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“FOR THE ELEVATION OF WOMEN”: RECOVERING THE LOST VOICES OF COLLEGE

TEMPLE, 1853-1889

by

EMILY KIMBELL

Under the Direction of Lynee Lewis Gaillet, PhD

ABSTRACT

Recovering the lost voices of marginalized groups and integrating them into history helps reshape social constructs of the past, revitalize historiographical practices, and rethink spaces of exclusivity. Using an archival methodology and a feminist rhetorical lens, this thesis recovers the history of College Temple, a nineteenth-century women’s college located in Newnan, Georgia, and the women who attended the school, examining how the local space contributes to both rhetoric and composition’s larger historical narrative and modern practices. Though in existence a mere thirty-six years (1853-1889), College Temple provided its student with several contemporary opportunities, particularly within the realm of composition, contributing to their sense of agency and ethos. Exploring this contribution demonstrates the importance of the microhistory, serving as a call to further this type of research.

INDEX WORDS: Newnan, Georgia, Archives, Feminist rhetoric, Rhetoric and composition, Microhistory, Nineteenth century, American education, Women’s education

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TEMPLE, 1853-1889

by

EMILY KIMBELL

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2017

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Emily Nicole Kimbell
2017

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Georgia State University

August 2017

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the women of College Temple in Newnan, Georgia,
1853-1889. Thank you for making your voices heard.

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First, I must thank my committee, Dr. Mary Hocks, Dr. Elizabeth Lopez, and Dr. Lynee Gaillet, for not only helping me through the thesis writing process but encouraging me and supporting me throughout my entire master's program. I want to especially thank Dr. Lynee Gaillet who has been so much more than a thesis director but also a mentor, guide, and inspiration who has believed in my work so strongly throughout this whole process. I must also thank my friends and colleagues at the GSU Writing Studio. Working with you and learning from you all over the past two years has been one of the best experiences of my life. This work would not be complete without the assistance of the many archivists I encountered throughout the research process. A special thanks to Jeff Bishop and the Newnan-Coweta Historical Society for allowing me access to their archives and being supportive of this project. Thank you to my family, my ultimate support system, who always takes time to listen to the stories of my latest research discoveries. I am forever grateful to my one-in-a-million husband, Brad. I could never say thank you enough for all you do for me. Finally, thank you to my mom—my first English teacher, my ultimate cheerleader, and my best friend. All my success, I owe to you.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Newnan, Georgia, a small city located thirty miles south of Atlanta, bears the nickname “City of Homes.” A quick drive around the downtown square indicates to any visitor why the city carries this namesake. Scattered across Newnan are enormous homes built during the eighteenth and nineteenth century, indicators of rich histories and intriguing stories. During the Civil War, Newnan, Georgia, served as a hospital town for both the Union and Confederate armies due to its proximity to a railroad and train depot. As the town housed soldiers from both sides of the war, the city was spared during Sherman’s March to the Sea leaving building structures and material items intact. Newnan’s untouched homes still stand—a reminder of this complicated past. Despite the city’s complex history, the average Newnan citizen knows little about it. Instead, the stories remain secrets locked behind the exterior of the town’s antebellum homes.

I have lived in Newnan, Georgia my entire life, yet my first introduction to its Civil War history did not occur until the fall of 2015. To celebrate Halloween, my family attended a local ghost tour, and it was through this event I learned about Newnan’s role as a hospital town. An avid researcher since childhood, I spent the night investigating and eventually stumbled across mention of College Temple, an all-women’s college that had served as a hospital site. I quickly learned that not much history had been documented about the college, and I made it my mission to discover its story.

Information on College Temple proved to be limited at best, so I contacted local historian and previous president of the county’s historical society Elizabeth Beers for an interview. I have conducted interviews in the past, but this one was incredibly memorable as it quickly turned into Ms. Beers putting me in the back of her car and driving me around town, a tad recklessly in fact,

in search of historical sites. She drove me to the building that once held College Temple and the gravesite of its founder, Moses P. Kellogg, and I, once again, became captivated by the story of this school and its students.

The “interview” ended with a trip to the Newnan-Coweta Historical Society’s archives, where the archivists had already pulled a file folder full of College Temple records. For hours, I searched through student publications, alumni directories, student notes, and course catalogs. My introduction to College Temple began as a whirlwind but then became a lengthy pursuit across multiple archives to find documentation of the school’s history, mission, and impact. Through my search, I found a short yet profound history of a school with a thirty-six-year existence that sought to promote women and their writing endeavors.

This thesis encapsulates my research about College Temple, a nineteenth-century women’s college, and my attempt to record the school’s history. Prior to my study, little documented research existed regarding the school and its accounts. Published material containing information about College Temple is limited to local publications sponsored by the Newnan-Coweta Historical Society and brief mentions in Canter Brown Jr. and Larry Eugene Rivers’ work *Mary Edwards Bryan: Her Early Life and Works*. Through archival material, including course catalogs, alumni directories, and student writings, government documents, and newspaper articles, I seek to compile a more conclusive history of the educational facility, its founder, and its students; and to date, this work serves as the largest assemblage of College Temple history.

In this work, I will detail my role as a researcher outlining my investigative process and archival-based methodology. I will then describe College Temple’s history, an account compiled through the triangulation of both primary and secondary sources. By recounting College

Temple's history beginning with its founder, Moses Payson Kellogg, and continuing through the legacy of its students, I hope to characterize the school as a space of rhetorical significance. My research seeks to accomplish three goals. First, I work to distinguish College Temple from other all-women's colleges of the time, examining how the school instilled a focus on writing and authorship. Second, I seek to determine the students' level of agency gained from their educational experience and the effort placed into furthering the school's mission and legacy. Finally, and ultimately, I strive to establish College Temple as an entity worthy of research and lay the foundation for future study.

2 ANSWERS IN THE ARCHIVES: ADDING COLLEGE TEMPLE TO THE RHETORICAL MAP

Serving as both a rhetorical and historical case study, this thesis research contributes to the rhetorical field in three significant ways. First, the study expands archival-based methodology by examining a range of artifacts in both digital and physical archives in an effort to recover a lost and overlooked history. Second, this research introduces an unexplored feminist rhetorical space establishing the site as a dominant player in both the development of female education and the advancement of female authorship. Finally, the study contributes to a burgeoning rhetorical sub-field—researching the Southern woman's educational experience.

In her 1995 article "Remapping Rhetorical Territory," Cheryl Glenn contends that the field of rhetoric is "turning to a new map...that reflect[s] and coordinate[s] our current institutional, intellectual, political, and personal values, all of which have become markedly more diverse and elastic in terms of gender, race, and class" (287). Early rhetorical tradition focused its study on a narrow subject matter—white, upper-class, and male. This group constructed the

history of rhetoric and influenced research studies. Glenn argues that “For years, we ignored the borders of our map, the shadowy regions where roads run off the edge of the paper and drop away at sharp angles” (287). Glenn’s call to action asks rhetorical scholars to examine previously disregarded or un-researched spaces; one research area is female-centric education which has not received the same recognition nor prominence as its male counterpart in rhetorical inquiry.

Female education, then, functions as a “shadowy border” in the rhetorical map making more research and study necessary, specifically of subsets of the field including nineteenth- and early twentieth-century education, African American studies, state funded schools, and normal schools. Christina R. McDonald identifies another of these ignored subsets as Southern women’s education in her 1997 article “To educate neither belles nor bluestockings” arguing that “with few exceptions, the majority of attention has been paid to the Northeastern women’s colleges commonly referred to as ‘the Seven Sisters’” (59). Despite Glenn and McDonald’s assertions, both made over twenty years ago, to increase the rhetorical sphere of research, study concerning female education in the South continues to falter.

David Gold and Catherine L. Hobbs again reaffirm this call to study Southern female education in their 2014 book *Educating the New Southern Woman* arguing, “We still, however, lack a full accounting of the diversity of women’s educational experience in the era [late nineteenth/early twentieth century], particularly in the South...” (2). While rhetorical scholars including David Gold in his book *Rhetoric at the Margins: Revising the History of Writing Instruction in American Colleges, 1873-1947* and Kelly Ritter in her book *To Know Her Own History: Writing at the Women’s College, 1943-1963* answer these calls to action, the study of Southern education remains a map border, only partially illuminated. Through my research, I

hope to contribute to this growing field and add College Temple and its students to the rhetorical map.

2.1 Discovering Lost Narratives Through an Archival Based Research Method and Methodology

In this thesis, I take a microhistorical approach seeking to construct an account of a nineteenth-century women's college with a sparsely known and incomplete history. Rather than “examining aggregates of people—such as an entire social class or profession...” a microhistorical approach asks researchers to “focus on individuals or small groups” (Muir 619). This research specifically considers one educational site, investigating its history, mission, and curriculum practices. I further expand my research to consider the alumni of the school engaging in another aspect of the microhistorical approach that “attempt[s] to give a voice to persons whose low social status, illiteracy, or unconventional views make them otherwise lost to history” (Muir 619). The rhetorical field, whose beginnings have been described through “competing grand narratives,” now views the microhistory as a valued component of the field's history and acknowledges that “lived experience plays an underappreciate but equally significant role in any field's founding, and so too for rhetoric and composition” (Craig et al. 284).

While this research relies on secondary publication, the study primarily utilizes archival research to construct these microhistories. My research has led to me traditional upper-case “Archives,” defined by Robert J. Conners as those maintained by universities; “lower-case-a archives,” described by Cheryl Glenn and Jessica Enoch as those housed at local libraries and historical societies; and digital archives including such databases as *Google Books*, *Accessible Archives*, and *Georgia Historic Newspapers*. While my analysis has primarily analyzed traditional notions of text—newspaper articles, course catalogs, and alumni listings—I have

deepened my research by expanding my definition of a “text” and considering the messages present in both the original structure of the school and gravesite of the founder of the college. As my research has expanded across several archive locations and formats, I have found that issues of accessibility and practices associated with encountering the text change; however, fundamental methodology remains similar with an element of serendipity always at play.

Lori Ostergaard acknowledges it is “...serendipity and process—the unpredictable interplay between accident and intention—that often characterizes archival research” (40), and it was, in fact, a moment of serendipity that began my research of College Temple. However, serendipity plays only one role in the discovery process; it is the responsibility of the researcher to recognize the importance of their findings as “Archival scholars must possess both a ‘beginner’s mind’ that will allow them to be open to accidental discoveries and the expert knowledge necessary to recognize the significance of their discoveries” (Interview: David Gold, 42). Though my introduction to College Temple resulted from a local ghost tour on Halloween, I sensed the significance of the space and became determined to discover more of the story.

