire a higher level of education than had previously been recognized":

> More attention must be paid to [teachers'] education before they enter upon their missions. Education is becoming a science, an art, a profession; and they must study the science, practice the art, and become interested in the profession. They should be familiar with the most approved modes of teaching, with the best books, the choicest apparatus. The more they know about school—teaching in its several varieties…the easier it will be for them to labor effectively, and the stronger motive will they feel to make exertions in this department of usefulness, notwithstanding the pressure of domestic cares. (qtd. in Ellis xiv)

Anderson helped to make teaching more rhetorical: it was not for him a matter of just listening to recitations and reading compositions: teaching, especially on the mission field, required careful adaptation to multiple situations. Anderson also argued for the necessity of women creating schools for other women in the mission field that replicated their own religious training. In his "Theory of Missions to the Heathen," he writes that schools

> are not designed to open and smooth the way for the gospel. They are not preparatory work. They are the very work itself—as much so as the conferring of miraculous gifts or prophecy and teaching, or the writing of the Gospels, or the inspired Epistles anciently were. The schools are—if they are what they ought to be—nurseries of piety, places and means for the direct inculcation of gospel truth in youthful minds and hearts. (qtd. in To Advance the Gospel 26)

Teachers therefore needed to not only be trained to adapt to different rhetorical situations; they needed to be trained in all other areas of rhetorical expertise, as their primary purpose was evangelism: not just the conveying of knowledge but the delicate, artful use of persuasive techniques to sway the mind and will of their students.

Because he had such a high estimation of woman's potential for promoting world evangelism, Anderson was also a firm supporter of the missionary wife, preferring not to send out men as missionaries unless they married. Coincidentally, Anderson's tenure as

board secretary of the ABCFM coincided with the height of the female seminary movement from 1840 to 1860 (Robert 87).

Bradford raised three sister evangelists who passed on the Bradford evangelical spirit to other schools of their own. Each was influential in women's education and in the furthering of women's rhetorical training and opportunities. Ann Nancy Hasseltine Judson became a teacher/evangelist abroad, Abigail Hasseltine was a teacher/evangelist for many years as Preceptress of Bradford Academy, and Rebecca Hasseltine co-founded Byfield Female Seminary in 1818 with her husband, the Reverend Joseph Emerson. Byfield Female Seminary offered comparable education for women to that offered in men's schools, and was a model for later schools (Pond 118). Both Bradford Academy and Byfield Female Seminary and their teachers in particular would greatly influence future generations of female teachers and evangelists. The Emersons were believers in equal education for women because women were educators of the race and had the primary responsibility to teach children to walk, talk, think, and pray. They looked for the world's salvation mainly through women's enlightened and sanctified instrumentality. They saw that the education for women was superficial and atheistic, and set out to reform it (Stow 28). As much as they were believers in equal educational opportunities for women, they were believers that education should and would glorify God. Reverend Emerson was known to exclaim to his female students, "Be not frightened at the sound of Philosophy! Metaphysics! Speculation! Human Reason! Logic! Theory! System! Disputation!!' 'These can never harm you, so long as you keep clear of error & sin…" (Cole 6). The Emersons were also supporters of the mission of the ABCFM and to the broad role of women within them (Robert 95). They supported the mission work of their sister Ann Nancy Hasseltine Judson and worked parallel to fellow educator and sister Abigail Hasseltine to train women for Christian usefulness, at home or in the mission field. To many, there was little distinction between a home and foreign mission field: a woman's purpose as a teacher evangelist remained the same.

When the trustees decided to make Bradford Academy a strictly female school in 1836, they sent out a pamphlet entitled "Appeal of the Trustees of Bradford Academy to the Friends of Female Education." This pamphlet asked for funds to put the school on a substantial and permanent foundation by challenging the public with the great missionary

imperative that women shared equally in and for which they should be formally trained. They appealed to a public caught in the throes of the Second Great Awakening, obsessed with the coming of the millennium and the Biblical imperative to save as many lost souls as possible before the end of the world. Consequently, the trustees of Bradford Academy wrote as their goal "to send forth, as a graduate of the institution, a woman, in the high, true sense of the word—the missionary, the teacher, the sound thinker, the able writer, the hearty worker; not the preacher, the lecturer, the politician" (Memorials 97). They knew that the sense of Christian obligation for missions was stronger than the fear of what women would do with an education (Memorials 96). As with other successful schools, the trustees of Bradford were careful to exclude the possibility of women taking men's jobs, though in practice as missionaries and teachers, women would often take on a ministerial role.

Ann Nancy Hasseltine Judson became a teacher because she was convinced of the unique opportunity teachers had to evangelize through their schools, whether at home or abroad. A visit to a school for mission children run by the Baptist wives confirmed this impression (Robert 44). In a letter to her sisters from Calcutta in August of 1812, she wrote: "Good female schools are extremely needed in this country. I hope no Missionary will ever come out here, without a wife, as she, in her sphere, can be equally useful with her husband. I presume Mrs. Marshman [one of the British missionaries] does more good in her school than half the ministers in America" (qtd. in Robert 44). Advocates of women's equal education and rhetorical work knew that women were needed to take on the same evangelical duties as men, but to a different audience and with different rhetorical techniques. Therefore, just as schools supported the mission movement, the mission movement supported the women's schools and encouraged women interested in missions to study evangelistic techniques and academics in their education.

Intersection of Schools and the Mission Movement: the Seminary and College

The religious purpose for early to mid nineteenth century co-ed colleges and seminaries in this study was the same: educating men and women for religious teaching in the case of women, preaching in the case of men, and missionary work for both. Each provided women with an opportunity to develop their intellect and rhetorical abilities. With permanent boarding facilities, they also gave these women a sense of being a part of

a like-minded community, which would be invaluable to women taking on a new public role. Schools also set up short and long term support structures, which involved establishing contacts for women to call upon for professional work opportunities after graduation, and maintaining written correspondence between current students and missionaries. The distance of the schools from the women's homes and families also helped create an environment of independence for women. Without this kind of institutional support, there would likely have been many fewer women able to apply for, and if they were accepted, to survive and succeed in mission work.

Colleges that accepted women along with men from the first were less common than all-women schools. The most famous of these was Oberlin Collegiate Institute, the first co-ed college in Ohio, which had a separate collegiate program for women but allowed ambitious women to enter the men's program if they wished. Prominent seminaries for women such as Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, and Western Female Seminary, were often somewhat like academies in their initial stages, but generally worked towards programs that more approximated a college level curriculum. Seminaries for women were parallel in purpose to the seminaries for men that prepared them to be ordained as ministers. Seminaries for women prepared women for their parallel religious calling, that of religious teacher/evangelist of a school (or teacher/evangelist to their own children).

Oberlin publicly argued for the importance of training both male and female missionaries. The school was begun out of a "missionary impulse," and the students were of the same nature—"young men and women of mature age and earnest character, expecting to find in the world some work to do" (Fairchild 80). The founders, the Shipherd and Steward families, were missionaries themselves, and created the community and the institution of Oberlin to "contribute to the evangelization of the Mississippi valley—then the 'New West'" (Fairchild 131). The founders of Oberlin Collegiate Institute wanted to establish a center of religious influence and power which would have great influence upon the surrounding country and the world, a "missionary institution for training laborers for the work abroad" (Fairchild 16)….to "extend the influences of the Gospel throughout the Mississippi Valley" (Fairchild 78). One of the founders, John J. Shipherd, was himself a missionary to the Ohio Western Reserve area

when he helped found the Oberlin community and later the Oberlin Collegiate Institute. Shipherd, in a mission statement to the Boston Recorder and The New York Evangelist in 1833, said,

> The growing millions of the Mississippi Valley are perishing through want of well qualified ministers and school teachers; and the great Head of the church has latterly inclined multitudes of youth to preach his gospel, and train the rising generation for his service, but his people have not yet adequately provided for their education. In view of these facts the founders of the Oberlin Institute…resolved to rise and build….The grand (but not exclusive) objects of the Oberlin Institute, are the education of gospel ministers and pious school-teachers.

The "perishing" that Shipherd mentions is not a mortal one, but a spiritual one, that could be stopped, he argues, not just by the presence of ministers, but school teachers. School teachers were expected to have the same evangelistic role as ministers, but the latter were coded male, and the former females.

Mary Lyon appeals for support for women's Christian education in an 1835 circular entitled "Mount Holyoke Female Seminary: Address to the Christian Public,"

> Hitherto the church has taken no special pains to train the minds of her daughters and fit them by means of a Christian education, for great usefulness….But while we have literally expended millions to rear up Institutions for the male sex…what have we done towards fitting the Female for the high and responsible influence which she may properly exert in behalf of a perishing world? (2)

Later she reaffirms the missionary spirit the school hopes to instill in its pupils through this education. She pleads again for women to receive the training they need to properly exercise the influence, or persuasive abilities over others that they naturally have:

> But while we have literally extended millions to rear up Institutions for the male sex, and while we have formed Education societies and have called upon our sisters in the church to aid us even by the slow earnings of their needles, and while we have received most efficient and indispensable aid from them in carrying forward these plans, what have we done towards

> fitting the Female for the high and responsible influence which she may properly exert in behalf of a perishing world?....It seems to the Committee whose duty and privilege it is now to address you, that the church cannot longer do without such an auxiliary as the disciplined mind of the christian female will afford, nor longer overlook it as a means of reaching and saving this country and the world. (2)

As "christian female[s]," Lyon argued that "saving" the country and the world was just as much the responsibility of women as men, and that women were needed just as much as men on the mission fields, and that women needed to be properly trained for this work. At Oberlin as well, the terms "influence" and "usefulness" are used repeatedly by women writing to the president, requesting training in evangelical work for the purposes of learning to exert influence, so that they might have "useful" lives. Leaders of these schools put their goals in this particular way to make them acceptable to a public still cynical of the benefits of women's higher education. While orating in public and other traditionally masculine rhetorical acts were taboo for women, there was much agreement, especially among religious circles, that women should be trained to exert proper influence over others. Teachers as well were gradually able to argue for their need for higher education, as they would have similar needs to influence their students, since their job was part academic training and part evangelism.

In pamphlets asking the public to support Mount Holyoke, Mary Lyon often used the language of women's "influence" to argue for the importance of supporting an education that would help women properly apply this "influence." In one, she says,

> The historian, the poet and the moralist, the savage and the civilized man, the good and the bad have all united in testifying to the power which WOMAN has ever had in society. Previous to the propagation of the gospel, it would seem hardly possible for the Female to have more influence consistently with the best good of the world. But the Gospel shews things in a light different from all other light….and the writings of Hannah More shew what a single female can do, whose mind has been properly trained, and whose heart has been sanctified by the Spirit of God. ("Mount Holyoke Female Seminary: Address to the Christian Public" 2)

She carefully avoids putting any emphasis on women's abilities on their own; this might have offended the pride of the men reading her appeal or made them fearful of women stepping outside of their sphere. Instead, she credits Christianity with providing the way for women to positively contribute to the spiritual states of those around her. She argues that women who are no longer operating only through their own limited potential, but are filled with the "Spirit of God" and, she is careful to add, whose minds have been properly trained through education, can do much more for God than women ever before.

The religious motto for Oberlin and Mount Holyoke Female Seminary was similar to that of Amherst College, a college for men modeled on the curriculum of Yale, and about the same size as Mount Holyoke and close in proximity to it: "the best education in literature, science, and art; and all for Christ" (qtd. in Stow 267). These schools' primary purpose was to train men as ministers, and women as pious school teachers. Along with this training, the expectation of these early to mid nineteenth century schools was that once educated, religious men and women should consider dedicating their skills to mission work. Mary Lyon told a group of former students gathered around her at one of her regular missions meetings:

> The seminary was founded to advance the missionary cause. I sometimes feel that our walls were built from the funds of our missionary boards. Certainly much of the money expended upon them was given by those who hold every thing sacred to the Lord, and who, probably, would otherwise have devoted it to sending the gospel directly to the heathen. (qtd. in Fiske 170)

Because Lyon felt that money that could have gone to missions had been donated to build her school, she considered that the least she could do to give back to God was to create an educational space that encouraged and trained women to give their new skills to the cause of missions after they graduated. Oberlin, Mount Holyoke, and other schools of this period with predominantly religious goals wanted students who were "self-sacrificing Christian[s]" (Barnard 8). Mary Lyon argued that Mount Holyoke was

> designed to cultivate the missionary spirit among its pupils;--not a romantic idea of moving in some high sphere of labors, but the feeling that they should live for God, and do something; --do something as teachers, or

> in such other ways as providence may direct; that life and capacity for usefulness may not be lost. ("Mount Holyoke Female Seminary: Address to the Christian Public" 2)

The rhetor these schools wanted to build was not so much a masculine, preacher-orator, or someone who had romantic ideas of a comfortable life of easy service to God, but an obeisant, self-denying Christian who would be willing to spend his or her life in a foreign place working without glory or much compensation, a profile which could have helped include women, given the social pressure women were already under to serve their families in largely uncompensated work.

Misunderstandings abound as to the role early schools such as Oberlin and Mount Holyoke played in the lives of their female students. Because they reached out to the poorer lower classes by offering work programs so that students could lower their tuition costs, scholars sometimes assume that the teaching of domestic tasks was more, or as, important as academic pursuits. Kathryn Kish Sklar, author of a book about the life of Catharine Beecher, writes that after Beecher's work for female education,

> [t]he next innovative step in women's education came from Mary Lyon at Mount Holyoke, where girls began in 1836 to care for their own domestic needs in the school's boarding facilities. Yet it took Mary Lyon two years of full-time fund-raising to set up this facility, which was primarily devoted to learning habits of domestic economy and not, as Catharine [Beecher] would have it, to character development. (93)

The actual purpose and curriculum of these schools were much different than this depiction, however. Schools such as Mary Lyon's did much more than focus on teaching women "habits of domestic economy." The schools in this study, including Lyon's, had as their primary goal the training of women as public evangelists as teachers and/or missionaries. Domestic economy skills were definitely part of this training as Lyon believed that female missionaries should be taught to make the most out of few possessions, and to be hard workers but were not the focus of the education.

At Oberlin Collegiate Institute, Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, and Western Female Seminary, physical labor announced the schools' intentions to see the work of the school itself as mission work due to their interest in keeping their own costs down and in

helping women attain an education no matter what their financial situation. As John J. Shipherd says in an 1834 circular for the Oberlin Collegiate Institute, "The grand objects of the Oberlin Institute are, to give the most useful education at the least expense of health, time, and money; and to extend the benefits of such education to both sexes; and all classes of community as far as its means will allow." Oberlin was founded with a manual labor program for both women and men in order to help students earn money for their education. This system likely made it possible for many more women to go to school than would otherwise have been able to go. At Oberlin, women often did manual labor tasks and waited on the men by taking care of their clothes and cooking in exchange for tuition, so it has been argued that they were there to be trained only to run the household for their husband missionaries (Conway). However, men also had their own work to do in the fields if they were part of the manual labor program. Also, the letters requesting admittance from prospective students at Oberlin make it clear that the women had intentions of becoming missionary evangelists with or without husbands. They asked to be admitted to Oberlin to be properly trained for this work. Hannah Barker wrote to Rev. John Shipherd, cofounder of Oberlin, in July 1835, asking for admittance "to prepare myself for teaching in the destitute parts of the western valley." Charlotte Johnson in April 1836 wrote to Rev. Asa Mahan, of Oberlin Collegiate Institute, the following explanation for her application for admission:

> Since the time when I first consecrated myself to the service of God, I have felt a strong desire to become one of the number who "with their lives in their hands" go forth to proclaim the glad news of salvation... Feeling myself unqualified for such an enterprise on account of the imperfect cultivation of my mental powers, and being unacquainted with any way which this obstacle might be removed, I had almost given up my cherished plan as impractible [sic]. Through the medium of the New York Evangelist I heard of the Institution at Oberlin and once more the hope of being enabled to qualify myself for extensive usefulness took possession of my mind…..

Achsah Colburn, another prospective female student, wrote to Rev. Mr. Mahan at Oberlin in October 1836, to request admittance "for the purpose of cultivating the mind and heart

for more extensive usefulness." She had completed previous work in Natural, Intellectual, and Moral Philosophy and Blair and Newman in Rhetoric, along with some history and geography. She wrote that she "felt unwilling to go to most of our Seminaries, where the great object is to make mere butterflies of females. I wish to go where not only the intellect, but the moral principles will be cultivated, disciplined, and trained for active service in the vineyard of the Lord." Elisabeth B. Humphrey, who entered Oberlin in December 1833, wrote to Oberlin of her educational goals: "Designing to qualify for usefulness in whatever station God in his providence may call me to act. Have long contemplated the field of Foreign Missions, & if the "Lord wills" hope yet to enlist in that glorious cause." Cornelia S. Barnes, student of Oberlin in October 1835, wrote similarly of her intentions to prepare for foreign mission labor, teaching, and translating Scriptures. She explained to Mr. and Mrs. Barnes in July 1837 how she came to Oberlin. She began at an academy but felt frustrated at not having a "definite course of study" and no definite vocational goal. In 1829, she entered into a tailor's apprenticeship but while there reported that she "felt now more than ever impressed upon my mind the duty of preparing to preach Christ." The local minister named Derby encouraged her to go back to her study and helped her research manual labor schools where she might be able to work for her education. She began at Western Reserve College at Hudson, Ohio, with aid from the Education Society and then went to Oberlin because of the advantages of manual labor for tuition. She says,

> The year before I entered Coll. My attention was particularly called to the contemplation of the wants of the heathen. After much consideration & prayer & many hard struggles with conscience—the encountering of some obstacles, such as leaving of parents, who had been looking to me as the solace of declining years—my own physical constitution &c. I came at length, to the conviction that it was my duty to labor among them and resolved, the Lord willing to go. (1)

All these students expected from what they heard of Oberlin's purpose that their intellect and religious spirit would be cultivated at school, so that they would be more useful as teacher evangelists, with the expectation that they would have an outlet for their own rhetorical work, and not that they would just learn how to cook and clean.

