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"A POLISHED, A PRACTICAL, OR A PROFOUND EDUCATION": (GENDERED) RHETORICAL LITERACIES AND HIGHER LEARNING IN LOUISVILLE'S FIRST FREE PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS, 1856-1896

By

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B.A., Loyola University Chicago, 2006
M.A., University of Pittsburgh, 2010

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Faculty of the
College of Arts and Sciences of the University of Louisville
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
English/Rhetoric and Composition

Department of English
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

May 2015

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DEDICATION

To David James Keaton, with all of my love and appreciation.

ABSTRACT

“A POLISHED, A PRACTICAL, OR A PROFOUND EDUCATION”: (GENDERED) RHETORICAL LITERACIES AND HIGHER LEARNING IN LOUISVILLE’S FIRST FREE PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS, 1856-1896

Amy J. Lueck

April 2, 2015

This archival project investigates the first public high schools in Louisville as they negotiated the means and ends of providing higher education to an increasingly diverse and expanding body of learners. Drawing on primary documents from the schools’ first four decades of operation—particularly school board reports, newspapers, and student writing—I foreground the interplay and overlap between regional and institutional identities and histories, which contribute to a rich and complex picture of “higher education” in the nineteenth-century US.

Each chapter of the dissertation explores a distinct but overlapping aspect of the curriculum—including “practical” education, women’s education, and manual or industrial education—that contributes to a rich ecological perspective on the political, social, economic, and gendered aspects of rhetorical education being negotiated for learners across the last half of the century. Together, the arguments forwarded in each chapter demonstrate the value of examining high schools as sites of pedagogical innovation, rhetorical opportunity, and citizenship training of significance both to our rhetorical histories and to the ways we address reform efforts in higher education today.

In “The Idea(l) of the High School,” I begin by introducing the high schools as collegiate institutions serving the higher education needs of the city’s students, outlining the general justifications for establishing these schools—which included training teachers for the lower schools and providing access to higher education in the student’s home community to develop citizens and workers. Here, I outline key terms of the project and the historiographic conversations to which it contributes.

My next chapter, “The Practical and Practice: William N. Hailmann and the Louisville High Schools,” focuses on the first decade of the schools’ operation, during which European educational philosophies of the “New Education” were introduced to Louisville’s schools by science professor William N. Hailmann. Under his influence, educational theories associated with the lower schools (particularly “object teaching”) were applied to a collegiate learning context, replacing traditional disciplinary values of memorization and recitation with student-centered methods emphasizing self-activity, hands-on practice, and a “pedagogy of interest” as the basis for a “practical” education. Following Linda Adler-Kassner’s “Liberal Learning, Professional Training and Disciplinarity” and Min Zhan Lu and Bruce Horner’s “Composing Careers in Global-

Local Context," I argue that this notion of practical education, as grounded in meaningful student-centered practice and learning across one's lifetime, provides an alternative definition and purpose for a "practical" liberal arts education that can be drawn on to counter reductively career-oriented appeals circulating in current educational reform discourse.

Chapter Three, "The Flower of Democracy: Female High School," focuses specifically on opportunities for young women. Building on the student-centered academic focus provided by the new education, women at Female High School were afforded remarkable opportunities to develop as rhetors and teachers, and to pursue both high academic standards and professionalization opportunities at a time when these two aims were seldom combined for women. In this chapter, I argue that the construction of these young women as "high school girls" (even though they were as old as 21) alleviated concerns about their rhetorical performances, while their role as future teachers provided a frame for their civic participation and professionalization. In particular, I focus on the opportunities for women's rhetorical engagement from within the seemingly contained but very much public school ceremonies. I analyze three student essays from the 1860 commencement ceremonies to demonstrate the ways students used this traditionally epideictic context as a venue for deliberative rhetoric that commented on their own experiences as women and students. The perceived innocuousness of the "high school girl" and her public service role as a future teacher enabled remarkable opportunities for rhetorical development and civic participation that have been overlooked in our emphasis on colleges, providing insights into how we might conceive of publicly engaged students and pedagogies today.

Chapter Four, "The Mind and Body of Higher Learning," traces the constriction of opportunities for rhetorical education through the development of differentiated programs in the final decades of the nineteenth century. These programs were increasingly focused on preparing students for particular career outcomes, and led to the construction of students as gendered and classed learners. In particular, I argue that the emerging attention to students' material needs and embodiment served as a warrant for developing curricular programs that confirmed social class positions and available gender roles rather than affording opportunities for students to transcend them. The emphasis on embodiment coincides with the emergence of race as an important signifier, as Louisville's first public school for African Americans was opened in 1873, when these reforms began to catch on in the city. The account of embodied vocational education helps us to understand the ongoing devaluation of manual education and careers, and has explanatory power for understanding the eclipse of what Graves calls the "female scholar" by the "domesticated citizen" by the end of the century.

In my final chapter, I summarize the historical and historiographic insights provided by a study of the Louisville high schools. I link my account to national educational trends and discourse to show how Louisville helps us to frame a shared sense of history between Rhetoric and Composition and Education in order to rethink the utility of our origin stories and the disciplinary boundaries they are used to uphold.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE IDEA(L) OF THE HIGH SCHOOL

In an 1855 report, the Louisville school board reminded city council members of a promise, ratified by a revised city charter four years earlier, to establish and support "the Public Schools and High School for females of said city, and the University of Louisville."[1] They exhorted council members to make good on this promise, explaining that "It is a matter of great importance to place, as soon as possible, the advantages of the High School within reach of pupils whose past course gives a guarantee that they will faithfully improve its privileges, and to whom we may hereafter confidently look for thoroughly educated men and women, to fill vacancies which may occur; and to keep the teacher's ranks constantly supplied with intelligent and accomplished instructors" (23). Students of the high schools, he writes, will "enjoy the advantages of that enlarged and liberal culture which will enrich his mind with the varied treasures of knowledge, while preparing him for a useful and intelligent discharge of he duties with may devolve upon him in any sphere of life" (22). This appeal represents three central tensions of this project: the emerging and unstable institutional identities of high schools in relation to common schools and colleges; the mixed liberal, professional and civic outcomes attributed to advanced study; and the shifting ideologies of gender that informed both. Each of these themes is related, overlapping and present even within the very naming of

[1] *Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the University and Public Schools to the General Council of the City of Louisville, for the Year Ending July 1, 1855* (Louisville: Hull & Brother, 1855), 20-21. A copy of the report is held at the Louisville Free Public Library.

these schools: what would become Female High School is marked explicitly as a high school from the outset, skirting contemporary debates about women's colleges and their purposes, while Male High School is referred to variously as a high school and university throughout its establishment and early years, signaling its ambitions and multiple roles; both were intimately connected to the work of the common schools in name and purpose, as well as distinguished from them.

It is this split identity and uncertain status of Louisville's high schools—Male High School and Female High School, both opened in 1856--that is at the heart of Superintendent Anderson's statement in 1861 that the high school studies pursued "whatever is requisite to a polished, a practical, or a profound education—belles-lettres, languages, dead and modern, mathematics, physical science."[2] This promise reflected existing educational traditions as much as it planned for any particular outcomes for students, raising more questions than it answers.[3] The problematic that it engaged most directly was: if we are to expand higher learning to a broader swath of the population, at the public expense, what is this meant to accomplish? What are the perceived benefits for both individuals and for communities? And what is the best curriculum to achieve the desired outcomes?

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[2] *Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Male High School, Female High School, and Public Schools of Louisville, to the General Council of the City of Louisville, for the Scholastic Year of 1860-'61* (Louisville: Bradley & Gilbert, 1861), 22. Both Male and Female students were studying rhetoric and composition throughout the period I examine, though they are not directly named here. The term belle-lettres signifies these areas of study, and scholars recognize the textbooks from which students as being in the belletristic tradition of rhetorical instruction popular by midcentury (Johnson, *Nineteenth-Century Rhetoric in North America* [Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1991], 76).

[3] The traditions suggested are classical (profound), French (polished) and English (practical). At Male, these different emphases transfer roughly onto the elaboration of classical, English and business programs, though the force of practicality was felt in each.

The capacious and capricious educational goals of the high schools in their first decades of operations are the focus of this project, which explores a moment of key educational change during which the idea of high schools and colleges—of education itself, and its role in the lives of individuals and society—was being discursively constructed and negotiated in local practice. In focusing this project on Anderson's triad of educational goals—the polished, practical or profound—I want to point out not only that the goals were multiple, but also that they were overlapping and unstable. I highlight the sense of liberal education as encompassing *each* of these goals, and to emphasize the role of the "practical," in particular, in its multiple valences and iterations over the forty years of documents that I examine, from 1856 to 1896. This is to say that "practical" was (and is again today) a keyword of higher education reform, which the historical high school both responded to and helped reify. The competing definitions of the "practical"—as inflected and informed by other ideological, cultural, political, and economic pressures exerted on liberal education, especially public education—emerge as a central through-line of this project. Though practical education is the overt subject of only one chapter of this project, appeals to practicality rather than polish or profundity most inform the curricular and institutional choices of the schools, as explored in each chapter. As I will demonstrate, the idea of what is practical for higher learning to be and do shifts throughout this period, as the role of gender as a marker of both embodied experience and appropriate (classed) career outcomes becomes particularly salient to education in the last quarter of the century. Examining the shifting educational ideologies provides insights into the rhetorical and pedagogical practices that stemmed from them, and allows us an

opportunity to reflect on such terms and ideas as "practicality" in our own historical moment.

The purposes imagined for higher learning by school leaders affected the rhetorical instruction and opportunities afforded to students. Then and now, the ideologies and missions that undergird educational institutions—particularly how educational institutions see themselves and their work in relation to the larger society—inform much of what is considered valuable, useful, or practical for students to learn and do. Because of this, and because of the limitations of the archival evidence with which I worked (discussed below), I focus here primarily on institutional discourse and the ways it was reflected in curricular decisions in the schools. Of course, I understand the limitations of this approach, particularly the potential mismatch between "official" intentions and their mediated, situated and enacted realities in classrooms and lives. Nonetheless, I believe it is valuable to interrogate such institutional discourse because it reveals some of the motivating assumptions and ideologies that animated this historical moment, and puts some of our contemporary educational discourse into relief. Further, I read the administrative documents as doing rhetorical and pedagogical work themselves: articulating a vision for education at this site, informing the community's leaders about educational goals and practices, and persuading stakeholders of the legitimacy and value of the high schools. This work is not merely descriptive, but instead posits a particular vision for the high schools that became manifest (albeit in complicated ways) in the curriculum, building design, and culture of the schools. Importantly, though, no simple match obtained between ideology and pedagogy in Louisville, as elsewhere, as the frequent changes to the curriculum evidence. Instead, the historical record from

Louisville supports an understanding of ideology not so much as “discrete systems of opposing values as competing hierarchies of interconnected and often-shared values,” which helps us account for contradiction and the co-existence of “intertwining and even incompatible ends” at one site.[4]

Through archival documents such as school board reports as well as newspaper articles, essays and books by faculty, and student essays, this project provides historical insights into the rhetorical instruction, practices, and values of Louisville schools and nineteenth-century high schools in general, as the educational ideals and realities being worked out at this site were circulating more broadly at a national level as well. As David Gold has argued, local histories “must not simply recover neglected writers, teachers, locations, and institutions, but must also demonstrate connections between these subjects and larger scholarly conversations” (17). Following Gold, I am not simply asserting the significance of this site in itself, in a response against a master narrative about the history of rhetorical instruction and practice, but am instead “beginning with the assumption of a complex, multivocal past” and further complicating the already complicated history(ies) of writing and rhetoric through this contribution (17, 23).

Feminist historians have paved the way for local histories like this one in their various extensions of the rhetorical tradition to include a wide range of locations, practices, traditions and voices previously unexplored in traditional rhetorical histories. While early feminist historians worked to recover the voices and experiences of famous women rhetors previously unacknowledged in the male-dominated tradition, more recent

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[4] David Gold, “Remapping Revisionist Historiography,” *College Composition and Communication* 64.1 (2012), 21.

historical work moves beyond what Jacqueline Jones Royster and Gesa Kirsch have now famously termed the trend of "rescue, recovery, and (re)inscription" to fundamentally challenge our sense of history and historiography.[5] In light of feminist insights, master narratives of rhetorical instruction and delivery have given way to a strong interest in archival microhistories that elaborate a nuanced rhetorical heritage in this country. As David Gold and Catherine Hobbs assert, feminist visions have expanded our sense of what counts as rhetoric and what counts as history and allow us recognize that archival histories do not just provide a particular local story but also help us "elucidate our rhetorical heritage as a whole."[6] This project owes its very existence to the trend in historiography, initiated by feminist historians, that posits a more expansive definition of rhetorical education, and increasingly values the "peripheral" institutional spaces like normal schools, agricultural colleges and HBCUs as centrally constitutive of our rhetorical past. Indeed, my project would not have been tenable "until the narratives of disciplinary emergence and construction in composition studies had achieved a certain level of complexity."[7]

Part of the expanded sense of history that I draw on is the more encompassing vision of rhetorical instruction to include, as Jessica Enoch puts it, "any pedagogical program that *develops* in students a communal and civic identity and *articulates* for them the rhetorical strategies and language practices as well as bodily and social behaviors that

[5] Jacqueline Jones Royster and Gesa Kirsch, *Feminist Rhetorical Practices: New Horizons for Rhetoric, Composition, and Literacy Studies* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 2012), 642.
[6] Gold and Hobbs, *Rhetoric, History, and Women's Oratorical Education: American Women Learn to Speak.* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 11, 4.
[7] Patricia Donahue and Bianca Falbo, "(The Teaching of) Reading and Writing at Lafayette College," in *Local Histories: Reading the Archives of Composition* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007), 39.

make possible their participation in communal and civic affairs."[8] Forwarding their own, similarly expanded, definition of rhetorical instruction, Gold and Hobbs explain that "Such an expanded definition is offered not for the simple sake of diversity or to attempt to encompass for rhetoric all aspects of human communication under one architectonic umbrella; rather, it allows us better to see how various strands of rhetorical theory and practice emerge and intersect in various times and locales, among a variety of publics and counterpublics."[9] These emerging definitions of rhetorical instruction challenge a privileging of classical rhetoric or elite institutions and the limited understandings of delivery that attend traditional (male-dominated) definitions of the rhetorical tradition. They have allowed me to understand a range of discourse and practices as relevant to the history of rhetorical instruction.

In particular, I build on the work of Lucille M. Schultz, Jean Ferguson Carr and Stephen Carr in their attention to the theories, pedagogies and practices of the lower schools. Schultz's *The Young Composers* demonstrated the importance of secondary school practices to our history by tracing the influence of European reform traditions from the lower schools in composition textbooks, where, she argues, the seeds of "expressive" writing were first sown.[10] Carr, Carr and Schultz's *Archives of Instruction* further examines nineteenth-century textbooks in relation to broader trends in education

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[8] Enoch, *Refiguring Rhetorical Education: Women Teaching African American, Native American, and Chicano/a Students, 1865-1911* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 2008), 172, emphasis original.
[9] Gold and Hobbs, *Rhetoric, History, and Women's Oratorical Education,* 3-4.
[10] Schultz, *The Young Composers: Composition's Beginnings in Nineteenth-Century Schools* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1999). Also see "Elaborating Our History: A Look at Mid-19th Century First Books of Composition," *College Composition and Communication* 45.1 (1994): 10-30; "Pestalozzi's Mark on Nineteenth-Century Composition Instruction: Ideas Not in Words but in Things," *Rhetoric Review* 14.1 (Autumn 1995): 23-43.

and text production of significance to our discipline.[11] Both works invite historians of Rhetoric and Composition to take seriously the contributions of textbooks and traditions from the lower schools in our disciplinary histories. In a similar vein, Kathryn Fitzgerald, in a Braddock Award-winning article, has recovered the significance of European pedagogies in the history of normal school instruction.[12] Fitzgerald expands our disciplinary scope to include nineteenth-century normal schools by suggesting that

> several contemporary attitudes about composition theory, methods, teachers, and students have precedent in the normal schools…because of two important factors: Normal schools were established in a completely different social and educational environment from the elite schools on which historians have primarily focused so far, and normal schools had access to an intellectual tradition completely outside of rhetorical theory- the tradition of European pedagogy. These differences enable the weaving of an additional thread into the story of composition's past, one more compatible with composition's contemporary ethic. (225)

Like the normal schools of Fitzgerald's study, nineteenth-century high schools evolved out of a different social and educational environment than elite colleges and also drew on the tradition of European pedagogy circulating in the normal schools. While histories of normal school instruction and analyses of textbooks are now well established within our field, the story of secondary schools remains curiously absent. To my knowledge, there has been no work in our discipline examining the local institutional histories of a high school, and high schools remain largely overlooked in almost every volume on nineteenth-century instruction in our field.[13] In this way, the volume *Local Histories* is typical in its expansion of "the notion of institution" to include "not only the

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[11] Jean Ferguson Carr, Stephen Carr, and Lucille M. Schultz, *Archives of Instruction: Nineteenth-Century Rhetorics, Readers, and Composition Books in the United States.* (Southern Illinois UP, 2005).