While “serendipity” characterizes my discovery of College Temple, “exploration” defines the research process. Cheryl Glenn and Jessica Enoch argue that “Not all archival research in rhetoric and composition begins—or ends—on a university campus or at a prestigious research library” (17). My first experience in the archives, at the Newnan-Coweta Historical Society, proved to be an interesting and uncommon experience, one that prepared me for the unique and sometimes unpredictable nature of the archives. Spaces like historical societies are defined by archivists as a “lower-case- a archives” (Glenn and Enoch 17); however, it is through these lowercase archives that scholars are able to “let go of our dependence on traditional texts and research materials and push ourselves to search for new kinds of evidence that might reveal

different understandings of how people throughout history have learned and deployed rhetoric and writing” (Glenn and Enoch 16). These “non-traditional” settings often ask the archivist to engage with archives in ways different from established or traditional practices; however, by encountering our research unconventionally, we can see the research subjects through a new light solidifying our connection and deepening our research.

From the historical society, my research expanded into more traditional uppercase-Archives leading me to physical archives at Kenan Research Center in Atlanta, the Emory University Archives, and the University of Georgia Archives and digital archives hosted by Duke University, the University of Pennsylvania, and the Fort Worth Texas Library. Each minor discovery set me on a path to a new archive. Lucille Bryant’s 1933 newspaper article “A Historic Mile Stone in Georgia Education” found at the Kenan Research Center in Atlanta mentioned the existence of a student published newspaper titled *The New Departure*. This discovery led me to Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library at Emory University which houses the only two existing copies of the publication. This process of discovery is detailed yet guided requiring both skill and a little luck from the researcher. Robert J. Connors labels this archival process as “something like an August mushroom hunt” (23), and Lynn Z. Bloom characterizes the archivist as a “deep sea diver...looking for buried treasure” (277).

I most agree with Lynee Gaillet’s description of the archival research process. She explains, “Sometimes, archival research involves following a Nancy Drew-like trail of clues that culminates in the rare, intriguing, ‘holy grail’ find at the conclusion of the search—but not often” (Archival Survival 29). Throughout my research, I have found that there is generally not a monumental discovery found in one archive but rather small discoveries made throughout the research process. Working with a topic that is relatively unknown and has little academic

publication associations, I have learned to appreciate every finding. Archives on College Temple are not housed in a collection of their own but instead included in a larger collection of newspapers or education paraphernalia. Records and archives of female alumni are also not typically individualized but rather contained within the collections of their husbands or fathers. While the “holy grail” may not come at the end of one search, archival researchers, like myself, may realize our collection of “small findings” or discoveries add up to the answer for which we have been searching.

In contemporary times, archival search is not limited to physical spaces but may extend to the digital arena, a space often designated “archives 2.0.” Alexis E. Ramsey-Tobienne argues that “archives 2.0 are not just digital representations of collections, although they can—and do—include digitized versions of collections” (6). Instead archives 2.0 is characterized by elements of participation, community, and collaboration (Ramsey-Tobienne 5-6) allowing researchers to access databases otherwise unavailable and connect with knowledgeable archivists and collection users outside the researcher’s physical sphere of influence.

Through archives 2.0, I was able to connect with archivists and archives in Fort Worth Texas though physically located in Georgia increasing my research community and building networks otherwise limited to non-digital spaces, an action only possible through the digital archive plane. In his article “Three Gifts of Digital Archives,” James P. Purdy, Associate Professor at Duquesne University, identifies three additional potentials of digital archives as integration, customization, and accessibility. He attests that “Digital archives eliminate many temporal and spatial obstacles to archival research” (40). Digital archives have greatly improved my access to particular knowledge regarding the school and its affiliates. Through digital archives, I gained a more complete picture of Moses P. Kellogg’s life by determining his alumni

status (University of Vermont), previous work history (Duke University), and involvement with the Freemasons (The Atlanta Masonic Library and Museum Association Inc.). Digitized archives have allowed me to view College Temple alumni Henrie C. L. Gorman's publications of *The Bohemian*, a collection housed at Fort Worth Texas; read reviews of College Temple published in *Godey's Lady's Book* through *Accessible Archives*; and assess community reaction to the school through newspaper articles available through the *Georgia Historic Newspapers* digital collection.

In digital archives, the theory of integration allows researchers to collect and systemize their search results in an organizational structure that makes sense to them. Purdy states that "the customization of digital archives is a new gift. Researchers were not previously able to save search results accessible from multiple locations, create personalized classification systems, or influence the generation of search results" (40). *Google Books* has become an invaluable resource in my research providing an integration system of sorts that collects uploads of old library books and documents. By tabbing search results, digital finding aids, and other online records, I have created my own archive of College Temple material that is digitally accessible.

Despite the benefits and potential of archives 2.0, digital archives do not supplant physical archives with Ramsey-Tobienne arguing that "archives 2.0 do not...obviate the need for visits to time spent in more traditional archive spaces" (22). While digital archives may provide insight regarding the research subject, it may more so provide a "clearer awareness of what is not digitized, what is not made available for community involvement/feedback" (Ramsey-Tobienne 22). Digital archives are then "not replacements for traditional archives, but rather are additions to them" (Ramsey-Tobienne 22). This view asks researchers to combine their practices merging digital and physical archives into one methodology, a practice that expands our idea of how and

where we can find information about our chosen topic and, ultimately, revitalizes our methodological practices.

Cheryl Glenn and Jessica Enoch, in their article “Invigorating Historiographic Practices in Rhetoric and Composition Studies,” advocate for this revitalization of methodology arguing scholars must “suggest ways that we might broaden the scope of historiographic methods by identifying new places to look, new questions to ask, and new issues to consider” (12-13). Perhaps part of identifying these “new places” is not limiting archival research to solely a physical or digital scope but combining the two, allowing our research to utilize the best of both spaces and allowing our findings to guide us to the most appropriate archive whether it be online or in person.

Utilizing both archival research spaces helps expand our research; however, it is the physical archive that often allows the researcher to connect most concretely with the research subjects. Linda Bergmann notes that “there is something very strongly appealing about handling things the person we study has worn, of seeing the perspiration stains on the dresses, and handling papers written or touched by the writers we study, the inkblots and cross-outs that went into their writing” (230). And though Bergmann warns that this appeal may turn into a lack of critical bias, Elizabeth Birmingham believes it is this personability with our research subjects that “shape[s]” the research (139). As researchers with highly personal investigations, archivists must navigate between familiarity and analysis. Glenn and Enoch suggest scholars rectify this conflict by being upfront about the relationship with their study and addressing positionality: “We need to know what our self-interest is, how that interest might enrich our disciplinary field as it affects others...and resolve to participate in a reciprocal cross-boundary exchange, in which we talk *with* and listen *to* others...” (24). By addressing our positionality and maintaining a

critical viewpoint, we find that we can contribute to rhetorical history and our own history, and although archival research will “not...enable us to...understand them [research subjects] in a way that is definitive and true...they will help us recover ourselves” (170).

My positionality is one that connects me with my research subjects. I am white, female, middle-class, educated, and from the same city as most of the students who attended College Temple. However, it is this connection that drives me to accuracy and precision. I want to tell the story of College Temple and its students—good and bad—to the best of my ability because it is my story. Since beginning this project two years ago to meet the requirements of a first-year master’s class, I have realized the importance of my research both to my community and to the rhetoric and composition field at large. I recognize that a personal connection can become a public interest, and now my class project has turned into a life-long research endeavor—one that leads me back home to reflect on my community, my historical influences, and in turn, myself.

2.2 Going Beyond Recovery Using a Feminist Rhetorical Lens

This research utilizes a feminist rhetorical lens drawing heavily from the practices presented in Jacqueline Jones Royster and Gesa E. Kirsch’s seminal work *Feminist Rhetorical Practices: New Horizons for Rhetoric, Composition, and Literacy Studies*. Royster and Kirsch employ feminist scholars to move beyond the “three Rs” of traditional feminist rhetorical studies—rescue, recovery, and (re)inscription—arguing that tectonic shifts in the field require a new, more critical methodology. While the “three Rs” are not completely abandoned by Royster and Kirsch, they serve as a potential starting rather than ending point for research. A more nuanced methodology compels rhetoricians to reimagine the landscape of and influences on rhetorical history rather than merely add women and other marginalized groups to an already

identified narrative by engaging in four methodological approaches: critical imagination, strategic contemplation, social circulation, and globalization.

Royster and Kirsch first ask feminist scholars to engage in critical imagination. This approach asks the researcher to “gain a deeper understanding by going repeatedly not to our own assumptions and expectation but to the women—to their writing, their work, and their worlds” (20). Instead of speaking on behalf of the women we research, we “interrogat[e] the contexts, conditions, lives, and practices of women who are no longer alive to speak directly on their own behalf” (71). My research seeks to participate in critical imagination by engaging with a variety of traditional archives, both physical and digital, housed at universities, historical societies, and local libraries. By examining letters, journals, newspapers, and student publications, I seek to undertake in an effort to let the women of College Temple speak for themselves.

I strive to deepen my research and connection to my subject by studying the time period of the school and analyzing non-traditional texts. I have further connected with the women of College Temple by viewing the original structure of the school and visiting the gravesite of the founder of the college, consequently engaging in strategic contemplation. Royster and Kirsch identify strategic contemplation as a meditative type process that asks researchers to reflect on the space and influences on the persons of research and further reflect on the researcher's own positionality, understanding, and bias.

The writings and publications of the students at College Temple offer a chance to analyze the public dialogue and influence of these women's voices, thus participating in Royster and Kirsch's call to analyze the ways in which women communicated socially and the subsequent effect of such action in the public sphere. Though the women of College Temple influenced women's progress on a whole, it is interesting to note that advancement stalled in the College's

location—Newnan, Georgia. Despite being the previous site of a relatively progressive women’s college, Newnan displays a divergence from that thought, now promoting a more traditional female role and lifestyle.

While this study centers on Western-based rhetoric, it does answer Royster and Kirsch’s call to “respect local viewpoints” (138) by focusing research on nineteenth-century Southern education. And though this study concentrates on the white, upper class of Euro descent, it tells the story of women who have indeed been overlooked and, accordingly, remain relatively unknown. Through archival research, their stories become legitimate, or as Robert Connors states it is “the telling of stories about the tribe that make[s] the tribe real” (62). Through the research of these personal stories or microhistories, we not only add to the history of rhetoric, we also find pieces of ourselves in the process: “We are telling the stories of our fathers and our mothers, and we are legitimating ourselves through legitimating them (Connors 62). For me, this “tribe” is personal; it is the history of my community, my town, and my friends.

3 COLLEGE TEMPLE: THE HISTORY OF A COLLEGE BEFORE ITS TIME

Women’s higher education in the United States has had a relatively short history, particularly when compared to the history of higher education on the whole. Female education has lagged behind male-focused education both in terms of advancement and study, and while women’s higher education has developed and constructed impact in its own right, the roots of the institution are steeped in patriarchal influence. Mabel Newcomer, an economics professor at Vassar College during the early twentieth century, notes in her historical text *A Century of Higher Education for American Women* that the need for an educated male electorate spurred the growth of female education. She contends that while “At that time [approximately 1850 - 1870]

there was even less support for giving women the vote than for admitting them to college; but it was becoming increasingly apparent that the only way to get even a minimum universal education for male voters was to employ women teachers” (15). A complication arose as women were not educated and thus unable to adequately teach students—a dilemma which made it necessary to “concede that a very substantial number of the female population must be educated too” (15). This need for female educators coupled with the onset of the Civil War caused a considerable growth in both the acceptance of female students and the establishment of new women-only colleges.