These schools did, however, see physical labor as a kind of training that was also important to develop fortitude for the hard lives they would lead in the mission field. In the same 1834 circular as mentioned above, Shipherd says, "All [Oberlin's] students, rich and poor, male and female, are required to labor four hours daily; little children, peculiar cases and providences excepted. The principle [sic] objects of this are, health, bodily, mental and moral; the students support; and the formation of industrious and economical habits." Oberlin had made part of its mission to accept and provide work for men and women who needed financial help to come to school. It was always important to its founders that Oberlin be a school where students even without money, but with "courage and industry and economy" could "make their own way and come out without a load of debt" (Fairchild 268). This was a goal which was especially important for a school that trained young people for Christian ministry work, particularly as missionaries, a career which paid very little.

Mount Holyoke and Western female seminaries were the first academic schools just for women that deliberately set up their schools to be affordable to the lower classes, from where they knew many of their potential missionaries would come. Mary Lyon, founder and principal of Mount Holyoke, and Miss Peabody, principal of Western, and their teachers, accepted only bare subsistence salaries, according to the practice of missionaries, and students kept operating expenses down by performing the domestic work of the seminary. Lyon's rationale for this was not only practically motivated, but ideologically motivated. She reasoned that since the money donated to the seminary was from the members of the public who were passionate about missions, her seminary would gain more support if it were presented as an arm of the mission movement. In her appeal for funds, she stressed the important role educated women would play in the future in educating the public in professional and a religious ways. Gradually she turned the seminary into a literal training ground for missionaries, who were prepared to preach the gospel whether teaching young people in their home town or teaching various ages at mission posts abroad or in the west. Students performed the necessary domestic work in rotating groups, which lowered the operating expenses and trained the female students to be accomplished in both menial duties and strategies of organization and leadership, all skills which would be helpful to future missionaries. All three schools were created to

primarily support and train all men and women who had a religious calling, regardless of financial abilities.

Though the practice of having students do domestic work while going to school was much criticized and misunderstood at first, according to Green, after the first two or three years, objections to housework as menial seem to have been rare. In one interchange with a friend of the family of a candidate from Norfolk, Virginia, in June 1842, Mary Lyon explained her expectations of the kind of woman she was training when responding to inquiries from a young woman who was reluctant to be committed to "cooking washing &c, which are here [in the South] considered menial occupations" (Galbraith 1). She focused on the ability to adapt to unfamiliar circumstances.

> An educated lady, who expects to be useful, should have her mind so enlarged, that she can adapt herself to different states of society & to the customs of different parts of the country. She should be prepared to travel in foreign lands, without making the customs of her own home the standard for every thing she meets. (1)

The domestic system was to Mary Lyon more than just basic skills training; the work was an important part of teaching women how to adapt and be flexible, qualities essential for effective missionaries.

A Community of Female Rhetors

The schools of higher education for women led by Congregationalists and Presbyterians created female graduates trained in the basics of rhetorical evangelism who would be role models for later generations psychologically and practically, as they helped develop more sophisticated, permanent schools. The community established by schools for women supported women's rhetorical efforts not just by training them, but by making it easier for women to network with each other for jobs and advice and to build supportive relationships that would last beyond their school years.

The first schools for women in the early nineteenth century were not as sophisticated as later schools were at providing support for women; the schools evolved as the evangelical work for women evolved. The schools in the early nineteenth century were often under-funded, and women lived in private homes, therefore there were more limited chances for the kinds of teacher/student and student/student bonding that would

come later, to help the student evangelists in their work. Schools begun in the second and third decades would include boarding facilities, which facilitated the creation of supportive communities of female rhetors. Unlike earlier academies for women, where students would board in town or commute to a day school, schools for women such as Oberlin, Mount Holyoke, and Western, who were striving to give women a college-level education, tried to approximate the typical college environment for men as well as the curriculum. David Proctor argues in Civic Communion: The Rhetoric of Community Building that "[t]he perception of feeling connected, supported, secure, fulfilled, and whole, existing in a place where people feel significant and valued, is the most fundamental characteristic for community as relational" (Proctor 7). These kinds of connections, begun by early schools for women and developed further in the 1830s and on, provided institutional support for their rhetorical work that came from few if any other places at this time. Women outside of school who wanted to trespass traditional male rhetorical territories were largely on their own. The support and training the schools provided women, as well as the religious arguments they used to defend their work to the larger community, helped make it possible for women to play significant roles in the evangelical/missionary movements of the early to mid nineteenth century. Revivals spread easily through these communities, and the schools nurtured them and the women who dedicated themselves to evangelical work. "The strong sense of sisterly bonds with female friends," often formed in such seminaries, motivated women to enlist in the missionary cause (Grimshaw 260).

At Oberlin, though the women were housed on campus, any sense of being a part of a new community was often hindered by the conflicts engendered by their presence at a largely male college. Their activities were policed by a "Ladies' Board," a group of women who set behavioral rules for the female students, and whose rules were often more conservative even than those of the male professors. The experience of Antoinette Brown, who would later become the first woman ordained in a regular Protestant denomination (Lasser, et.al 88), provides an example of one of these harsh policies. Brown graduated from the Ladies' course in 1847 and immediately applied to the Theology Department, determined to train for the ministry. The faculty allowed her to take classes, but not to officially enroll. She accepted these terms and, along with another

female student, Lettice Smith, became "resident graduates" for the next three years. The Ladies' Board then "made known its opposition to her studies by promulgating a new rule prohibiting resident graduates from teaching undergraduates," which forbid her to teach the drawing classes she had been supporting herself with (Lasser et.al 12), forcing her to try to find students from the local townspeople to just barely survive. Oberlin welcomed women who came with similar evangelical and rhetorical goals, and helped them fund their education, but seems to have fallen short in terms of long term institutional support. Possibly because of the co-ed environment, there was more tension expressed by alumnae of Oberlin as administrators and teachers tried to figure out what could be socially appropriate for women to do.

At Mount Holyoke and its daughter school, Western Female Seminary, all students were also required to board together at the school. This arrangement was more successful at creating a sense of community than at Oberlin, possibly because both were all female schools. It also served to create a distance from friends and families, which enabled teachers to have full control over the minds and actions of the students for long periods of time, molding them into devoted evangelicals. Those who resisted often dropped out early on. Due to the difficulty of travel at this time, the students often stayed away from their own families and friends for most of the year. Mount Holyoke and Western, both all-female schools, offered a more all-encompassing psychological structure of support for women who accepted their religious values and became teacher or missionary evangelists. Because schools for women were challenging women to leave their families not only for education, but for evangelical work afterwards, they often built communities that helped support psychologically—during and after their training—women who decided upon evangelical teaching and/or mission work.

Schools Create Short and Long Term Support Structures

Schools such as Bradford, Ipswich, Mount Holyoke, and Western Female Seminary were constructed, in differing degrees, to enable missionary and teacher alumnae to network with other missionaries and current students of the school, get advice from each other, and build supportive relationships. Besides the constant pressure teachers and other students put on students to convert, when teachers followed a particular calling to a mission field, schools often took advantage of the sentiment

surrounding the leave-taking to inspire other students to similar undertakings. Abigail Hasseltine, preceptress of Bradford Academy, capitalized on the drama of the lives of two of the first missionary wives, Ann Nancy Hasseltine Judson and Harriet Atwood Newell, to awaken missionary interest in other girls. An 1823 letter by a student of Bradford Academy details one of these episodes. She writes,

> Two events occurred during this year which were of great interest. One was the arrival of Mrs. Judson from Burmah. I well remember her pleasant face and dignified manner, as she entered the school-room, accompanied by a brother of her husband. Her sister, our beloved teacher, introduced her to us, and she addressed the school at that time and afterwards. She also invited us to meet her on some Saturday afternoon, and listen to some account of her missionary life. I was not able to go, but those who did, were greatly affected by her narrative, which was thrilling in the extreme. The other event was losing our assistant teacher, Miss Ann Parker (Mrs. Isaac Bird), who left us to go on a mission to Palestine. She was greatly beloved in the school, and we were extremely sorry to part with her. (qtd. in Memorials 78)

The frequent comings and goings of missionaries at Bradford Academy created a sense of continuity among students. Missionaries who returned to their old school were welcomed with open arms, and missionaries who left the school anticipated the same welcome upon their return.

Other students indeed soon followed in Harriet Atwood Newell and Ann Nancy Hasseltine Judson's footsteps. Ann Parker, a student of 1818, was an assistant of Miss Hasseltine's four years before she married the Reverend Mr. Bird and decided to go with him to Beirut, and Mary Christie, another girl of 1818, married the Reverend Mr. Spaulding and went to Ceylon (Pond 128). According Mrs. Bird, the school encouraged constant communication between students and alumnae in order to maintain the community after students left to their evangelical or teaching work. Mrs. Bird remembers that when she was in school, three of Abigail Hasseltine's past pupils were Mrs. Thurston and Mrs. Bishop, early Sandwich Island missionaries, and Miss Christie (Mrs. Spaulding) of the Ceylon Mission. At one visit to the school, in order for them to all hear from her

regularly, without her having to write to each individually, they arranged that she should write to an appointed student, or "secretary" and that student would communicate her information to the rest (Memorials 79). This method of maintaining communication between students and missionaries was a feature of many of the schools because it helped the missionaries to feel supported, and invigorated the female students to dedicate their efforts to missions.

At Mount Holyoke, from its start in the 1830s, women counted on each other for support while at school, received continuing support in the form of alumnae groups and correspondents who kept touch with missionaries, and used Mary Lyon's network of contacts for teaching jobs. Mary Lyon appointed a student journalist to be in charge of correspondence with missionaries, especially those from their own student body, and to share the correspondence with the current students, hoping to inspire their future goals. The journaling system would keep female missionaries involved with what was happening at Mount Holyoke and provide prompt and reliable responses to their letters. One of the many customs Mount Holyoke Female Seminary and its daughter school, Western Female Seminary, shared was "monthly concerts" where the principal would read to the school the "letters and accounts of the mission work of Mount Holyoke graduates, Fidelia Fiske and others" and eventually letters from Western's own missionaries, starting in 1856. Mary Lyon also added an alumnae group to keep track of what each graduate was doing and funnel that information back to current students to give them a sense of the history of the seminary's graduates. Lyon preached an individual salvation and individual responsibility for religious work, but spent as much time building support groups for those who chose religious work.

Mary Lyon at Mount Holyoke also worked to create a community between schools. Girls at Mount Holyoke exchanged journals with girls at Western to help the students at each school to get to know and support each other (Nelson). Many other "daughter schools" were also included in this network. Many seminaries were founded on the Mount Holyoke plan, and five were considered "daughters." These are Western, in Oxford, Ohio, Mills Female Seminary in Oakland, California, begun by the missionaries Rev. and Mrs. Mills, Lake Erie Female Seminary at Painesville, Ohio, Huguenot Seminary in Wellington, South Africa, and the International Institute for Girls in

Santander, Spain. Mount Holyoke named a particular teacher each year to correspond with each of these schools, exchanging news and support (Nelson 55). Additionally, Western and other schools provided homes for the children of their alumnae missionaries, who did not want to educate their children on the mission field. Female missionary alumni would send their children home and trust them to the schools that had trained them. Often the schools and local families would provide tuition and support to these children, thus supporting their parents' work. Schools were started on the model of Oberlin as well, but there seems to not have been a similar effort to keep the schools connected by some support system.

Mount Holyoke and Western continued to support the women even after they left school, an area in which Oberlin again seems to have fallen short. At Oberlin, any connections between students and missionaries seem to be the result of student efforts, rather than institutional efforts. In 1839, a committee of young ladies who had formed the Ladies' Literary Society at Oberlin in 1835, prepared a statement for the attention of British philanthropists, reporting their purpose and activities of the association. They said, "We meet frequently and each one in turn, according to appointment, writes and communicates to us her thoughts on some important and interesting subject. We hold correspondence with many distinguished & pious ladies of our own and other lands and with some who have left for pagan shores, by this means we collect much valuable information and often have our spirits refreshed" (Adams, et.al). Between 1846 and 1850, the society debated topics such as: "Is it the duty of Christians in the US to go on foreign missions while there are three million heathen in our own country?" "What is a Missionary Spirit?" and they presented compositions on missionaries such as Harriet Newell and concepts such as the "The Home Missionary" (Ladies Literary Society Papers). There are also records of the Students' Missionary Society of Oberlin meeting in the 1850s and 1860s to give addresses on missions and to take up missionary collections, and to hear the adventures of returned missionaries (Fletcher 754). This society seems to have been more of a one-way effort than those at Bradford, Mount Holyoke, and Western. At Oberlin, students could meet to learn about missions, but the community of students was mostly kept separate from the community of graduated missionaries.

Creating Independent Women

At Oberlin, Mount Holyoke, and Western, teachers tried techniques traditionally used in churches to control classrooms: similar to confessing regularly to a pastor or priest, students would be asked to report every day or week of misbehaviors, broken rules, or religious goals not kept. At Oberlin Collegiate Institute, "[t]o enforce the rules the officers and faculty relied upon a self-reporting system, supplemented by whatever information they could gather about student behavior, backed by the threat of disciplinary action. Students submitted regular reports listing their violations of the rules with their excuses" (Barnard 24). One could call upon the prevalent military imagery in Christianity and mission work in particular, and compare these schools to army training camps, because the women were trained army-like for their evangelical work, with rigid expectations and control over behavior and schedules. They called upon [r]igorous and frequent application of conventional evangelistic methods" (Barnard 25).

Histories of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary have compared the school to an Old World nunnery (Conforti 87; Robert 97). There was a clear schedule for every day, which was meant to teach the students to accept the authority of the Seminary and therefore God, and to show them the benefits of physical organization as it related to what were common concerns of women. The female students learned how to take care of their spiritual and literary improvement while also taking care of the daily tasks of a household. Lyon encouraged the students to give a record of and pass judgment on their own behavior in daily public meetings (Horowitz 15). Not only was this habit of self-regulation meant to keep Lyon's precepts in the students' minds when she was away from Mount Holyoke, it also taught the women that they were accountable first to God, and only second to men. According to historians, Mount Holyoke graduates received the practical and intellectual training vital to becoming teachers and home makers in foreign, often hostile cultures. Their training in spiritual discipline and the precise management of time gave them the psychological resources needed to survive in places where they lacked the external supports of familiar American culture (Robert 97).

The disciplinary system at Oberlin, Mount Holyoke, and Western tried to instill accountability and self-governing abilities, which were supposed to lead to personal responsibility for their actions before God. Without personal responsibility for saving souls, a woman trained as women were at that time could easily say that mission work

was a man's responsibility, since it fit more within his active public sphere. The standard for evangelical work was as high for women as it was for men in Mary Lyon's and other teachers' theology. Personal responsibility became the means for propelling young women out into the public sphere, and the source for the authority to assume a public voice when called by God to do so. Lyon realized that "[i]n an era in which most women had little control over money…the systematic saving of small amounts was crucial to their being able to support benevolent causes. Thus [she] counseled a severe self-discipline that postponed all purchases of clothing and household objects so that pennies could be squeezed out of the budget for missions. Without personal sacrifice, for some the saving of even a few pennies was impossible. For women with little independent income, only a combination of frugality and self-sacrifice made it possible to support the missions of the church" (Robert 100). Her logic might seem to put more restrictions on women than they already had, but it could also be seen as the beginning of a code of personal religious responsibility that would be their guide instead of social mores and could justly be followed even when in conflict with a husband or father's wishes.
The work of these nineteenth century schools "linked the highest available course of study to a system of discipline and a form of building that propelled its students outward into the world…and turn[ed] daughters who were acted upon into women capable of self-propelled action" (Horowitz 13). The teachers "broke into a woman's life—governed by tradition and natural rhythms, ruled by the heart and the demands of the flesh—to transform it into a life that could be planned" (Horowitz 13). Their schools, and all the ones patterned from them, gave women schedules and guidelines to help them to govern their own lives, instead of letting them go straight from a father's house and control to a husband's house and control. God rather than family became the organizing principle of personal identity (Kish Sklar 190).

Boarding schools such as Mount Holyoke and Oberlin provided also helped to give "women a new degree of independence from male authority and enabled them both to define ideals of social progress in female terms and to pursue their own personal advancement more intensively than conventional family life allowed" (Porterfield 29). The "spiritual rebirth" that spread gradually throughout the students once they saw their lives as open to a religious calling, wherever it might lead, promoted what might be

called ego strength or psychological autonomy in students through the conversion processes of evangelical religion. “Conversion, or spiritual rebirth, promoted self-esteem in young women by giving them the feeling ‘that they had a great work before them in life’ (Kish Sklar 190). This psychological autonomy was imperative for enabling female students to step out into paths no one else had been to, going to other countries and far out west, leaving friends and family behind, sometimes to find a teaching job while completely alone.