[12] Fitzgerald, "A Rediscovered Tradition: European Pedagogy and Composition in Nineteenth-Century Midwestern Normal Schools," *College Composition and Communication* 53.2 (2001): 224-250.

[13] I understand that a forthcoming collection edited by Lori Ostergaard, Jeff Ludwig, and Henrietta Rix Wood partially fills this gap in its attention to high schools and normal schools, and a forthcoming volume by Nathan Shepley will also touch on the overlaps between college and secondary writing.

emerging university of colleges and divisions and departments, but colleges, normal schools, two-year colleges and historically black colleges and universities"[14]—with no mention of the lower schools. While the inclusion of four chapters on normal schools in this volume is justified because "their stories inform the stories of composition in the public elementary and secondary schools, whose graduates fueled, and whose teachers would bear the blame for, fresh outbreaks of literacy crises" (6), the stories of those students and teachers in secondary schools remain largely unexplored by our discipline. I posit justifications for this oversight in the conclusion of this project; for now, suffice it to say that this project contributes to this existing body of scholarship about diverse settings for rhetorical instruction by examining not only the European pedagogical traditions, but also the larger pedagogical, institutional, and theoretical work undertaken in nineteenth-century high schools.

Adding to Carr, Carr, and Schultz's and Schultz's important attention to school textbooks for nineteenth-century language instruction and Fitzgerald's work on normal school instruction (and extending the work of *Local Histories* and other like volumes), this project further elaborates connections between what we would recognize as secondary and post-secondary educational contexts and contributions by examining rhetorical instruction in Louisville's high schools. High schools were the sites at which both these textbooks and the instructional strategies of normal schools were in use. By looking closely at one school system, I am able to place a number of related lines of inquiry in conversation, including the work on European education and school instruction from Carr, Carr, and Schultz, Schultz, and Fitzgerald; histories of women's rhetorical

[14] Donahue and Moon (Eds), *Local Histories: Reading the Archives of Composition.* Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007), 4.

education and delivery such as those of Lindal Buchanan, Janet Eldred and Peter Mortenson, and Nan Johnson; histories of Progressive Era educational reforms such as those by Karen Graves, Marc A. VanOverbeke and Paul C. Violas; and traditional histories of composition and rhetorical instruction like those of James Berlin, Robert Connors, and Sharon Crowley alongside histories of high schools like William Reese's and David Labaree's.[15] From the vantage point of a single institution, the reality of "fluid and intersecting" ideologies and practices as suggested by a "values model" rather than an "epistemological model" of writing instruction, becomes particularly pronounced.[16] That is, the attention to the discursive and material construction of one school system allows us to capture some of the messiness and overlap of institution-building and pedagogical theorizing at this time of educational flux and change. It helps us to resist binaries and easy categorizations in our constructions of the rhetorical past.

Attending to the stories of US high schools adds depth and complexity to our understanding of historical literacy and language practices, especially as it sheds light on the schooled rhetorical practices of countless young people not represented in histories of

[15] Carr, Carr and Schultz, *Archives of Instruction*; Schultz, *The Young Composers*; Fitzgerald, "A Rediscovered Tradition"; Buchanan, *Regendering Delivery: The Fifth Canon and Antebellum Women Rhetors* (Carbondale: SIUP, 2005); Eldred and Mortenson, *Imagining Rhetoric: Composing Women of the Early United States* (Pittsburgh: U of Pittsburgh P, 2002); Johnson, *Gender and Rhetorical Space in American Life, 1866-1910* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 2002); Graves, *Girls' Schooling during the Progressive Era: From Female Scholar to Domesticated Citizen* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998); VanOverbeke, *The Standardization of American Schooling: Linking Secondary and Higher Education, 1870-1910* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Violas, *The Training of the Urban Working Class: A History of Twentieth Century American Education* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1978); Berlin, *Rhetoric and Reality* (Carbondale: SIUP, 1987) and *Writing Instruction in Nineteenth-Century American Colleges* (Carbondale: SIUP, 1984); Connors, *Composition-Rhetoric: Backgrounds, Theory, and Pedagogy* (Pittsburgh: U of Pittsburgh P, 1997); Crowley, *Composition in the University: Historical and Polemical Essays* (Pittsburgh: U of Pittsburgh P, 1998); Reese, *The Origins of the American High School* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995); Labaree, *The Making of the American High School: The Credentials Market and the Central High School of Philadelphia, 1838-1939* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1992).

[16] The "values model" is a term drawn from Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, quoted in Gold, "Remapping," 21. Gold contrasts this model to the "epistemological model" forwarded by Berlin in *Rhetoric and Reality* (Carbondale: SIUP, 1987).

colleges and universities. This site is particularly important for understanding the schooled rhetorical literacies of women, as women remained underrepresented in colleges until 1978 but have been a majority of the graduates from high schools from at least 1870.[17]

Perhaps most pressingly from the perspective of Rhetoric and Composition as a field, the history of Louisville's high schools pushes us to question current institutional designations and terms that we have taken for granted, and to rethink our disciplinary histories and the sense of origins they posit. High schools were not just preparatory institutions, perennially inadequate to the task—as they came to be commonly understood by the turn of the twentieth century; they were institutions of higher learning in their own right. I use the term "higher learning" in my title and throughout this project to highlight the slippery distinctions between secondary and post-secondary rhetorical education in the nineteenth century (a sense of slipperiness not captured in the term "higher education" as it is generally used today), but it is worth explaining some of these distinctions and overlaps here at the outset, to answer the tacit question for Rhetoric and Composition scholars: what is the significance of these institutional designations, and why should we pay attention to high schools in particular?

What's in a Name?

Newly established and still developing their own educational missions, early US high schools had few distinguishing characteristics to define them as a type, beyond their position at the upper level of common schooling and, generally, their public funding

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[17] Margery W. Davies, *Woman's Place is at the Typewriter.* (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1982), 57; Graves, *Girls' Schooling,* xvii.

through taxation. Instead, their curricula, pedagogies, missions, and even degrees and credentials overlapped with academies, seminaries, normal schools, and colleges. As late as 1903, Edwin Cornelius Broome of Columbia University explained,

> There are numerous overlappings. The first two years in most of our colleges belong to the period of secondary education; also certain studies, distinctly secondary in character, have filtered down into the upper grade of the elementary school. In other words, the joints in our educational system, because of the unique position of the college and the public high school, have become dove-tailed.[18]

Broome goes on to argue that "Secondary education, per se, however, stops the moment specialization begins; and that time may be, as it usually is, about the middle of the college course; or it may be, as it really should, at the close of the high school course" (ibid), but his distinction between what "may be" and "usually is" versus what "should" be the distinction between secondary school and college is telling, revealing that the strict divide between high school and college was as yet a proposal rather than a widely accepted reality. The idea of "specialization" was just one difficulty in determining the status of a school, especially prior to the articulation of a hierarchical system of schools from elementary to secondary to college. As numerous scholars of this time period attest,

> The definition of the college experience, as a formal entity distinct from secondary education and from graduate studies, remained unclear. The American system of public high schools was still very uneven, resulting in a shortage of well-prepared applicants. But at the other extreme, the late-nineteenth-century institutions known as 'academies' were not merely secondary schools. They often described themselves as advanced or even terminal educational institutions. Many of them came to be known as 'preparatory schools.' In the twentieth century this phase connotes an institution intended to prepare a student for college admission.

[18] Broome, *A Historical and Critical Discussion of College Admission Requirements.* New York, Macmillan: 1903, 111.

> In the 1870s and 1880s, however, the term would have connoted an institution designed to provide a preparation for life, not merely a preparation for admission to Harvard, Yale, or Princeton.[19]

Along with academies, at least some public high schools (especially in the Midwest and West) were more than "merely secondary schools" as well, providing not only preparation for college but also a "preparation for life" and even some professional training. As VanOverbeke argues, some larger high schools "even offered courses and programs that exceeded those available in several colleges."[20] Male High School itself changed names some seven times before working out its institutional identity as a high school, and even then its status remained complicated by the fact that it conferred Bachelor's and even Master's degrees until 1911.[21] A brief overview of the early history of Male High School illustrates the ambiguity of institutional designations: Established in 1792, Jefferson Seminary was renamed Louisville College in 1842, "under the powers granted to the City of Louisville to establish a High School," demonstrating the close relation between these several institutional titles. The College was renamed University of Louisville in 1846, and an "Academical Department" was established, with reciprocal privileges between Academical and Medical students. The Academical Department was established as Male High School in 1856, though it was still located on the University campus and continued to be referred to as the Academical Department. Retaining the

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[19] John Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2011), 97. Also see Christie Anne Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South.* New York: New York UP, 1994); Lynn Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1990); Reese, *The Origins of the American High School;* VanOverbeke, *The Standardization of American Schooling.* Karen Graves specifically points out that "'high school' was an ambiguous term in the nineteenth century" and "it was during the 1880s that the public high school overtook the academy as the dominant institution of secondary education in the United States" (Graves, *Girls' Schooling,* 107).

[20] VanOverbeke, *The Standardization of American Schooling,* 18.

[21] The first Master of Arts degrees were conferred in 1862 upon James S. Pirtle and Lewis D. Kastenbine, who had been the first graduates of Male in 1859 (the only graduates that year).

name of Male High School for the next several decades, it was determined by law in 1860 that Male High School "shall be in fact and in law a College…[and] shall have power to confer any and all degrees that may be lawfully conferred by any College or University in the Commonwealth of Kentucky," at which point Male took on the additional title of the "University of Public Schools."[22] The work of students during the degree-granting period from 1860-1912 compared favorably with the leading colleges of the day.[23] If this account seems confusing, that is the point. This brief history of the naming of Male High School in relation to the University of Louisville underscores the uncertain boundaries between these institutions as the face of higher education in the city was being worked out.

The history of Female runs parallel to Male, beginning with an 1851 charter that designates a school tax for the "support of the Public Schools and High School for females of said city, and the University of Louisville" and determining to build a female high school in 1852.[24] Plans to establish a female high school were circulating prior to any specific mention of a male high school but in tandem with developments of the "academical department" of the University of Louisville that would become Male High School, suggesting its alignment with this collegiate project.[25] While always designated a

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[22] *Public School Laws of the City of Louisville, A Compilation of the Acts of the Legislature and Laws Establishing and Governing the Male High School, the Female High School and the Public Schools of the City of Louisville, Ky. from the Year 1828 to the Year 1882, prepared by Randolph H. Blain* (1882), 43. For more on the early connections between Male and University of Louisville see Sam Adkins and M. R. Holtzman, *The First Hundred Years: The History of Louisville Male High School* (Louisville, KY: Administration and Alumni of Louisville Male High School, 1991); Kentucky Writers' Project of the Work Projects Administration, *A Centennial History of the University of Louisville* (Louisville, KY: University of Louisville, 1939).

[23] "300 Male High Grads Become U. of L. Alumni" *Alumni Bulletin* (July 1998): n.p.

[24] *Public School Laws of the City,* 20-21.

[25] Mandeville Thum of the Committee of Examination and Control lamented the "imperfect system of collegiate education as yet afforded" in the Academical Department in 1857 because the professorship of

high school, Female's institutional position and status is similarly complicated by its advanced collegiate curriculum and the fact that it was at several points in its history posited as normal school for the city and even the state. As late as 1905, Emma Woerner (who would later become the first principal of Louisville's JM Atherton High School for girls in 1924) was able to enter University of Kentucky as a junior based on her academic accomplishments at Female High School.[26] In short, the definitional boundaries between institutions of higher learning at mid-century and through the last half of the century were unstable, as evidenced both in changing naming conventions and in the curricula and educational missions of the schools.[27]

And yet, the nomenclature was not without purpose or effect. Christie Anne Farnham explains in her study of women's colleges that some schools across the South specifically avoided the term "college"—opting for "collegiate" or other variations—to avoid the additional public and governmental scrutiny attendant to colleges. Such scrutiny included both ongoing social criticism about the appropriateness of college for women and the necessity of having a charter passed in state legislatures for the granting of college degrees.[28] Farnham goes on to argue that the flexible naming conventions and the "incremental process" of expanding course offerings at academies to include college courses led to important gains in the expansion of higher education for women, in part due to the inconspicuousness of these schools: "The female college, then, did not

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Rhetoric and English Literature was vacant at that time (*Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the University and Public Schools to the General Council of the City of Louisville, for the Year Ending July 1, 1857* [Louisville: Morton & Griswold, 1857], 18)

[26] "Emma J. Woerner, the First Principal," History. Accessed March 15, 2015. http://www.jefferson.k12.ky.us/schools/high/atherton/history.html.

[27] Changes to the curriculum will be discussed in detail in Chapters Three and Four.

[28] Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle,* 18

represent a startling disjuncture, but rather a continuous progression in the slow, upward climb toward equal opportunity between the sexes" (67).

I would argue even further that the female college didn't necessarily represent "a continuous progression" at all, but instead represents the uneven, inconsistent process of cultural change that includes false starts, reversals, and surprising innovations. As I demonstrate in my third chapter, the language instruction and rhetorical opportunities afforded to students at Louisville's Female High School mark this school as a site of such surprising innovation, as Female provided a context for individual women not only to pursue higher learning and professionalization but also to write and speak publicly about their lives and their positions in society at midcentury. Students were being trained in rhetoric and elocution, and performing their own original compositions in front of mixed-gender public audiences from 1858, while also actively pursuing professionalization as teachers. These opportunities were at least partially enabled by the status of the high school as part of the common school system, and the rhetorical construction of its students as "girls" and future teachers in service of the community.

As VanOverbeke has recently argued, efforts to articulate a reliable system of educational leveling in the US, from elementary to secondary to post-secondary institutions, were only just beginning by the 1870s, and those efforts established many of our current understandings of academic hierarchies and educational progression across academic levels. Similarly, in *A History of American Higher Education*, Thelin reveals much of our common knowledge about institutional traditions and legacies to be backformations—attempts to shore up contemporary schools, policies or practices by aligning them with a sense of revered history (xv). That is, the process of college- and

university-building in this country can seem smooth and obvious from a certain vantage point because some aspects of the story have been obscured through revisionist histories that have an investment in conveying tradition and longevity. In fact, Thelin even cites University of Louisville as an example of a university that revised its own history in this way, asserting a longer historical legacy (traced to the founding of Jefferson Seminary in 1798) to "contribute to civic or state pride" (xv). He uses this example to "illustrate that historical writing about higher education is constantly subject to new estimates and reconsideration" and points out that "If we find serious disagreements about the names of institutions and their founding dates, then it is reasonable to expect complexity and uncertainty when we try to reconstruct and interpret the most significant issues and episodes of higher education's past" (xv-xvi). Though Thelin does not explore the point, the high schools in Louisville are also importantly connected to—and also perhaps purposefully obscured in—the history of the University as it developed, as I explained above. Building on Thelin's insights, I argue that the high schools in Louisville, as in other places where the role of preparatory departments overlapped with college work,[29] cannot be easily dismissed as part of this college building impetus of the nineteenth century. In this way, it would be a category error to presume *a priori* that the histories of certain kinds of institutions do or do not have bearing on disciplinary histories of interest to us today.