The South responded to this call for increased female education in a slightly different manner than their Northern counterpart. While the North viewed the development as an undesired necessity, the South embraced “classical education as a marker of gentility” (Farnham 2) or an attribute of the Southern Belle. However, this view did not translate into Southern families wanting their daughters to enter the public workforce, and most families, and students themselves, did not plan on these women obtaining jobs after schooling (Farnham 3). Nevertheless, rhetorical and compositional activities engaged in during school increased female students’ exposure and engagement with the public sphere, leading many to use their education to obtain teaching positions, clerical work, and journalistic employment.

As rhetoric and composition as a field continues its investigation into rhetorical education in the South and its impact, the local story emerges as the primary means of inquiry. David Gold argues that all history is local as “National trends intersect with and often emerge from local communities and constituencies, whose experiences can complicate and confound received historical narratives” (Rhetoric at Margins ix). In spite of the significance of the local history, it is often overlooked; a practice that “In rhetoric and composition studies, recent historical

scholarship has begun to reverse...” (Gold Rhetoric at Margins ix). Royster and Kirsch confirm this need to consider the local by arguing for a practice of globalization in feminist rhetorical study; using the theory as a beginning point, Royster and Kirsch “draw forth the need to respect local viewpoints” (138). Rhetoric scholars have answered the call with works including Henrietta Rix Wood’s *Praising Girls: The Rhetoric of Young Women, 1895 – 1930*; Wendy Dasler Johnson’s *Antebellum American Women's Poetry: A Rhetoric of Sentiment*; and Kimberly Harrison’s *Rhetoric of Rebel Women: Civil War Diaries and Confederate Persuasion* all of which maintain a local focus, using the individual’s words and thoughts to construct a narrative.

This thesis responds to Royster and Kirsch’s call to examine the local by researching College Temple, one of Georgia’s early women’s colleges located in Newnan, Georgia. Established in 1853, College Temple both “complicates and confounds” established narratives as the school contributed to the “Southern Belle” image while still encouraging women to pursue a higher status in society. Deviating from the traditional literary focus of many nineteenth-century women’s colleges, College Temple prioritized a focus on writing as indicated by a student essay in a school-published periodical: “it then [College Temple’s beginning] boasted of its thoroughness in instruction, and made known its design to educate young ladies to become ready writers for our sunny land” (*The Fly-Leaf* June 1856). Throughout its existence, College Temple maintained this goal, despite experiencing several structural changes in addition to serving as a Civil War hospital site in 1864. Despite the intention of the college and its concentration on authorship, College Temple failed in continuing its presence and closed in 1889 after a mere thirty-six-year existence. Though short-lived, College Temple served to advance women’s education offering a robust course of study to its students and functioning as an exemplary illustration of a forward-thinking institution.

In this chapter, I seek to establish College Temple as a local space of significance through detailing its previously under-documented and disregarded history. I will examine College Temple's origination through its founder, Moses Payson Kellogg, and the college's structural and curricular changes, which proved to be both early forerunners of Southern female educational standards and comparable to Northern male colleges of the time. Finally, I will examine College Temple's publication opportunities and its rhetorical influence on the community. Detailing this history sets the stage for further research regarding the College's impact on the field of rhetoric and composition and provides a case study example for those working with archives to unearth local narratives.

3.1 College Temple's Founder and His Focus on Ethos and Community

Little is known about Moses Payson Kellogg, president and proprietor of College Temple. Quick mentions of him appear in local Newnan history books, each description vague and describing similar information; his very existence may be questioned if not for the massive gravestone in Newnan's Oak Hill Cemetery dedicated to him and his work as a teacher. While researching College Temple, I became intrigued by the man inspired to create such a forward-thinking college. While conducting archival research on College Temple itself, I began finding traces of its founder in census records and school paraphernalia, allowing me to piece together ideas of Kellogg's life, thoughts, and beliefs. Kellogg frequently wrote introductory letters to students and their families in school directories and course catalogs, artifacts that gave insight into the man and his pedagogical practices.

Moses Payson Kellogg founded College Temple after teaching in Coweta County for nearly ten years. His reputation as a dedicated and committed educator played an integral role in causing the college to be successful at a time when women's higher education was a new

concept. Kellogg acquired years of teaching experience throughout his life while also raising a large family with his wife and fellow educator, Harriet Robie Baker; however, his dominant passion remained College Temple. Kellogg served at College Temple in some capacity throughout the school's thirty-six-year existence, consistently listed as proprietor on school records, documents, and catalog. Additionally, Kellogg acted as the primary lecturer of math, science, and ancient language classes (College Temple Course Catalogue 1886) and president of the college throughout its tenure, apart from a hiatus period from 1880 to 1882 due to Kellogg's poor health (College Temple Course Catalogue 1880) (Jones and Reynolds 620). After that brief time, Kellogg was reinstated as president and remained in that position until the closing of College Temple in 1889.

Archives indicate Kellogg remained well-liked among his students and community leaders throughout his tenure at College Temple and after his death, nevertheless, he remains unfamiliar to modern scholars. It is important to unearth and study these early figures in rhetoric and composition's history for, though their existence may be relatively unknown, their influence can still be felt in modern rhetorical theory and pedagogy. Lynee Gaillet states "The nineteenth century provides the immediate background for current rhetorical theory" arguing that rhetorical scholars "must study the tradition we come from in order to put into perspective our own contributions" (A Legacy 87). Studying figures like Moses Kellogg yields a deeper understanding of rhetorical history and allows for a better understanding of both traditional and modern pedagogical practices. Research of Kellogg, specifically, shows an early introduction of modern feminist teaching practices. During his time at College Temple, Kellogg demonstrated aspects of a feminist pedagogy, centralizing the school around ideals of community and, ultimately, creating a space where women were challenged to be agents of change.

Despite being born in Vermont on May 19, 1823 (Hopkins 647), Kellogg spent most of his life in Georgia moving to Coweta County in 1844 (qtd. in Janes 44) and remaining there until his death in 1889. A newcomer to such a tight-knight community, Kellogg experienced initial belittlement among his community as evidenced by Newnan's early historical records: "they say he is a Yankee carpet-bagger" (Anderson 50). His status as an outsider forced Kellogg to fully engage in Southern culture both professionally and personally, assuming leadership roles in the community and adopting community values in an effort to establish his ethos.

Expanding on the Aristotelian concept of ethos, more modern scholarship views ethos as socially constructed with an element of location inherent to the theory. Nedra Reynolds argues that this view of ethos "shifts its implications of responsibility from the individual to a negotiation or mediation between the rhetor and the community" (328). Ethos then is not necessarily innate or developed solely in an individual but rather is a reciprocal relationship between a person and his or her local community. This relationship changes as the ideals and values of the community shift, causing the individual's perceived ethos level to adjust dependent upon how well they adapt to community standards or integrate into community practices.

Kellogg engaged in this locational idea of ethos by holding positions of power in the community and intertwining with the fabric of local culture, particularly by establishing himself as a credible educator in the county. Kellogg began his teaching career by first working as a tutor in the home of Dr. and Mrs. Ira E. Smith (Jones and Reynolds 92); later, between 1845 and 1847, Kellogg taught at Mount Pleasant School (Jones and Reynolds 93, Anderson 48). It was at Mount Pleasant where Kellogg initially gained notoriety as the instructor of Albert Raney and Luther M. Smith, the first students from Coweta County to graduate from college. Both Raney and Smith attended Emory University, the latter of which eventually became President of Emory

University from 1867 to 1871 (Emory University). Kellogg's promotion of higher education is evident even in his early career, and this connection seemed to influence his later career goals and decisions.

By 1848, Kellogg was serving as principal of Rock Spring Academy, a college preparatory school for boys. At this time, Kellogg had evidently made an impression in the community as the school circular describes his credentials as such: "The character of the Principal, as a Teacher, is too well known in Georgia, to require notice in this circular" (Rock Spring Academy Flyer 1848). Kellogg's work at Rock Springs garnered the attention of Newnan officials. Though some uncertainty exists, Kellogg did teach in Newnan around 1850 appearing most likely that he acted as principal and proprietor of Newnan Seminary, a school opened both to boys and girls but serving more so as a preparatory school for boys; a reprinting of the "FIRST ANNUAL CATALOGUE of the Teachers, Students and Patrons of NEWNAN SEMINARY, Newnan, Ga., 1850" in *Coweta County Chronicles* notes, "Young men can here fit themselves to take an honorable stand in any of our Universities or Colleges" (Jones and Reynolds 102). However, it was at this school Kellogg first acknowledged his positive perception of the relationship between women and writing, noting in an annual course catalog that "The compositions of the young ladies manifested a clear, just and thorough acquaintance with their subjects" (Jones and Reynolds 102). It was only two years after this publication, Kellogg began construction of College Temple, an academic facility dedicated to the education of women with a distinct focus on writing.

For his work in education, Kellogg received an honorary degree from the University of Vermont in Burlington in 1851 (University of Vermont *General Catalogue* 224; University of Vermont *Triennial Catalogue* 48). He highly valued the degree customarily using the distinction

AM (*Artium Magister*) after his surname in professional documents. Kellogg continued this tradition of presenting honorary degrees at College Temple often awarding the distinction to women who had achieved some writing or literary acclaim.

As Kellogg developed his ethos professionally, his relationship with the community deepened, as evidenced by the consistent promotions and job offers from local schools. Kellogg continued his professional development, eventually becoming a highly-respected member of Newnan and Coweta County. W.U. Anderson, an original Newnan settler, wrote in his historical account, “He [Kellogg] has now been with us over the third of a century; has raised his family with us; spent all his money he has ever made in building up our town and country...Where is the man that has done as much to build up your city as he has done?” (50). Anderson further recommended Kellogg be fully embraced by the South: “Then away with the charge of Yankee...We all owe it to him if we deal justly” (50 - 51).

Locational ethos mandates individuals not only negotiate a relationship with the local community but assume the principles and beliefs of that community. Ethos reflects values as Michael Halloran argues, “To have ethos is to manifest the virtues most valued by the culture to and for which one speaks...” (60). While Kellogg became a leader in the local community, he lacked the “insider” designation and was viewed differently than native members due to his Northern outsider status. To rectify his position in the community and solidify his credibility, Kellogg engaged in situational ethos, embracing practices and traditions of his adopted community.