These schools worked in tandem with the mission movement, calling on women to join with men in giving their time and effort to missionary efforts, even if it meant leaving traditional social roles. Though conservative by most social standards, Mary Lyon “chastised religious women who confined their disinterested benevolence to “their own family circle” (Conforti 98). She always wanted women to do more for God, under the umbrella of disinterested benevolence, than society told them they could or should (Conforti 89). The spiritual revivals that were a constant part of the operation of these schools called on women to accept the responsibility/freedom of being “useful” Christian women. They offered women an opportunity to be “reborn,” or to dedicate their lives to Christian purposes, which could transcend family responsibilities. More public speaking and writing opportunities could be justified if one was doing them for God that would be allowed ordinarily. Conversion gave a “young woman justification for resisting family pressures and demands on the basis of a ‘higher’ duty, as she directed her sacrificial ‘nature’ to groups in the broader society she perceived as needing her help, rather than solely to the demands of a biological family” (Lindley 93).

In 1832, Mary Lyon advised her students to

> [t]ake all the circumstances, and weight them candidly, taking the Bible for your guide, and asking God to enlighten your mind….You may see but one step where you can place your foot; but take that, and another will then be discovered, and if you can see one step at a time, it is all you ought to ask….I would have all contented, wherever Providence may place them….whether or not they may be favored with the society of father or mother, brother or sister. (qtd. in Kish Sklar 193)

Her advice shows how she believed a religious commitment also provided psychological assistance in such moments of risk-taking and personal choice, allowing a young woman to take a first step, even though she might not know where it would lead her. Haywood says of black women preachers at this time, who were marginalized even more than the mostly single white females of this study, that they "redefined the home from a discrete space bounded by four walls to a shifting zone that expanded with the geographical area they covered and the number of people they converted during their travels (Haywood 21). This philosophy of seeing the world as their Christian family and thus their responsibility was shared by black woman preachers and the women in this study. It helped give both black and white women of this time the courage to see their evangelical/rhetorical work as within their range of proper activity.

Conclusion

By the mid nineteenth century the institutions that the advocates of women's equal education and rhetorical training founded put forth a new kind of weight behind the arguments for women's education and evangelical rhetorical activity. Congregationalists and Presbyterians took significant steps towards providing institutional support for female rhetors—not those who wanted to be ordained ministers, but those who would evangelize through their teaching and mission work. Though not all students took advantage of the schools' encouragements to become evangelist teachers and/or missionaries, it is noteworthy that through the schools, and evangelical work in particular, rhetorical abilities were made available to women in ways that the culture at large did not provide. Before the advent of these religious academies and colleges for women, women who wanted to be evangelists needed to develop any rhetorical skills on their own that would help them in their endeavors.

The religious schools of higher education in this study were possibly the first large-scale and relatively permanent institutional support structures since the Quaker religious infrastructure to create a rhetorical community that motivated and supported the evangelical rhetorical work of women psychologically and practically. Not enough recognition has been given to the schools that trained, supported, and in other ways made a rhetorical space in society for these important evangelical women to take their part in women's rhetorical history of the nineteenth century.

Chapter IV

Rhetorical Training for Women: The Curriculum Within The Curriculum

The leaders of the schools in this study had an ally in the classical curriculum that supported their educational and rhetorical goals for their female students. By adopting the classical curriculum, standard at schools of higher education for men, for their own students, they were able to teach women reasoning and logic skills, skills of practical argumentation, and they were able to impress upon them the spiritual benefits of mission work. The history of rhetorical studies should encompass not just the logic and rhetoric texts that were used in the nineteenth century in women's schools, but also the logical and rhetorical principles "hidden" in other textbooks that could have been useful for students studying to be evangelists.

From the early to mid nineteenth century, the classical curriculum at colleges for men was copied in co-ed Oberlin Collegiate Institute and schools for women such as Bradford Academy (in its later years), and the various female seminaries, such as Ipswich, Mount Holyoke and Western, as teachers and texts were available, and as those schools could convince their surrounding communities of the worth of an equal education for women. They took as much as they could from the curriculum, design, and purpose of the men's academies and colleges in creating their own versions. Often male professors from neighboring institutions would serve as guest lecturers to early schools for women, who could not afford them full-time. Professor Hitchcock from Amherst, for example, regularly came to Mount Holyoke to give lectures on human anatomy and physiology (Cole 61).

The curriculum was fairly similar up to the late nineteenth century, even given money and staff limitations, because there was very little variety in terms of textbooks at this time. Textbooks were also much more consistent among schools than they are today. Even if there were two authors to choose from on a particular subject, each author would be sure to follow the standard of the day of using his subject to justify the existence of God, with the exception of a few texts in mathematics and the hard sciences. With the exception of Greek and Latin and higher mathematics, female students of the schools in this study worked with similar courses and texts that could be found at prominent schools for men such as Amherst, including English composition and grammar, math, geography,

philosophy, history, rhetoric, and logic (Moore Fuess 54). Some specific texts include Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion, written by Joseph Butler, an English theologian and bishop; Evidences of Christianity, written by Alexander Campbell, an influential son of a Presbyterian minister, or a version by William Paley, a British Christian philosopher; Natural Theology, also written by William Paley; Mental Philosophy, written by Thomas C. Upham, professor at Bowdoin College or similar versions by Stewart, or Brown, both religious men; Moral Philosophy, written by President Wayland of Brown University, Elements of Rhetoric and Elements of Logic, both written by Richard Whately, the archbishop of Dublin; Elementary Geology, written by Edward Hitchcock, professor at Amherst College; and Natural Philosophy (today called physics), written by Denison Olmstead, professor at Yale. All these and many of the other textbooks, despite varying subject matter, had the primary purpose of justifying Christianity rationally and passing on those arguments to their students. Religious influence in the classical curriculum came not just in the course material, but in the presentation of it by textbook writers, who often were not only professors but ordained ministers. As late as 1868 at Princeton a faculty of ten included seven Presbyterian ministers (Rudolph 107-8). Schools for men were often founded by particular denominations hoping to gain a jump on training the next generation before other denominations did so.

At co-ed Oberlin Collegiate Institute, female students had the option of taking the traditional college course, or taking a specialized Ladies' Course. Many of the same rhetoric texts from the general men's curriculum were utilized in the Ladies' Course. Some of the texts the women in the Ladies' Course could expect to study were John W. Nevin's A Summary of Biblical Antiquities; for the use of Schools, Bible-Classes and Families, Josiah Hopkins' Christian's Instructer, Containing a Summary Explanation and Defence of the Doctrines and Duties of the Christian Religion [sic]. They also read many of the textbooks that students from the Literary Course would read, such as William Paley's Evidences of Christianity, Marsh's Ecclesiastical History, Joseph Butler's Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, and attended many of the same courses such as Geometry, Trigonometry, Conic Sections, Botany, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geology, Physiology, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Political Economy, and

many others. The main difference was that the Ladies' Course students often studied extra courses, including modern languages, to substitute for classical languages.

The combination of rhetoric and religion in the standard university classical curriculum was fortuitous for women because after women's schools adopted the curriculum of the men's schools, women received rhetoric and logic training in the course of their studies, even though they were not encouraged to practice or use the skills in the same way as male students. A curriculum with vocational goals might never have been justifiable in women's schools of the time, but a curriculum with general goals of mental discipline including speaking and writing, thinking, accuracy of expression, and demonstrative reasoning could teach women how to reason and argue in the general context of being reasonable and knowledge as religious mothers and teachers. Generally, writers of textbooks and presidents of colleges at this time tried to convert any atheistic students by coming at religious principles through the Renaissance ideals of reason and science, a practice which students (male and female) were also encouraged to emulate in their own evangelical work, whether through teaching/preaching within the United States or at mission stations. At this time, "[i]f men could not be counted on to behave correctly because God said so, then reason and human nature—God's gifts to man—might be enlisted in the battle to bring them as near as possible to the side of the angels" (Rudolph 40).

Training for Religious Leadership in the Curriculum of Early Schools for Women

Just as much of the classical curriculum was exported from colleges for men in England to colleges for men in the United States in the seventeenth century, so was the practice of excluding women from each. Until the late eighteenth century, few schools for women offered women equal educational opportunities. The traditional male college had "long been given over to the training of ministers, and since women could not enter that profession, there was not the slightest reason for their contemplating such a step" (Woody I 93). Even in eighteenth century America, education at any age was still rare and mostly for ministers, which obviously excluded women. Until the late eighteenth century, any elements of a classical education a girl could claim had likely been informally picked up in her family. An alternative education for women was possible in finishing schools, where women took courses such as domestic skills, painting, and music. Around the time

of the American Revolution, educational pioneers began to question the frivolity in the field of female education. Benjamin Rush, in 1787, an influential patron of an academy for women, proclaimed the need for schools that would prepare young women for their proper place in American society "to make ornamental accomplishments yield to principle and knowledge" (Cole 3), a theme that would become even more pronounced in the parlor rhetoric manuals of the second half of the century that "urge their readers to view rhetorical skills as indispensable to any gentlemen's or lady's education, yet…maintain at the same time a clear distinction between the domestic rhetorical world of women and the public and political worlds of men…" (Johnson 27). Under a similarly limited rationale, academies began to serve as training places for teachers and were open to girls as well as boys. Twenty-nine academies were founded before 1803, most of which admitted girls for at least part of the year (Pond 37). According to Louise Schultz Boas, author of Woman's Education Begins: The Rise of the Women's Colleges, New England was the center for the nineteenth century movement for women's higher education. Nineteenth century New England saw more significant developments of earlier calls for an education for women that would prepare them intellectually and spiritually for their roles as citizens of a new republic, messengers of Christianity, and teachers of their own and others' children.

In the nineteenth century, the focus for women's education became about disciplining their mental powers to meet religious and vocational goals (Woody II 192), which would have been more in line with the purpose of the classical curriculum. The Protestant impulse of the early nineteenth century, led by the Congregationalists and Presbyterians, was to educate everyone, regardless of gender, for Christian usefulness. These denominations in particular believed in the importance of higher education to train intelligent Christians of both sexes who could rationally defend their beliefs to others, and they were explicitly against the finishing school type of secular education for women that trained women to be ornaments of society. The type of education advocated was patterned after the religious goals of the classical curriculum of the men's schools. In the nineteenth century, "[v]ery few individuals went to college (no more than 2 percent of the college-age population until the 1880s), but where colleges existed, they were almost always sponsored and staffed by evangelicals" (Noll 683). Traditionally, this classical

curriculum was designed to train men to be ministers, but it was also thought to be suitable for any professional career. Most schools of this time for men were founded by religious people to meet religious goals, had a largely religious faculty, and used textbooks significantly influenced by Protestant religion. Early nineteenth century women's schools adopted all three as much as they could. Men already had colleges of various denominations competing for their support, and gradually the denominational competition for students grew to include women under the hope that at these new schools, women would receive educations that did not just prepare them to be experts at needlework and painting but to be women of intelligence and piety (Cole 3). For women, the classical curriculum was considered suitable to train them to be religious models for their children or to take on a female ministerial role in a classroom of female students. As the schools for men trained men to be preachers and missionaries or devout politicians and business men, the schools for women patterned from the schools for men trained women to lead "useful" lives as teachers, wives of missionaries, or devout mothers.

Instruction in Religious Principles and Argumentation

In its 1803 charter, Bradford Academy, one of the first co-ed academies that supported equal education for women, announced its goals of "promoting piety, religion, and morality, and for the education of youth in such languages and in such of the liberal arts and sciences as the trustees hereinafter named shall direct…" (Pond 65). As with many schools that were moving away from the more decorative education women often received, Bradford's purpose was primarily religious in nature, training students in the Christian ideals of piety, religion, and morality. Education in the eighteenth and most of the nineteenth century was dominated by religious denominational influences: denominations competed for converts and saw potential converts in the students they tried to attract. Bradford Academy was no different. Most of the early preceptors were ministers or were saving part of their pay so they could go to school for the ministry. Especially during the periods of revivals within and around Bradford in the first few decades of the 1800s, "[t]he members of were all, or nearly all, powerfully impressed by religious truth, and so all-absorbing was the interest, that the regular studies were suspended for a time, and prayers substituted for recitations" (Memorials 63). Students at Bradford Academy had to attend public worship on the Sabbath and lecture days (Pond

57). “The boys came into the girls’ room for…morning and afternoon religious exercise…to attend prayer and the reading of the sacred scriptures” (Pond 56). Bradford’s course bulletin of 1839 announced that, along with the regularly scheduled texts, “attention throughout the course would be given to Reading, Composition, Vocal Music, and the Bible” (Pond 137-8). The Bible was used as a formal textbook, part of the classical curriculum, in these schools. Its function as a rhetorical text was to teach students Bible verses to quote as support for their arguments for Christianity. Sermons and other religious exercises modeled these arguments for students.

Abigail Hasseltine, an early alumna of Bradford Academy, and sister to Ann Nancy Hasseltine Judson, was probably the most influential early preceptress of the women’s section of Bradford Academy. According to a memorial of Bradford Academy, she “labored to elevate spiritually and socially while she was teaching the rudiments of English. She used the Bible, perhaps, as much as the spelling-book, and taught the ten commandments with the multiplication table” (Memorials 70). From 1815-1852, excepting a small interval, Abigail Hasseltine taught at Bradford Academy and planned solid Biblical instruction “with the purpose of bringing home to each student her need of personal religion, and she never allowed herself to forget her own responsibility for the spiritual welfare of each girl” (Pond 123). One student from 1817 Bradford related her memories of her experiences at Bradford:

> The influences there were decidedly religious. The pupils of the male department came in at the opening and close of school for devotional exercises, conducted usually by Mr. Greenleaf [the preceptor], though quite frequently some clergyman would be present and address the school. I remember evening meetings which were conducted by students from Andover. I have always felt grateful that I went to Bradford, for I have ever felt that the religious instruction which I received there was the means of bringing me to a decision on the subject of personal religion. I have also felt that I owed much of my subsequent success in acquiring knowledge to the thoroughness with which I was then instructed. (Memorials 76)

The classical curriculum at schools for men and women was regularly supplemented with thorough religious instruction, in the form of morning and evening devotions, and Sunday church services. These were not seen as separate from the other aspects of curriculum; they were intended to show students how the different academic subjects all worked together to prove the rationality and importance of Christianity. Ministers modeled the arguments that students would need in their own future ministries, which the schools intended their students should undertake upon graduation. Oberlin took this preoccupation with making constant religious connections to regular subjects more literally than most: Oberlin students—female and male—were required to attend a weekly class in the English Bible and take part in extempore discussions or declamatory exercises throughout their course (Fletcher 696). Instead of studying Latin classics like other schools, Oberlin male and female students in the regular course studied the Bible in Hebrew "on the ground that the poetry of God's inspired prophets is better for the heart and at least as good for the head as that of Pagans" (Fletcher 209). At Mount Holyoke Female Seminary as well, the Scripture lesson was the key to all the academic subjects. It was the first to be recited early in the week, and more time was given to it than to any other study. It was read morning and evening in the presence of all. Three mornings in the week Mary Lyon, the founder, occupied from fifteen to thirty minutes with the assembled school in illustrating and enforcing the teaching of some selection from the Old or the New Testament (Stow 123). This sort of religious regimen was not peculiar to a few schools, or just to the women's schools. This was the routine that prevailed at contemporary educational institutions because of the influence of evangelical denominations of the day, and because colleges for men were staffed largely by ministers (Cole 109), and this pattern was carried over to schools for women.

Besides missionary groups, Bible study groups, prayer time, and regular church attendance, Mount Holyoke students also received a daily dose of Christian theology in textbooks for other subjects, from science to history, to rhetoric. Religion was infused into many of the textbooks for colleges in the early nineteenth century, both because many of the authors were ministers, and because many of the colleges were designed to appeal to young ministers training for a religious profession. This saturation with religious goals and ideals combined with teaching about personal responsibility and roles

for women likely helped to persuade many of the female students to take on evangelical rhetorical roles as missionaries, and gave them models for their own teaching of these subjects as tools for conversion for their students.

Curriculum Encourages Female Participation in Mission Movement

As these schools often served as training grounds for the mission movement of the time, an important goal for the religious founders and teachers of schools for women was persuading and encouraging students to dedicate their lives to missionary work. The lessons from the textbooks that were part of the classical curriculum were complementary to these goals, encouraging students to see their purpose in life as meaningful only insofar as their lives were spent serving God. A young woman who "enjoyed as good academic advantages in 1808 as New England then afforded to young ladies" frequently was given, among other texts, Pope's "Essay on Man" for parsing (Memorials 48). Pope was useful in a religiously oriented college curriculum that aimed to train ministers, religious teachers (men and women), and missionaries (men and women) as its goal was to show the relation of God to man, and man's duties and responsibilities to God. In the religious sphere in general, and at these schools in particular, women had equal responsibility in the great commission to save the world for Christ. The overriding purpose for lessons was always "promoting true piety and virtue" among students (Pond 35).