Yet the hard line between secondary and college level institutions persists. For

[29] My very preliminary research has shown that schools as geographically and academically diverse as Santa Clara University, the Free Academy of New York City, the Baltimore high schools and St. Louis high schools have similarly confounding functions and statuses within the educational landscape. VanOverbeke notes that offering preparatory departments was a common practice of colleges, in response particularly to the uneven academic preparation of students (19), while Thelin further argues that the development of "universities" in the US was often directly accomplished through a process of annexation of other programs, sometimes including preparatory departments (105).

example, Ryan Skinnell recently revisited Fitzgerald's claims about normal schools as predecessors of college rhetorical instruction on these grounds. Against Fitzgerald, Skinnell asserts that normal schools were not parallel institutions to colleges, as they were uniquely tasked with providing both secondary and post-secondary education.[30] Demonstrating that normal schools were more aligned with secondary schools enables Skinnell to argue that they are therefore *not* aligned with colleges, assuming the divide between high school and college was more pronounced than it was (15-16). This point overlooks that fact that many colleges also provided secondary instruction in preparatory departments throughout the nineteenth century, and that the curriculum of high schools and academies also reached into the college branches. This is not to say that there were not "institutional objectives [that] remained relatively stable across individual examples" of each institution (16), but that the overlap is just as significant and compelling, as institutions were more hybrid than even their own missions may have hoped. Skinnell is right to question easy one-on-one comparisons between schools with different missions and histories, like colleges and normal schools, but he overstates the case in his assertion of institutional differences.

The inconsistency of the institutional status and character of colleges, seminaries, academies and high schools at this time, and the tenuousness of the line between secondary and college educations, makes our tacit disciplinary interest in "colleges" superficial at best. Such naming has produced a gap in our disciplinary scholarship, which will be enriched by a more nuanced understanding of the currency of these terms in their own time and a more flexible sense of disciplinary territory. The almost exclusive

[30] Skinnell, "Harvard, Again: Considering Articulation and Accreditation in Rhetoric and Composition's History," *Rhetoric Review* 33.2 (2014), 13.

emphasis on colleges and universities in the history of Rhetoric and Composition has led us to overlook the schooled literacies and rhetorical engagements of a great many students, especially women.

These categories and terms were clearly unstable, though not insignificant. Indeed, part of the work of this project is to attend to the ways the naming and the language used to discuss the projects of these schools shaped the material and institutional forms they could and did take. In other words, I am following Raymond Williams and others who understand communication as a means of production. Responding to what we might today identify as a burgeoning knowledge economy, Williams highlights the "inherent role of means of communication in every form of production" that are overlooked when communication is conceived of as a "second-stage process, entered into only *after* the decisive productive and social-material relationships have been established."[31] As a part of the productive process, the language used to discuss the schools was not merely descriptive; it was producing a discursive field through which certain material and institutional forms were made possible, and others were not. Important here is Williams' attention to *amplification* and *duration* as well, whereby we are reminded again (as the archive reminds us) that the degree of control, selection, and circulation of messages in this process is not evenly distributed.

In this way, I am conducting this institutional history not to reify its identity and importance in itself but to reflect on the discursive formation and mutability of institutional formations and the meaning and value they accrue in the public imaginary.

[31] Williams, *Problems in Materialism and Culture* (New York: Verso, 1985), 53.

As a new form of schooling, established at a time of change and uncertainty for the country and for the project of education specifically, nineteenth-century high schools negotiated competing goals and expectations as they developed their identities and garnered support. This project examines this process of negotiation in Louisville's high schools and the effects it had for students' rhetorical instruction and opportunities at this site.

Why Louisville?

The Louisville high schools are a particularly fruitful site to examine because they were "at the margins" of established traditions and practices: they were between the common school and the college, as discussed above, but also at the margins of North and South and their attendant educational values and models and opening in a moment of significant change for women's education, higher education, and the nation at large. As David Gold argues, it is in these spaces where "demographic and social changes are first felt and where innovation and progressive change may first take place."[32]

Not just a border state in terms of the Civil War, Louisville was also geographically located at the intersection of the North and South at the Ohio River Falls, and the East and West upon completion of the Louisville & Lexington Railroad Line in 1851 and the Louisville & Nashville Line in 1859. Its unique position meant that it was a site of ideological and commercial exchange between the regions. As the largest distribution center in the South during the 1850s, Louisville's economic interests in

[32] Gold, *Rhetoric at the Margins: Revising the History of Writing Instruction in American Colleges, 1873-1947* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 2008), 7.

education may have been particularly pronounced.[33] The economic interest in higher learning is not merely or even primarily rooted in notions of individual advancement implicit in most discussions of the "literacy myth," but instead linked to systems of statewide commerce that seemed to require wider access to higher learning.[34] As Kentucky Secretary of Education J. D. Matthews framed the issue in the 1850s:

> For now, it is not of so great importance as formerly, merely to be able to read and write, and calculate interest; the want of thoroughness and accomplishment is cause of defeat and embarrassment. The question of right and privilege, of property and power, of morals and religion, are becoming more and more infused in to the popular mind, and blend themselves into every phase of society, and permeate every mart of commerce. Those who are to wield for good, these mighty elements, must be educated.[35]

Despite this broad appeal to the benefits of education for the state, opposition from citizens often persisted because citizens and workers, understanding the promises and perils of the literacy myth, considered the personal impact expanded educational opportunities might have on their own lived experiences: whereas the wealthy of many cities resisted giving up their monopoly on education, the poor resisted the taxes that would be imposed to support the schools, especially as many of the poor would not actually have the time and privilege to utilize the schools.[36] And, as Louisville Superintendent George W. Anderson pointed out in 1861, if all the students and families were impelled to come to school at the time, the population would have far out-swelled the capacities of the schools. This points both to the material limitations of schooling at

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[33] Elizabeth Hummel, "Noble Butler: Louisville Educator and Author" (master's thesis, University of Louisville, 1962).

[34] On the "literacy myth," see Harvey Graff, *The Literacy Myth: Literacy and Social Structure in the Nineteenth-Century City* (New York: Academic, 1979).

[35] Matthews, *History of Education in Kentucky*. Bulletin of Kentucky Department of Education 7.4 (July 1914), 80.

[36] Adkins and Holtzman, *The First Hundred Years, 2-3.* See appendix for enrollment figures.

this time and to the persistent inequity tacitly enforced in the management of the public schools.[37]

Despite its long and fraught development over the century, the Louisville Public School system, and Male in particular, came to be much acclaimed by the end of the nineteenth century. The school system was cited as one of the best in the country in 1865, and Male was recognized for educational excellence, among only five other schools worldwide (and no other U.S. school), by the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis.[38]

Though unique in many ways, Louisville was nonetheless a Kentucky city as well, a Southern city, in a slave state where the ideological battles surrounding slavery, religion and state's rights raged through much of the century. The establishment of these schools responds to an increasing distrust of the North in relation to the slavery question, to anti-Catholicism, and to socio-economic changes in the region that led to criticism of a traditional Southern aristocracy, among other socio-political issues. Louisville's complicated identity produced an education system with a similarly complex identity to negotiate.

In Louisville and across the South, educational advocates were suspicious of northern educators, even as they drew on them for educational theories and models. Aware of the claims made for literacy and higher learning as shapers of morality and political ideology, administrators sought to control that process locally. In regard

[37] *Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Male High School, Female High School, and Public Schools of Louisville, to the General Council of the City of Louisville, for the Scholastic Year of 1860-'61* (Louisville: Bradley & Gilbert), 14, 23. According to School Board President George W. Morris in the same report, the population of students 6 to 18 years old was 12,000 in 1855, and about 16,200 in 1860, while there was "not room sufficient in all the buildings to seat six thousand (Annual Report 1862, 15).
[38] "Educational Excellence," *American Educational Monthly* 2.1 (Jan. 1865), 30; "Our School," Louisville Male High School Alumni Association. Retrieved Dec 6, 2010 from http://www.malealum.org/Our_School.php.

specifically to the fraught "slavery question," the Southern Convention affirmed an interest in a Southern education system that would not fall under influences of the North during their 1855 convention at New Orleans:

> We are in the habit of sending our sons and daughters to the north, far from their homes and home influences, there to be exposed to those which we believe dangerous to our interests, and damning to our peace…Our sons and daughters return to us from their schools and colleges in the north with their minds poisoned by fanatical teachings and influences against the institution of slavery, with erroneous religious opinions on the subject, and with the idea that it is a sin to hold slaves.[39]

This recognition of the power and value of education is likely in response not only to the lack of higher education in the South that led Southerners to go North but also to what another writer identifies as the Southern dependence on Northerners for education generally:

> Kentucky has recently declared, with unprecedented unanimity at the polls, that she will be taxed for the support of a system of common schools. Her legislature will pass law after law in obedience to this mandate. But still she will have no common schools. The poor man will still be without the facility of giving the elements of a plain education to his children. We have not the teachers for the schools, but, above all, we have not the men to put the schools in operation and supervise them when started… it is the firm conviction of one who has been intimately acquainted with it for ten years, that, if the Northern men among us were to withdraw from it their gratuitous supervision and care, [the system of common schools] would, in a very few years, die out of inanition and neglect. It is one of those small kind of public concerns which our Virginia stock have not been trained to early in life, and therefore deem beneath their attention. This is but one of the many illustrations of the erroneous structure of society where negro slavery is part of the structure.[40]

Whether as apologists of slavery desirous of maintaining the institution or emancipationists, educators in Southern cities recognized education as tied deeply to the slavery question. And this continued to be an issue after the establishment of common

[39] "Home Education at the South," *DeBow's Review and Industrial Resources, Statistics, etc. Devoted to Commerce…*18.3 (Mar 1, 1855), 430.
[40] "Emancipation in Kentucky," *The National Era* (Mar 22, 1849).

schools across the state and the two public high schools in Louisville. In this way, a Mr. Brady, principal of a public school in Louisville, was in 1856 tarred and feathered by the School Committee for writing a report to the Oxford *Citizen* critiquing a slave auction held on Christmas day in Louisville. He was subsequently "compelled" to resign his position and leave the city.[41]

Tapping into this interest in the localization and control of education and the ideological power it entailed, and perhaps related to the general anxiety about northern educators, Louisville's Superintendent George W. Anderson wrote of the high schools in 1860:

> This system must advance to completeness…we must have not only educated men, but we must have educated teachers; men, I mean (I include women also), who have been taught the art of teaching, the most important and highest of all other arts. To attain such teachers at all times and most conveniently, they must be made such by us, and made at home.[42]

The geographical location and the historical moment surrounding Louisville's establishment of public high schools contributes significantly to the story that emerges there. Though Male's Principal Grant and other school leaders are said to have tried to keep politics and war out of the schools, by 1861 the impact of the war was truly felt in public education, as a total of 39 Male students and two of the four members of the faculty had enlisted, and school houses were occupied by forces, removing classes into the basements of churches and other buildings.[43] By July 1862, the Board of Education even instituted a form of "loyalty oaths" to ensure that faculty "Solemnly promise that

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[41] "Freedom of Speech in Kentucky," *National Era* X, 474 (Jan 31, 1856), 19.

[42] *Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Male High School, Female High School, and Public Schools of Louisville, to the General Council of the City of Louisville, for the Scholastic Year of 1859-'60* (Louisville: Bradley & Gilbert), 31-32.

[43] *Annual Report* 1862, 49. As noted there, the enlistment included "a few in the Confederate, but more in the army of the Union. At least five of them have fallen on the battle-field, boldly contending what *they believed* the RIGHT" (49, emphasis original). Also see Adkins and Holtzman, *The First Hundred Years,* 50.

you will bear true allegiance to the United States…that you will discountenance, discourage and oppose succession, rebellion, and the disintegration of the Federal Union."[44] After the war, too, the effects of the conflict were felt as the schools sought to repair buildings and grounds damaged by the occupying forces.[45]

But slavery and the Civil War were not the only issues influencing the public's opinions and actions in expanding public schooling. Another social issue that encouraged the development of public schools was Anti-Catholicism. As one paper reported, Protestants of Louisville in the first half of the century often sent their children to Catholic schools and female seminaries because "there are no good Protestant seminaries for young ladies."[46] This was a big concern to many Protestants, who often saw the Catholic influence in education as a threat. In this way, the establishment of public schooling in Louisville can be seen to be responding in important ways not just in favor of free education (which was notably available at many Catholic schools) but also against Catholicism. This is increasingly supported by a report that on July 12, 1855, "The Board of School Trustees in this city by a vote of seven to five have [sic] dismissed several teachers in our public schools on account of their foreign birth and Catholic proclivities. The affair created much feeling in our community."[47] This dismissal occurred one year before the opening of Male and Female High School, and the public "feeling" about it on both sides must surely have shaped the development and identity of those schools.

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[44] Quoted in Adkins and Holtzman, *The First Hundred Years,* 64.

[45] *Annual Report* 1864, 6.

[46] "Popery and the United States," *The Christian Observatory: A Religious and Literary Magazine* 1.9 (Sep 1847), 397.

[47] "Domestic Summary," *The Independent ... Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Econ...* 7.347 (Jul 26, 1855), 235.

Overall, the local particularities of Louisville and the state of Kentucky shaped the educational opportunities made available to students. But few histories of either high schools or colleges have attended to this area and time period.[48] Instead, the historical account of both high schools and colleges are often still positioned in relation to master narratives. Work such as that of William Reese tells a story of American high schools that begins in places like Boston and trickles out unevenly across the country. As Reese acknowledges, though, the history of public high schools elsewhere in the country often begins much later, and necessarily under very different local and national circumstances.[49] As Karen Graves points out, many educational histories either focus on the "origins" or on the Progressive Era reforms in high school education, overlooking much of the work untaken by educators and students in the middle of the nineteenth century, and in the middle of the country.[50] Telling the story of "the American high school" can mean telling a tale so sweeping and comprehensive that it loses the nuances of local difference.

In a similar vein, Rhetoric and Composition hasn't gotten entirely past talking about Harvard as the central touch-point of our history and referring to everything else as "other"—alternative histories, local histories, counter-histories.[51] While Harvard certainly has had a great influence on pedagogies, practices and values of colleges, high schools, and other schools across the country, we should recognize its exceptionalism as just that. That is, from a certain vantage point *Harvard* can be understood as the outlier, the local

[48] Eldred and Mortenson's work on Kentucky's Science Hill Academy is a notable exception. Others also reference examples from the state, such as "From Seminary to University: An Overview of Women's Higher Education, 1870-1920." In *The History of Higher Education.* Eds. Harold S. Wechsler, Lester F. Goodchild and Linda Eisenmann. Needham Heights, MA : Simon & Schuster Custom Publ.,1997: 473-498.
[49] Reese, *The Origins of the American High School,* xiv.
[50] Graves, *Girls' Schooling,* 104.
[51] David Gold argues in "Remapping" that the field *has,* indeed, moved beyond the Harvard narrative, but the expectation that a historian will address that narrative, even if to complicate or entirely dismiss it, seems to persists (as suggested by Gold's own mention of it).

history, the other. What was happening in other sites had a much greater impact on the daily lives and experiences of actual students—and it was not always or even often necessarily true that Harvard influenced the practices of the nation's schools. In fact, many high schools had pedagogies and values that were strikingly different from Harvard's even when they saw themselves as providing a collegiate or college-preparatory education to their students.