Kellogg contributed to his local community by participating in organizations and undertaking business endeavors. He served as Grand High Priest of the Freemason Newnan chapter from 1869 to 1872 (The Atlanta Masonic Library and Museum Association Inc.) and

worked as both a member of the board of directors and secretary/treasurer of the Georgia Petroleum Company (McNaught 2). Kellogg invested in the economy of his community not only founding College Temple but also becoming President of the Georgia Manufacturing and Paper Mill Company (Georgia Manufacturers 2). Kellogg further adopted the Southern practice of owning slaves despite originating from Vermont, a state which outlawed slavery in 1777. The 1860 United States Federal Census Slave Schedule lists seventeen slaves under Kellogg's ownership (U.S. Bureau of the Census Slave Schedules). Kellogg's effort to establish his ethos resulted in an agreeable relationship between himself and Coweta County; Kellogg notes about his local community, "There is no healthier country on earth, in my opinion; the society is refined and elevated; and the security of life and property unsurpassed anywhere" (qtd in Janes 44).

Kellogg's interactions with the community demonstrate the situational element of ethos showing that ethos is not equivalent to morality or ethics but more so comparable to local values. As Kellogg assimilated to the Southern practices and culture of Coweta County, he became more accepted, eventually being acknowledged as an integral component of the town. While some of Kellogg's practices are now seen as questionable, such as the ownership of slaves, this focus on building ethos did allow Kellogg to construct a new educational model in Coweta County and give women the opportunity to develop their own ethos.

Kellogg extended this idea of ethos and community, integrating the concepts into the guiding pedagogy at College Temple. His personal practices involving locally-situated ethos influenced the focus and goal of the women's college, though materializing in a different format. Kellogg's concentration on ethos and community translated into a pedagogical practice exhibiting introductory aspects of feminist pedagogy.

In her article “What is Feminist Pedagogy?,” Carolyn M. Shrewsbury identifies the three centralizing components of feminist pedagogy as empowerment, community, and leadership. Empowerment and leadership are closely connected, both mandating that students in a feminist classroom gain agency and develop analytical skills; empowerment based strategies, in particular, “allow students to find their own voices, to discover the power of authenticity” (11). Kellogg engaged in this practice by providing publication opportunities at College Temple through school-sponsored newspapers and periodicals, as his centralizing goal at the school was to promote Southern women through writing and authorship.

Kellogg primarily engaged in the feminist practice of community; he worked to make College Temple an integral component of the community often holding fundraisers and events for local business at the school. Kellogg most extended his idea of community through his pedagogy creating a sense of family or kinship among himself and the students. He maintained a fondness for his student often addressing them as “My Literary Children” (Directory of The Alumnae of College Temple 1878). This idea of school community or pride further developed through the alumni reunions hosted after each commencement.

Kellogg believed in making this community accessible, at least to unmarried white women. Despite charging for education, Kellogg did not want lack of resources to prevent any individual from receiving said education. Kellogg frequently declared in course catalogs that “No applicant unable to pay tuition and board has ever been refused” (College Temple Course Catalogue 1881), a claim substantiated by Mary E. Bryan’s short story “Maggie Caldwell, a Story That is Altogether True” published in *The Sunny South* (1). Coweta County citizens noted Kellogg’s propensity for accepting students; an opinion piece printed in an 1874 publication of

the *Newnan Herald* contends that no pupil has ever been turned away from College Temple including orphan children unable to pay room or board (College Temple 3).

College Temple students reciprocated Kellogg's attachment. After Kellogg's passing in November 1889, just months after the last College Temple commencement in June, College Temple students erected a marble monument at Kellogg's grave engraved with the words "The Faithful Teacher." Kellogg's burial in Newnan's prominent Oak Hill Cemetery demonstrates acceptance by both students and the community, a tribute to Kellogg's efforts. Years after Kellogg's death, students still remembered their dedicated teacher. A feature printed in *The Sunny South* in 1904 describes Kellogg as "Scholarly, logical ardent, enthusiastic, broad-minded, benevolent—and above all, inspiring to his pupils..." (Bryan 6).

Throughout his career, Kellogg focused on developing a locally-situated ethos, a practice which ultimately led to his memorialization in Newnan, Georgia. However, a locally-situated ethos has the potential to translate into both a geographically and time-period limited legacy, an issue Kellogg faced as an academic. While College Temple students retained the memory of Moses Kellogg, the teacher failed to implement a strategy of legacy to preserve his ideologies and educational beliefs. The closing of College Temple is often credited to a combination of public school openings and Kellogg's failing health. Kellogg was so intertwined with the fabric of the school that it simply could not exist without him nor he without the school. While both the physical College Temple structure and gravesite memorial to Kellogg still stand in Newnan, Georgia, unfortunately, the principles established during this time have not continued. Though Newnan and its surrounding county, Coweta County, is currently educationally strong, the area is not known for being a pioneer in women's education, a designation it once had during the College Temple era.

While an expansive legacy for the teacher is not found in publications and attributions, Kellogg's legacy may have indeed endured through his students who developed their own ethos and ideas of community. This prospect suggests additional research possibilities raising questions regarding Kellogg's direct pedagogical impact on his students who became instructors and their teaching philosophy and larger questions regarding legacy and influence.

3.2 College Temple's Growth as a Predecessor of Cultural Norms

David Gold argues two dominant tensions characterized Southern women's higher education during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The first prominent tension involved "the debate over women's role in society" represented by two positions: Victorian concepts of gender, which restricted women's influence to domestic spheres and "progressive-era politics," which supported traditional ideas of gender but sought to expand women's positions in public and professional fields. The second tension involved the role of higher education itself and the debate surrounding its purpose and overall goal (Rhetoric at the Margins 68-69). Female colleges in the South had to circumnavigate these issues, often offering classes that both reinforced conventional gender roles and prepared women for careers and jobs created through societal need and recent wars. These agendas appeared opposed, yet Christie Farnham contends it was the perception of the Southern Belle that facilitated the growth of female education in the South. In an effort to attain "gentility," Southern colleges offered progressive curriculum. This more modern education did not challenge tradition; instead, it reinforced it as "Higher education, for the most part, was affordable only to the wealthier ranks of Southern white women..." (Farnham 28). Though these women were not expected to obtain careers after schooling, change still progressively occurred in part due to the foresight and efforts of educators

of the time. The result became a shift in status quo and an increase in women's roles in the public sector despite the original intentions of the community.

Female colleges like College Temple prompted movements of women's progress by offering robust college curriculum and developing programs to prepare women for changing societal roles. College Temple began its first term of classes on September 7, 1853 (Newnan-Coweta Historical Society 135) and received its state charter on February 11, 1854 (Georgia General Assembly 118-119). Throughout its existence, College Temple remained at the forefront of pedagogical movements through the incorporation of contemporary structural changes and program developments. Arguably, College Temple's most prominent distinction is the unconfirmed, though not disproved, assertion that the college was the first to grant women a Master of Arts degree, a claim initially made by Moses P. Kellogg in a printed address distributed on the College's 25th anniversary. In the address, he reflects on College Temple's first commencement ceremony held in 1855 "when the degree...Magistra in Artibus (M.A.)...was conferred for the *first* time by a female college in America" (qtd.in Newnan-Coweta Historical Society 124-125). This decision to bestow women with an advanced degree designation displayed a direct manifestation of College Temple's mission to elevate women and promote female education. This mission guided the rationale behind College Temple, influencing their willingness to engage in new pedagogical practices and principles.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, proponents of higher education for Southern females faced a paradox: "Their goal was to offer young women an education equivalent to the best that was available to young men; but they and society, generally, believed that males and females were diametrically different" (Farnham 68). Colleges were then tasked

with convincing their communities that a male-comparable education was in the best interest of women.

Like other schools during the time, College Temple offered a rigorous course schedule that emulated classes offered at more acclaimed, all-male universities. College Temple allowed students to take as many classes as desired, as long as they remained in good standing; however, the school mandated students take at least three classes per day in addition to writing, music, and elocution. College Temple employed a rigid threshold system, requiring students to earn an eighty average in each of their classes; students who did not meet the requirement were withheld and forced to go back a grade in their studies. However, College Temple encouraged faculty intervention, mandating teachers assist and tutor students falling below the required average. To graduate from College Temple, students had to complete a written examination in each class, further highlighting the school's focus on composition. College Temple offered two college distinctions: a Mistress of Arts degree for students who completed each class listed in the course catalog and a Mistress of English Literature degree for students who completed all courses except Latin (College Temple Catalogue 1881).

College courses were divided into four class levels: freshman, sophomore, junior, and senior with the school offering a mixture of both humanities and science classes. This course combination allowed students an opportunity to receive a well-rounded education; the school offered a variety of science and mathematics classes including physics, astronomy, geometry, trigonometry, and algebra, courses even in modern times more associated with male students.

A comparison of College Temple's 1886 course catalog and the University of Pennsylvania's 1886 course catalog exhibits surprising similarities despite the contradictory history, location, and purpose of the two schools. The University of Pennsylvania, a private Ivy

League college founded in 1740, became known as the first college to implement a multidisciplinary approach with its curriculum, founding the continent's first medical school, business school, and student union. The University concentrated on educating male students, admitting its first female students in 1876 on an exclusionary basis that made them ineligible to receive degrees (Hutchins 35). The University of Pennsylvania and College Temple seemingly appeared to be complete opposites, serving different clientele and emphasizing different agendas, yet their course catalogs do not reflect the same amount of difference. An 1886-1887 course catalog for the University of Pennsylvania's Bachelor of Arts degree, seemingly College Temple's Mistress of Arts equivalent, demonstrates a similar combination of both humanities and science classes. Mathematic classes required at the University of Pennsylvania parallel those required at College Temple in addition to several of the University's history classes and its rhetoric, logic, and moral philosophy classes (University of Pennsylvania Catalogue and Announcements 1886-1887).

Deviations between the two course catalogs are evident; the University of Pennsylvania presented more specific literature and science classes, while College Temple required foreign language classes including Latin and French, courses typical in Southern schools. However, the graduation distinction remains the most blatant difference with the University of Pennsylvania offering a BA degree and College Temple offering an MA degree. The University of Pennsylvania did offer a Master of Arts distinction to alumni who applied for the degree three years after graduation and a Master of Science to students presenting a satisfactory thesis to the faculty (University of Pennsylvania Catalogue and Announcements 1886-1887). College Temple may have circumvented this type of requirement by mandating students write weekly compositions throughout their academic tenure (College Temple Course Catalogue 1884).

While College Temple did promote an interdisciplinary approach through its course catalog, the school fostered a particular focus on rhetoric and composition. College Temple required students to take elocution classes for four to six weeks at the beginning of the term; these classes were also offered as private classes to individuals outside of the College (College Temple Course Catalogue 1881). Elocution provided a way for women to engage in oratorical study in a feminine manner, “solv[ing] the problem of the rhetorical canon of delivery being developed for men” (Gold and Hobbs 64). Popularity for teaching the practice grew in all-female and predominantly-female colleges, and “by the time of the chartering of the first southern public women’s college, Mississippi State College for women, in 1884, women’s popular elocution had become an established movement, with formal institutional training in numerous schools as well as informal and popular sites” (qtd. in Gold and Hobbs 61). College Temple allowed students the opportunity to engage in public speaking opportunities at commencement ceremonies, recitals, and concerts, often allowing students to read their own compositions at these events. Though Gold and Hobbs relay that the study of elocution may have been viewed as inferior to the rhetorical training offered at the male colleges and subpar by today’s standards, they argue that through these speaking lessons and events, “young women learned how to do what they needed to do in their lives—lead a meeting, speak before an audience, administer a large organization, teach, entertain, or devote themselves to performance in an artistic career” (84). College Temple’s practice of encouraging women to read their own writing not only developed students’ skills in these areas but also gave a public voice to their ideas and credence to their thinking.