Academies, seminaries, and colleges for men and women emphasized the teaching of spiritual morality in the curriculum. A text used at Bradford Academy in its early years, before its curriculum developed into a seminary level curriculum in the 1830s, was New Guide to the English Tongue. It was a combination of reader, grammar, rhetoric and morality texts, in which spiritual and intellectual development went hand in hand. Students had to memorize verses such as the following in the course of their English lessons: "No man may put off the Law of God. The Way of God is no ill Way. My Joy is in God all the Day. A Bad Man is a Foe of God" (Pond 60). Schools of this time prepared men and women to be missionaries and evangelists foremost. If they chose other careers, they would still be fluent in the ideology and argumentation of Christianity, a major goal of most of the schools' religious founders and their denominations. Thus we

see pervading almost all the texts popular in this time a persuasive intent pushing students towards both missionary work and an expertise in rhetorical defenses of Christianity.

As missionaries, women were often able to freely speak even in public to mixed audiences, and write letters which were often made public or books about their journeys, while they were under the umbrella of a religious mission. This career enabled those who wanted freedom from the strictures of society and who were sincerely religious to avoid the criticism that they were throwing away concern for society as a whole for their own selfish gain. They could respond to this challenge with the concept of disinterested benevolence that Mary Lyon, founder of Mount Holyoke, preached: love for others, not for selfish desires of their own called them to a public career that was necessary to further God's mission on earth. Alexander Pope preaches in "Essay on Man," taught also at Mount Holyoke from 1837-1840, that happiness is possible through virtue, which becomes possible when self-love is transmuted into love of others and love of God.

The women who chose to take the Ladies' Course at Oberlin, a course sequence designed especially to prepare missionary wives for their work with their husbands, were given an especially heavy dose of religion (Fletcher 717), even when compared with the heavily religious curriculum at most schools. John Nevin's A Summary of Biblical Antiquities; for the use of Schools, Bible-Classes and Families was taught from 1836 to at least the 1860s at Oberlin. Nevin's text was "an elaborate aid to the study and understanding of the Bible" (Fletcher 717) originally written for the use of common instructors for the purpose of Sunday-school education (Nevin 1). Its chapters cover the geography and climate of the Holy Land, native animals and plants, types of occupations, cultural customs, political institutions, and a general history of the Jewish religion. "Its study should have been good preparation for prospective Sunday School teachers, missionaries, and ministers' wives" (Fletcher 717).

The lessons of many of the textbooks seemed to encourage students to look forward to any work they would do as missionaries, and to see themselves as a superior race which had a sacred duty to enlighten other races. In the third edition of Elementary Geology, written by Edward Hitchcock, taught at Mount Holyoke from 1844-1863, Western from 1863-65, and at Oberlin around the same time, there are notes in the preface from two missionaries, extolling the virtues of the study of geology for students

who want to be missionaries, to provide a little relaxation or amusement in their lives and to enhance the larger body of geological knowledge by taking advantage of their travels to distant lands (vi-vii).

Some of the standard textbooks used in the classical curriculum taught a "missionary mentality," by capitalizing on the binary concept of "us vs. them," "civilized vs. barbarian," "right vs. wrong" that would set them up well to feel their sacred duty to go to these other people and convert/save them from their ignorance and evil. Francis Wayland, in The Elements of Political Economy, taught at Mount Holyoke 1838-1846, Western 1853/54, and Oberlin's Ladies Course starting in the 1830s, capitalizes on this mentality. A typical example of this idea is a section where he glorifies the merits of gunpowder. He says that gunpowder has been important because it kills so many people with such efficiency and lack of pain; it also has a moral advantage because it excites less sensibly the ferocity of the human heart; and it has also been a valuable auxiliary to the progress of civilization, since it has conferred on civilized, an undisputed mastery over uncivilized nations; thus, he concludes, there has not been, for centuries, any danger to Christendom from barbarian nations (64-5). He equates civilization with Christianity and education, arguing that the circulation of the Scriptures, the inculcation of moral and religious truths upon the minds of men, by means of Sabbath schools, and the preaching of the Gospel are of the very greatest importance to the productive energies of a country (131).

Similarly, The Philosophy of Natural History, taught at Bradford and Ipswich in the 1830s, Mount Holyoke from the 1830s to the 1870s, with a few breaks, and, after being edited by Ware, at Western from 1855-56, makes biological and anthropological conclusions from general observations of animals and humans that likely would have supported the prevalent missionary ideology of "us" versus "them," contributing to the emotional appeal for missionaries to "help save" the poor heathens. William Smellie, the author, emphasizes the superiority of Caucasians. He claims they are of superior moral and intellectual intelligence, and are and have always been superior (31). In Elements of History, Ancient and Modern, with Historical Charts, taught at schools including Bradford and Ipswich beginning in the 1830s, Mount Holyoke 1837-1858, and Western 1864-65, Joseph Emerson Worcester assures his readers of Biblical infallibility that could

help to convince them of the superiority of their religion over others with similar claims to authority. He writes, "With regard, therefore, to all the preceding ages of the world, which, reckoning from the creation of time when the narrative of Herodotus begins, comprise, according to the common chronology, nearly 3300 years, there exist no documents, with the exception of the Scriptures, really deserving the name of history (5). He adds that "[o]ur knowledge, of course, of the early history of the world, the first settlement of the different portions of it, the primitive state of society, and the progress of mankind in the remotest ages, is extremely limited. The Scriptures are the only authentic source of information on these subjects" (1).

The teaching in these textbooks traditionally was meant to encourage and inspire men who were being prepared for the ministry; however, while this option was not readily available to women, being a missionary was. Challenges such as these authors' to civilize and Christianize others could have been just what women needed to hear to be empowered to assume a public missionary role as teachers, preachers, and writers and to anticipate and prepare reasoned responses to any opposition.

Formal Rhetorical Training

The formal rhetorical training at women's schools was not usually the same as the men's because women were often restricted to writing and learning the texts by memorization with limited if any practice in debating and orating. Memorization and recitation played a large role in the educational system at women's schools as at men's schools. At Bradford Academy, recitation and debates generally played a bigger role in courses for men than for women, where instruction would have been primarily through composition and recitation. Female literary clubs at Oberlin Collegiate Institute employed debates as part of their weekly meetings, though recitation and written compositions were generally more acceptable and therefore more common. At Oberlin, [a]ll students were required to attend weekly classes in composition throughout the period of their attendance (Fletcher 709). Also, at Oberlin, President Mahan always favored allowing the young ladies to take part in speaking exercises in mixed groups. In 1839, Professor Finney and Professor Thome of Oberlin proposed that the ladies' and men's rhetorical classes meet together and that the former as well as the latter should read their compositions before these "coeducational" classes. Their offering was rejected by the

reluctance of the female student themselves, however. The young ladies "from modesty, or delicacy…felt reluctant to read compositions before" the young men and petitioned against the proposal (Fletcher 294). Though other professors were less than sympathetic, Professor Finney, in the 1840s "though he did not believe that women were generally called upon to preach or speak in public," also allowed Antoinette Brown, one of the first women to petition for admission for the Theological program, to take an active part in his classes, even calling upon her to give her religious experiences and to take a full part in discussion, orations, and essays (Fletcher 293). Mount Holyoke and Western Female Seminaries did much to advance the cause of equal education, but did not encourage formalized debating groups, though students were encouraged to develop of speaking and writing skills in other, less obvious ways such as leading worship services or taking over some of the work of teaching, a highly evangelical occupation at this and many other schools. In women's schools, rhetoric was often taught mostly through written composition and oral recitation instead of through oral debates, but in terms of standard texts, women were taught argumentation and logic just like their male counterparts. At Mount Holyoke, a "weekly composition was required for all, intended to test literary skill as well as rhetorical knowledge" (Cole 58). Some composition subjects were poetic, some more serious in nature about the problems with fashionable schools for ladies, antipathy towards Roman Catholicism, women and her sphere (Cole 60-1). Debating also served as part of the English curriculum, with records of such subjects as "Matrimony is more conducive to happiness than celibacy" and "Resolved that the intellect of woman is equal to that of men" (Cole 60).

At many schools for women that adopted the classical curriculum, rhetoric and logic textbooks featured prominently as part of the tools students would need to understand the moral philosophy courses in the final year. The most popular rhetoric and logic texts from the 1830s to around 1870s-1880s were written by the Rev. Richard Whately, D. D., Archbishop of Dublin. Whately wrote many religious books defending Christianity, including Elements of Rhetoric (1828), used in the 1830s and 40s at Mount Holyoke, at Oberlin starting in the 1830s, at Bradford and Abbott academies, Ipswich and Female Seminary. Elements of Logic (1826), often partnered with Elements of Rhetoric, was used in the 1830s to the 1850s at Mount Holyoke, at Oberlin starting in the 1830s, at

Bradford and Abbott academies starting in the 1830s, and at Western Female Seminary from their beginnings in the 1850s.

Whately's popularity for both men's and women's school was thought to be because he brought rhetoric and logic closer to the practical experience of people, and succeeded in convincing his readers that these studies could be a fruitful pursuit even for the average person (Patakorpi 73). In his introduction, he warns teachers against giving students exercises on any subjects about which students have little information or interest because students will be tempted to fill out their writing with "empty common-places" and "vapid declamations" and "of composing in a stiff, artificial, and frigid manner" (Elements of Rhetoric 28).

Whatley's primary purpose in both texts was to show how logic and rhetoric could be used to defend Christianity against skeptics, which makes these texts ideal for the religious purposes of many of the women's schools in New England at this time. He avoids the more literary considerations of writing, dealing with "'argumentative composition' *generally*, and *exclusively*" (Elements of Rhetoric 16).

The religious orientation of his texts also contributed to the ability of the teachers at schools for women to rationalize women's study of the texts. In his preface to Elements of Rhetoric, he offers an explanation to readers who have complained about the way he uses rhetoric and logic to defend Christianity throughout his texts. There was some criticism among other readers that Whately's principles themselves seem to be "tailor-made for the defenders of Christianity" (Patakorpi 213). Whately defends his text by saying, "That I have avowed an assent to the evidences of Christianity…and that this does incidentally imply some censure of those who reject it, is not to be denied. But they again are at liberty…to repel the censure, by refuting, if they can, those evidences" (Elements of Rhetoric viii). Whately believed that "[a]lthough theology cannot provide the same kind of proof as science or philosophy, there is enough proof so as to leave no room for reasonable doubt. Thus, he "agree[d] with William Paley [another prominent religious textbook writer] in stating that the fundamental truths of Christianity can be proved and that in matters of religious truth the Christian controversialist need not shy away from the principles of reason and common sense" (Patakorpi 55). Whately ultimately believed, as did many of his fellow religious intellectuals, that "those scientific

theories which seem to be at variance with the Scriptures will turn out to be deficient or reconcilable with them in the long run" (Patakorpi 55).

Whately argued, as did many other textbook writers of his day, that "[k]nowledge of man's relation to God can be drawn from two sources: the Holy Scriptures and the natural world" (Patakorpi 53). As logic and rhetoric have "no proper subject-matter of their own" (Elements of Rhetoric viii), he used primarily Biblical examples to illustrate his logical and rhetorical principles. Whately's mixture of rhetoric/logic with Biblical defense would have been complementary to the combination of Bible study and natural theology courses, which tried to prove God's existence through the principles of nature, taught at in the classical curriculum at this time.

He intended both Elements of Logic and Elements of Rhetoric to be read together. The study of rhetoric helps students to find "suitable arguments to prove a given point," and to help with the "skillful *arrangement* of them," while the study of logic is "to *judge* of arguments" (Elements of Rhetoric 37). Also important to Whately was to teach students how to excite and manage the "passions," which includes "every kind of feeling, sentiment, or emotion…with a view to the attainment of any object proposed" (Elements of Rhetoric 18). Whately's texts would have therefore been important not only in terms of the practical nature, but in terms of their suitability for evangelical rhetoric, which had to have not only a logical aspect but an emotional one as well, and which ultimately aimed to influence the will to act, not just the will to believe.

Many historians who look at these schools for women in the early to mid nineteenth century and lament the lack of formal rhetorical training for women are looking at two issues: the difficulty women had receiving traditional, often secular, oratorical or debate training in schools, and the difficulty they had finding and affording a classical education to begin with. At many schools of higher education (ones that taught an academy level or higher curriculum) in the early to mid nineteenth century, historians recall the difficulties of female students when they tried to move the boundaries in place that separated male from female activities and kept them away from debating in class and in literary clubs, and presenting their commencement work as orations to a mixed audience. Historians almost always bring up clashes at Oberlin, for example, between women and the institution in the 1840s and on as representative of the lack of equality

when it came to rhetorical studies. These clashes did indeed occur. To name just a few, the women of the Ladies' Literary Society led by Lucy Stone were refused permission in the 1840s to join the men's debating society and were forbidden to conduct debates (Connors 77). Also, women at Oberlin in the 1840s and 1850s were for a long while not allowed to read their commencement essays aloud, and, when later they were permitted to read them quietly, were refused permission to give them as oratories as the men did. Though there is no doubt there were significant difficulties facing women who tried to learn rhetoric in a traditional way, sometimes focusing on these obstacles can cause us to miss other interesting ways institutions were bringing rhetoric to women. If historians look beyond the obvious lack of equal treatment and opportunities in the formal and informal activities of some schools to the ways some leaders of women's education worked around these obstacles, it is possible to develop an understanding of a different kind of rhetorical, religious training that was developing at some schools.

The "Hidden Curriculum": Informal Rhetorical Training

The standard classical curriculum at men's colleges began with first and second year courses whose purposes were to give students the basics ideas to memorize from multiple disciplines such as mathematics, history, and science. Third and fourth year courses taught students to take the basic material they had learned and to use logic and rhetoric studies to discuss the mostly religious/philosophical debates surrounding the materials. At two of the most well-known nineteenth century New England schools for men, Harvard and Yale, students covered the liberal arts in their early years, which included the classical languages, logic and rhetoric, natural philosophy, mathematics, history, and botany. The overriding purpose to these liberal arts was to give students the tools to properly study mental and moral philosophies in their fourth year (Rudolph 33). The final year of mental and moral philosophy/theology was often taught as a seminar from the president of the university, and its purpose was "the establishment of sound moral character and conversion to Christianity" (Fletcher 701) where "all students were protected against atheism and deism and prepared for conversion" (Fletcher 695). This year brought all the subjects together to an ultimate purpose of understanding the world around them through a Christian lens (Rudolph 30). According to a biographer of Andrew White, president of Cornell from 1866-1885,

> the chief purpose of the teaching of mental and moral philosophy at colleges in the early to mid nineteenth century was to convert the student before he had passed from the college halls, or perhaps even to induce him to enter the ministry….The study of the will was an important part of the instruction, for the authorities wished to stress the freedom of the will so that the student might be impressed with his moral accountability. After the freedom of the will had been philosophically and psychologically demonstrated, the young collegian might be admonished to train his will for good works. (Rogers 33-4)

As an important part of the classical curriculum at men's and later women's schools, divinity was studied all four years, separately and integrated into every other course.

The religious influences of the classical curriculum that was imparted to the women's schools of the nineteenth century had a long history. The classical curriculum of the 1800s had not changed much since it was brought over from Europe with the first colonists. Its purpose was still mainly to train ministers. The organization of the curriculum was still similar to that used in medieval universities where the *trivium* (logic, grammar, and rhetoric) was the core of the education, and the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music) were the liberal arts background. This structure was strengthened by the Renaissance, which encouraged "a heightened respect for rhetoric and the addition of natural science, Greek, Hebrew, and ancient history to the traditional liberal arts" (Rudolph 30). Similarly to the nineteenth century curriculum, the trivium and quadrivium "provided the intellectual equipment that allowed the medieval university student to move into a study of the three philosophies of Aristotle: natural philosophy (physics), moral philosophy (ethics), and mental philosophy (metaphysics)" (Rudolph 30). Though the Renaissance tried to make the curriculum "useful to a new governing class…gentlemen and men of action" and not just theologians, the Puritan Reformation made sure that the curriculum was still primarily a place for "training a learned clergy" (Rudolph 30). This curriculum with its Medieval, Renaissance, and Reformation roots was the one carried over by at least 130 university men who came before 1646 to New England (Rudolph 30). According to Yale College laws, the purpose stayed the same as well: "Every student shall consider the main end of his study to wit to know God in Jesus

Christ and answerably to lead a Godly sober life" (Warch 191). Additionally, "In most early nineteenth-century colleges, Yale among them, religious revivals were promoted as 'manifest, open, and direct' expressions of curricular purpose" (Rudolph 56).

Amherst College for men was near in location and in purpose to Mount Holyoke Female Seminary and claimed to be similar to other prominent male colleges of the day in curriculum and purpose. At Amherst the education was originally meant for promising clergymen, but prepared men also for careers as lawyers, physicians, teachers, bankers, and publicists (Moore Fuess 7). Amherst, like Mount Holyoke and many other schools of the day, was "the product of a deeply religious spirit. Many of its leading proponents were clergymen, and there was an intimate connection between the First Congregational Church in the town and the college" (Moore Fuess 30). As was also common among most colleges of the day, its founding goal was to educate "indigent young men of piety and talents for the Christian ministry" (Moore Fuess 31). Its founders were conservative Congregationalists of the orthodox Calvinistic type who subscribed to the doctrines of Jonathan Edwards (Moore Fuess 30), similar to the leanings of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary. The trustees and faculty were mostly clergymen (Moore Fuess 42), but they insisted that Amherst be known to provide the traditional classical education, and that the course of study to be pursued should "'be the same as those established in Yale College'" (Moore Fuess 46). Mount Holyoke's purpose for education and curriculum was modeled from colleges such as Amherst, thus it also had many similarities to the more well-known schools for men of the day.