Other places, then, deserve and require their own histories that acknowledge and explore those unique circumstances and their outcomes. While Boston and Harvard continued to loom large as models to educators across the country, these other places were of course *not* Boston and Harvard, and their educational histories necessarily differed in important ways. Even accounting for regional trends, such as Christie Anne Farnham's important work on Southern colleges, does not fully capture the local work of institutions, particularly those like Louisville that were located on the margins of regional identities and value systems.

The language of historical and regional trends and "origins" has limited our understanding of the diversity of educational practices and experiences. As we currently try to rethink higher education—in relation to individuals and society, to liberal arts and vocationalism, to access and standards—we can see that the story unfolds unevenly. Even very widespread ideas and values take a long time to take hold in practice, and the experience of most students and institutions are not reflected in master narratives or even broadly regional accounts. Instead, historians are often tasked with accounting for exceptions almost as soon as they have proposed the rule.

Other local histories, like Adkins and Holtzman's interesting and comprehensive (if adulatory) *First Hundred Years: The Story of Louisville Male High School*, have already begun to tell the story of Louisville's public high schools. This dissertation contributes to that work by focusing specifically on the educational ideologies and rhetorical opportunities provided by both Male and Female high schools and their interactions with regional and national trends. Education reformers in Louisville did not just respond to precedents in the East, or to some manner of democratization sweeping the nation, but to local and regional concerns that encouraged them at times to look toward or respond against the northern exemplars and movements. Because of the complexities of local educational efforts, local histories often defy our efforts to describe regional or national trends and traditions, and our terms and categories need to be constantly revisited and questioned from a local perspective.

On Methods and Methodology

An attention to the "slipperiness" in terms and trends seemed unavoidable from a methodological perspective. That is, in the early stages of this project, I spent a good deal of time simply trying to figure out what school an author was referencing, because the words they were using were not mapping at all onto the distinctions I had come to expect between high schools and colleges, and regional and national histories did not seem to represent the trends I observed. This is not an incidental point. Not only is this a reality of far more schools beyond Louisville (colleges, high schools, and others) that needs to be accounted for and fleshed out in more detail across other histories, but it also raises the issue of methods and methodology here by pointing to the importance (and difficulty) of acknowledging our own terministic screens and guiding assumptions when we engage in

archival research. These assumptions inform not only the histories we compose and arguments we make but also the very process of locating and reading materials in the first place. As Lynee Lewis Gaillet argues, "in archival investigation examining methodologies and methods in tandem is critical given the nature of primary research."[52] In other words, our understandings of what history is and *does,* what accounts and stories are relevant, and what counts as evidence shape the ways we engage with and create archives and compose histories.

In a 2009 article in *College English*, Barbara L'Eplanttenier called for archival researchers to include a methods section in their research for this reason. Methods sections, she argues, allow researchers to foreground the messiness of archival research instead of whitewashing over it. Such a section serves a teaching function for future archival researchers to help them understand the ins and outs of archival methods, builds the credibility of the researcher, and suggests future research projects. As L'eplattenier writes,

> An actual methods section shows us the cracks, fissures, and gaps to allow us to see the construction. It allows us to more clearly point out our blind spots, our areas we didn't realize we could research, our awareness of the fragmentary nature of archival work. If all histories are constructions, then a methods section allows us to see the building blocks of that construction. We can see which section of the foundation is strong or weak, where we can build a wing, where we can add a door.[53]

My own research process exemplifies this point, as my archive was wrought with cracks, gaps and fissures that I hope future research projects will help to fill.

[52] Gaillet, "(Per)Forming Archival Research Methodologies," *College Composition and Communication* 64.1 (2012), 35.
[53] L'Eplattenier, "An Argument for Archival Research Methods: Thinking Beyond Methodology," *College English* 72.1 (2009), 74.

I began my research with the discovery of a single volume of entrance examinations for Male and Female High Schools from 1860, located in the University of Louisville archives. Being new to Louisville, I knew nothing of these schools, including the fact that Male High School is still in operation in the city, now as a coeducational school. Having studied nineteenth-century textbooks during my Master's program, I was initially interested in the ways the exams may have reflected approaches to English language instruction found in such textbooks. What textbooks were students studying to prepare for these exams? What kinds of learning did these exams certify students as prepared to engage? And I was intrigued about the differences between the exam for males versus for females. Why, for instance, were female students asked more word problems in their arithmetic section? Did the same person write each of these exams, or might the differences reflect the values of different test-writers? How did the exams suggest different learning goals and expectations for male and female students? I sought out more information about the schools to better understand the genesis of these exams. From there, this project developed.

Finding no other documents pertaining to the schools in the University of Louisville collection, I contacted the Filson Historical Society and the Jefferson County Public Schools (JCPS) archives. At the Filson Historical Society I found record books from both schools from the 1870s, but these revealed little more than student names, subjects studied, and decontextualized grades. They did not provide a sense of *why* students would study certain subjects and not others, and only opened out further questions about what these schools were all about. At JCPS, I reviewed the meeting minutes of the school board for roughly the first forty years of the schools' operation, and

also came across the auspicious 1860 *Annual Report*, which included the student essays featured in my third chapter along with a wealth of information about the high schools and the larger common school system. It is these annual reports that would become the central focus of my research.

Perhaps surprisingly, I located the bulk of the school board reports from which my research primarily draws on the shelves of the Louisville Free Public Library. Right there on the second floor of the downtown branch I found nearly the entire run of school board reports,[54] which included information about enrollment, architecture, and curricula, as well as essays from the superintendents and principals outlining their educational goals and philosophies. Because these reports were published, they are not strictly "archival," according to some definitions. However, I identify my materials as archival in the same way that William DeGenaro does, in that "I looked to them not for information but rather as artifacts waiting for a critical gaze."[55] As DeGenaro writes of his own materials, "These are all 'published' sources, albeit obscure. But more importantly, they are not sources of received knowledge. They constitute a historical record, and I employ them as artifacts. For me, this is the essence of archival research" (183).

I supplemented the annual reports with newspaper articles and searched the Filson archives to track down whether any of the students' families had their papers held there, but unfortunately I have not found much.[56] I searched census data to learn about the

[54] In addition to missing a few scattered years, I have not been able to locate an Annual Report from 1873-1887, though I do have Manuals of the Board of Trustees of Public Schools from 1878 to 1892.

[55] William Degenaro, "William Rainey Harper and the Ideology of Service at Junior Colleges," in *Local Histories: Reading the Archives of Composition,* ed. Patricia Donahue and Gretchen Flesher Moon (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007), 183.

[56] An exception is a single essay and several school certificates from Sallie Thustin, graduate of Female in 1872.

young women in Chapter Three, and used city directories to identify the family backgrounds of other students. Overall, though, my archive was scattered and incomplete beyond the school board reports. Most significantly, it is important to note that I was largely unable to locate student writing and assignments. The exceptions are the student essays analyzed in Chapter Three that were published along with two essays from Male students in the school board report of 1860, an essay by student Sallie Thuston, "American Footprints on the Sands of Time," from 1872 (without an assignment or teacher comments), and essays published in the *Courier's* Educational section in the 1870s. In each case, the fact of preservation says something of the way these pieces were valued in their own moment, but I can say little else about how and why.

Following Mariolina Salvatori, I have tried to be "attentive to the limits of understanding that the lack of preservation (an implicit judgment on their value) of the materials under scrutiny sets up for [historical] investigation."[57] While being attentive to the limits of my materials and my understanding, I have worked against the implicit devaluing of these materials and histories by employing what Royster and Kirsch call "critical imagination" in piecing them together.[58] That is, I have questioned what I know, and considered the other interpretations and meanings that might be constructed from these sources.

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[57] Salvatori, "(This is not a) Foreword" in *Local Histories: Reading the Archives of Composition,* ed. Patricia Donahue and Gretchen Flesher Moon (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007), xi.
[58] Royster and Kirsch, *Feminist Rhetorical Practices,* 71. Though Male High School still exists and its alumni have curated an impressive collection of school yearbooks and literary magazines from the 20th century, the early experiences of that school and of Female have not been preserved well.

In this way, my experience echoes Gretchen Flesher Moon's reminder that "from the archives, provisionally, in fragments, one constructs histories."[59] While attempting to be methodologically purposeful, I have found much truth in Robert Connor's oft-cited metaphor of archival research as a rambling mushroom hunt, which emphasizes the idiosyncrasies of archival work as well.[60] My location of the 1857 annual report is particularly telling in this way. I found a reference to that volume in the footnotes of William Reese's *The Origins of the American High School.* I contacted Reese via email and he was generous enough to dig through his box of notes from some twenty years before and find that the report was held at the University of Chicago. I drove to Chicago and asked the reference librarian for a call number, only to be told that the title was not in their system. Disheartened, I decided to peruse the shelves for other reports from St. Louis, and decided on a whim to look at the Louisville section, just in case. There on the shelf was the 1857 report, catalogued simply under the word "Kentucky," with no other identifying information. It was only through such "play" in the archives that I found this and most other materials with which I worked.

During this process, I have also been attuned to the role of archivists not only as "information-management professionals" who helped me to locate and access materials, but also as scholars who have shaped how other researchers like myself understand and make meaning from documents, through the development of finding aids and

[59] Moon, "Locating Composition History" in *Local Histories: Reading the Archives of Composition,* ed. Patricia Donahue and Gretchen Flesher Moon (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007), 2.
[60] Connors, "Dreams and Play: Historical Method and Methodology" in *Methods and Methodology in Composition Research,* eds. Gesa E. Kirsch and Patricia Sullivan (Carbondale: SIUP, 1992): 15-36.

cataloguing.[61] I am grateful for the assistance and scholarship of each archivist with whom I worked.

Overall, I want to emphasize the partial and contingent nature of this and all histories. I do not wish to brush over "the cracks, fissures, and gaps" in my research process and the history I construct, but instead to foreground the messy work of history making, as it is this messiness that allows us to recognize the possibilities for new perspectives and research interventions—to see "where we can add a wing, where we can build a door," as L'Eplattenier so nicely put it. Just as these schools were being constructed and defined in practice, so are our attempts to understand them and to compose histories to represent them.

Louisville's High Schools: An Ecological Perspective

In the chapters that follow, I have constructed a history of the rhetorical instruction and opportunities of Louisville's first free public high schools from their early days up to the end of the century. By the end of the century, Progressive Era pedagogical changes had taken hold and high schools had overtaken academies as the dominant secondary institutions in the US, changing the role of the high school so dramatically that the emerging story would seem to belong to a different project, to be taken up elsewhere. In Louisville, the establishment of Manual Training High School in 1892 can be seen as signaling this shift, representing the proliferation of high schools and increasingly fragmented and vocational curricula. Hence, I have chosen 1896 as the temporal boundary of this project. Of course, even within the nicely contained geographical and

[61] Each of the authors in *Local Histories* also addresses the role of archivists in their work.

temporal boundaries of this local history, there are multiple stories that could be told, and much that must be left out. Instead of attempting a comprehensive account of this history, I have chosen to construct my account around a series of discrete arguments. Each chapter explores a distinct but overlapping aspect of the curriculum—including "practical" education, women's education, and manual or industrial education—that contributes to a rich ecological perspective on the political, social, economic, and gendered aspects of rhetorical education being negotiated for an increasingly diverse student body across the last half of the century. Together, the arguments forwarded in each chapter demonstrate the value of examining high schools as sites of pedagogical innovation, rhetorical opportunity, and citizenship training of significance both to our rhetorical histories and to the ways we address reform efforts in higher education today.

My next chapter, "The Practical and Practice: William N. Hailmann and the Louisville High Schools," focuses on the first decade of the schools' operation, during which European educational philosophies of the "New Education" were introduced to Louisville's schools by science professor William N. Hailmann. Under his influence, educational theories associated with the lower schools (particularly "object teaching") were applied to a collegiate learning context, replacing traditional disciplinary values of memorization and recitation with student-centered methods emphasizing self-activity, hands-on practice, and a "pedagogy of interest" as the basis for a "practical" education.[62] Following Linda Adler-Kassner's "Liberal Learning, Professional Training and Disciplinarity" and Min Zhan Lu and Bruce Horner's "Composing Careers in Global-

[62] The term "pedagogy of interest" is drawn from Paul Monroe's *A Brief Course in the History of Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company,1914); he uses the term to explain the New Education reforms that I also address.

Local Context," I argue that this notion of practical education, as grounded in meaningful student-centered practice and learning across one's lifetime, provides an alternative definition and purpose for a "practical" liberal arts education that can be drawn on to counter reductively career-oriented appeals circulating in current educational reform discourse.[63]

Chapter Three, "The Flower of Democracy: Female High School," focuses specifically on opportunities for young women. Building on the student-centered academic focus provided by the new education, women at Female High School were afforded remarkable opportunities to develop as rhetors and teachers, and to pursue both high academic standards and professionalization opportunities at a time when these two aims were seldom combined for women. In this chapter, I argue that the construction of these young women as "high school girls" (even though they were as old as 21) alleviated concerns about their rhetorical performances, while their role as future teachers provided a frame for their civic participation and professionalization. In particular, I focus on the opportunities for women's rhetorical engagement from within the seemingly contained but very much public school ceremonies. I analyze three student essays from the 1860 commencement ceremonies to demonstrate the ways students used this traditionally epideictic context as a venue for deliberative rhetoric that commented on their own experiences as women and students. The perceived innocuousness of the "high school girl" and her public service role as a future teacher enabled remarkable opportunities for

[63] Linda Adler-Kassner, "Liberal Learning, Professional Training and Disciplinarity in the Age of Educational 'Reform': Remodeling General Education," *College English* 76.5 (2014): 436-457; Min Zhan Lu and Bruce Horner, "Composing in a Global-Local Context: Careers, Mobility, Skills," *College English* 72.2 (2009): 113-133.

rhetorical development and civic participation that have been overlooked in our emphasis on colleges, providing insights into how we might conceive of publicly engaged students and pedagogies today.

Chapter Four, "The Mind and Body of Higher Learning," traces the constriction of opportunities for rhetorical education through the development of differentiated programs in the final decades of the nineteenth century. These programs were increasingly focused on preparing students for particular career outcomes, and led to the construction of students as gendered and classed learners. In particular, I argue that the emerging attention to students' material needs and embodiment served as a warrant for developing curricular programs that confirmed social class positions and available gender roles rather than affording opportunities for students to transcend them. The emphasis on embodiment coincides with the emergence of race as an important signifier, as Louisville's first public school for African Americans was opened in 1873, when these reforms began to catch on in the city. The account of embodied vocational education helps us to understand the ongoing devaluation of manual education and careers, and has explanatory power for understanding the eclipse of what Graves calls the "female scholar" by the "domesticated citizen" by the end of the century.[64]

In my final chapter, I summarize the historical and historiographic insights provided by a study of the Louisville high schools. I link my account to national educational trends and discourse to show how Louisville is representative of the national attempts to determine the means and ends of higher education for an expanding

[64] Graves, *Girls' Schooling*.

educational market, highlighting the resonances with current reform efforts in higher education.