College Temple’s primary purpose in offering a rigorous course schedule coupled with speaking opportunities was to facilitate the advancement of women in the public sector. In the mid to early nineteenth century, women were limited in the number of occupations they could

receive; in 1837, Henrietta Martineau, British social theorist, “claimed that there were only seven occupations open to women: teaching, needlework, keeping boarders, working in the cotton mills, bookbinding, typesetting, and domestic service” (qtd in Newcomer 171). College Temple’s training catered to these positions including that of teaching. College Temple alumni frequently found positions as teachers including Mrs. E. E. Wilson, a graduate who eventually taught at her alma mater (Local Notices 3).

In 1876, Moses Kellogg announced a “new departure” in terms of the school focus, a decision based on both practicality and community feedback. This shifted focus introduced both domestic and industrial arts into the curriculum (A New Departure In Female Education 2; Education in Useful Arst [sic] 3). College Temple’s implementation of such courses was one of the earliest; all-women’s colleges initially began offering domestic classes in the early 1870s “with Iowa State reportedly the first in 1872” (Gold and Hobbs 99). In more recent times, home economics and domestic art classes have been held in disregard, perceived as reinforcing traditional gender roles due to its misconception as a “household skills” course. However, David Gold argues that during this time “home economics...was treated by its practitioners as a science—a thoroughly modern subject dependent on advances and advanced training in chemistry, biology, and technology and with the potential to influence human society outside the home” (Rhetoric at the Margins 84). Home economics training relied on a strong educational foundation and gave women solid training for both domestic and public careers. Gold and Hobbs argue that the implementation of such curriculum, though perhaps intended merely as a practical learning experience, actually broadened women’s influence in the public sphere: “If their education guided them into the traditional, if expanded, lifework it had also helped to create, it also prepared them for labor in fields unforeseen by their own teachers or themselves” (108).

Several citizens of Coweta County noticed this possibility for College Temple students; an opinion piece published in the local which praised the curriculum expansion and acknowledged its potential for female development states, “women were not created for society alone; nor do their circumstances in this life justify the idea that the home circle is their only proper sphere.” The writer continues, “They [alumni] cannot all be teacher, nor will the needle furnish them with a means of support; and he who inaugurates a system of female education...will merit the thanks of all enlightened people” (A New Departure In Female Education 2).

The practicality of such educational advancement is apparent; College Temple’s implementation of classes including “millinery and dressmaking” (Education in Useful Arst [sic] 3) reflects a skills training approach with potential to benefit women in the private and public sector. As part of College Temple’s “new departure,” the school also began offering printing and typography classes; to further concrete these skill developments, College Temple installed a printing press on campus for the courses, an accomplishment believed to be the first of its kind (Twenty-sixth Annual Comment Of College Temple, Newnan, GA 3). The printing press came to be used by students for the publication of their own writings including a college-sponsored periodical and newspaper.

Throughout College’s Temple existence, the school remained vigilant in providing a rigorous course schedule that reflected a comprehensive liberal arts education and the “new departure” focus instituted in 1876. Their progressive mission influenced not only College Temple’s curricular decisions but also its structural changes. In the mid-nineteenth century, College Temple became one of the first colleges to add a preparatory department, and in the late nineteenth century, the school transitioned to a coeducational facility.

Quickly after College Temple's inception as a higher educational facility, the school added an all-girls preparatory department in January 1856, according to a notice in a June 1856 school newspaper publication (*The Fly-Leaf* June 1856). The department opened with thirty students under the direction of Moses P. Kellogg, who extended his pedagogy of accessibility to the department. College Temple offered scholarships to attendees of the preparatory school; however, funds were evidently limited as the posting notes that those "wishing to secure a scholarship...will have to apply early" (*The Fly-Leaf* June 1856). The preparatory department became a permanent facet of College Temple complete with its own class scheduling and requirements, offering more general courses including arithmetic, history, spelling, and reading.

College's Temple inclusion of a preparatory department reflected a practice that became popular among women's colleges in the 1860s and 70s. With the advent and furtherance of female higher education, colleges encountered issues of their students being underprepared. Mabel Newcomer notes "The inadequacy of the preparation was due both to the lack of well-defined standards of admission and the low level of many of the schools" (21). Students often arrived at colleges having traveled a considerable distance and without any record of prior communication with the facility. Often these students had exhausted their local academic options making it futile to send the women back to schools with "inadequate education resources" (Newcomer 21). The solution became for colleges to implement their own preparatory departments to provide support and act as a developmental program for students who did not meet requirements for full college admissions, and "Of the 140 institutions reporting the distribution of their students in different departments to the Commissioner of Education in 1870, 114 were operating preparatory departments" (Newcomer 21).

College Temple again rebranded in 1881 changing from an all-women's school to a coeducational facility. According to a posting in a June 1881 course catalog, College Temple decided to become coeducational due to community demand and the desire of local families to send their "boys to attend college with their sisters" (College Temple Catalogue 1881). College Temple corroborated their decision through research and studies citing Paul Monroe's 1915 *Cyclopedia of Education* and Paul Friedrich Richter's 1807 *Levana*. In the same catalog, the school itself claimed that the structural change had "produced most wonderful results" (College Temple Catalogue 1881). This change at least began on a small scale with students "kept separate until brought together on the recitation bench" (Jones 3).

In 1880, coeducation was in its infancy stage, and colleges that did accept both men and women typically began as coeducational schools or all-male schools. Oberlin College was the first college in the United States to practice coeducation on a continuous basis accepting female students in 1837 (Woody 231). The first implementations of coeducation segregated female and male students into traditional gender confirming roles. However, the practice continued to expand in colleges becoming the "norm at the many state universities founded in the mid- to late nineteenth century" (Malkiel 3). Between 1870 and 1880, coeducational colleges increased over 20% from 30.7% to 51.3%; these statistics excluded both technical and women's-only colleges. By 1900, coeducational colleges constituted 71.6% of all higher education facilities (Woody 252). However, colleges in the South were the slowest to embrace coeducational practices putting "southern women...at a stark disadvantage if they were only able to pursue a degree in or near their home communities and wanted a coeducational experience" (Ritter 24). Georgia embraced the practice even later with state colleges becoming coeducational during the 1910s (Malkiel 3) making College Temple's early transition a particularly innovative one.

The popularity of coeducation eventually permeated practices at women's college. Around the 1950's, many all-women's colleges began feeling pressured by societal demands to embrace coeducation. Vassar College, a premier female college of the nineteenth century and one of the Seven Sisters, transitioned into a coeducational facility through a resolution passed in 1968 (Malkiel 329). Newcomer noted three main reasons for the transition to coeducation facilities with "The principal reason given by both men's and women's institutions for making the change [being] declining enrollment" (38). Secondly, students could not afford to attend college out of state, and lastly, college presidents wished to "desegregate" campuses (in terms of gender) (38). These reasons align with College Temple's logic for shifting to coeducation; however, College Temple undertook this transition early in the practice's history.

College Temple heralded women's progress both through their curricula reform and structural changes; however, College Temple's progressive strategy was not met without controversy. An editorial reprinted from the *Atlanta Journal Constitution* praises the school's developments stating, "So strong and bold an advance in favor of educational reform in female colleges is a very gratifying sign of the times." The editorial continues acknowledging the dissenting opinion: "Female education has grown to its present development against the most vigorous and unreasonable opposition...And latterly attempts to introduce practical instruction in useful arts into the schools have been hooted at and inveighed against most stoutly" (Education in Useful Arst [sic] 3). Arguably, College Temple's implementation of educational advancements contributed to its abbreviated tenure as the changes occurred too early in the South. Coupled with the school's dependency on one rhetorical figure—its founder, Moses P. Kellogg—the College lost its opportunity to become a lasting agent of change as an entity.

3.3 College Temple's Efforts to Promote the Female Southern Author

David Gold argues that “Until recently, scholarship on women’s rhetorical education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has tended to emphasize rhetorical constraints on women’s expression” (Rhetoric at the Margins 35). Throughout the past decade, however, this pattern has undergone a change with rhetorical scholars shifting their focus from “examining how women’s voices have been historically marginalized to better understanding how women negotiated—and at times extended—the spaces available to them” (Gold Rhetoric at the Margins 35). During the nineteenth century, women were inherently restricted from developing an authoritative ethos particularly an Aristotelian ethos, which heavily relies on public speaking. Public speaking opportunities, if available to women at all, were often limited to recitations. To complicate the matter, educational facilities primarily focused on reading and oratory skills rather than construction of ideas. During the time-period, “English departments at the public women’s colleges tended to be heavily weighted toward the teaching of literature...” (Gold and Hobbs 40). Though a private institution, College Temple mirrored this focus requiring classes such as Virgil’s “Aeneid,” Ovid, and Cicero's Orations and hosting an extensive library with a collection of 15,000 books. (*Statistics of Public Libraries in the United States: From the Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1884-85* 701). Yet, women at Southern public schools and College Temple found an avenue for self-expression through composition classes and school-sponsored publications. Though traditional composition classrooms frequently “uncritically reproduced bourgeois subjectivity, they also encouraged students’ self-confidence as writers and promoted writing in public forums” (Gold and Hobbs 36). In time, women developed their subject matter, addressing civic and social issues in their writing. Henrietta Rix Wood argues in her work *Praising Girls: The Rhetoric of Young Women, 1895-1930* that

students often expanded their use of rhetorical techniques in their school publications citing female students' use of epideictic speech at four locations in Kansas City, Missouri during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Throughout its existence, College Temple prioritized composition and the promotion of Southern authorship, through integrating writing into each class and providing students with two main publication venues during the school's existence: *The Fly-Leaf* and *The New Departure*. In this way, the school further extended its ideals of ethos and community. Kathleen J. Ryan, Nancy Myers, and Rebecca Jones note that “women’s public ethos construction [is] relative to time, contexts, and different relationships” (2). Authorship allowed women a way to develop agency and construct a sense of ethos by providing space for the dissemination of original ideas and thoughts. Ultimately, this focus encouraged women to pursue careers in journalism and publication, furthering the dissemination and promotion of female opinions. Female publications created a widespread community forum allowing women to not only share their thoughts but also converse via book clubs or letters to the editor. Royster and Kirsch construct the term *social circulation* to describe the research of these communities and the “social networks in which women connect and interact with others and use language with intention” (101). While the women of College Temple certainly used *The Fly-Leaf* and *The New Departure* to engage in intentional composition, in this study, I examine the mission and scope of the two publications, analyzing how they allowed for the development of agency and ethos.