Regardless of subject matter (excepting math and the hard sciences), the school texts chosen for men and women's schools at this time were first and foremost arguments for the validity of Christianity. Thus even without counting their work with rhetoric and logic texts, the students left school with handy memorized arguments for Christianity ready to present to potential converts. Hannah More, an influential proponent of women's education at the beginning of the nineteenth century, writes this about the ideal curriculum for women:

> While every sort of useful knowledge should be carefully imparted to young persons, it should be imparted not merely for its own sake, but also for the sake of its subserviency to higher things. All human learning

> should be taught, not as an end, but a means; and in this view even a lesson of history or geography may be converted into a lesson of religion. In the study of history, the instructor will accustom the pupil not merely to store her memory with facts and anecdotes, and to ascertain dates and epochs: but she will accustom her also to trace effects to their causes, to examine the secret springs of action, and accurately to observe the operations of the passions. (More 346)

Whether English or science or history texts, each textbook's primary purpose was to show how studying its content would help to explain the nature of God and the mysteries of Christianity to the reader and to other religious skeptics. Schools for women believed that "[t]raining for the forming of minds and characters of children must be sound intellectually and above all it must be so well grounded religiously on a knowledge of the facts of the history of Christianity, so buttressed by argument, that ignorance and doubts of all kinds could be met" (Pond 138). These religious goals were used by the leaders and teachers of the schools that are the focus of this study to impress upon the communities around them the importance of not just men but women as well being trained to defend and argue for their faith through a classical education.

The last year of academy or college studies, whether for male or female, was dedicated to a study of "mental and moral philosophy" using philosophical/ theological treatises such as Evidences of Christianity by Alexander and later Paley. Starting in the 1830s at Ipswich and the early years of Oberlin, as well as from 1837-1872 at Mount Holyoke, and from 1853-at least 1880 at Western, these texts were discussed and memorized by students to synthesize all previous learning into an understanding of the overall Christian goal for education, to convert the world. All sophomores at Oberlin were "protected against atheism and deism and prepared for conversion" by this course, also known as "the best known apology for Christianity of that period" (Fletcher 717). Mary Lyon encouraged her students to "Bring your strongest intellectual powers into action when you look at the way of salvation" as they examined together Alexander's Evidences of Christianity (Thomas 28). One student wrote sixty years later regarding this text:

> That was an eye-opener to me—that we could exercise our reason concerning matters of religion! I had been taught otherwise and I felt like a caged bird set free!' Miss Lyon was more willing than many theologians of the time to correlate scripture with archaeological and geological knowledge" (Thomas 110).

At Ipswich Female Seminary, young ladies recited from Paley's Natural Theology and from Bishop Joseph Butler's Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion. Butler's text appeared the most consistently in the schools of higher education in this study after the 1830s, and lasted the longest, at least until the 1880s. It was included in at least the curricula of Abbot and Bradford academies beginning in the 1830s, Oberlin Theological Institute beginning in the 1830s, Ipswich Female Seminary in the 1830s, and Mount Holyoke Female Seminary (from 1837-1872), and Western Female Seminary (from 1853-after 1880). Butler's Analogy was a much-used defense of Christianity, a masterpiece of logical argument, "a compact of profound thought" (Fletcher 717). Mary Lyon at Mount Holyoke was known to "emphasize the practical implications of religion and sought within limits to make her gospel an applied Christianity. She took her texts from the Commandments and from the analogies of nature to religion, with the more popular textbook in this field by Butler as the basis for the more intensive instruction that she gave to seniors in person" (Cole 103). A student in the Ladies' Course at Oberlin wrote an essay reciting the benefits of studying the Analogy in 1849: "Butler's argument," she wrote, "was addressed to that class of persons who believe in God as the author of nature, but not as the author of the Bible. His object is to show that from analogy we might expect a revelation and such a one as it contained in the Bible, for there is nothing against the truths taught by it in natural religion but much in favor of them" (Fletcher 717). As more scientific and archeological studies were being made across the globe, and the world was gearing up for Darwin's publication mid-century, Christian educators and writers were occupied with trying to explain the mysteries of nature in a way that would help explain the mysteries of God. Butler's Analogy thus "served its explicit purpose of providing argumentation for the probable truth of personal immortality, eternal punishment, and other aspects of Protestant orthodoxy" (Porterfield 43).

At schools for men and women, each course had to be justified by the author in terms of how it helped to strengthen and explain the doctrines of Christianity. Hannah More argued,

> While every sort of useful knowledge should be carefully imparted to young persons, it should be imparted not merely for its own sake, but also for the sake of its subserviency to higher things. All human learning should be taught, not as an end, but a means; and in this view even a lesson of history or geography may be converted into a lesson of religion. (More 346)

Science especially was made to be subordinate to theological teachings, especially throughout the early to mid nineteenth century. This was a time period of increasing pressure between religion and science, as discoveries were continually being made that apparently contradicted the traditional creation story. At first professors and textbook writers, including those at women's schools, tried to block any scientific discoveries that seemed to contradict their beliefs. It was not until later that many religious teachers took the path of compromise and looked for a way to reconcile the two. At this time, Professor Louis Agassiz was developing his glacial theory, but college geologists were reluctant to accept it due to its apparent deviation from Biblical teaching. For example, "After describing accurately the effects of glaciation, Professor Edward Hitchcock in the 1840 edition of his Elementary Geology, finds six other possible ways of explaining these phenomena; however, he does admit that the glacial theory offers the best explanation" (Rogers 27).

At men's and women's schools at this time, textbooks tried to redirect scientific discoveries to show how they ultimately proved Biblical truths: "When Yale required chemistry of seniors in 1802, it was being taught not as a medical or premedical subject but as an exposure to divine creation. When Union, inspired by Silliman's course at Yale, made chemistry a senior requirement in 1807, the purpose was the same" (Rudolph 62). Similarly, students of Mary Lyon at Mount Holyoke reported that she took special delight in natural religion, and when teaching the sciences, never omitted an opportunity for impressing on [their] minds the power, wisdom, and goodness of God as displayed in his works (Stow 123). All instruction was subordinate to divine teachings (Stow 123All). As

one historian explains, “The evangelical saw science as a useful took in demonstrating the wondrous ways of God. Science, therefore, gained entry into the American college not as a course of vocational study but as the handmaiden of religion” (Rudolph 226). In early Oberlin learning was also looked upon as “the handmaid of religion” (Fletcher 209). In the third edition of Elementary Geology taught at Mount Holyoke from 1844-1863, Western from 1863-65, and at Oberlin around the same time, one of the chief objects of a geology course was to show the students that the facts of geology and the story of Creation as given in Genesis “were in perfect agreement and that science generally supported revealed religion” (Fletcher 703-4). Students were to graduate with knowledge of their religion, and with a foundation of arguments for convincing others of its validity. In an introductory notice to this text, Dr. J. Pye Smith, of London, says, “For those excellent men who give their lives to the noblest of labors, a work which would honor the angels, ‘preaching among the heathen the unsearchable riches of Christ;’ a competent acquaintance with natural objects, is of signal importance, for both safety and usefulness. Geology and other sciences “amounted essentially to another course in the evidences of religion” (Fletcher 703).

Conclusion

We have so far seen a continued emphasis on religion built into the fabric of schools for men and women throughout the early part of the nineteenth century. The religious purpose of many schools for men in the early to mid nineteenth century and before, which shaped the focus of the classical curriculum, and the fact that most textbook authors were ministers, meant that the curriculum and activities in schools for men, and later for women, were designed to educate and convert at the same time. This curricular focus was complementary to the religious purpose of the early to mid nineteenth century schools for women in this study. Many of the textbooks that were part of the traditional classical curriculum contain a “hidden curriculum” that modeled arguments defending Christianity and showed women how all subjects could be made useful for evangelical work. Rhetoric and logic, traditionally subjects most useful for men, might have been dropped in many women’s schools’ curriculums except that they went hand in hand with female religious training as well: it was important to the public that future mothers and teachers learn how to effectively present religion and persuade

young people to convert. Academic subjects were to improve the students' mental discipline and convince them to convert to Christianity through the demonstration of the evidences for God in all the various subjects. Students were taught methods and given models of the conversion rhetoric they would be expected to employ in whatever field they ended up in after graduation, whether they were teachers themselves, mothers, or even missionary teachers, a field that was opening up to women in the early nineteenth century. The curriculum might not have prepared women for public oratory at home, but it at least provided an opportunity for them learn the major arguing points for the validity of Christianity.

It is hard to trace a direct influence of a school's curriculum upon women's later rhetorical texts because school attendance for women was often piecemeal in the early to mid nineteenth century. Women often left when were fortunate enough to get teaching positions, or they left temporarily to earn money and return to school when they could afford it, as few families spent money on female education, and very few schools for women were subsidized by state legislature money. Since the accepted classical curriculum was so similar at colleges and the standard texts so few in number, even women who did some of their education by studying texts at home would likely have used the same texts their peers did in school. Any study of the effect of curriculum on female students, therefore, has to take women's sporadic attendance into account and speak somewhat generally of the overall influence of the curricula at these schools upon girls who might not have stayed at any one school for the entire term or program.

The classical education in men's and women's schools of the time is fairly easy to trace because it was mostly non-elective, and standard for the most part across schools because of the prevalent mental/moral philosophy of education that said that a standard curriculum would train the mind for any career. Often the four year schedule at men's colleges was condensed at women's schools to three years. Women's schools were also often limited by lack of funding or lack of endowments that would ensure their future. As they weren't helped by state funding, all of their support came either from local donations or tuition payments. Given all these difficulties, women's academies and seminaries in the early nineteenth century did well to be as similar to men's college curricula as they were. Seminaries and colleges often relied on their own graduates for teachers, and on

visiting (usually male) professors from other schools for additional lectures in their field of expertise. Academies and seminaries tried to make their programs three to four years long with curriculum that would prepare women for teaching or for more advanced work in the seminaries and colleges. Foreign languages used for scholarly work, such as Greek and Latin, and the higher mathematics and sciences came to women's schools a little slower than the rest, but often women could take these courses by staying a little longer or paying extra for the lessons.

Some scholars argue that coeducation was not automatically a liberating experience, until the post-Civil War era with the growth of all female colleges. Not until this time, it has been argued, did schools provide "women with a collective female life and gave them a training for the mind which was not derivative and did not assume a role for women scholars compensatory to that of male students" (Conway 8). This chapter and the next argue that this liberating education that led to rhetorical work by women actually began in the beginning of the century, in co-ed and women-only schools, from academies to seminaries to colleges, and was winding down post-Civil War. It is important for a history of rhetorical curriculum to move beyond traditional definitions of rhetorical studies to focus on what was there for women at certain schools, rather than just on what was not there, such as oratory and debating practice. Historians should continue to examine the ways that the logic and rhetoric texts that were used in the nineteenth century in women's schools could have helped women meet their rhetorical goals, and also to appreciate the logical and rhetorical principles implicit in other textbooks.

Chapter V

"With Or Without Hope": A Unique Extracurricular Rhetorical Curriculum for Women

Rhetorical training was not only at the heart of the formal, classical curriculum adopted in these schools for women; it also had a significant presence in a more "informal" curriculum that founders and teachers developed. The informal curriculum included the modeling of conversion rhetoric by teachers determined to bring each of their students to an evangelical, emotional relationship with God. Teachers regularly put students in small groups to impress upon them the urgency of their conversion, and to argue for the validity and importance of Christianity and their participation in mission work. Teachers encouraged mini revivals within the schools to model for female students how to develop and lead a revival, to convert nonbelievers, and to encourage those who were already devoted to religious service to remain so. The surrounding society, which was itself constantly undergoing the effects of community revivals, encouraged this behavior as appropriate for developing spiritually minded young women. The informal curriculum also included an integration of mission literature and activities into their education: students were encouraged to correspond with missionaries, write compositions on missionaries' experiences, attend church and other religious events that featured conversion rhetoric, participate in mini revivals where they would be encouraged, if already converted, to practice their rhetorical skills on other students who were not converted yet. The goal of the informal curriculum at these schools was to produce rhetoricians, who could not only argue persuasively for others' conversion, but who could do so effectively in as harsh and undetermined environment as a mission field.

Teachers as Preachers: Modeling Conversion Rhetoric

Female teachers, it was believed, could do as much to convert young people in a school environment, if not more, than the ordained ministers who only reached them once a week. Harriet Atwood [Newell], who later, in 1812, would be one of the first Congregationalist missionaries under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), wrote the following note to her sister who was a teacher at Byfield, Massachusetts:

> In what an important station you are placed! The pupils committed to your care will either add to your condemnation in the eternal world, or increase your everlasting happiness. At the tribunal of your Judge you will meet them, and there give an account of the manner in which you have instructed them.—Have you given them that advice which they greatly need? Have you instructed them in religion? Oh my sister! how earnest, how engaged ought you to be for their immortal welfare. (qtd. in The Life and Writings 19)

According to Harriet Atwood [Newell] and the prevalent teachings at the schools in this study, though teachers spoke to a classroom rather than a church audience, and focused more on small group or individual persuasive techniques than those coming from oratory, their mission was the same—students' "immortal welfare," and their duties often overlapped.

Advocates of women's rhetorical education and training argued for a rhetorical work that operated in the everyday spaces of women's lives and that developed strategies better suited to small groups of people and informal conversations rather than oratorical masterpieces delivered from behind a pulpit. In the process of reconceiving rhetoric, Ronald and Ritchie emphasized the ways women have discovered or created nontraditional forms of rhetoric, from "the kitchen, parlor, and nursery; the garden; the church; the body" (Available Means xvii). It is these types of rhetorics Andrea Lunsford refers to when she says that the anthology Reclaiming Rhetorica attempts to

> interrupt the seamless narrative usually told about the rhetorical tradition and to open up possibilities for multiple rhetorics…that would not name and valorize one traditional, competitive, agonistic, and linear mode of rhetorical discourse but would but would rather incorporate other, often dangerous moves…recognizing and using the power of conversation; moving centripetally towards connections; and valuing—indeed insisting upon—collaboration….The realm of rhetoric has been almost exclusively male not because women were not practicing rhetoric—the arts of language are after all at the source of human communication—but because

> the tradition has never recognized the forms, strategies, and goals used by many women as "rhetorical." (Lunsford 6)

Just as "a preacher who is interested in relations among members engages in a different rhetorical task: creating intimacy and affirming the divinity in everyday spaces" (Mountford 149), so many early nineteenth century women chose as their life's work a quieter, more indirect route of persuasion than the women most often studied as part of nineteenth century rhetorical history. As Buchanan argues in Regendering Delivery: The Fifth Canon and Antebellum Women Rhetors,

> Feminine delivery enabled women rhetors not only to defy dominant gender norms dictating their public silence but also to maintain the appearance of femininity even as they moved and spoke in domains coded as masculine….In order to construct convincing feminine ethos while advancing their objectives, some women rhetors eschewed public speaking and instead selected alternate methods of rhetorical presentation looking more like gentle influence than outright persuasion. (Buchanan 80)

She laments the fact that, "the feminine style, despite its undeniable success and effectiveness, has been forgotten while the masculine style has been celebrated in historical and canonical treatments of nineteenth-century rhetors" (Buchanan 8). The importance of the feminine style of rhetoric that was taught in certain nineteenth-century schools for women resides in its effects on female teachers: it encouraged and empowered them to learn to be teacher evangelists. Religious influences in the schools made a space for a feminine rhetoric distinct from male rhetoric. In this space, women could develop a unique form of rhetorical delivery, which they would be encouraged to use publicly before and after graduation.

Many other teachers, especially at these schools for women, in the early to mid-nineteenth century, showed in their writings evidence of the personal responsibility and urgency they felt to save souls, actions which students would model as they went as teachers into their own schools. Mrs. Fowler of Danvers, a pupil in 1824 of Bradford Academy, the same academy Harriet Atwood [Newell] had earlier attended, wrote a letter

for a memorial anniversary of Bradford Academy about her memories of the religious dedication and mission interests of her teacher Ms. Abigail Hasseltine:

> She often assigned us some Scripture character as a lesson, and with her wonderful powers of analysis and description, would bring forward all the prominent traits of the person, in so strong a light, that they were indelibly impressed upon our minds. She urged the claims of God upon our hearts with such clearness and force, that we trembled under an appalling consciousness of our guilt, and then with the most earnest tenderness she portrayed the love of the Saviour till we were melted to tears….through all the successive years of her teaching many were led by her efforts to a Christian life….Deeply interested in the cause of missions herself, she strove to awaken the same spirit in her pupils, and succeeded in an eminent degree. (qtd. in Memorials 81)

Early teachers such as Abigail Hasseltine demonstrated to students who would become the future teachers of other prominent schools how much was involved in the conversion process. Later teachers who requested admission to schools for women recognized this, as they asked to be educated in order to be properly prepared for this role: to use analysis, description, emotional urgency, and rational arguments to convince others to convert.