The story that emerges across these chapters pushes against Rhetoric and Composition's commonly accepted narratives about the development and practice of US higher education by insisting on the inclusion of at least some high schools as sites of advanced literacy practices and progressive pedagogy on par with (and at times as a forerunner to) college composition and rhetoric instruction. Though the histories of high schools and colleges follow different trajectories, I draw on both to recover some of the messiness and overlap that existed at this moment in history and to highlight the stakes of this project for ongoing conversations about the shape, meaning and purposes of higher education in the US. At high schools we can observe the intersection of pedagogy and educational theory with widespread changes to notions of higher education that were taking place in colleges, such as changes in the understandings of rhetoric, increased interest in elective systems in place of traditional subjects and the emphasis on mental discipline, and the emergence of "practical" English subjects alongside classical languages.[65] Further, as new institutions without the pressure of tradition that held back many colleges and universities from reform, I argue that high schools were particularly open to innovation, and (following Fitzgerald) they embraced a pedagogical focus to their rhetorical instruction that colleges would take some thirty years to get on board with. They combined pedagogical principles from the lower schools with traditions of collegiate study. Despite the oft-cited association of deadening themes and recitation

[65] Albert A. Kitzhaber, *Rhetoric in American Colleges, 1850-1900* (Dallas [TX]: Southern Methodist University Press, 1990).

models of learning with nineteenth-century high schools, Louisville's rhetorical instruction seems to have been a lively and integrated pursuit.

I am recovering a time when other possible outcomes for the organization and spirit of higher education were possible. We are at a similar critical juncture where shape and meaning of higher education is being determined for the future, and can learn from the experiences of the past as we address these questions. By understanding the role of rhetorical education, of public participation, of citizenship training as it was being worked out in this context, we raise other possibilities for thinking about institutional arrangements, systematization and articulation, disciplinarity and job preparation for our students.

Without recommending we anachronistically adopt any of the positions or practices these educators embraced, this historical analysis "offers ideas to consider and questions to ask ourselves as we respond to the exigencies and contexts of our own pedagogical situations."[66] I do not seek to expand the scope of literature and figures in our rhetorical tradition so much as "revitalize rhetorical theory by shaking the conceptual foundations of rhetorical study itself."[67] Following Royster and Kirsch's conception of critical imagination again, I want to ask

> When we study women [and men] of the past, especially those whose voices have rarely been heard or studied by rhetoricians, how do we render their work and lives meaningfully? How do we honor their traditions? How do we transport ourselves back to the time and context in which they lived, knowing full well that is not possible to see things from their vantage point? How did they frame (rather than we frame) the questions by which they navigated their own lives? What more lingers in what we know about them that would suggest that we need to think

[66] Jessica Enoch, *Refiguring Rhetorical Education,* 12.
[67] Cheryl Glenn, *Rhetoric Retold: Regendering the Tradition from Antiquity Through the Renaissance* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1997), 10.

> again, to think more deeply, to think more broadly? How do we make what was going on in their context relevant or illuminating for the contemporary context?[68]

Rather than focusing on high schools merely in relation to how students are or are not prepared for college by their secondary educations, this project brings the high school into the history of composition and rhetoric as a site of advanced, even collegiate, rhetorical learning unto itself. In this, it encourages more meaningful connections between our field and the fields of education and history, where the methods and claims may differ but where important work about rhetorical education is undoubtedly occurring. We have much to gain from such cross-disciplinary work, and I offer this project as a beginning from which I hope further archival research on student writing and classroom practices will arise.

[68] Royster and Kirsch, *Feminist Rhetorical Practices*, 20.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PRACTICAL AND PRACTICE: WILLIAM HAILMANN'S OBJECT TEACHING AND THE LOUISVILLE HIGH SCHOOLS

> *We have often felt, and we still feel, the oppressive influence of that popular nervousness, which cries for lightning progress in the so-called 'practical' subjects, which smiles incredulously at the 'cant' about thoroughness, and about development and cultivation of the mental powers, and which considers as lost all the time spent in walks or in the study of anything beyond 'the three R's' and, perhaps, history and geography. We have too often observed the blighting and retarding effects of ignorance and bigotry upon schools that labor under the control of trustees who have no conception of the high destiny and of the noble duties of man, and of the exalted office of the school and who, in the majority of cases, consider money-making the chief purpose of life—a purpose, the accomplishment of which, as we all know, requires very little intelligence and virtue.*
>
> -William Hailmann[69]

As outlined in the previous chapter, Louisville's high schools were established during a time of radical change for US education. With the growing success of the common school movement along with economic changes to the structure of work and life in urban centers, the nation was invested in the idea of widespread literacy as a social and moral palladium and beginning to imagine the value of higher learning for an increasingly broad scope of citizens. As new jobs developed that required more workers to use their minds and not just their hands, and the system of apprenticeship for many trades fell out of favor, pressure to provide the general population with more than basic literacy increased. As Kentucky's Secretary of Education explained,

[69] Hailmann, *Outlines of a System of Object-Teaching, prepared for Teachers and Parents* (New York: Ivison, Phinney, Blakeman & Co., 1867).

> The resources of the State can never be made available until every farmer's son, every laborer's son, is qualified to analyze and elaborate, by science and research, those treasures which lie beneath his feet… For it is not labor that gives new value to agriculture or trade, but intelligence.[70]

The expansion of higher education posed a serious challenge to the traditional college curriculum, which was designed to prepare the country's elite young men for positions of leadership, particularly in law, clergy, and medicine. This old model of a "profound" education, as well as the "polished" education for young ladies, seemed increasingly inadequate for preparing most students for their lives and careers in a nation of change.

In light of the inadequacy of previous models for higher learning, schools and colleges in the second half of the nineteenth-century had a great interest in conceiving of a "practical" education.[71] A major impetus behind this appeal was making higher levels of literacy and education relevant and valuable to a greater proportion of the population, as institutions of higher learning were competing for students and educators touted the societal benefits to be accrued through an educated populace. But what this term connoted at different sites is complex, as is the range of innovations forwarded under this banner.

[70] J. D. Matthews, *History of Education in Kentucky*. Bulletin of Kentucky Department of Education 7.4 (July 1914), 80-81. This quote underscores the relation of universal education access to new definitions of "functional literacy." While reforms in higher education were posited as opening up new careers to students from a wider range of socio-economic backgrounds, they were just as significantly imagined to better prepare students for careers they already otherwise would have taken in farming, industry, business, or elsewhere.

[71] See James A. Berlin, *Writing Instruction in Nineteenth-Century American Colleges.* (Carbondale [Ill.]: Southern Illinois University Press, 1984; Jean Ferguson Carr, Stephen Carr, and Lucille M. Schultz, *Archives of Instruction: Nineteenth-Century Rhetorics, Readers, and Composition Books in the United States.* (Carbondale [Ill.]: Southern Illinois University Press, 2008); Albert Kitzhaber, *Rhetoric in American Colleges, 1850-1900* (Dallas [TX]: Southern Methodist University Press, 1990); Annie Mendenhall, "Joseph V. Denney, the Land-Grant Mission, and Rhetorical Education at Ohio State: An Institutional History." *College English* 74.2 (2011): 131-156.

We are currently facing a similar pressure to justify higher education as practical for students and families. As justifications for higher education increasingly appeal to the promise of personal economic advancement through a (particular kind of) college degree, the popular discourse about what "practical" means today often centers around the notion of job skills and career readiness.[72] Rhetoric and Composition scholars and teachers are well aware of the pressures exerted by legislatures, administrations, and students themselves to have writing instruction—and higher education writ large—justified in terms of how students will use certain skills and knowledges in their jobs for personal advancement. As these stakeholders become increasingly insistent on this metric of practical value, scholars (especially humanists) remain persistently resistant to characterizing and measuring higher education in terms of these outcomes. What is at issue is not only competing notions of higher education, of knowledge, of human experience, of social relations; this tension is also an issue of an under-interrogated definition of what is "practical" for students and citizens to learn, be, and do.

This chapter returns us to early discussions of and approaches to practical education in nineteenth-century higher education, providing a more complex reading of this term in historical writing instruction in particular, which has bearing on what we see as our mission in writing instruction today and the ways we might frame what is "practical" therein. In particular, I present William N. Hailmann's[73] theorization of object

[72] See the numerous articles about President Obama's February 2014 remarks about art history degrees, as well as *New York Times* and other reports focusing on income levels for different college degrees and comparing the value of a high school diploma to a college degree; Linda Adler-Kassner, "Liberal Learning, Professional Training, and Disciplinarity in the Age of Educational 'Reform': Remodeling General Education," *College English* 76, no. 5 (May 2014): 436-57.

[73] Hailmann's name is often spelled as "Hailman" in the school board reports and other earlier sources. Throughout my work, I use the spelling that became standard in his later publishing efforts, because that

teaching (to be defined in what follows) as an approach to practical education that helps us challenge common assumptions about this term and its history. In what is both an explicit challenge to popular conceptions of "practical education," and a highly practical approach to education itself, Hailmann develops pedagogies for the Louisville students that would enable them to be "useful and happy" throughout their lives by developing analytical and communicative skills. He emphasizes "practice" as a key to practical education, but posits an expansive notion of possible uses and applications of school learning well beyond mechanistic, time-bound, or solely career-centered use, instead attending to the student's own development, needs, and interests in learning as a lifelong process. In these ways, Hailmann provides an example of an alternative set of terms for understanding practical education.[74]

Hailmann's pedagogy might come as a surprise to readers who are accustomed to thinking of nineteenth-century teaching and learning as stifling and rote and who are familiar with the rhetorical education circulating in textbooks of the time that has been criticized for its reductive approaches. This account of Hailmann suggests the importance of looking at local articulations of national trends and movements and exploring the intersections of textbooks and local pedagogical values and theories in histories of rhetorical education. While his ideas are part of the European reform tradition recovered by Schultz and Kathryn Fitzgerald, this chapter supplements that work by looking at the values and practices of a school operating with these theories and challenges our

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seems to reflect his own preferred spelling. Original spelling has been retained in sources that refer to him.

[74] Hailmann is by no means unique in forwarding these educational ideals in American schools. As I will demonstrate, though, he is an important figure in the Louisville story, as he represents a major spokesperson of these theories there, and is notable in the national context for his applications of these theories to higher learning.

assumptions about who "does" rhetoric, broadening the scope of rhetorical instruction to include "how to form and express ideas" across the curriculum.[75]

Hailmann was science professor at both Male and Female from 1857 to 1864, and was an influential voice in shaping the curriculum and teacher training at this site. He is frequently cited in the school board reports and minutes, and his ideas are reflected in the disciplinary and curricular values of the schools. After leaving Louisville, he went on to become an administrator at schools in Indiana, Wisconsin, and elsewhere, and became a celebrated voice (along with his wife, Eudora) in the kindergarten movement and a promoter of theories of the "New Education," which encompassed the ideas of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, Friedrich Froebel, Jean Piaget, and, later, John Dewey, who drew on the philosophies of Locke and Rousseau to articulate actual classroom practices for student-centered learning. Among other publishing efforts, Hailmann most notably published an educational history that covered Pestalozzi and Froebel, a translation of Froebel's works for English-speaking audiences in America, and a magazine, *The New Education,* dedicated to these and related educational ideas.[76]

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[75] Schultz, "Elaborating Our History: A Look at Mid-19th Century First Books of Composition," *College Composition and Communication* 45.1 (1994): 10-30; "Pestalozzi's Mark on Nineteenth-Century Composition Instruction: Ideas Not in Words but in Things," *Rhetoric Review* 14.1 (Autumn 1995): 23-43; *The Young Composers: Composition's Beginnings in Nineteenth-Century Schools* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1999); Kathryn Fitzgerald, "A Rediscovered Tradition: European Pedagogy and Composition in Nineteenth-Century Midwestern Normal Schools," *College Composition and Communication* 53.2 (2001): 224-250.

[76] As examples, see *Twelve Lectures on the History of Pedagogy* (New York: American Book Company, 1874); Friedrich Froebel, *The Education of Man,* trans. and annotated by William Hailmann (D. Appleton and Company, 1887; *The New Education,* merged with Elizabeth Peabody's *Kindergarten Messenger*, was first published in 1877. Hailmann wrote some twelve other books as well.

Though he has been recognized by educational researchers for his later contributions,[77] Hailmann's early experiences as a high school professor that shaped his theories have been little discussed, though they were formative to his ideas about extending new education approaches to the higher levels of schooling that increasingly set him at odds with other well-known schoolmen like William Torrey Harris, influential superintendent of the St. Louis schools, with whom he had well-publicized disagreements about the purpose and process of higher schooling. His time teaching in the high schools and his influence there also brings him more clearly into our disciplinary purview, as his educational theories inflected rhetorical education at this site.

Because of his national influence, Hailmann is a bridge figure that links the local and regional educational discourse in Louisville to national conversations. He represents a kind of historical figure that is worth recovering by our field: a theorist and educator at the intersections of educational trends and spaces, an "outsider" to our field who had an impact on the local, regional and even national histories of writing instruction through his practices and writings. While we as a discipline have imported several educational theorists—such as Dewey and Freire—I argue that we have overlooked others like Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Hailmann, who prefigured these later theorists, for three reasons. First, these figures wrote primarily about the lower schools, which have been superficially cordoned off from discussions of higher learning, despite the fact that these theorists (especially Froebel and Hailmann) intended their theories to apply to higher

[77] See Dorothy W. Hewes, *W. N. Hailmann: Defender of Froebel* (Grand Rapids, MI: The Froebel Foundation, 2001); M. M. Roberts, *The Man Who Pioneered Kindergartens: William N. Hailmann* (1935). Entries on him appear in several educational dictionaries and databases, usually in relation to the kindergarten movement, Froebel, or Indian Education. His papers are currently held in the Department of Special Collections, University of California, Los Angeles.

learning as well, and influenced the thoughts of educators across contexts. Second, these theorists wrote prior to the institutionalization and formal recognition of education as a discipline in US university settings. And, third and relatedly, they wrote not as educational philosophers and theorists, per se, but as educational experimenters and practitioners whose attention was on educational practice and pedagogy.[78] As Mariolina Salvatori explains in her well-known documentary history, "pedagogy" as a term and enterprise has suffered historically from a perceived and imposed theory-practice split, especially prior to the legitimization of teaching as a university discipline.[79] Our field's relative obliviousness to figures like Hailmann—and even Pestalozzi and Froebel—is symptomatic of an untenable disciplinary division between Education and Rhetoric and Composition, and a continuing legacy of devaluing pedagogy and practice in our theoretical scholarship.[80] Though figures like Dewey would become associated with many of the pedagogical innovations of Hailmann and the theorists of the New Education, it is important to recognize that the tradition of progressive pedagogy extends much further back in our history, and to trace the various iterations of the struggle to articulate education as an active, student-centered, lifelong endeavor.

By bringing figures like Hailmann into our conception of rhetorical history, we are afforded a more capacious definition of rhetorical education that, as Jessica Enoch

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[78] See Harris on the Dartmouth Seminar and the ongoing marginalization of disciplinary figures who identify with the classroom (*A Teaching Subject: Composition Since 1966.* [Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 1996]).

[79] Salvatori, *Pedagogy: Disturbing History 1819-1929.* (Pittsburgh: U of Pittsburgh Press, 1992). Significantly, Hailmann used the term "pedagogy" instead of "education" in his lectures for the Cincinnati Teachers' Institute and subsequent publication in 1874 (see note 5).

[80] Of course, notable exceptions exist; scholars such as Mike Rose and Carr, Carr and Schultz traverse the divide between secondary and college levels, but more attention should be paid to the slippery nature of that division (especially historically) and to sharing scholarly insights between education and rhetoric and composition as scholarly disciplines. The devaluation of pedagogy in theoretical scholarship is an ongoing and rich topic of discussion that nonetheless deserves to be continued.

defines it, includes "any pedagogical program that *develops* in students a communal and civic identity and *articulates* for them the rhetorical strategies and language practices as well as bodily and social behaviors that make possible their participation in communal and civic affairs."[81] Rhetorical education in this broad sense was an important part of the common schools, and was shaped and even undertaken by many educators not traditionally conceived of as rhetorical theorists or teachers.[82]

But, though I focus on the writings of Hailmann himself, I am using him to gesture towards the many other possible ways of conceiving practical education that have been part of an educational history largely unknown to Rhetoric and Composition as a field, particularly in the form of the "New Education" movement of which he was a major spokesperson. Recovering the history of the New Education not just in secondary but also in collegiate educational contexts challenges our assumptions about the norms and values of nineteenth-century writing instruction, which contemporary scholars and practitioners often use as a launching point (with which to align or differentiate our own practices). A more encompassing understanding of our history—one which includes the traditions and influential figures from educational history—enables us to address contemporary educational problems with greater nuance, rather than simply to rehash debates of the past unknowingly.