In 1854, College Temple began publication of *The Fly-Leaf*—a periodical edited and published by the senior class and alumnae of College Temple. Periodicals featured essays, poems, and musings composed by the students, in addition to book reviews, advertisements, and community announcements. *The Fly-Leaf* began as a 16-page booklet distributed to patrons

twice a year, every June and December (*The Fly-Leaf* 1856). The first issues of *The Fly-Leaf*, printed in December 1854, sold seven hundred copies at a dime apiece; however, the popularity of the periodical grew quickly causing an increase in demand. The school printed one thousand copies of the publication in June 1855 and two thousand printings in both December and June of 1856 (*The Fly-Leaf* June 1856). By 1859, *The Fly-Leaf* published quarterly with a subscription rate of one dollar per year. College Temple published *The Fly-Leaf* for several years, though the exact end date is unknown; recollections published in the Coweta County Chronicles place last issue publication around 1861 (Jones and Reynolds 232).

As the publication progressed, the format of the periodical changed slightly. The earlier publications featured a more local focus; for example, the 1856 publication contained information about the school, upcoming community events, and donor mentions; the ending page of the publication presented riddles and puzzles for readers to solve. As *The Fly-Leaf* grew in popularity, businesses sought to advertise in the publication. In the May 1859 issue, an advertisement section replaced the riddle and puzzle feature, and an obituary and hymeneal section were added to the paper. Throughout its publication, writings from the senior class and alumni remained the bulk of content. Individual author names were often not attached to the piece, rather the front page of *The Fly-Leaf* listed contributors' names. Additionally, the publication consistently included book reviews of outside material and featured reviews of College Temple and *The Fly-Leaf* from other publications.

Both College Temple and the students viewed *The Fly-Leaf* as a serious endeavor serving to circulate female writing and prepare women for jobs as journalists. The periodical masthead declared the publication “devoted to the improvement of the senior class, the entertainment of their friends, and the elevation of woman” (*The Fly-Leaf* June 1856). As publication continued,

the masthead evolved to reflect a professional aim of the publication; by May 1859, the masthead included “the promotion of Southern authorship” and eliminated the entertainment objective (*The Fly-Leaf* May 1859). The mission of *The Fly-Leaf* reinforced this ideal declaring, “The leading principles of this sheet are: First, the training of the Senior class to write for public journals—thereby preparing a corps of Southern female writers of ability to supply the wants of our *home* periodicals; And lastly, as a sequence of the first, The Elevation of Woman” (*The Fly-Leaf* June 1856).

The contents of the publication resonated with the public causing *The Fly-Leaf* to receive much success and recognition among the community and even garner national acclaim. Most notably were the frequent mentions of both College Temple and *The Fly-Leaf* in *Godey’s Lady’s Book*. *Godey’s* highlighted the “well-written” articles and professional image of the publication and “heartily recommend[ed] the College Temple at Newnan, Georgia, to all our southern friends who have daughters to educate” (Godey and Hale 1855). *Godey’s* gave further praise to the publication “challeng[ing] any paper, ay, or magazine either, to produce in one number so many well-written articles, both in poetry and prose, as are contained in the copy of the ‘Fly Leaf’” (Godey and Hale 1856).

College Temple granted students an additional publication opportunity through the College’s weekly newspaper titled *The New Departure*. Production for the newspaper began in 1878, with Maggie C. Mckinnis serving as editor, and featured community announcements, advertisements, and opinion pieces. Publication ended in the 1880s although the exact end date is unknown as only two copies of the publication still exist; both are archived at Emory University Archives. The *New Departure’s* format combined aspects of the College’s prior publication and a traditional newspaper. While the newspaper did feature poetry, prose, and student writing, a

larger component of the newspaper was dedicated to notices and advertisements. While *The Fly-Leaf* promoted entertainment and facilitation of ideas, the *New Departure* more so concentrated on being informative. The onset of the *New Departure* paralleled College Temple's inception of their 1876 new educational focus, and the objective of the typography and printing courses influenced the mission of the College newspaper. Students played a role different from the one previously performed during the publication of *The Fly-Leaf*. Students did not contribute as much writing to the *New Departure*; however, they were completely responsible for its typesetting and printing. Still, College Temple's devotion to composition and female authorship resonated in the *New Departure*. The publication's masthead, accompanied by an image of a woman and cherubs engaging in a variety of artistic activities, reinforced this commitment reading: "The Chief Glory of Every People arises from its authors" (College Temple *The New Departure* 1878)

The *New Departure*, though praised, was not held in as high of regard as *The Fly-Leaf*. Jones remarks about the publication in *Coweta County Chronicles* that "The publication is not near the equal of 'The Fly-Leaf'...either in appearance or workmanship." However, she does assert that the composition of the students is equally as favorable: "I think the matter is as good; certainly the aims of its sponsors were as high" (232). Despite the differences in the two publications, both demonstrated the emphasis College Temple placed on female authorship and the value they saw in disseminating their students' writings.

Both *The Fly-Leaf* and *The New Departure* sought to promote Southern female authorship, publishing opinion pieces, essays, and reports written and edited by students. The publications did not limit their reach to the local community but rather worked to establish a wide readership base that extended across the South-East region, providing a solid structure from

which students could build their ethos. While the publications themselves served as agency and ethos building opportunities, the writings contained within them act as an additional research opportunity to assess the students' use of the rhetorical space.

4 COLLEGE TEMPLE ALUMNI: USING EDUCATION TO BE PROPONENTS OF PROGRESS

College Temple's existence promoted women and their authorship, working to integrate female thoughts and musings into society with their publication avenues and writing opportunities. This focus on writing generated a legacy for College Temple despite its short tenure as the school directly influenced alumni through its mission to "elevate women" and "promote Southern female authorship." These values established a collective mindset of women empowerment, creating a sphere of impact outlasting remembrance of the physical school. This chapter explores College Temple's indirect legacy, examining their impact on two levels. Firstly, this chapter considers College Temple's influence on their students and alumni, analyzing how these women interpreted and reimagined the lessons, skills, and values received throughout their education. Secondly, this chapter utilizes a microhistorical approach in an effort to provide fundamental context regarding women's education and legacy.

A microhistorical approach analyzes multiple scopes requiring researchers to both examine an individual person or space's influence on society and society's impact on the individual. Bruce McComiskey relays that "Engaging in multiscopic analysis not only enables historians to describe more of the contexts that contain (construct or constrain) historical actions, but it also generates more complex historical knowledge" (18). Undertaking microhistorical research then not only contributes to an understanding of a distinctive moment in time but

provides insight regarding principles and practices of a culture. Microhistories serve a complex dual role whose function “is not to narrate the normal or describe the exceptional but to interpret their relationship, shedding light on the normal and lending more than anecdotal significance to the exceptional” (McComiskey 19). Research regarding histories and traditions of local educational facilities like College Temple demonstrate how schools reinforced status quo, yet on many levels, individually challenged social and academic norms. Microhistorical research deepens understanding of history on the whole, offering insight regarding how these schools collectively contributed to societal change. Particularly, inquiry directed at gender and racial minority centered spaces provide a more intricate and thorough historical account. David Gold argues that “the stories of such schools need to be told and not simply to represent the experiences of once-neglected communities or to satisfy a sense of historical injustice but to offer a more nuanced and representative picture of the past” (*Rhetoric at the Margins* ix). Still, it is not just the educational institute that delivers insight regarding the nuances of the field’s history; rather it is the individual student, teacher, and faculty member’s story that details the obstacles, changes, and progress undergone in the field. Due to the characteristically divisive nature of academia’s past, Gold contends that the field’s “history cannot be understood but through the sometimes divergent, sometimes intertwined experiences of students from each sphere” (*Rhetoric at the Margins* 8). Conducting microhistorical research allows a more nuanced account of the past to emerge—one that celebrates the individual experiences that contribute to a collective past. This chapter employs this type of research in an effort to uncover the lives, stories, and impact of College Temple alumni, examine the ways in which their histories diverge and connect, and discuss how these women used their education to advance their societal roles in the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

4.1 Inspiration in the Archives through Alumni Records

My first visit to the archives, the exciting, serendipitous encounter at the Newnan-Coweta Historical Society, left me feeling both overwhelmed and excited. As I scoured through the records of the past, I felt myself imagining the school, the classes, the students, and their lives engaging with what Kirsch and Royster define as strategic contemplation. Engaging in strategic contemplation creates a deeper connection between the researcher and the research subject as the “strategy suggests that researchers might linger deliberately inside of their research tasks as they investigate their topics and sources” (Kirsch and Royster 84). This connection kept drawing me back to the archives, inspiring me to examine the contents of that subject file folder over and over. During one of these searches, I found an alumni directory, and as I glanced over the list of names commemorated in the record, I felt an obligation to discover the stories of these women. What were they like? How did they live? How did they use their education?

These questions resulted in meticulous work. Starting with the alumni list, I began with a simple internet search of the women using databases including Ancestry and WorldCat; most often I found only brief mentions of the alumni, if references at all. Eventually, my research led me to paragraphs in books, government records, and diaries and notes housed in archives. As I collected information, I tagged, categorized, and kept record of the women and their stories seeking to let them speak for themselves. This work of finding the individual story is important for it is through this work “we gain a deeper understanding by going repeatedly not to our assumptions and expectations but to the women—to their writing, their work, and their worlds, seeking to ground our inquiries in the evidence of the women’s lives” (Kirsch and Royster 20). This type of research requires patience, long days in the archives, and a willingness to engage in often tedious work; however, the result is the transformation of the research from subject matter

to living, breathing entities. While I do not claim to present a conclusive retelling of these women's lives, this research does analyze how a group of alumni interacted with their education and utilized their experiences to disseminate feminist ideals. Specifically, I consider three alumni of interest from College Temple: Mary E. Featherston, Mary E. Bryan, and Henrietta Clay Ligon. These women represent various backgrounds and aspects of the students who attended the school, each relevant in their own right as active community members, distinguished authors, and established editors. Though the women interacted with College Temple at differing levels—graduating from the college in different years—each of them fully engaged with their education and extended this education in society.

Mary Emma Featherston (Wright) (1859-1945) represented the typical Southern college-attending female born to a wealthier family, the daughter of Lucius H. Featherston—a war general, lawyer, and judge. Featherston attended College Temple in the early 1880s with her sister, Sara Maria Featherston, and niece, Annie Laurie Peddy, and graduated from the school with an MA degree in 1874 (College Temple Directory of The Alumnae). After graduation, Featherston married Henry S. Wright, a pharmacist and physician, eventually moving to Atlanta, Georgia. Featherston did not pursue a career outside of the home instead choosing to raise her three children; however, she utilized her education through local community involvement serving in central leadership roles in several organizations and becoming part of the early women's club movement. Featherston's diaries, college composition notebooks, correspondence, and club meeting notes are housed at Emory University Archives in the Lucius Horace Featherston collection.