Ipswich Female Seminary was a prominent school that gave an academy-level education to well-off young women beginning in 1829**.** Seven years before founding Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in 1838, a school directed more towards women of a low economic status, Mary Lyon taught at Ipswich with Zilpah Grant, another leader of women's higher education. There they began to sculpt ideas about how female education could support the missionary imperative. Among these ideas passed down from Bradford, and other growing academies for women, was the responsibility of the female teacher to see teaching as an evangelistic opportunity, and to develop skills of persuasion as a teacher, often coded as the term "female influence."

The rhetorical skills teachers wanted to pass on to their students came mostly not in the form of oratorical training for future formal preaching or political speechmaking, but as more interpersonal rhetorical skills that would be more useful to women interested in conversion rhetoric. One of the first things a teacher usually did once a term started

was to find out which of the girls were already converted, which were hopeful that they would be converted, and which were still uninterested so that she and her assistant teachers could monitor these small groups, and look for opportunities to have students press the case of Christianity to each other according to each student's particular needs. Zilpah Grant, of Ipswich Female Seminary, physically divided her school into sections based on students' spiritual states, each under a teacher who acted as lay minister, giving spiritual advice frequently and watching the health, studies, conduct, and spirit of her group of girls, one teacher to about twenty girls.

In the Ipswich catalogue of 1830, Miss Grant appealed to applicants who wanted training in this rhetoric of teaching or "influence":

> Instruction is given in the manner of communicating knowledge, of awakening attention, of exciting inquiry, of arousing the indolent, of encouraging the diffident, of humbling the self-confident, of cultivating the conscience, of regulating the conduct, and of improving the whole character. (qtd. in Pond 132)

Goals of learning such as communicating knowledge, awakening attention, exciting inquiry, and arousing the indolent represent the female version of pastoral skills necessary to convince students to convert to Christianity. Teachers had the same responsibilities as male ministers of mastering rhetorical skills to bring students into the religious fold and to train them to continue the pattern with others. In 1836 at Ipswich Female Seminary, the following offering was announced in the catalogue:

> Those who already had some experience in teaching will have opportunity to discuss with each other and with their teachers, Misses Grant and Lyon, their various opinions on modes of teaching and their effect, by arousing different motives for action, produced on character. (qtd. in Pond 133)

This ability to "arous[e] different motives for action, produced on character" means "influence." Influence was a trait assumed to belong particularly to women, and it always usually the indirect persuasive approach which women were encouraged to cultivate. In these schools, female teachers were to use this influence convert their students as ministers converted parishioners. This training is a rhetorical training, an important part of the curriculum of the time that might easily have been discouraged as not necessary for

a sex that should not be heard in public except for the fact that as teachers, women could be evangelists to their students without fear of censure.

Evangelicals often referred to women who were teacher evangelists, despite their potentially threatening rhetorical skills and education, as "faithful laborers" who had "a strong missionary spirit" and acted from a "conviction of duty" (Nash 58-9). Ipswich Female Seminary trained many graduates to be female missionaries and to build schools in the West. Zilpah Grant wrote a public fundraising letter in 1836 paralleling the work of her students to male preachers: she asserted that few clergymen "are doing so much to promote the cause of education and religion" as female teachers.

Male teachers at co-educational Oberlin Collegiate Institute ascribed to the same belief that preparing women for their rhetorical roles as teachers was equivalent in importance to that of preparing men for their rhetorical roles as preachers: fundamentally, their roles were the same, though their locations for preaching and their audience might be different. In a circular from Oberlin Collegiate Institute, published March 8, 1834, Mr. Shipherd, a co-founder, said that "[p]rominent objects of this seminary are, the thorough *qualification of Christian teachers, both for the pulpit and for schools*; and the education of female character, by bringing within the reach of the misjudged and neglected sex all the instructive privileges which have hitherto unreasonably distinguished the leading sex from theirs [italics mine]." As is apparent from this statement, the early supporters of women's education saw little difference in purpose between a female teacher and a male preacher. Both needed to be trained in the persuasive arts to evangelize a lost world, albeit in different ways. Oberlin's statement is noteworthy for its implication of the equal importance of ministerial work and teaching, and therefore for the similarities in rhetorical purpose and technique. In the nineteenth century, many "[e]vangelical Christians, both male and female, held female teachers in high esteem and believed them to be doing essential work in claiming the West for Protestant Christianity" (Nash 58-9). Likewise, Shipherd and Steward, founders of Oberlin, emphasized to their male and female students the importance and responsibility of the work they were training to do: "[p]ersonal responsibility and immediate duty, on the part of saints and sinners, was the watchword. The world was in darkness, and those who had the Gospel were under solemn and pressing obligation to send abroad the light" (Fairchild 79). As a result,

religious services occupied a considerable portion of the busy weekly program for students. Attendance at chapel was required. According to a circular containing the by-laws of 1834, "There shall be daily public prayers in the Institution Morning & Evening under the direction of the Faculty, at which all the Students shall regularly attend, except those who for sufficient reasons may be excused by the Faculty, and those exercises shall be attended by the reading of the Holy Scriptures." All students were also required by the rules to attend the weekly religious lecture and to attend church services two or three times on the Sabbath (Fletcher 755). When students worshiped together, "what may have appeared to be a day off for the curriculum was really the day when the curriculum fell into place, with the assistance of prayer, sermon, and Biblical explication from the president of Yale college" (Rudolph 33).

Though some students resisted conversion and/or left the school, many students at these schools seem to have acclimated well, whether for religious or pragmatic reasons, as is seen by the high rate of religious converts the schools often listed in their bulletins each year. Angeline Tenney Castle, a student at Oberlin Collegiate Institute in the 1830s, recounts the intense pressure at Oberlin: she said that "the subject of missions was often brought up and sometimes pressed upon her 'till she came to the conclusion it was her duty to become a missionary if Providence should open the way'" (qtd. in Grimshaw 258). The faculty took a very direct interest in the welfare of the students' souls in class and out. At happened at Ipswich, in 1837 the professors in Oberlin were known to visit the students in their rooms and hold "religious conversation with each student for the purpose of awakening a better state of religious feeling in Coll[ege]" (Fletcher 209). This kind of religious conversation no doubt addressed all the reservations and opposing arguments students had, with ample material provided from the textbooks of the day. The individual contact, a tactic common among teachers in these types of schools, would likely have helped the persuasive efforts.

To Mary Lyon of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, going to school to learn the skills to take advantage of all a teacher's tools for persuasion was a stepping stone to developing the influence women would use for their evangelical work. She said to her students:

> Teaching is a valuable preparation for influence. In no other way can the principles of the human mind and heart be so well learned. If you commence teaching and do not succeed, teach until you do succeed. Prepare thoroughly for every exercise and for every recitation, but study the minds and hearts of your children more than any book. She who can teach well, who can control the minds of the young happily and rightly, is all the better prepared for any sphere to which a lady can be called—to be a minister's wife, or a missionary, or to stand at any post. Perhaps the qualification for the highest influence is power to wield the pen, to write so as to make others desire to be better. (qtd. in Hitchcock 370)

According to Grant, Lyon, and other leaders of these schools, qualifications for a minister's wife or a female missionary included not just book learning, but learning the principles of the human heart and mind, "study[ing] the minds and hearts of…children more than any book," "control[ling] the minds of the young," and writing powerfully so as to influence one's readers. These persuasive goals would likely have been similar to one's embraced by colleges to prepare men to be ministers, but for women they focused even more on the importance of the one to one persuasive encounter. In a 1839 pamphlet entitled "Female Education: Tendencies of the Principles Embraced, and the System Adopted in the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary" Mary Lyon wrote that teachers have to have "an ability to communicate knowledge and apply it to practice, an acquaintance with human nature, and the power of controlling the minds of others" (16). Certainly these goals would match up with the rhetorical theory as proposed by rhetoric texts used at many of these schools, such as Samuel Newman's A Practical System of Rhetoric, published in 1834, where he emphasizes utilizing the understanding, imagination, passion, and will of an audience (Newman 14). Teachers at these schools were not just responsible for passing on academic knowledge; for teaching them their persuasive techniques as well as instilling in them the will to use them.

Lyon herself, though known to be conservative, would prepare sermons for the spiritual benefit of her students and assistant teachers at Mount Holyoke Female Seminary (Cole 104), explicitly modeling the role of the female preacher; only if there were men present would she abstain from religious leadership. She approached the

subject of women's rhetorical work by arguing that the teacher was the female equivalent of the male pastor and therefore should receive the same quality and type of education as men who prepared at school for the ministry. She taught that the all-important missionary imperative to some extent superseded gender restrictions. The women who labored as her teachers were similarly trained to carry leadership positions of responsibility within Mount Holyoke, which would mirror the later positions of responsibility she hoped they would adopt in their own homes or on the mission field. Edward Hitchcock, one of Mary Lyon's biographers, and a professor at Amherst College, a nearby college for men, said,

> In direct labors for the conversion of sinners, [teachers] also cooperated with Miss Lyon, seeming often to be more like pastors than simple members of "the church in the seminary," as Miss Lyon used to call her band of Christians. They conducted the lesser meetings, conversed and prayed with pupils alone, and sought, first of all, that souls might be given them as seals of their fidelity, and crowns of joy in the great day. (Hitchcock 223)

At schools with female teachers such as Mount Holyoke and Western, the female "president" became the new head of the temporary school family, with God as the father, and this female church organization was accepted and appreciated as long as there were only women or the young present. In these environments, teachers had rare opportunities to assume similar tasks as ordained ministers did: they led small groups in prayer and Bible study, while remaining on the lookout for girls who might be need to be brought to a more evangelical type of conversion experience. They took primary responsibility for learning and practicing the rhetorical pastoral techniques needed to bring others to an understanding and belief in the Christian doctrine, and to the point where their target audience would put that belief into action.

Student Activities Demonstrate Practice of Evangelistic Rhetoric

It was not only teachers who strove to convert students; diaries from women who attended schools such as Mount Holyoke, Oberlin, and Western Female Seminary, detail the psychological pressures converted students were under to learn how to convert others. Students of Bradford Academy between 1825 and 1830 were later asked to recall their memories of their school experience. Many talked about the constant effort made by

teachers to encourage students to practice evangelistic rhetoric by creating communities of believers and nonbelievers, hoping the former would influence the latter. Though students did not have dormitories where they could all be together, they often roomed in small groups in local homes. One former student of Bradford Academy contributed the following story:

> I arrived at Bradford an entire stranger, but was welcomed cordially by Miss Hasseltine and at once made happy by her Christian and cheerful urbanity. Several other young ladies had arrived, and we were seeking congenial spirits for room-mates, the religious assorting with each other. Our Principal, more wise and benevolent than ourselves, interposed, expressing the wish that the salt [religious conviction] be diffused. Readily complying with her better judgment, I was assigned to a boarding house with three young ladies who were not professors of religion. This awakened my own sense of responsibility, and made me anxious to exert a right moral and religious influence. We had devotional exercises every evening and they did not object, while the arrangement was at least beneficial to me. That year was highly conducive to my progress in a religious life, as well as in secular science. (qtd. in Memorials 86)

One strategy that Preceptress Abigail Hasseltine used to encourage students to convert other students was to encourage believers to room with nonbelievers, and to set up regular religious exercises to influence nonbelievers through peer pressure and through the natural desires of young girls away from home to be part of the larger community. A former student at Bradford Academy in 1827 remembers the following appeal made by her teacher to her as one evangelist to another:

> Before the close of the first week, our teacher, whom we had already begun to love and respect, requested all who loved the Saviour, to remain a few moments after the close of the school. She then addressed us in a kind, affectionate manner, pointing out our obligations and duties as Christians, and urging upon us the importance of exerting a good influence upon our companions. When she learned the fact, that I was the only professor of religion in the family where I boarded, and that there were

> seven other young ladies there, she took me by the hand, and with an earnestness I can never forget, she said: 'Are you willing to read the Scriptures and offer prayer among these young ladies at the close of each day?' I told her I feared to attempt it, that some among them were light and frivolous, and they would be unwilling. After listening patiently to my excuses, she became more earnest in her manner, and again pressed the question: 'If I will come to your room first, talk with them, and open the way, will you undertake it?' Overcome by her persuasions, I promised, though with a trembling heart. She came to my room, laid the matter before the young ladies, obtained their consent to the arrangement, and they came in regularly during the whole term. I have always regarded this incident as most salutary in its influence upon my whole life. (qtd. in Memorials 87)

In this anecdote, the teacher looked for ways to encourage a promising student to reach out to other students in an evangelistic capacity by first modeling the ideal rhetorical strategy for her, then persuading her to try it herself, to persuade her schoolmates to convert through quiet, persistent rational arguments.

In the letters and journals of Harriet Atwood [Newell] when she was still a student at Bradford Academy, before she was sent as one of the first missionary women for the Congregationalist mission movement (ABCFM), we can see examples of the kinds of informal evangelical work performed by young women, who were trained at some of the early schools for women supported by New England Congregationalists. Harriet Atwood [Newell] was thirteen when she entered Bradford Academy (Pond 79). She, along with many other students, became converted during one of the many revival sessions supported and sometimes led by the preceptor and preceptress. The consciousness of the inevitability of a future in heaven or hell often made girls such as Atwood [Newell] obsessively conscious of a profound anxiety for the salvation of the "lost" ones all about them. Many of the emotional passages in Atwood [Newell]'s and other girls' journals give evidence of this preoccupation after they had been converted (Pond 80). She wrote frequent appeals to her friends, asking for their reassurance about their own and her

salvation. In one letter written in 1811 and addressed to a Miss. Fanny Woodbury, she writes:

> As we are candidates for eternity, how careful ought we to be, that religion be our principal concern. Perhaps this night our souls may be required of us—we may end our existence here and enter the eternal world. Are we prepared to meet our judge? Do we depend upon Christ's righteousness for acceptance? Are we convinced of our own sinfulness and inability to help ourselves? Is Christ's love esteemed more by us than the friendship of this world? Do we feel willing to take up our cross daily and follow Jesus? These questions, my dear Miss W. are important; and if we can answer them in the affirmative, we are prepared for God to require our souls of us when he pleases. (qtd. in The Life and Writings 20)

In Atwood [Newell]'s letters can often be seen the rhetorical strategies of sentimental pleas, attempts to instill fear of the future, rhetorical questions, and temptations of heavenly happiness as she tries to rationalize the importance of conversion to her friends. Atwood joined the church in August 1809, under the persuasion of Mr. Burnham who was a preacher in Haverhill and also preceptor at her school, Bradford Academy. Atwood called him her "spiritual father" (Pond 81). Atwood often afterwards attempted to convert her friends through personal discussions and letters to them. Her biographers write that "[h]er efforts to awaken [her friends'] attention to religious subjects, were constant and faithful. She would often invite them to walk with her in the neighbouring groves, and there attempt to persuade them to come to Jesus" (The Life and Writings 10). She also united with a number of her schoolmates in a society for prayer and religious conversation (The Life and Writings 10-11). Apparently, so devoted was Atwood to her duty in bringing her companions to see their need of a personal Saviour, that Mr. Allen, the local minister, is said to have remarked, "That child will do more to induce youth to come to Christ than I can" (qtd. in Pond 81).

Female Missionaries Presented as Role Models for Other Women

The emphasis on missions in the curricula of the women's schools in this study served two purposes in terms of women's rhetorical development: it provided women an incentive for learning practical rhetorical skills in terms of providing a professional

opportunity to apply their skills after school, and it was also the source for many reading and writing activities to hone their communication skills.

In an alumna letter, an 1818 student of Bradford Academy recalls the following memory:

> The first or spring term of this year opened with a large school, fifty males and a hundred females at least, and among them many fine scholars, with quite a number of devoted Christians. One whom I especially remember was Miss Mary Christie, who married a missionary and sailed for Ceylon shortly after leaving us. Much attention was given to the subject of religion, and Miss H. Was unwearied in her endeavors to lead us to the true fountain of all knowledge. (qtd. in Memorials 77)

Often noteworthy graduates were asked to act as spiritual patrons of the schools to motivate students to follow in their footsteps. Harriet Atwood Newell and Ann Nancy Hasseltine Judson were also presented by teachers of Bradford Academy as role models to the Bradford students. Of Ann Nancy Hasseltine Judson's visit, Miss B. of Boston writes, "She was a woman of much grace and beauty and of a refined and lady-like manner. She visited the school and entertained us greatly with accounts of her life in India, of the trials and hindrances of the missionaries, and other matters of interest. No one could be with her long and not see that her whole heart was in her work" (qtd. in Memorials 80). Impassioned accounts of the adventures that awaited women who dedicated themselves to a missionary career certainly inflamed the desires of more than one female student to follow. There was also much excitement and interest generated in Bradford Academy because of letters that came to the academy from Ann Nancy Hasseltine Judson throughout the fourteen years she was a missionary. These letters "brought fresh enthusiasm to the missionary cause" (Pond 94). Students at Bradford supported the missionaries by forming "circles" and "societies for spreading missionary information and for raising money" (Pond 94). The home mission movement was not neglected by Bradford students either; Bradford girls who felt a particular calling for home missions went to work at schools for the poor. According to Pond, "[S]ome of the Bradford girls gained their first experience in these schools. The enterprise was all in the same spirit as the wider one which reached out to Asia" (Pond 94).