In this chapter, then, I will first introduce common scholarly approaches to framing "practical education" of the nineteenth century, especially as they shaped rhetorical theory and instruction. I then introduce Hailmann's writings as an extended

[81] Jessica Enoch, *Refiguring Rhetorical Education: Women Teaching African American, Native American, and Chicano/a Students, 1865-1911* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP), 172. Emphasis in original.
[82] I return to these points about our disciplinary archive and identity in the concluding chapter.

example of a pedagogical approach that challenges our common characterizations of nineteenth-century rhetorical pedagogies and theories. I trace the influence of his theory on rhetorical education in the Louisville high schools to show the ways it was taken up in the context of higher education to address tensions between preparing students for college, life and work. Finally, I return to the idea of the practical to argue that approaches like Hailmann's promote a definition of practical as practice that, perhaps paradoxically, has the potential to challenge reductively career-oriented definitions of practical education—just as it challenged prescriptive and product-orientated definitions in Hailmann's time—by forwarding a broader conception of practical activity in human experience, and emphasizing the emergent—even slow—process of learning.

Practical Education in Educational and Rhetorical Histories

Practicality emerges as a keyword in nineteenth-century America across various cultural contexts. From the transcendentalists to pragmatist philosophers to local legislators, we see traces of this term and its value evoked at all levels of social discourse across the century. It becomes part of what James A. Berlin calls the "noetic field" of this time—part of the underlying value system and epistemology that produces rhetorics and pedagogies.[83] This trend is tied to changing orientations towards time, labor, and social relations in the antebellum years, especially with the growth of scientific knowledge and values, and becomes increasingly pronounced in educational discourse in the last quarter of the century as industrialization and urbanization began to pose new social problems that were increasingly addressed through public schools.[84] Practical education was

[83] Berlin, *Writing Instruction,* 4.
[84] Michael B. Katz, *Reconstructing American Education* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987.

particularly linked with the notion of universal education and common schooling in a rejection of what was framed as an aristocratic and exclusionary tuition-based system of academies and colleges and their classical curriculum and pedagogy. As part of a national interest in universal education and the expansion of higher education through high schools, normal schools, colleges and the establishment of universities, an emphasis on practical education was often linked explicitly to notions of democratic and civic participation.[85] Speaking at the Male High School commencement exercises in 1860, George W. Morris of the Louisville school board put it as follows:

> In this age and country, what the great mass of our youth most need, is a practical knowledge at the very outset in life, to make them self-reliant, to imbue them with the habits of industry, and application to direct their judgments, and thereby enable them with skillful hands to become architects of their own fortunes.[86]

While the expansion of higher learning to a larger and more diverse body of students was influential in framing practical education, though, the population taking advantage of these educational opportunities remained select through the century.[87] By and large, higher learning was extended primarily to white middle class families, and expanding public school enrollments often represented a shifting of these students from academies to public schools rather than a significant growth in new student populations.[88] As more working class students actually entered the schools, the landscape of practical education shifted, as will be discussed in the fourth chapter. Prior to that shift, though, practical

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[85] See Berlin. For more about the role of democratic and civic participation as motivating female education, see Chapter Three.
[86] Morris, "An Address, in *Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Male High School, Female High School, and Public Schools of Louisville, to the General Council of the City of Louisville, for the Scholastic Year of 1859-'60* (Louisville, Bradley & Gilbert, 1860), 2. Hereafter, references to any such annual report of the Board of Trustees of Louisville will be with the abbreviated title of *Annual Report,* followed by the year. Full publication details available in references.
[87] See appendix for enrollment and graduation figures.
[88] Michael B. Katz, *Reconstructing American Education* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987).

education was largely grounded in a new emphasis on students' learning processes, and a perceptible (if inconsistent) shift from what was called around this time an "education of effort," in which students were thought to develop mental discipline through repeated drills, to an "education of interest" that is responsive to students' local interests and abilities, grounded in the assumption that students learn better when they are invested and engaged in the topic.[89]

Practical education was also intimately linked to science. Just as Annie Mendenhall has argued that "*Real*, *practical*, and *scientific*—terms circulating at the time among progressive educators and in rhetoric textbooks—became buzzwords" at land-grant institutions like The Ohio State University, they were also similarly linked buzzwords at public high schools, where educators similarly sought to develop reliable procedures to teach rhetoric—and indeed all courses—"scientifically."[90] The value of science as linked to practicality directly informed the establishment of the Natural Sciences position Hailmann would fill at Male and Female High Schools, as the Committee on Examination and Control put it:

> The necessity for such instruction is now beyond dispute. The exclusive attention to the dead languages and the more abstract mathematics, has yielded to the imperious requirements of a practical age. Men are no longer educated for a life of useless metaphysical abstractions for the cloister. Intelligent usefulness is the demand directly made by the spirit of the day. The Professorship of Natural Sciences is needed to supply this want.[91]

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[89] Paul Monroe, *A Brief Course in the History of Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914). This early source has been consulted because of its close attention to theorists of the New Education and its close historical proximity to the period under discussion here, as I am most interested in how contemporary educators and theorists conceived of their educational goals and theories.
[90] Annie Mendenhall, "Joseph V. Denney, the Land-Grant Mission, and Rhetorical Education at Ohio State: An Institutional History," *College English* 74.2 (2011): 131-156.
[91] *Annual Report* 1857, 18.

The curriculum most associated with practical education was the newly emergent English curriculum, which entailed attention to the vernacular, a decreased emphasis on (though often not complete dismissal of) classical languages, and the incorporation of science and more applied mathematics. These subjects were touted as practical for students who were not going on to study at college, but also eventually became the norm at more elite institutions and colleges as well, which adjusted curricula and entrance requirements to promote articulation with the public high schools and appeal to a broader range of students.[92]

The comments of George W. Morris, president of the Louisville board of trustees, reflect this trend: "One of the most frequent objections urged against the system of education in this country is, that in the common schools and academies, too little of that kind of instruction is imparted that has a direct bearing upon the practical things of life, while in the classical institutions it is lost sight of altogether."[93] He assures the school board and public that,

> I need hardly say that this objection is not applicable to [the Louisville schools]...[A]ll the essential and practical branches of English education are taught in our public schools, after which the pupils of these schools, on being found qualified, are transferred to the high schools, the design of which is, by a more thorough course of mental, moral and physical training, the better to prepare them for the engagements of active life. (ibid)

In short, practical education in the high schools and colleges was meant to provide a well-rounded development of students for civic and professional engagement, as leaders of the

[92] Ryan Skinnell, "Harvard, Again: Considering Articulation and Accreditation in Rhetoric and Composition's History." *Rhetoric Review* 33, no. 2 (2014): 95-112; Marc A. VanOverbeke, *The Standardization of American Schooling: Linking Secondary and Higher Education, 1870-1910* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008). Also see Berlin.

[93] "An Address, Delivered at the Annual Commencement Exercises of the Male High School, June 28th, 1860" in *Annual Report* 1860, 4-5.

community performing an expanded range of occupations and roles. In its emphasis on student needs, activity, and development, this pedagogical approach was set against earlier educational models that posited students as vessels to be filled with knowledge, which no longer seemed adequate preparation for burgeoning leaders in a time of change.[94] In its emphasis on "active life," it was also set at odds with the traditional notion of the higher learning as "train[ing] aristocrats, a class of men whose education was intentionally made to be unrelated to the affairs of the larger society, resting instead on eternal principles."[95] Female's Principal Chase echoed this interest in his intention to place the motto *Ess quam videri* (to be, rather than to seem) on the seal of the school, to "truly indicate its character as one where thorough mental discipline and practical education, rather than showy accomplishments, may be secured."[96]

Because of its grounding in the widespread cultural interest in the sciences, the increasing validity of the vernacular, and an overall anxiety about conceptualizing higher education in a context of change, then, early practical English education cannot be characterized as either vocational or mechanistic. Many educators across higher education contexts resisted this sense of the term, even as they struggled to accommodate the pressures of efficiency and standardization that attended the development of a more complex and ordered national education system.[97] What was practical for students to

[94] Reese, *The Origins of the American High School* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995).
[95] Berlin, *Writing Instruction,* 41.
[96] "Professor Chase's Report" in *Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Male High School, Female High School, and Public Schools of Louisville, to the General Council of the City of Louisville, for the Scholastic Year of 1862-'63* Louisville: Bradley & Gilbert, 1863), 101.
[97] Michael Katz, *Reconstructing American Education* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987); Marc A. VanOverbeke, *The Standardization of American Schooling: Linking Secondary and Higher Education, 1870-1910* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

know, be and do—and the best educational methods to address this—was very much up for debate.

In the realm of rhetorical theory specifically, the emphasis on the practical precipitated a movement away from abstract rhetoric in textbooks, which ran parallel to similar changes in educational philosophy being drawn from Europe. As Albert Kitzhaber explains:

> Beginning in the lower schools, where the new European theories of education were first felt, and extending gradually to the colleges, the aim of rhetorical instruction became that of teaching students to write acceptably, rather than loading them down with a mass of principles to be committed to memory…As a result, rhetorical doctrine was simplified, with the aim of pruning it of unessentials and thus making it practical.[98]

Rather than reading and memorizing theoretical principles about rhetoric, the focus of rhetorical instruction became the production of written and spoken texts.

The Louisville case seems to support Kitzhaber's characterization of rhetorical theory to this point, but Kitzhaber goes on to outline a sort of theoretical impoverishment that resulted from this emphasis on practice: "Since the rhetorical instruction of mid-century had been chiefly theory without practice, the tendency at the end of the century was to urge mainly practice without theory, or at least with a bare minimum of theory" (220). More precisely, what emerges in Kitzhaber's study is a new theory "of a more mundane sort" that was focused on "superficial correctness in mechanical details" that becomes ossified as the theoretical approach into the twentieth century, largely through a tradition of grammar instruction (ibid.). Similarly, Berlin traces the development of nineteenth-century rhetoric into "current-traditional rhetoric," which entailed a reductive

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[98] Albert Kitzhaber, *Rhetoric in American Colleges, 1850-1900* (Dallas [TX]: Southern Methodist University Press, 1990), 219.

emphasis on surface correctness in writing, such as seen in the texts of A. S. Hill, Barrett Wendell and John Franklin Genung. This trend, though, which Berlin says is influenced by the elective system and an interest in "serving the needs of business and industry" (60), emerged primarily in the last two decades of the century, and is therefore part of the Louisville tradition that is addressed in my fourth chapter.

Challenging these negative assessments of nineteenth-century rhetoric, Nan Johnson argues that these traditions extended the New Rhetoric "by synthesizing the epistemological, belles lettres, and classical rationales to justify a broader range of rhetorical practice," thus promoting a more encompassing and synthetic vision of rhetoric which claimed "the status of science, practical art, and civil servant" and was deeply responsive to its own historical moment.[99] So, though the rhetorical and pedagogical traditions that emerged by the end of the century may be less than inspiring from our vantage point, Johnson asks us to seek to understand the social and epistemological forces that shaped these theories and practices for their own time. In this way, Kitzhaber's mention of European educational theories that were informing rhetorical instruction should not be overlooked as an important influence in writing instruction, especially in schools around midcentury. Kitzhaber notes that these theories saw the practical as particularly inflected by "practice"—the practical as applied, emphasizing method and use. But rather than articulating a stifling set of criteria for the product of that practice (as rhetorical textbooks began to do), European educational theorists (focusing especially on the lower schools) attempted to base practice around developmentally-appropriate activities, with an emphasis on process—an emphasis on practice as activity,

[99] Nan Johnson, *Nineteenth-Century Rhetoric in North America* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1991), 227, 246.

as discovery, as learning. They did not represent “practice without theory” (Kitzhaber 220), but instead theories promoting practice. Their opposition to the teaching of complex rhetorical treatises, then, can be understood not as a-theoretical, but based on a theoretical interest in starting from what the student knows and guiding her through the perception and application of theoretical knowledge—an inductive rather than deductive approach. The theories that advocated such student-centered practice, or self-activity as it was sometimes called, came to be known by the end of the century as the “New Education.”

Against the pedagogies of recitation and memorization, schools in the model of the New Education emphasized scientific experiments and hands-on learning over book learning, and writing practice based on student experience and growing out of a student’s desire to communicate with others. The sense of the practical was not just about helping students produce acceptable prose compositions, or about preparation for a job, but about developing skills students could practice and use in life, particularly the ability to observe, understand and judge new information, to apply it to their own self-directed learning, and to communicate with others in speech and writing. The writing students produced in school was an occasion for practicing such observation, understanding, and judgment.

In the end, it’s hard to say the New Education took hold in the practices of most schools (outside of the kindergarten classroom), though it did provide a new educational “atmosphere” and orientation towards students as the center of learning. In the increasingly centralized and complex educational bureaucracies of the second half of the nineteenth century, the idea of student-directed learning, which is necessarily more open-ended and exploratory, was increasingly in tension with efforts to standardize education

across classrooms and schools. Early notions of practice and the practical merged with the value of job preparation in a market economy and an interest in specialization to produce a separation of manual skills from academic, to the detriment of each of these educational enterprises. In this bureaucratic context, the practical was also productive of writing practices such as those of the daily theme writing assignment and other approaches that did little more than practice for practices' sake, resulting in the much-discussed current-traditional rhetoric as well as reductively vocational programs that emphasized specific job skills over and against a more general liberal arts focus. [100]

However, the early articulations of practical education in the image of the new education remain a compelling, if often overlooked, tradition for Rhetoric and Composition. In these approaches, we find an alternative set of practices, values and terms for understanding and addressing the pressures to make higher education "practical" for students today—a conversation that frames the practical not in terms job skills or engagements with a static sense of correctness in language, but instead in terms of human experience and lifelong learning through forming and expressing ideas.

In the following, then, I describe the New Education philosophies of William N. Hailmann, science professor at Male and Female High Schools, who applied Pestalozzian and Froebelian theories to higher learning, particularly to writing instruction. After introducing his theories and the debates that surrounded them, I return to the idea of practicality to demonstrate how educators like Hailmann might help us reclaim the value of a practical education for our own time.

[100] The outcomes of this division between academic and manual education and the emergence of vocationalism are discussed in Chapter Four.

William N. Hailmann's Pestalozzian Pedagogy

> *Rousseau vindicated the right of man to be. Pestalozzi taught that the path is through growth. Froebel added value and dignity to both by his demand for an all-sided, unified life. The motto for the educator should therefor combine all three, "BE, GROW, LIVE."*
>
> –William N. Hailmann[101]

As a natural science professor, we might expect Hailmann to be an unlikely figure in the history of Rhetoric and Composition.[102] However, Hailmann's own interests were clearly never on science alone. In fact, Hailmann didn't use his methods to teach science so much as he used them to teach *learning.* As he writes, "the principal aim of school education is to teach the pupils *how to form ideas* and *how to express them.* The amount and kind of knowledge gained are only secondary considerations, important ones, indeed, but considerations that will take care of themselves, if the power to form and express ideas has been properly imparted."[103] Hailmann was clearly less interested in teaching a content than he was a process, and that process is in many ways a rhetorical one: students "must be taught not only to think, feel, and form plans; but also to speak, act, and execute with the necessary directness, energy, and power of endurance" (20). His emphasis, then, is not on developing and communicating ideas in a recitation style, but on practice and application of these skills.