Mary Edwards Bryan (≈1839-1913) depicted a distinct type of student—the honorary alumni. Bryan originally hailed from Jefferson County, Florida, born to plantation owners but

moved to Thomasville, Georgia around 1850 to attend Fletcher Institute. Bryan's educational career became interrupted due to her marriage to Iredell E. Bryan at the age of fifteen; yet Bryan continued her educational pursuits outside the classroom, eventually gaining notoriety as an author for the *Georgia Literacy and Temperance Crusader* in her early years. Her reputation earned her an invitation to read an original poem at College Temple's November commencement in 1859. Her poem, focused on themes of womanhood and destiny, so moved the audience and staff of the school, Kellogg awarded her an honorary MA at the commencement ceremony (Brown Jr and Rivers 134). In 1874, Bryan began work as an associate editor of the *Sunny South* in Atlanta, Georgia; she left the position in 1885 and moved to New York City where she accepted positions as associate editor for both *Fireside Companion* and *Fashion Bazaar*. She returned to Georgia around 1895 to purchase and run the literary magazine *The Old Homestead*, also contributing to other publications including *The Sunny South*, *The Half Hour*, *Golden Age*, and *Uncle Remus's Magazine* in author or editor capacities. In addition to her journalism and editorial achievements, Bryan found success as a novel writer penning over twenty novels. Throughout her life, Bryan remained a fierce advocate of College Temple and women's education, often referencing the school and its affiliates in her writing. Bryan's manuscripts, correspondence, and mementos are housed at the University of Georgia's Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library in the Mary Edwards Bryan collection. Her work also inspired Canter Brown Jr. and Larry Eugene Rivers' historical publication *Mary Edwards Bryan: Her Early Life and Works*.

Henrietta (Henrie) Clay Ligon (Gorman) (1844-1919), born in Alabama, received her MA degree from College Temple in 1862 (College Temple Directory of The Alumnae). On April 21, 1870, Ligon married Francis Alexander Stephen (A.S.) Gorman. The ceremony was held at

College Temple and performed by Reverend James Stacey (Gorman 1904 195), a prominent local Presbyterian minister and husband of Emily Jones Stacey, the first graduate of College Temple. Around 1876, Ligon and her husband moved to Fort Worth, Texas; it was here she began to make a name for herself in the Southern literary community. She became the *Fort Worth Gazette's* society columnist and established a literary club on April 21, 1898. The club regularly met at "The Nest," an unofficial town library housed at Gorman's residence, and promoted "self-improvement, mutual benefit and development of Southern literature" (The Bohemian). In 1899, Ligon founded a literary magazine, *The Bohemian*, as an extension of her club; the magazine featured essays, poems, and other writings of Southern authors including Mary E. Bryan, Ligon's fellow College Temple alum, as a featured contributor (Gorman 1904 186). Ligon continued to write throughout her life, and in 1892, she wrote and published an eighty-page booklet titled *Uncle Plenty* under the pseudonym Clara LeClerc. Ligon strongly believed in both the power and personability of composition, making the motto of her literary club "The fruit of my own pen is my offering" (The Bohemian).

4.2 Alumni Engagement in Community, Continuance, and Agency

These alumni case studies demonstrate the students' individual responses to their education. Though the three alumni, admittedly, did come from similar backgrounds – white, privileged, upper-class—each of the students engaged with their education on different levels choosing to implement their academic skills in various capacities yet each expanding their sphere of influence. Despite these women's privileged background, the students demonstrated progress interacting with their communities in professional or volunteer settings and perpetuating College Temple's mission to promote female endeavors. A closer analysis of these women's work, societal involvement, and composition ventures demonstrate that they chose to preserve their

alma mater's mission by engaging in feminist rhetorical practices on three levels: community, continuance, and agency.

Central to feminist scholarship is the idea of community; themes of mentorship, relationships, and connections underlie contemporary feminist rhetorical work including Faith Kurtyka's article "We're Creating Ourselves Now: Crafting as Feminist Rhetoric in a Social Sorority" and Pamela VanHaitsma and Steph Ceraso's article "'Making It' in the Academy through Horizontal Mentoring" and taking central focus in Michelle F. Eble and Lynee Lewis Gaillet's publication *Stories of Mentoring: Theory and Praxis*. Megan McIntyre reaffirms this important concentration arguing that "Instead of continuing to privilege individual rhetorical action, however, feminist approaches to rhetorical history emphasize the role of communal practice..." (25). In order to enact change in a male dominated society, women had, and continue, to form communities to support feminist ideals.

Relationships and community remained paramount throughout College Temple's existence. The school routinely involved alumni in school events, including them as writers and publishers of *The Fly-Leaf*. Alumni enjoyed prominent features during commencement exercises; an alumni essay was always highlighted during the graduation ceremony (Programme: Commencement Day) and each commencement weekend concluded with an alumni reunion (College Temple Annual Commencement). College Temple engaged with community on a secondary level often hosting events for the town and surrounding areas at their facility and inviting local citizens to their events, including spelling bees, concerts, and plays.

College Temple alumni furthered this idea of community by not only interacting with their alma mater's close knit circle, but by also extending the communal concept and engaging with, creating, and leading their own local communities after graduation. Several College

Temple alumni participated in the Women's Club Movement, which occurred throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century and supported female literacy acts, promoted engagement in civic work, and, ultimately, provided a space for women to congregate and discuss their thoughts and opinions. Jane Cunningham Croly founded the first women's club, Sorosis, in 1868 in New York City after being refused entry to an event held by the New York Press Association; Croly, a member of the New York Press Association at the time, reasoned that women must have their own clubs and associations if they were to be excluded by men (Gere Writing Groups 42).

Sorosis' goal "to bring together women engaged in literary, artistic, scientific and philanthropic pursuits with the view of rendering them helpful to each other and useful to society" reflected similar missions evident in subsequent women's clubs (Sorosis Articles of Incorporation). Mary E. Bryan, a member of Sorosis, reflected the typical founding club member—motivated intellectuals who were often writers. The founding of Sorosis spurred the development of additional women's clubs; frequently these clubs took a particular focus which catered to a specific race, geographical background, or interest. Women's clubs often supported females in specialized careers, as evident by Mary E. Bryan's affiliation with both the Woman's Press Club of New York and the Woman's Press Club of Georgia (Mary Edwards Bryan collection).

However, clubs did not serve just to support women with careers or those with an education; often clubs supplemented the educational experience or "served a postgraduate function, providing a place where women could continue the literacy practices begun in college classes" (Gere Intimate Practice 35). This certainly seemed to be the case for Mary E. Featherston after her graduation from College Temple in 1874. Featherston epitomized the quintessential clubwoman, interacting with a vast number of organizations throughout her

lifetime. Featherston engaged in numerous literary activities as a clubwoman; she became responsible for taking meeting minutes during the Bric-a-Brac club and the United Daughters of the Confederacy club. Featherston often wrote papers for her organizations, researching missionaries to China for the Women's Foreign Missionary Society and contributing a researched historical paper for the United Daughters of the Confederacy. In the early 1900s, Featherston took on more leadership type roles, serving as Commissioner of the Auxiliary of the American Red Cross during World War I. Featherston engaged with organizations that promoted education as evident by her association with the Woman's Auxiliary to the Fulton County Medical Society, a community of physician spouses who maintained a trust fund dedicated to assisting medical students needing financial aid (Fulton County Medical Society Constitution and By-Laws).

Clubs created a strong sense of community and connection among women of the era, and “although some clubwomen adhered to and even promoted a version of culture that affirmed the general tradition, they also resisted that tradition” (Gere *Intimate Practice* 181). Engaging with and “Deploying their literacy practices, these women—defined by gender, race, ethnicity, class, and religious affiliation—extended the genteel tradition's boundaries and questioned its assumptions” (Gere *Intimate Practice* 181). This resistance and reinterpretation of traditional female gender roles in society created backlash and controversy. In 1905, then President Grover Cleveland published an article titled “Woman's Mission and Women's Clubs” in *Ladies Home Journal* stating, “I am persuaded that without exaggeration of statement we may assume that there are women's clubs whose objects and intents are not only harmful, but harmful in a way that directly menaces the integrity of our homes and the benign disposition and character of our wifhood and motherhood” (qtd. in O'Neill 163). Cleveland called for the closure of such clubs,

contending that “the best and safest club for a woman to patronize is her home” (qtd. in O’Neill 163). Despite the opposition toward women’s clubs, organizations continued to emerge and grow, and women like the alumni of College Temple remained consistent in their patronage. These clubs began the significant work of constructing feminist communities and promoting female efforts, ultimately advancing the suffrage movement and influencing social development.

College Temple alumni furthered engaged in feminist rhetorical practices by engaging in continuance, a term coined by Amanda J. Cobb in her book *Listening to Our Grandmother’s Stories: The Bloomfield Academy for Chickasaw Females, 1852–1949*. Cobb defines the term as “the remembrance of times, places, and people; the knowing of those times, places, and people through imaginative act; and finally, the going on, the telling of those stories” (xv). While terms like continuance and legacy are often associated with cultures and the preservation of native traditions, the students of College Temple engaged in this act by creating their own distinct community at the school and replicating elements of that community in other social circles.

Mary Edwards Bryan frequently referenced College Temple in her *Sunny South* publications, recalling lessons spoken by Moses P. Kellogg and covering events occurring at the school. Bryan continued writing about the school even after it had closed, engaging in conversation with fellow College Temple students and publishing their correspondence. At times, Bryan dedicated entire articles to the subject of College Temple, recalling a memory or event that had occurred. In these ways, Bryan fully engaged in the act of continuance by notating and retelling the accounts, values, and traditions of College Temple through her short stories, letters, and essays. The documentation of these stories preserved the legacy of College Temple, allowing the memory and culture of the school to continue despite its abbreviated tenure.

Henrie Clay Ligon engaged with continuance and legacy in a manner different from Bryan. Unlike Bryan, Ligon did not frequently mention College Temple in her writings; however, she engaged in rhetorical legacy by replicating practices learned at College Temple in a new social circle. Ligon's literary magazine, *The Bohemian*, possessed striking similarities to College Temple's *The Fly-Leaf*, a periodical she would have helped author and publish during her time at the school; its influence is particularly noticeable in the format, function, and goal of the literary magazine, which primarily promoted Southern authors. Similar to *The Fly-Leaf*, the magazine began with updates and announcements regarding the publication followed by positive reviews of the literature. Likewise, *The Bohemian* paralleled *The Fly-Leaf* in its mission, taking on a progressive, modern goal. Volume One, Number Two of the magazine relays that the contents of the publications "shall deal with all subjects tending to elevate, instruct and lead the minds of the readers to progressive thought and action" (Gorman 1899 Jottings). Ligon desired to both influence her local community and extend her sphere of influence asking *Bohemian* subscribers to "Join with us in making *The Bohemian* the pride—not only of Fort Worth and of Texas, but of the entire South" (Gorman 1899 Jottings). Ligon's publication opportunities both circulated the ideas of Southern authors, including female authors, and advanced the idea of woman as editors, publishers, and entrepreneurs. Ligon established a rhetorical legacy in her own right yet also expanded College Temple's legacy through her work, replicating the skills and values gained during her education in a different setting.