Visions of grandeur such as existed in missionary memoirs and stories from missionary letters that were encouraged reading by schools for women inspired the students to raise their expectations of themselves and to prepare thoroughly spiritually and educationally for their future calling, wherever and whatever it might be. Properly trained teachers, Mary Lyon's teacher Emerson had taught, "would 'do more to enlighten and reform the world and introduce the millennium than persons of any other profession except ministers of Christ'" (qtd. in Conforti 91). Mary Lyon passed this spirit on to her students at Mount Holyoke as she had at previous schools she taught for. She encouraged her pupils at Adams Female Academy in the 1820s to write compositions on Harriet Atwood Newell, one of the first female missionaries for the ABCFM, and she encouraged graduates of Ipswich in the 1830s to embark on missionary careers (qtd. in Thomas 28-9). Class notes from students of Mary Lyon record some of her favorite teachings. She often implored students to "[s]tudy and teach nothing that cannot be made to help in the great work of converting the world to Christ." Her standard of conscientiousness was based on missionary experience: "Wherever you are, you must be just as faithful as if you were missionaries"; and of missionary fortitude: "No young lady is fit for a missionary who complains of anything here"; and of missionary altruism: "Who in such a work will count her life dear unto herself? Who will call aught that she has her own?" (qtd. in Thomas 28-9). Mount Holyoke was designed to enable young women to spread their benevolence to the farthest corners of the world. Miss Lyon challenged the delicate as well as the sturdy, the modest as well as the self-confident: 'Be willing to do anything & anywhere. Be not hasty to decide that you have no physical or mental strength & no faith or hope. Think not too much of your weakness, or self-indulgence. May every one of us give more & find more for our heart & more for our hands to do & find more to suffer" (qtd. in Spofford 14). With challenges such as these, Lyon made clear her disdain for the type of woman who limited her capabilities: the type of woman who was trained only to decorate a home and husband and develop typically dainty, feminine pursuits such as embroidery and painting. She spoke of human and feminine weakness only as one of many obstacles that God could overcome.

Mary Lyon believed that her seminary for women was founded using money that would otherwise have gone to mission work, and she made mission support a priority

with her students (Lansing 264) and with the public, modeling persuasive arguments for support of missions. In an 1844 letter from Lucy T. Lyon, a Mount Holyoke teacher, to Fidelia Fiske, a Mount Holyoke alumna missionary to Persia, Lyon wrote:

> Miss Lyon commenced her instructions on the subject of giving this morning, & continued her remarks this afternoon. I think her arguments are more convincing than last year. Perhaps it is owing to the state of my own mind. I have just finished reading 'Mammon' by Harris. This has contributed somewhat to increase my feeling of obligation to give I think. (17)

Mary Lyon saw women's education and the mission movement inextricably linked since she believed that the purpose of education was to prepare oneself for greatest Christian usefulness, which to her meant mission work. She therefore raised money for the seminary by promoting it as part of the missionary cause, a very popular cause in the early nineteenth century, and she trained her students to give back to the mission movement financially or to become missionaries themselves.

The first extra-curricular activity at Mount Holyoke was the female missionary society, which Mary Lyon established at the seminary. Members of this society read and discussed various published accounts of foreign cultures and missionary enterprises, and they followed closely the progress of Mount Holyoke missionaries abroad (Porterfield 66). Besides praying, singing, and learning facts from the Missionary Herald, the students saw curiosities from heathen lands. According to student recollections, one of the students, the daughter of current missionaries, dressed in Sandwich Island garb for them, wearing a string of scarlet beans and a whale's tooth ornamenting her hair and speaking Hawaiian. Sometimes letters from missionaries were read, describing their adventures; or missionaries themselves, home on furlough, would visit the seminary, accompanied perhaps by a convert, regarding whose costume and manners Miss Lyon warned the girls beforehand to "suppress a natural smile" (Thomas 29-30). In this way, Mary Lyon made the missionary career less foreign to her female students, persuading them by degrees to dedicate their own futures to missions in some way. By the 1830s, the missionary memoir had become a well-developed and immensely popular subgenre of religious biography, and Mary Lyon included many in Mount Holyoke's library collection to inspire the

students to raise money, to encourage concerts of prayer, and to volunteer for missions (Conforti 102).

Memoirs such as that of Harriet Atwood [Newell], which often detailed journal entries from the time the missionary was converted, to her doubting and agonizing, and finally her committing to missions, her work, and her final days, surely would have inspired many a young student. After hearing about the commitment of her friend Ann Nancy Hasseltine [Judson] to a life as a missionary, Atwood [Newell] wrote in her journal, "How dreadful their situation! What heart but would bleed at the idea of the sufferings they endure to obtain the joys of Paradise! What can *I* do, that the light of the gospel may shine on them? They are perishing for the lack of knowledge, while I enjoy the glorious privileges of a Christian land!" (The Life and Writings 73). Passages like these would likely strike at the hearts of ambitious, religious women, who had no outlet for their evangelical work like that of a minister unless they went as missionaries. It was their one chance to go on a grand adventure, to make names for themselves, and to exercise their rhetorical talents. Before she was a missionary, Harriet Atwood [Newell] write in her journal of her mother getting her a position teaching because of her agony over not being able to be "useful." This was a common complaint of women restricted to home and feminine activities, and the religious sphere offered women a way out: a way to practice their rhetorical skills and master significant challenges. Others saw missionary work as perfectly appropriate for women, ironically though it so closely paralleled the work they were forbidden to do in their own part of the country. A friend of Samuel Newell, future husband and missionary partner to Harriet Atwood [Newell], said to him upon his worries about his future wife's health, "A little slender female may endure losses and sufferings as cheerfully and resolutely as an apostle. The lovely humility and meekness of a Christian woman, are sometimes connected with a tranquillity [sic] of mind, that no calamities can ruffle, and a firmness that no danger or distress can subdue. The time may come, when your courage may sink, and when the cheerfulness and resolution of your Harriet will at once astonish and animate you" (The Life and Writings 99). This recognition of the potential for a women to sustain strength and be an equal partner seems to be contradictory to the beliefs about women that were largely held in early to mid nineteenth century society. The need for missionary workers, and women in

particular, to start schools for girls abroad, seems to have overcome a general preference to emphasize women's weaknesses and inaptitude for public rhetorical work. Harriet Atwood [Newell]'s writing, however, expresses a rhetorical device common to many missionary women's writings, in despite all the superhuman trials she goes through, she maintains the figure of speech that she is strong only insofar as God works through her. She says, "However weak and unqualified I am, there is an all-sufficient Saviour [sic] ready to support me" (The Life and Writings 116). This method of presenting her work would have been passed on to each female student who read her memoirs, encouraging them to follow her footsteps, despite any common notions of feminine weakness that might have otherwise prevented them.

The Mission Field an Extension of School Training: The Evangelical Rhetorical Work at Home and Abroad of Female Graduates

It has been argued that, with few exceptions, female missionaries of the early nineteenth century were primarily domestic helpers to their husbands, rarely having any evangelical work of their own. Female missionaries, however, often show evidence of viewing of themselves not just as cooks and caretakers of children, but as evangelists having equal responsibility as their husbands to convert the "natives." Female missionaries also often engaged in extensive written correspondence with the mission board and mission groups back home. But whether married or single, a female missionary's primary job was that of an evangelist. While she wasn't ordained and so couldn't perform the official duties of the church, when not hampered by child rearing, she often established a religious prayer and Scripture service to convert and strengthen the women of the community.

After leaving with her husband as a missionary to India in 1812, and later Burma and Rangoon, Ann Nancy Hasseltine Judson, a graduate of Bradford Academy, was active in many different types of rhetorical activities. She led a Sunday school class for local women, and visited the viceroy's wife regularly, a mission that likely took a lot of tact and subtle rhetorical maneuvering. In 1819, the Judsons erected a *zayat*, a native-style preaching house where people could drop in for religious conversation. While Adoniram Judson discussed religion with the men, Ann Nancy Hasseltine Judson met with the women, visiting, praying, and talking with them. She held a regular Wednesday

evening prayer meeting with interested women, and she founded a school for girls in 1824. As an additional unforeseen rhetorical challenge, when her husband was imprisoned in 1824, she worked for two years bribing and otherwise verbally convincing local officials to bring him food and small comforts (Robert 45). As she and other missionary women had been taught in schools, the evangelical rhetoric of influence they practiced was not the agonistic oratorical rhetoric of the sort used by the politician or pulpit minister; it was more focused on techniques useful for the spontaneous, interpersonal, and small group interaction.

Along with a female missionary's standard rhetorical duty to teach and persuade the women of the community came the expectation that female missionaries would start a girls' school similar to the ones they had come from. As these mission schools were patterned from schools back home, academics was only partially the purpose of the school. Academics subjects were only a means to a greater end, that of converting the young people to Christianity and persuading them to embrace the new spiritual (and often cultural) values the missionary teacher offered. Female missionaries often had the primary purpose of opening a school for women in the mission field and evangelizing through the school, a similar process by which many of the missionaries themselves were converted. For female missionaries, teaching was an acceptable outlet for their rhetorical abilities, and it was expected that they would have as their primary concern persuading their students to convert. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) supported women in the mission field largely due to the women's successful work with schools there. In the first commission of the ABCFM, when they sent three wives, Harriet Atwood Newell and Ann Nancy Hasseltine Judson among them, with their husbands to the mission field, they did so largely because of reports that "British missionary wives are proving very useful [on the mission field] in conducting schools and are being praised for imparting religious knowledge to all classes" (Beaver 50).

Since the ABCFM encouraged male and female missionaries to go as married couples, many of these couples were set up together by friends and relatives or by the board itself, and married just before leaving for their post. Single women occasionally were sent by themselves if they had plans to live with a mission family. Though a few missionary women were tied (or chose to be tied) to their mission home and did little

evangelizing, most did everything from visiting women in their home to evangelize, to leading prayer groups. As Singh explains, "[Missionary] [w]ives were not an undifferentiated, homogenous category. In fact, sources suggest that despite the commonality in the gender roles they were expected to assume and the cultural and familial issues they needed to address, what missionary wives chose to *make* of their roles and the ways in which they *processed* their cross-cultural experiences revealed individual assumptions, self-perceptions, cultural biases, and levels of empathy" (Singh 81). She adds that "[w]hile considered unequivocally subordinate to her husband, a wife in the mission field was required to play roles stretching well beyond the average gender expectations of her counterpart at home. She was expected to take over the missionary duties of her husband when he left the station on evangelical tours. Indeed, her range of tasks could include supervision at construction sites where mission bungalows were being built. Both kinds of tasks stretched the conventional boundaries of female roles in late-nineteenth-century North America" (Singh 89). According to mission historian Beaver, Ann Nancy Hasseltine Judson

> made a splendid teammate for her husband Adoniram. She sustained him in his illness, moods, and difficulties. She encouraged his studies, literary work, and evangelistic efforts. She attempted to discharge her own missionary responsibility, seeking with patience and discretion to approach the wife of the viceroy and other women. As soon as she had enough understanding of the Burmese language, she prepared a child's catechism and used it in teaching. She pressed forward toward the desired goal of education for women and girls, and she rallied the women at home to support that task. She wrote scores of letters in promotion of the mission. (Beaver 56)

The experiences of Harriet Atwood Newell and Ann Nancy Hasseltine Judson, even though Newell died before reaching her first formal mission post, helped to legitimate the role of the missionary wife as a calling for future women. Through reading about their lives, other women began to hope for marriage to a missionary as a solution to their own vocational desires. Through their rationales for evangelism, developed by themselves with the help of local ministers and their teachers at Bradford Academy, other women

saw that they could justify their own work, and that similar religious schools could help train them for this work.

Some women did join only marginally in the rhetorical/evangelical aspects of the missionary venture, preferring to stay in the background as support for a husband missionary. Missionary Narcissa Whitman started her schooling at Franklin Academy, a high school for women sponsored by a local church, and later graduated from Emma Willard's Female Seminary. She was probably not alone in having overly romantic ideas of what missionary life would be like, possibly due to the fact that she was not educated in the mission oriented schools in this study, and she struggled as missionary with her husband to Native Americans in Oregon in the early nineteenth century. In an 1837 journal, she writes:

> Husband has gone to Walla W to day & is not expected to return untill tomorrow eve, & I am alone for the first time to sustain the family altar, in the midst of a room full of native youth & boys, who have come in to sing as usual. After worship several gathered close around me as if anxious I should tell them some thing about the Bible. I had been reading the 12th chap of Acts, & with Richards help endeavoured to give them an account of Peters imprisonment &c, as well as I could. O that I had full possession of their language so that I could converse with them freely. (qtd. in The Mountains 124)

Though she never looked for opportunities to evangelize, even she was unexpectedly called to try to preach in front of a mixed audience; women who had graduated from the schools for women in this study and went as missionaries would have not only had the desire to search out potential converts for their evangelistic efforts, but would have been rhetorically prepared with their arguments and would have had some idea of appropriate rhetorical techniques for different situations.

Mission work had ever before been done so extensively, intensively, and continuously since women became active members. Female missionaries engaged in "teaching in day, Sunday, and industrial schools; maintenance of orphanages and boarding schools; the zenana mission or house-to-house visitation in India and China; evangelistic work among the poor in villages and country districts, at fairs and sacred

places, in hospitals and prisons; Bible classes and mothers' meetings for converts; the training and supervision of native Christian agents; the preparation of vernacular literature; and last, but not least, medical work among women and children, now in its infancy, but possessing infinite possibilities" (Beaver 118). In the 1840s, the schools that early women missionaries had started were in many instances very successful at converting the native women and so reinforced the goals and justified the work of schools back at home who were training the next generation of women missionaries.

Conclusion

Many of the female graduates of Congregationalist and Presbyterian schools in the early to mid nineteenth century became either evangelical teachers or missionaries in the western United States or in other countries. They evangelized to small and large groups of people, sometimes men and women, teaching their own children and often founding and running schools on the mission field. Women who went out as missionaries needed to be adept at all areas of interpersonal conversion rhetoric to have a chance of being successful. Especially as missionaries, their rhetorical skills would be taxed as they adapted their skills to small one-on-one settings, groups of women, and sometimes spontaneous mixed groups that could grow to the many hundreds of people.

Those who ended up teachers or mothers also benefited from this training because mothers were expected to lead their children by similar persuasive methods to Christ. Going to a school did not guarantee this success, but it offered them more than they would have had otherwise, and an opportunity to practice and reflect on the rhetorical demands of their future.

Educational institutions for higher learning for women (ones that taught an academy level or higher curriculum) in the early to mid nineteenth century should be studied for what non-traditional opportunities founders of schools and teachers made possible. Jacqueline Jones Royster reminds rhetoric scholars to "resist hierarchies and binary thinking," to "account for the impact of power, privilege, and authority on individuals and groups," and to "find systems and arrangements that better allow sense to emerge" (387). Certainly there was a significant disparity in the overall educational opportunities for men and women in the nineteenth century. Men were not only offered more chances to get a higher education, but were offered multiple forms of rhetorical

training through their classes and literary clubs. However, by looking to other areas of the curriculum, scholars can find significant forms of rhetorical training outside of the formal curriculum that could have helped prepare female students for particular kinds of rhetorical work, such as the persuasive writing and speaking involved in evangelical teaching and mission work. Missionary preparation in these early to mid nineteenth century schools was not just about learning academic subjects via the classical curriculum so women could start their own schools—it was also rhetorical preparation via an "informal curriculum" in terms of learning how to defend the faith and promote it to others, of practicing talking with each other about these subjects, of practicing praying in front of people, and among women, and of practicing leading worship. Those who were teachers in these schools constantly tried out new methods for converting students, including segregating students and speaking individually to each group, and appointing peers to help guide the lost ones.

Chapter VI

Post 1950s Transitional Period: Why the Type of and Purpose for Women's Education and Rhetorical Work Changed

The nineteenth century produced probably one of the biggest shifts in the structure and ideology of curriculum in the history of the United States. Women who attended the schools in this study in the first half of the century were able to take advantage of the classical curriculum before it changed into a more vocational and elective curriculum, with less of a religious focus.

Shift in Schools' Purpose and Curriculum

After the 1850s, women worked to expand their field of work beyond just religious teaching and missionary work into activist work, and other fields of endeavor. In doing so, women were building on the foundation of rhetorical training and practice that began in the schools for women mentioned in this study. After the 1850s, the purpose for schools became more secular as denominations lost control over the schools, and the curriculum began to reflect this change. There was a dwindling adherence to the classical curriculum as the elective system became more popular than a general mental and moral system of education, and as religious influences were pushed out. In the 1850s, Francis Wayland, President of Brown University, spoke for many other professors when he argued for the elective system: "'Shall we say that the lawyer, and physician, and clergyman, need a knowledge of principles in order to pursue their callings with success, while the farmer, the mechanic, the manufacturer, and the merchant require no knowledge of the laws upon which the success of every operation which they perform depends?...Shall we say that intellect is to be cultivated and talent developed in one direction alone, or developed in every possible direction?'" (qtd. in Rudolph 111).