Though Hailmann was an educational theorist, he applied his ideas to language instruction and rhetorical education, and in this way can also be read as promoting a

[101] *Detroit Free Press* clippings from 1882, qtd in Hewes, *W.N. Hailmann,* 68.
[102] Hailmann was originally hired to teach modern languages at the high schools, but moved very soon thereafter into the position of science faculty.
[103] "Outlines of a System of Object Teaching, Prepared at the Request of the Board of Trustees of the Public Schools of the City of Louisville by William N. Hailman, Professor of Natural Science" in *Annual Report,* 1861, 20-21, emphasis in original.

rhetorical theory of sorts. As Nan Johnson notes (following Berlin), rhetorical theories are informed by underlying assumptions about knowledge, language, and human interactions (12). As an Enlightenment scientist, Hailmann has a faith in observation and rationality. He and the New Educationists were dedicated to recognizing the capabilities of students, even young children, to observe, understand, and judge information taken in by their senses to thereby make meaning of the world around them. Through perception, conception, and judgment, students observe, understand, and apply and test their knowledge—they form and express ideas. This theory is educational, but is also specifically rhetorical in its focus on the formation and expression of ideas to be applied to active life and social intercourse. Coming from the same noetic field, the New Education echoes and reinforces the assumptions and approaches of Scottish Common Sense realist philosophy and the New Rhetoric represented by George Campbell, Hugh Blair and Richard Whately from the eighteenth century, which will be discussed further below.[104]

As an educational theorist, Hailmann's early theories drew most directly from the work of Swiss educational theorist Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827), who is best known for developing what came to be called "object teaching." This pedagogy emphasized the natural learning patterns of the child, teaching not from precepts but from concrete objects and observation. Against memorization and strict discipline, Pestalozzi believed that students have a natural desire to learn about the world that need only be directed by the teacher. In this way, object teaching involves providing students with

[104] George Campbell, *Philosophy of Rhetoric;* Hugh Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*; Richard Whately, *Elements of Rhetoric.*

tactile objects and guiding the student to observe and analyze its properties. For instance, by observing a sheet of paper, young students might explore the concepts of whiteness, smoothness, plane surfaces, rectangles, etc. By comparing that sheet of paper to a window, students might further develop the concept of opaque versus transparent, flexibility versus rigidity, etc. Later in their educational development, students were invited to explore more complex objects and phenomena, including written texts, but always with the focus on student-centered apperception and analysis as the guiding forces of each lesson. In several publications across her career, Lucille Schultz has brought our field's attention to Pestalozzi as a key figure in the history of composition for this reason. Though Pestalozzi is not a strong voice in most college textbooks, attending to Pestalozzi, Schultz argues, "helps us to understand why some of the earliest examples we have of writing assignments based on the concrete and the familiar--and in some cases on personal experience--were generated not in the colleges but in the schools."[105]

Hailmann formally introduced the theories of Pestalozzi to the Louisville schools with a pamphlet on object teaching in 1861 titled "Outlines of a System of Object-Teaching." After significantly revising the pamphlet and his own theories, he subsequently published it as a book of the same title in 1867 and continued to write on both Pestalozzian object teaching and on Froebel into the 20th century.[106]

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[105] Schultz "Pestalozzi's Mark on Nineteenth-Century Composition Instruction: Ideas Not in Words but in Things," *Rhetoric Review* 14, no. 1 (Autumn 1995), 23. See also "Elaborating Our History" and *The Young Composers.*

[106] Quotations from Hailmann's works are hereafter cited in the text with the abbreviations listed below.
"O": "Outlines of a System of Object Teaching, Prepared at the Request of the Board of Trustees of the Public Schools of the City of Louisville by William N. Hailman, Professor of Natural Science" in *Annual Report* (Louisville: Bradley & Gilbert, 1861).
O: Outlines of a System of Object-Teaching, prepared for Teachers and Parents (New York: Ivison, Phinney, Blakeman & Co., 1867).

Despite the fact that Hailmann gave lessons in object teaching to the Louisville school teachers and taught object lessons in the primary schools in the 1860-62 school years, the true thrust of his reforms were not taken up in the lower grades. This is clear from the superintendent's frequent complaints about teachers' neglect of the object teaching system in school board reports, and from the continued emphasis on so many aspects of education that he challenged, including especially the grading of classes by textbook contents (including demarcating which pages should be "gone through" in each year).[107] However, there is evidence that his ideas were, in fact, affecting the practices of the high schools.

While his publications on object teaching were formulated for the lower schools, Hailmann himself maintained that the principles of this pedagogy should be extended through higher education and into adulthood. Most theorists of the new education confined their discussions to the early years of development, especially in terms of applications of the Froebel's kindergarten, but Hailmann increasingly stressed the importance of applying kindergarten techniques, object teaching, and an array of pedagogies focused on the "self-activity" and discovery of students to the higher levels. Hailmann understood these approaches to be a way of democratizing higher learning, making it appealing and relevant to a more diverse student population, which was a goal shared by him and the Louisville administrators. Quoting sociologist Herbert Spencer,

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[107] Hailmann celebrates the relative success of the program in a 1863 report, stating that "*Whereas,* Two years ago the teachers were a unit against its introduction, there are now, among those who have taught it, only three to my knowledge who express themselves against it, and the only argument they can bring is dislike of the system. The remainder are not only not enemies of the system, but mostly warm advocates" (quoted in *Annual Report* 1863, 20). By 1865, however, the superintendent had concluded that "the result has not justified the outlay," and was particularly skeptical of its success since the departure of Hailmann from the school system that year (*Annual Report* 1865, 14).

Superintendent Anderson supports this extension of object teaching to the higher levels, highlighting the claim for this method as preparing lifelong learners:

> Object-lessons should not only be carried on after quite a different fashion from that commonly pursued, but should be extended to *a range of things far wider, and continue to a period far later than now.* They should not be limited to the contents of the house; but should include those of the fields and hedges, the quarry and the sea-shore. They should not cease with early childhood; but should be so kept up during youth as insensibly to merge into the investigations of the naturalist and the man of science.[108]

Object teaching promoted a particular vision of education for life and preparation for college that framed students as investigators and scientists of the world around them. The tension between preparing students for life (with high school as the terminal stage of education) and preparing students to enter college was a pressing point for public high schools, which saw both projects as within their missions. As the "people's college," high schools were responsible to their local communities to provide a quality terminal education for teachers and local leaders; but in order to attract the most ambitious students, they also had to prepare students for entrance into college (or frame themselves as colleges), which as yet entailed familiarity with the classical languages and literatures as well. By cultivating independent investigators while also covering the most valued collegiate subjects, Louisville was attempting to strike a balance between these two goals, and to encourage a sense of learning as extending into later life.[109]

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[108] "Superintendent's Report" in *Annual Report* 1861, 18-19, emphasis in original. Herbert Spencer's *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical* was quoted here for his critique of earlier theories of object lessons such as those of "M. Marcel" that claim students should be shown the qualities of objects rather than discover them for themselves. Louisville educators sought to distinguish their use from faulty versions of the object teaching system in circulation at the time.

[109] Designated as a college itself, it is unclear to what extent Male High School saw itself as preparing students for entrance into other colleges. Some Male students certainly went on to study elsewhere, as did some Female students. Yet it is important to note that both the Classical and English tracks at Male conferred Bachelors degrees on their graduates, and that both of those programs were framed as

In this extension of the philosophy of object teaching to the higher levels (in spirit at least, though also seemingly in practice), Louisville was more or less exceptional. The common complaints about stifling pedagogies even in "practical" high schools are evidence that such flexible and student-centered pedagogies were not the norm, but this point is further underscored by an ongoing debate between Hailmann and superintendent of the St. Louis schools William Torrey Harris in later years. Though Harris agreed with the principles of the New Education for the youngest students, he substituted it for rigid discipline, strictly graded classrooms, and a "factory system of schooling" in the upper grades.[110] The dispute became public in the pages of Hailmann's journal *The New Education*, at NEA meetings, and in other publications, such as an 1890 piece by Hailmann that critiques Harris's position:

> But at the age of seven, the children leave the kindergarten…[Harris says] all is changed…Nature is conquered, the experience of the race in the solution of life problems is laid away, wisdom without its conceit has reached its limit, and the time has come when they need 'to learn to read and write and how to record the results of arithmetic.'…Play and responsibility to law make room for work and responsibility to established authority.[111]

As is suggested in this passage, what Hailmann and Harris most differed on was their conception of the long-term purpose of education: Harris followed the common belief that the experience of discovery and play are appropriate for young children but that higher levels of schooling were in fact designed to socialize young people to order and discipline as they grew older, while Hailmann imagined education as cultivating independent thinkers who would be "useful and happy" through self-directed learning

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practical even as they sought to compete in quality and rigor with the most celebrated collegiate programs.

[110] Hewes, *W. N. Hailmann,* 129.

[111] "Schoolishness in the Classroom," qtd in Hewes, *W.N. Hailmann,* 132-33.

activity across their lives, according to “natural law” (*O* 35). This is the fundamental difference in their conceptions of practical education.

At the site of the high school, the disagreement was particularly pronounced, as Harris saw the high school as “the successor of the colonial Latin grammar school and the exclusive academy, training the leaders of the country and not their followers.”[112] This image was a stark contrast to that promoted by Hailmann and the Louisville high schools, who saw their schools (as many other high schools of the time did) as the “people’s college.” Bringing object teaching into the high schools, Hailmann believed, was one way to democratize higher learning at this site (ibid).

Louisville educators were able to focus on this flexible sense of preparation for life in part because of their status as a college. Those schools that were preparing students for college were tasked with providing students with a set body of knowledge to be evidenced on college entrance examinations. Preparation for these exams resulted in the focus on memorization and drilling of students that is often thought to characterize nineteenth-century schools. According to educational historian Marc VanOverbeke, this practice best characterized Eastern preparatory institutions training students for elite colleges in that area. In the Midwest (following the lead of University of Michigan), where public high schools, rather than academies, were the norm among preparatory institutions early on, colleges and universities often chose to forego admissions examinations in favor of an accreditation system for high schools that allowed students to enter colleges without sitting for exams. Without having to focus on preparing for an exam, which entailed reviewing previously covered material, these schools were able to

[112] Hewes, *W.N. Hailmann,* 133.

focus instead on advanced instruction to prepare students for college study.[113] Similarly, Louisville high schools were focused on the more flexible goal of intellectual preparation of students rather than exam preparation, which perhaps enabled the theories of object teaching to take hold.

In its most succinct and complete statement, object teaching for Hailmann requires that teachers:

1. *Cultivate the faculties in their natural order of development*—PERCEPTION, CONCEPTION, JUDGMENT.
2. *Proceed from the known to the unknown—from the simple to the complex—from the concrete to the abstract—from the whole to the parts—from the particular to the general.*
3. *Accustom the child to activity. Never* TELL *the child what it can* DISCOVER; *never do for the child what* IT *can do* (*O* 24, emphasis in original).

The first of these principles—to cultivate the faculties--is most thoroughly discussed both in his early pamphlet and his later, more developed book. As Jean Ferguson Carr, Stephen Carr, and Lucille M. Schultz explain in *Archives of Instruction*, the approach to "practical" education in the vernacular English curriculum "has a complex relationship to ongoing, influential arguments in educational circles about 'mental discipline,' the theory that the mind had certain faculties in need of disciplined training."[114] The authors follow Dewey's argument that this emphasis focused on "attending, observing, memorizing," concluding that "[t]heories of mental discipline shaped literacy instruction and textbooks by fostering memorization and recitation as common practices, encouraging a graduated course of study with repeated exercises, addressing students in terms of universal faculties rather than local abilities, and promoting certain subjects—typically Latin,

[113] VanOverbeke, *The Standardization of American Schooling,* 41
[114] Carr, Carr, and Schultz, *Archives of Instruction,* 7.

Greek, mathematics, and moral philosophy, and later the study of grammar" (ibid.). While this characterization holds true for many applications of "practical" education and mental discipline, Hailmann's theorization of object teaching leads teachers in a very different direction. As characterized by James McEllitgott in the introduction to the Hailmann's 1867 book, the well-disciplined mind for Hailmann is marked by "the power of forming *clear ideas,* and giving them *precise expression"* and results from student-centered object teaching: "Such observation of facts and laws cannot but result in admirable discipline. The searching tests which it habitually applies to things, it no less habitually applies, though all unconsciously, to the mind itself."[115] This propensity for observation and reflection represents a different vision of mental discipline than the discipline gained from memorizing and parsing passages of ancient or modern languages, one that resists the "transmission" model of education and posits students as creating knowledge themselves—even if they were as yet assumed to be accessing a predetermined empirical "reality" in this process. As Paul Monroe of Columbia University explains in a 1909 history of education, the emphasis of the new education on developing the local knowledges and skills of students was part of the "psychological tendency" in education theory, named for its attention to developmental psychology, which was responsive to the individual, local learning needs of students. This psychological tendency is marked by the central belief "that education is not an artificial procedure by which one acquires a knowledge of the forms of language and literature or of formal knowledge of any sort, but that it is an unfolding of capacities implanted in

[115] *O* xiv, emphasis in original.

human nature" and is an "effort to state these ideas in scientific form and give them a concrete formulation in actual school procedures."[116]

Drawing both on earlier notions of faculty psychology and emerging theories of developmental psychology within this "psychological trend," Hailmann attempts to theorize the "natural" order of learning for children to develop in this way, which he bases first in sensory observation, but which also encompasses a broad range of approaches to "how ideas are gained" in his later publication. Rather than Dewey's "attending, observing, memorizing," Hailmann emphasizes "perception, conception, judgment" as the natural development of the faculties to be followed, significantly replacing the object of memorization with that of judgment. He maintains that we learn by observation, but under this head he includes direct and indirect observation, perception and reflection. In reflection, he emphasizes the role of memory and imagination in understanding abstract concepts, but not memorization. In relation to memory, Hailmann instead emphasizes the importance of "moments of musing" during which the mind grows (*O* 26-27). The emphasis on the natural process of learning, including moments of seeming idleness, were in tension with increasing attempts to standardize school curricula and make learning more efficient.

In a similar way, his emphasis on the order of these processes, and on the order of "content" in a lesson, is a reflection of the burgeoning interest in the developmental levels of children, which resulted in the age-grading of schools in the second half of the century. On this point, though, Hailmann is careful throughout to note that different children will advance at different rates, and cannot uniformly progress through a course

[116] Monroe, *A Brief Course in the History of Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914), 303.

of studies: “The true teacher must know the state of advancement of each of his pupils, and, although arranged in classes, each pupil must receive instruction adapted to him, perhaps to him alone” (*O* 40). In addition to this customization, Hailmann emphasizes the need for patience on behalf of the teacher, as this education proceeds “slowly, gradually” (“O” 8). He characterizes this as approach as “systematically unsystematical” and “artificially natural” (*O* 113). In such reminders, we can observe the tension between the desire to provide reliable guidelines and systems for the increasingly organized school systems and the desire to follow the lead of the student herself, to trust her process, that is at the heart of Hailmann’s and the New Education’s theories.

Echoing this interest, Principal Holyoke of Female underscores the importance of following the lead of the student in her development, and embracing differences in students’ progress:

> do not feel that your child can accomplish a certain course of study, in a certain time, simply because her neighbor can do it. Do not expect impossibilities of your children; and feel no more mortification that they are not as far advanced as others, who have developed earlier, than you would feel if they could not lift a great weight, or run as swift a foot-race. God has given different gifts to each, and to each a different period of maturity; and it is worse than folly, it is a sin, to attempt to oppose his designs. The true teacher will soon decide upon the proper means and time for accomplishing his portion of the work; let the parent do likewise.[117]

The “true teacher” here is clearly one and the same as the object teacher, who attends to the local needs and abilities of each individual student and helps them develop in their own time.