By engaging in the act of continuance, the alumni of College Temple both commemorated and advanced the mission and values of the school but also engaged in activity that increased their individual ethos and agency during a time period where women encountered limitations in exercising these rhetorical practices. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century,

public speaking opportunities existed, though infrequent and insufficient, and female rhetorical renderings were often deemed frivolous, mere occurring for entertainment purposes in a domestic setting. This designation was particularly true in the South as mainstream culture identified the “Southern Belle” as a woman with both speaking and writing abilities. Southern culture mandated an “expressive” ideal as “Parents, young men, and family friends wanted to enjoy the refined gestures and stylized movements that denoted the Southern belle, with her allusions to the wisdom of the ancients, references to classical antiquity, homage to home, and allegiance to the South” (Farnham 91). Societal expectations required the Southern woman be able to recite literature but on a surface-based level. The purpose of such skill was to exemplify charm and dignity, not convey originality nor expression of ideas. However, as indicated by the alumni of College Temple, educated women in the South began to expand their ideas of rhetoric and composition. In time, the women’s view of their writing and speech evolved from that of merely entertainment to that of a craft and discipline. In several cases, writing became a primary occupation for these women; in the 1900 census, Henrietta Clay Ligon Gorman noted her profession as “author” (U.S. Bureau of the Census Twelfth Census).

College Temple promoted female writing for community entertainment purposes; however, as the College persisted in its publication endeavors, the focus of these venues became more serious and professional. The change in *The Fly-Leaf* masthead from “the entertainment of their friends” to “the promotion of Southern authorship” reflects this change (The Fly-Leaf 1856; 1859). Students at the school began seeing their publications as agents of change—a way to voice their opinion and disseminate these ideas throughout the community. College Temple students valued words and composition; Mary E. Featherston wrote an entire essay devoted to writing instruments in which she argued that “The shortest and noblest of instruments ever

placed in the human finger is the pen” (Mary Featherston – essay book). Several women used their publication opportunities and education to expand female roles and voices; however, others remained trapped by societal expectations. Yet, these women still used their voice to question established practices and beliefs about gender roles. One such essay titled “Woman—An Appeal,” originally published in Volume VII, Number 1 of *The Fly-Leaf* and reprinted as an excerpt in *Coweta County Chronicles*, criticizes the current political climate, bemoaning the plight of women of the time. The author’s voice is powerful in the essay calling into question themes of inequality and unfairness and questioning society’s status quo:

I doubt not the question, "Where can I find honorable and paying labor?" has often perplexed educated woman as she leaves the walls of the academy or college. She looks around and "finds to her amazement, that the sterner sex have closed against her the door to nearly every avenue of fame. "I must live," she says, "at the same time I desire to gratify a laudable ambition and what must I do? I cannot seek and obtain offices, for the laws of man have prohibited me. I cannot mount the hustings and be corrupted by political excitement, for I would lose the respect of the good and brave! I cannot become an advocate or attorney, astonish the Judge on the bench, draw tears from listening and attentive Juries, by the magic of eloquence; contend with the learned and unlearned, because every dictate of prudence and propriety is against it! I cannot compete successfully with man as a physician, because I could not perform many of the duties required at my hands! What then Must I do?" After this survey, she exclaims, "I must stitch, stitch, stitch, confined to the four walls of my room. All my bright dreams of glory and success have proved but as the will-of-the-wisp which has

led me into desolate regions and left me forsaken and forlorn. My lot is hard weary and restless existence is mine. I may moisten with tears my pillow by night, and dream of glory by day, but I cannot change my destiny. I am caged. My intellect is fettered.” (as qtd in Jones and Reynolds 140)

This essay demonstrates how women engaged in ethos-building activities like writing despite societal limitations which restricted women’s access to certain careers and other community roles. Ryan, Myers, and Jones argue for a reinterpreted understanding of feminist ethos, one that identifies interruption, advocacy, and relation as ethos constructing techniques (13). In this essay, the author engages in interruption by circulating a piece calling into question the fairness of women’s societal obligations and implicitly advocates for change by recognizing her own intelligence, dreams, and capabilities. Later in the essay, the author encouraged women to pursue careers in “Southern Authorship” as the field was “wide and promising” providing advice regarding the actions needed to initiate widespread change (Jones and Reynolds 140).

Writing often became an alternative job for women, a way to pursue a career other than domestics or teaching. However, authorship also became an avenue for advancement and a means for women to create their own agency, a technique Megan McIntyre argues matters and “will always matter” to rhetorical scholars, particularly feminist rhetorical scholars (25). McIntyre contends that the study of agency matters “because the Western rhetorical tradition was once about a good man speaking well (Quintilian)” (25). However, as the women of College Temple demonstrate, agency and ethos can be gained even in an environment or among circumstances that do not grant much liberty. These women used the opportunities presented to evoke change on a large-scale level by publicizing their opinions, calling for advancement, and becoming part of the community fabric.

College Temple had a mere thirty-six years to fulfill its mission of promoting women and female authorship, and in that short existence, College Temple managed to carry out this goal through its alumni. These women integrated into the fabric of society, becoming members and leaders of social movements. They continued the rhetorical and compositional practices learned at College Temple, implementing them at various societal spaces, and became agents of change in whatever capacity available. Ultimately, these women contributed to the next generation, inspiring them to continue their writing endeavors and expand their ambitions. The effects of their education can be seen in their own families; Kathleen Wright, daughter of Mary E. Featherston (Wright), continued the cycle of learned women, receiving an education at Lucy Cobb Institute, UCLA, Harvard, and the School of the High Museum of Art, and ultimately earning an AB degree from Emory University. Through their influence, writing, and publications, the alumni of College Temple impacted society generating a rhetorical legacy for both themselves and their alma mater and, ultimately, contributed to “the elevation of women.”

5 CONCLUSION: A CALL TO DISCOVER MORE VOICES OF HISTORY

College Temple’s diploma depicts scenes of Greek philosophers, soldiers, playwrights, and muses. The picture is fitting for such a document; however, the diploma features an interesting and unusual element—each individual featured on the diploma is a woman. A woman stands guard with her spear and helmet atop a column; women are engaged in philosophical disputes and play instruments while others stare off consumed by their own thoughts. Only one male exists on the diploma as a Caesar-like character presenting a student with a laurel wreath. Encircling this scene are the words *Femina, Divinum, Donum*, roughly translated *Female, Divine, Gift* (Peddy).

This document reflects considerable rhetorical choice, one meant to convey the purpose and goal of College Temple. Throughout its existence, College Temple strove to educate women across multiple disciplines and arts ultimately creating philosophers equal in status and knowledge to men. The history of College Temple, like most microhistories, both confirms yet challenges the established historical narrative. While College Temple reflected practices typical of Southern female education of the time, it implemented these processes early in the nineteenth century, becoming one of the first women's college to enact such changes—a tactic that may have caused College Temple's premature closing.

Despite College Temple's short existence, its history is important. The microhistory of the school contributes to a larger rhetorical history of composition, female education, and rhetorical practices. As David Gold argues “Such small-scale, local histories can illuminate, inform, challenge, and inspire larger histories. By setting the two modes in tension, we can better develop a corpus of work that will illuminate the past with a minimum of narrative distortion” (Rhetoric 7). This work seeks to establish a more concrete rendering of College Temple's history; a history previously veiled in the shadows of the archives—spread across interviews, newspaper articles, and records. Chronicling the events of College Temple and establishing the school as a space of rhetorical significance sets the stage for future research that can deeper analyze College Temple's rhetorical contribution and connect the school to a larger narrative.

This work also begins to analyze legacy as connected to a school's students. While College Temple did not exist long enough to create a lasting remembrance, its alumni perpetuated the mission and values implemented by the school. College Temple's alumni reflected a special category of Southern educated women—not quite Southern Belles, but not fully liberated. These women capitalized on their writing skills using them to enact change and

gain agency. They reflected traditional values of the time yet welcomed their education, acknowledging its importance and worth as evidence by Mary E. Featherston who wrote in her college composition book, “There are so many things I want that it is impossible to enumerate them, but what I most desire is an excellent education...” (Mary Featherston – essay book).

This thesis initiates discussion of women’s use of rhetorical practices and strategic composition; a conversation that can be furthered through additional study of not only the other alumni of College Temple but of alumni and students from other educational facilities. The local story is important; it demonstrates how the individual community or person perpetuates ideals and values, ultimately contributing to collective change. Recovering these lost and previously disregarded voices of histories and situating them in rhetorical tradition, deepens, challenges, and complicates our current understanding of the rhetoric and composition field; a practice which ultimately allows scholars to further appreciate the past and invites us to assess our traditions and best practices.

College Temple is one component of discovering a more inclusive history; however, it is merely the beginning of a larger undertaking. The women of College Temple undoubtedly struggled with developing ethos and agency in a climate that disparaged women’s rights, thus becoming forgotten and overlooked members of society. However, these women enjoyed an element of privilege as white, upper-class members of society, a privilege that granted them access to education and career opportunities unavailable to their minority and lower-class counterparts. While this aspect does not undermine the stories of the women nor their contribution to the field, it does depict a common trend in the study of Southern female education—that of the privileged white female. Though this description represents the traditional female college student of the time, strides were also made for the education of women of color

and lower class status. Nineteenth-century all-black female colleges include Scotia Seminary, Bennett College, and the Atlanta Baptist Female Seminary (now Spelman College). Progress can also be traced on the local level; Newnan's first all-black school met in a small house in 1866 gradually developing into more advanced schools until integration in 1970. These sites represent the stories of students and communities that need to be examined and publicized and signal a need for scholarship which examines the contributions of students from a diverse range of racial, learning disadvantaged, and social class backgrounds who experienced education in different means whether through private, public, or home schooling. As scholars, we must not only conduct research that solely reflects our own beliefs and demographics, for as Alexis E. Ramsey-Tobienne argues "We need to be aware that we write our histories for each other, but also, to a certain degree, for those women who attended the normal schools, for those early abolitionists, for those female agitators as well as for the contemporary readers who exist outside the academy" (22). As feminist rhetorical researchers, it is our duty to study the forgotten, those from all backgrounds and walks of life, in an effort to reveal their stories and let them speak in their own words.

The result of such study is often an intricate, complicated narrative—a description apropos of College Temple's account. College Temple tells the story of a school that encouraged women to write their own history yet did not record its own, and of a space that emboldened students to enact change but did not create lasting change in its own community. However, it also depicts a school willing to challenge tradition and encourage autonomy through composition. W.U. Anderson wrote of College Temple, "Were the destroyer, fire, to come and destroy the buildings, it cannot destroy the many shining lights he [Moses Kellogg] has sent out from it, as bright as any college...It will be remembered and cherished, as before stated, when my

head is cold and forgotten” (123). While fire nor natural disaster has yet to destroy the still standing College Temple building in Newnan, Georgia, the work and reputation of its founder, teachers, and students have been overlooked and forgotten. Through this research may College Temple begin to reinstate its legacy, one remembered through the works of its alumni, the drive of its founder, and the power of its mission.

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