Schools for women were becoming more common, and they no longer needed a driving evangelical purpose to define or justify their existence. Texts no longer had to justify their purpose in religious terms. The calls for more scientific and vocational subjects overwhelmed the long-standing key "capstone" courses of religious and moral philosophy. A growing emphasis of induction and empiricism in science meant that the instead of rolling economics, sociology, and political science into one Biblical exegesis course, they were separated out into distinct subjects (Rudolph 13). The moral philosophy

course was no longer the "capstone delight of the curriculum" that all the other courses led up to, but instead was segmented into psychology and physiology and away from religion (Rudolph 139). The fight for control of science between secular and religious factions would go on vigorously at many schools throughout the century. At Amherst, it was reported that "[w]hen geology students…asked their German-trained professor, Benjamin K. Emerson, to give an extracurricular course on evolution, at the next faculty meeting President Julius Seelye spoke for himself and Amherst: 'Gentlemen—to speak of Evolution—the Department of Psychology and Philosophy…feels perfectly competent to handle this subject—and will thank all other Departments to keep hands off'" (qtd. in Rudolph 107-8). As late as the 1860s, there was significant opposition to the somewhat secular mission statement of Cornell University. White, the president of Cornell, said in a letter in 1862 that the Cornell was to be "a non-sectarian establishment 'where truth shall be sought for truth's sake…where it shall not be the main purpose of the Faculty to stretch or cut Science exactly to fit "Revealed Religion".' Here instruction was to be given in 'Moral Philosophy, History, and Political Economy unwarped to suit present abuses in Politics or Religion'" (qtd. in Rogers 52). The struggle between science and religion intensified with the publication of Darwin's Origin of Species, published ten years before the founding of Cornell, and other perceived scientific threats to Biblical truth. Universities such as Harvard and Cornell began to hire professors not on the basis of religious affiliation, but on the basis of educational qualifications: "[o]ne of the first serious defeats for clerical control of higher education in America was the appointment in 1869 of a young chemist, Charles W. Eliot, as President of Harvard University instead of the traditional clergyman" (Rogers 80).

The curricular purpose of mental and moral training, which came along with the classical curriculum, would last in colleges until around the 1870s, when schools began to move to a more secular and vocational curriculum. The religious framework of the classical curriculum helped to give women an acceptable justification to use for their participation in higher education. Many of the schools in this study brought in English literature starting in the 1870s and 1880s that replaced the duo of rhetoric and logic. Historians have often wondered why shifts in schools' purpose and curricula occurred. According to Connors,

> Rhetoric entered the nineteenth century as a central argumentative discipline—respected training that was desired by students, was primarily oral, and had a civic nexus. Rhetoric exited the nineteenth century as 'composition,' a marginalized, multimodal discipline—compulsory training that was despised by most students, was primarily literary, and had a personal, privatized nexus. Coeducation and the decline of agonistic education strongly affected these changes in rhetoric…. (Connors 71)

His explanation is that teachers felt uncomfortable teaching an argumentative rhetoric to the influx of female students. Starting around the 1870s and 80s, the study of rhetoric could also have declined because the purposes for a college education changed, which transformed the traditional classical curriculum with its evangelical mental and moral development goals to more vocational, less religious goals that were more secular. No longer did every activity have to be couched in terms of its religious purpose, and rhetorical training possibly was too steeped in the evangelical goals of the past to be relevant to the new generation of modern scholars. Connors adds that

> [r]hetorical theory, which had since 1783 been led in the direction of belles lettres and writing by Hugh Blair's Lectures, was beginning by 1830 to turn back toward more traditional oral and argumentative elements under the influences of Richard Whately's Elements of Rhetoric of 1828. Just as it seemed Aristotelian argumentative rhetoric was picking up steam, however, teachers began to find themselves facing classes of women. (Connors 78)

At the schools for women such as those mentioned in this study, Whately's Elements of Rhetoric and Elements of Logic were used consistently into the late nineteenth century, and would likely have not been out of place to these teachers of female students due to their religious focus. Whately's primary audience was preachers, and most of his illustrations, and certainly the purpose of the books was to enable people to argue for the validity of Christianity, exactly what the teachers of women were trying to help their female students do. The use of Whately lasted well into the nineteenth century in these schools full of women, so its decline could also (or instead) have been a result of a declining religious function of these schools. After the 1860s, teachers were cut from

mission fields to save money and concentrate less on preaching through teaching, and more on just preaching. An additional interpretation of this trend was that Whately's rhetoric text focuses much more on developing religious arguments than Blair's rhetoric text, which focuses more on taste and literary concerns. As the religious fervor climbed in the early to mid nineteenth century, so Whately's text had surged in popularity. By the 1870s, in addition more women being admitted to traditionally male schools, the religious fervor the country had experienced for so long, through three series of revivals and a tremendous missions movement, had begun to die down after the war, and so went many elements of the classical, heavily religious curriculum, including the study of rhetoric.

At Oberlin Collegiate Institute, Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, and Western Female Seminary, three major schools founded in the early to mid nineteenth century that admitted women, the shift from rhetoric to composition and literature came more towards the 1880s. Colleges were moving from playing a parental role in education, training students to see the universe through a particular religious lens, to playing an advisory role, letting students have more say in the shape of their schooling. The students' choices were as a result often more about attaining specific job abilities than about ruminating on philosophical and religious propositions. This shift affected women because the rhetorical lessons they got had been primarily through the force of the religious influence in the curriculum, and with the change of the curriculum, not only rhetoric was given up, the religious focus was given up. However, because of the opening of many traditionally male schools to women and because of the growth of all-women schools, women no longer needed religion as a justification for their education.

The Decline of Female Missionary Teachers

Early schools of women's higher education, from Bradford Academy in the first decade of the nineteenth century, to Oberlin and Mount Holyoke in the 1830s, to Western Female Seminary in the 1850s, contributed significantly to the work of the evangelical mission movement of the nineteenth century by operating possibly the first large scale training of American women in the art of evangelical persuasion, and by facilitating the mainstreaming of these women into American missionary work. The efforts of the schools mentioned in this study and others like them to nurture a missionary spirit in its students and prepare them for the rhetorical work ahead helped extend both the reach of

the ABCFM (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions) and its emphasis on women's education. Whether by becoming missionaries or by supporting them from groups at home, women were so successful in the necessary work of missions that as a result of their work, by 1860, agents of the ABCFM were able to act more aggressively and systematically than American missionaries ever had before. Their work produced not only a new level of support for missions and a network of missionary cultures around the world (Porterfield 21); it provided a rare platform from which women could sustain socially supported public speaking and writing roles. By March 1849, there were 35 missionary women serving from Mount Holyoke alone; ten years later there were 60 on the rolls of the ABCFM. At the semi-centennial ceremonies in 1887 it was reported that of the women then serving under the ABCFM, 261, more than one fifth, 56 in all, had been educated at Mount Holyoke (Green 264). By 1880, Western had thirty-nine alumnae missionaries in eight countries, including the western United States. Other schools have less formal records of where their graduates went, but many alumni texts list teachers and teacher/missionaries as popular careers for their graduates. Thus the pattern that began with the demand for higher education for women combined with the need for Christian missionaries in the early 1800s to start a chain of events that led to female evangelical work, which offered women rare rhetorical opportunities.

Though Rufus Anderson, former graduate of Bradford Academy and Secretary of the ABCFM, had played an influential role in bringing opportunities for evangelical work to female graduates of early seminaries and colleges, by the mid-1850s, the ABCFM mission board began to cut back on these opportunities. The beginnings of this transition came around 1855 when the group of men from ABCFM called the "Deputation" visited many mission schools to decide how the money for the future years would be best spent based on how many converts schools were producing. A committee, after inspecting many of the mission schools, felt the need to close down many of the mission schools begun and led by women, due both to financial setbacks and to a decision to redirect the emphasis of the mission work to a more direct, typically male, evangelism rather than the female-led evangelism through a school's curriculum.

The decision was made mostly out of concern that students were going to the school only to obtain qualifications for higher paying jobs, ignoring the religious goals,

and the Deputation wanted to cut back any so-called distractions from their evangelical mission ideal. An example of the work of the Deputation was a decision involving the Oodooville Female Boarding School, the most successful evangelistic agency of the Ceylon mission, and the only mission institution supervised by missionary women. The Deputation eliminated English from the curriculum because they were worried that students would attend only to learn English to get ahead, rather than for the religious influence, and they decided that instead of having as its goal the raising of a suitable native female missionary agency, the sole goal of Oodooville's Female Boarding School should be to educate wives for native pastors and catechists. The numbers of girls allowed to attend would be limited to thirty-five, down from the seventy-three currently enrolled, and no non-Christians would be allowed to attend. Opponents of the Deputation's decision, most of whom were missionaries on the field, argued that the Deputation had made up its mind to close the schools before even visiting the missions. They accused the Deputation of ignoring the fact that many female graduates had converted and become teachers of the school, even if they had not married Christian workers. They also ignored that Oodooville was a "successful venue of evangelistic work for missionary women whose calling to be teachers was the female equivalent of a call to preach" (Robert 121).

However, schools for women were closed in many mission stations at this time. Mission historian Robert argues that "[h]owever necessary it may have seemed to reform the mission educational system in India and Ceylon in 1855, the end result of making education subservient to evangelism was to frustrate the major way that female missionaries were able to minister in the Indian context" (Robert 122). This situation is what led important missionaries such as Susan Tolman Mills to leave the ABCFM and set up schools of their own. Mills, a graduate of Mount Holyoke, and her husband, eventually founded Mills College, a successful girls' college, in California, on their own. The cutbacks in female teachers actually led to a more direct form of evangelizing by women: women who could no longer preach through their work at their schools began to raise money to go to mission fields as men did, no longer cloaking their evangelical ambitions under the safety of teaching careers, and women at home often supported their efforts by raising the money for them. Women who wanted to keep their evangelical

work were forced to leave the safety of the "teacher/evangelist" role and move to full blown evangelical work. Taking away teaching as an evangelical outlet caused more women to pressure their religious denominations for the traditionally male evangelical work, such as openly preaching and ministering to mixed public groups.

Additional Support Systems for Female Evangelists

Another evangelical role women found available to them was being part of a support group at home for women missionaries on the field. "Women at home gained valuable experience in skills of organization, administration, fund-raising, speaking, and writing. Their women's boards gave them an important power base in the churches" (Lindley 88). In 1861, after the cut back in women missionaries needed as teacher/evangelists, the Woman's Union Missionary Society, led by Mrs. Sarah Doremus, a Reformed woman from New York, was founded. The society was an independent, interdenominational mission board run by women to send single women out as missionaries. The founding reflected frustration with the dominant policy of the major Protestant mission boards, including the cutbacks on schools, which put many women missionaries out of jobs (Robert 115). In 1868, Congregationalist women held a meeting to organize a Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of New England, later the Woman's Board of Missions, ecumenical but in cooperation with the American Board to support single women who could devote themselves entirely to the mission field. Women of other denominations quickly followed with their own female missionary organizations in response to pleas from missionary wives in the fields" (Robert 130). In 1869, Congregationalist women founded their own periodical, Life and Light for Heathen Women, and "[b]y 1900, over forty denominational women's societies existed, with three million active women, despite sustained hostility from men of the church" (Robert 129). These women's societies built hospitals and schools around the world, paid the salaries of female evangelists, and sent single women as missionary doctors, teachers, and evangelists (Robert 129).

Mount Holyoke and other similar schools for women not only produced a significant number of women who entered the mission field, but also produced a body of women who stayed home but retained a strong interest in supporting their peers (Lindley 77). Unfortunately, women's missionary support groups were usually accepted by a

denomination only if they were auxiliary to the male mission board. Gradually these groups got tired of having to answer to the male groups, and many started their own independent groups where they supported female doctors and evangelists as missionaries on their own.

Relationship to the Women's Rights Movement

It is likely that the schools mentioned in this study helped their nineteenth century female alumnae to be more knowledgeable and successful rhetors, skills and confidences which could have influenced them or other women to support the women's rights movement. Some historians argue against this possibility, saying that scholars are wrong to assume that because women received an education in the 19th century that they were able to make significant feminist advances (Conway). One reason given is that, ever since the Puritans, women's so-called advances in education or work have been still under the umbrella of what's best for the society, or democracy. Benjamin Franklin argued for women to be better educated only so they could take better care of the home. Nineteenth century writers argued for women to be better educated so they could teach their children morality. Women became the guardians of the family morality because men had to go out into the secular world of work. Benjamin Rush argued for women to be educated to better fulfill their patriotic duties as republican women—the sound ordering of the house. In Europe during the late eighteenth/early nineteenth centuries, educated women either had to live apart from the family and family responsibilities as self-supporting individuals, or to live a "contemplative life in a religious community which was a recognized counter institution for an escape from the family" (Conway 4). Similarly, the women in this study were educated not for their own individual advancement, but for the good of society and the mission movement. This study agrees that the advances in speaking and writing women made as a result of nineteenth century schools were not made for the purpose of advancing women's rights. However, while the work of religious women who evangelized through their teaching might not at first glance seem as relevant to rhetorical history as those who engaged in more traditionally masculine oratorical work, their work is nonetheless just as valid a part of rhetorical history. The schools of the nineteenth century, though they did not provide as overtly equal an education with men as would happen in the late nineteenth century, were very influential in important ways for training

women for evangelical work—and not just as wives, but as evangelists in their own right. While the women in this study might not have called themselves feminists, many women expressed a clear sense of independence and a desire for rhetorical work, within a religious framework. For many single women, "a missionary career represented greater global awareness, independence, self-fulfillment, and a self-confident sense that they were doing valuable work in a significant cause. Whatever their rhetoric of selflessness and sacrifice, they were, in fact, finding the enlarged opportunities for women promoted in the women's rights movement" (Lindley 88).They do not seem to have viewed these goals as out of the ordinary, as the call of greater Christian usefulness seems to have allowed women greater leeway in their activities.

Though some female graduates who became missionaries did retain the traditional role of mother/wife by transplanting the confines of the private sphere to the new mission post, many others took on additional public roles of correspondent, evangelist, teacher, and organizer, and there were other single women who engaged in the "male" work of evangelizing both sexes and organizing churches (Lindley 75-6). These kinds of opportunities could also have given women the skills and the courage that could contribute to women later in the century rebelling against the restrictions of the private sphere and demanding a place in the political and economic realms. Additionally, historians observe that "[t]he example of women missionaries who functioned as ministers on the field in everything but name would be used as a pragmatic argument in the fight for ordination" (Lindley 88). Ordination certainly would be considered a progressive step for women, one which gave women equal rights with men in every area of the religious sphere, a goal consistent with the fight for women's rights. This confidence and experience in speaking and writing for the purpose of persuasion could have fed into women's activism in social movements like temperance and the abolition of slavery, and of course the equal rights' movement.

Conclusion

The early to mid nineteenth century was a unique time period that reflected, at the beginning, the start of women gaining similar educational opportunities as men as well as the opportunity to use this learning in the mission field, and, at the end, the decline of the classical curriculum and the need for female teacher/evangelists on the mission field.

Fortunately, the number of educational opportunities was increasing for women, and there were also more rhetorical opportunities in political and social spheres for women lecturers, professors, magazine editors, and activists. Women were able to extend their reach much more than in previous years beyond just the religious sphere.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Caucasian women had nearly equaled men in basic literacy (Hobbs 2), but many of them were denied the knowledge to be able to apply that literacy in multiple speaking and writing contexts. In Nineteenth-Century Women Learn to Write, Catharine Hobbs writes, "Literacy in its broadest sense denotes not only the technical skills of reading and writing but the tactical—or rhetorical—knowledge of how to employ those skills in the context of one or more communities" (1). Through the instruction offered to female students of the schools in this study, women gained not just technical literacy in the sense of reading and writing, but rhetorical literacy, where they could apply basic rhetorical skills to a variety of evangelistic situations.

It is important to go beyond the typical institutional histories of nineteenth century rhetorical curriculum that rely on Harvard and Yale as models of "typical schools" to look for alternative methods of classifying curriculum. Hobbs suggests that "[s]o much lies outside institutional histories that accounts of nineteenth-century women and writing must be broader (Hobbs 13). It is also important to go beyond the overt or formal curriculum of a particular time period when making conclusions about the quality and variety of curriculum for various groups of people. Groups denied access to equal educational opportunities often make their own way around the barriers, constructing creative ways to access education. It is instructive to look beyond comparisons of the types of rhetorical learning that has been coded "masculine," which was often denied to women, and, as Glenn, Johnson, Logan, Mattingly, Mountford, Ronald and Ritchie, Royster, and many other scholars argue, to rethink the way scholars approach histories for minority groups, and to challenge the standard ways knowledge is transmitted and students learn.

Re-examining assumptions about the relationship of women in the first half of the nineteenth century to higher education, and to rhetorical studies and professional rhetorical work, allows scholars to better acknowledge and appreciate the efforts of the

people who made a unique space for them, and who created a unique education to maximize their rhetorical potential as evangelists. Looking beyond the obvious ways minority groups can be left out of the centers of power or the tracks that lead to power in a society can help scholars acknowledge the efforts of these groups, who often have worked within restrictions laid upon them to create different kinds of rhetoric. While not diminishing the power of the forces working against them, and the struggles they faced as they worked to be included in more traditional rhetorical educational training and careers, scholars should move beyond that to see what was happening that was positive for women. It is important to recognize what women and their supporters were able to accomplish and to keep an understanding of rhetoric and rhetorical education fluid to encompass multiple ways of learning.

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