Without providing a strict “form” for educational development, then, Hailmann does attempt to theorize the natural order of learning, drawn largely from Pestalozzi and

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[117] “Remarks, Made by the Principal of the Female High School, at the Close of the Graduating Exercises, June 27th, 1860,” in *Annual Report* 1860, 13.

presented in his second principle: *"Proceed from the known to the unknown—from the simple to the complex—from the concrete to the abstract—from the whole to the parts—from the particular to the general"* (*O* 24, emphasis in original). The natural order of learning, he asserts, is that which mirrors the learning of the young child, who interacts with known objects and processes and observes others actions in order to "invent" her own actions and meanings. In this way, the child perceives the ball that is rolled to her by a sibling, eventually rolling it back, then "inventing" other ways to move the ball; she observes many different kinds of knives before she can "invent" the pocketknife through synthesis (*O* 30). This notion of invention rehearses the assumptions of Scottish Common Sense realism and its emphasis on using one's faculties to perceive the world around you rather than relying on interpretations of others, which also aligns with protestant values in what Berlin identifies as the pervasive noetic field of the time. While encouraging students to make their own discoveries about the world around them, it also assumes that "The world of sense data exists independently of us and can be apprehended by the use of our senses and our faculties."[118] In short, following Campbell, truth is in the world, accessible through scientific methods and observation, and rhetorical invention is about managing the presentation of empirical truth.

While the first two principles address "how to form ideas," the third principle—*"accustom the child to activity*"—pertains to the notion of "how to express ideas" according to Hailmann. Though listed last and discussed briefly, it can be said to be most important to Hailmann's theory, and is drawn more clearly from Froebel rather than Pestalozzi, evidencing that Hailmann was advancing his own synthetic version of the new

[118] Berlin, *Writing Instruction,* 6.

education rather than merely repeating previous theorists' insights. The first two principles forward the idea that the needs of the student must dictate the material and approach of lessons, but this final point underscores that it is the student herself that must do the work of learning and practice communicating the ideas she forms.

Each of these principles is grounded in Hailmann's belief in children and their abilities—he rejects the metaphor of children as "blank slates" and instead compares them to seeds to be cultivated, insisting even that seeming "blockheads" are possessed of "sublime faculties" that may sleep a "deep, nay death-like sleep" but must be awoken, and cultivated "like a tender, precious plant" ("O" 8). This understanding of students as naturally possessing valuable abilities and experiences to be built on in the classroom was at odds with popular educational theories that framed students as "empty vessels" to be filled with school knowledge, and distinguishes his approach to language learning from other popular pedagogies that persisted in their transmissive vein despite the assumption of faculty psychology that acknowledged that students were not "empty." In this same way, Hailmann warns against the "false dignity" of the teacher who "looks down upon his pupils not only as inferiors who can never reach his exalted position; who considers himself a storehouse of all knowledge, past, present, and future," as this teacher "will never do as a teacher, at least not in a republic" (42). Similar to what we today would call the "guide on the side" model of teaching, the idea of student activity and practice is absolutely central to Hailmann's approach. As a writer in *Kindergarten Magazine* would later put it, "The self-activity of the child is honored by no one educator more than by Mr. Hailmann."[119] It is true that the whole purpose of education for Hailmann is tied to

[119] "Columbian Exposition," in *Kindergarten Magazine* 1894, qtd in Hewes, *W. N. Hailmann,* 77.

the notion of practice and application by students, through their own processes of perception, conception, and judgement. It is this emphasis that most clearly shapes his approach to "practical" rhetorical education and differentiates it from other contemporary approaches, as discussed in the next section, which explores Hailmann's notion of "expressing ideas" and its implications for rhetorical education at length.

Expressing Ideas: Implications for Writing and Grammar

Hailmann's object teaching had particularly strong links to and implications for language instruction at the high schools. Though he was teaching science by the time of his writing, Hailmann was actually hired initially as professor of Modern Languages, and remained in that position until at least 1858. Though he would not have seen himself as a rhetorician, in this section I draw out the particular aspects of Hailmann's theory that pertain to his approach to rhetorical education—marked especially by his approach to "expressing ideas" and his treatment of grammar instruction—and demonstrate how his theories were being mobilized in the practices of the high schools, particularly by Principal E.A. Holyoke, who served not only as the principal but also as the professor of Rhetoric and English Literature at Female (and briefly at Male as well), indicating that these approaches and values most certainly informed rhetorical education there. The picture of rhetorical education provided by an analysis of the textbooks used in these schools is complicated by the influence of Hailmann's theories; the textbooks, the theories of Hailmann, and the testimony of Holyoke taken together depict an encouraging atmosphere for practical rhetorical education by our standards, and suggest that the rhetorical and educational theories interacted meaningfully and productively at this site.

As mentioned above, Hailmann's discussion of object teaching across the aforementioned principles boils down to what he says is the "two-fold purpose" of education: teaching students how to form ideas and how to express them. In this way, Hailmann puts language and communication as the central pursuits of all learning. His discussion of "how to form ideas" is recognizable as a discussion of invention, attending to imitation, memory, comparison, and other common terms from rhetorical theory (seemingly via Campbell), while "how to express ideas," covers aspects of arrangement, delivery and style including correct and distinct pronunciation, correct emphasis, conciseness, elegance and beauty of expression and arrangement. His discussion of "how to express ideas" is truncated, but suggests his familiarity with and influence from eighteenth-century rhetoricians and their successors who, as Johnson points out, synthesized classical, epistemological, and belles lettres to frame their approach to style in particular. Despite its brief treatment, it retains a strong place in his theory as one of two central purposes of education, viz. forming and expressing ideas.

Further, Hailmann dedicates a full eight of sixteen chapters in his book specifically to grammar. Recalling Kitzhaber's characterization of late nineteenth-century rhetorical theory as concerned primarily with grammar, we might recognize Hailmann's lengthy articulation of grammar instruction as a rhetorical treatise in line with the trends of his time. However, Hailmann's focus on forming and expressing ideas spans across all subject areas--of which grammar is merely an example--and forms a center of his educational theory that far exceeds the scope of grammar. Hailmann further concedes that he did "not intend to write an exhaustive treatise on grammar" and that he limits the discussion "principally to the construction of language," indicating that he is well aware

of the broader scope of rhetorical education beyond grammar (*O* 38). His aim is to "merely show, by means of a few practical illustrations and hints, how these subjects may be handled in obedience to the principles of the [object teaching] system" (ibid). In other words, Hailmann is not interested in promoting grammar *as* rhetorical education, but in using grammar as an example of a topic that can be taught *rhetorically* through object teaching. In this way, he builds his theory around the articulation of classroom practices, which opens alternative possibilities for his theorization of grammar pedagogy other than the stifling emphasis on rules and surface correctness circulating in other grammar texts. In short, though he focuses his discussion of "how to express ideas" around grammar and "correctness," his theoretical position and insights as a follower of the New Education complicate and provide a different perspective on grammar instruction that focuses on the rhetorical uses of grammar rather than on grammar itself.

Hailmann's approach to language learning is grounded in an insightful criticism of the then-current system that is particularly relevant to understanding his approach to language instruction:

> The great bane of our present school system is the deplorable fact that the teacher's work is measured by the *quantity,* disregarding the *quality* almost entirely. The teacher's purpose is to dispatch so many pages a day; he measures his pupil's progress by the number of questions answered in an hour. On the other hand, the young men or women, desirous of showing that they have received a liberal education, mention the number of subjects they studied in the various schools, or the number of text-books they have 'gone through'…They think that to become masters of their language it is enough to recite a grammar, a rhetoric, etc.; that to be a philosopher is to have memorized and recited a mental and moral philosophy, etc.—in short, they mistake the tools for the work, imagine that, having heard of the elephant, they have seen it; and having seen it, they have obtained possession of it ("O" iv, emphasis in original).

In a direct challenge to traditional approaches to both classical and English curricula that are based on memorization and recitation, especially those associated with college-

preparatory schools, Hailmann defines language learning by its use and practice, not by rote knowledge. The focus of grammar, then, should not be understood as a reductive emphasis on surface correctness as the ends of writing instruction, but as providing the "tools" with which students will do the "work" of composing language. Or, more precisely, Hailmann follows other New Education theorists in his emphasis on language learning and education as ongoing processes that require authentic contexts for use and practice.

Principal Holyoke of Female most clearly aligns his philosophy with Hailmann's in his remarks at the 1860 commencement ceremony, in which he speaks of the value of applied over book learning, the educative value of the home and the lifelong application of learning, and the variability of students' progress and educational needs. Echoing the major principles of Hailmann's theory almost to a point, he summarizes his vision for the school as such:

> We aim to do our part in making honorable, intelligent, high-minded women. We aim to cultivate common sense; and our whole course of instruction is designed to be truly *practical*. We wish them to become *accurate thinkers and reasoners*; and we pursue a short, but thorough course of mathematics, together with mental and moral philosophy. We wish them to know something of the *material world*, the world of vegetable and animal life, and a course in the Natural Sciences, in which *things as well as books* are studied, enables us to accomplish much in cultivating habits of *observation and reflection*. We wish them to be able to *communicate the knowledge they have gained*, and we instruct them in the great principles of language by means of a thorough instruction in the Latin and French, by *constant practice* in impromptu compositions, and by giving the simpler principles of Rhetoric. Almost daily *practice* in reading gives them the great principles upon which all good reading is based, though we cannot do what we would for want of early elementary practice. Above all this, however, we labor to make them *independent in thought and action.*[120]

[120] "Remarks," in *Annual Report* 1860, 11, emphasis added.

Holyoke's insistence on practice, observation and reflection, forming and expressing ideas, and independent thought and action all closely resemble the values promoted by Hailmann. Though it is difficult in this case to argue a causal connection between Hailmann's and Holyoke's educational theories, the coincidence of them suggest that the "spirit" of the New Education was reaching into the higher levels of learning in Louisville, with the justifications for these pedagogies and their extension being tied up closely with the notion of providing a practical education.[121] Female students were being trained to *use* their language, and were provided remarkable opportunities for meaningfully doing so, as discussed in the following chapter.

Moreover, Holyoke's articulation of education as transcending the schoolroom and continuing into later life echoes Hailmann and the New Education theorists as well, rejecting the idea of education as preparation for later life in favor of education *as life*. He admonishes parents to recognize this broader scope of education:

> You cannot send your child to the school to purchase an education as you send him to the shop to purchase a garment. Education is not a thing to be had at a certain place, at a certain price, and from a certain man. It is constant, ever progressive. You are educating your child by your every look, and word, and act, as well—yes, far more than he is doing who teaches him algebra or Greek. The morning paper plays a more important part in the process than the text-book; and your fire-side, or the street-corner, than the school-room.[122]

Holyoke promotes a sense of education as a lifelong process, not a product co-extant with a degree or certificate. In this same way, Hailmann defines practical education by its development of human minds that can be useful and happy in their various pursuits in the

[121] Hailmann's particular influence in promoting these theories is evidenced by the fact that he was invited by the Board of Trustees to compose and publish his "Outlines," which was published in the *Annual Report* and distributed to the teachers.
[122] "Remarks," in *Annual Report* 1860, 12.

classroom, in the workplace and at home. His goal is to "send pupils from school hungry for more and with sufficient power, energy, and endurance to obtain more—pupils who feel that their education can never be finished and who have the ability to continue it independently, not pupils who are glad to have escaped the odious school-house and to have 'finished their education'" (*O* 35). Education is not preparation for life, but is itself characteristic of *living.*

The format of the annual examinations of the high schools reflects Hailmann's interest in demonstrating authentic understanding rather than memorization. First, the oral examination questions were drawn from the audience, including local businessmen and professionals. As the Committee on Examination and Control of 1860 noted, "The classes in Mental and Moral Science, and Criticism, gave evidence not only of a thorough acquaintance with their text-books, but a comprehensive knowledge of the subjects. They also evinced an independent and philosophic accuracy of thought, a purity of taste, and an elevation of moral sentiment rarely found among students of the most celebrated colleges of the country."[123] Second, the examinations featured impromptu compositions that were read aloud, the presentation of which de-emphasizes surface correctness in favor of attention to the larger sentiments, organization, style and delivery of the compositions. As Lisa Mastrangelo posits, oral presentation "would have offered them the opportunity to emphasize their ideas over correct spelling" and "masked such factors as bad spelling or sloppy handwriting."[124]

[123] George W. Morris, "Reports of the Examinations of the Public Schools," in *Annual Report* 1860, 28.
[124] Mastrangelo, "Learning from the Past: Rhetoric, Composition, and Debate at Mount Holyoke College," *Rhetoric Review* 18.1 (1999), 57.

This is in line with Hailmann's emphasis on grammar as important insofar as it facilitates communication and meaning-making: "Grammar," writes Hailmann, "is the art of *conveying* ideas correctly by means of language and of *understanding* ideas so conveyed by others: it is *the art of using language correctly…*it includes not only all modes of expressing ideas by language—reading, speaking, and writing; but also the power of interpreting ideas so expressed" (*O* 44, emphasis in original). While the emphasis on correctness here is pronounced, however, it is not manifested in the sample lessons by intolerance for error but by a dialogic exploration of language leading to "correct" naming and usage. Hailmann emphasizes the necessity of patience on the part of the teacher and repeated, varied exposure to ideas before students can be expected to understand and express them "correctly"—and in the face of error, not direct correction but a series of provocative questions is the course to be followed: "If the answer is incorrect, the pupil is skillfully led to discover his mistake himself and to correct it himself" (*O* 79).

Focusing as they do on the lower schools, Hailmann's lessons elaborate language learning largely on the sentence level, developing an understanding of sentences as comprising ideas about a thing and an action, for instance, through sample sentences about objects around the room, moving from there to an understanding of the concepts of subject and predicate. Even here, though, he notes the necessity of "combining reading and writing from the beginning" (51).

His discussion gestures towards more complex compositions in the later stages, as students practice description and comparison and contrast. These modes are promoted for their ability to cultivate the abilities of observation and analysis in students. In these

longer compositions, students begin to consider other aspects of rhetoric that, though beyond the scope of these early lessons, are gestured towards here: “The pupils are also frequently exercised in giving connected descriptions of objects, orally and in writing, not merely the skeleton description, suggested in the previous sketch, but more or less complete descriptions, in which elegance and beauty of expression form an important element; descriptions which gradually bring the pupil to a consciousness that language may serve him not only the purpose of expressing his ideas clearly, but also of presenting them in a pleasing garb, in an impressive manner” (*O* 92-93). The notion of presenting ideas “in a pleasing garb” suggests that language is merely the dress of thought—a decided limitation of Hailmann’s theory from our perspective, but also one in line with belletristic trends from eighteenth-century rhetoricians such as Campbell and Blair.

Though Hailmann leaves off his sample lessons at this stage of development, he suggests that, hereafter, advanced students would benefit from “the synthetic study of grammar with any good text-book and with any good teacher who, instead of following the textbook blindly or indolently, is ever mindful of the great principles of natural teaching and gives full scope to his inventiveness, that most important of all mental qualification to the teacher” (*O* 109). While incorporating textbooks in the higher levels, then, the “conscious study of grammar in its narrow sense, as a *science”* that proceeds from here should not “work on the old routine plan of school grammarians” but should “still proceed from the known to the unknown, from the simple to the complex, from the whole to the parts, from the concrete to the abstract; we should still follow the method of combined analysis and synthesis—of combined discovery and application on the part of the pupil” (*O* 105). Here, too, the teacher must “beware of the habit of *lecturing* and

explaining, where this would save the pupils wholesome labor…Let the pupils set their minds to work—let them *labor* with their faculties—let them take difficult questions home again and again, until, by independent effort, *they* have explained them" (____87-88, emphasis in original).

The high schools did not, after all, forgo the use of textbooks for rhetorical education. At Female, textbooks in use for 1860 included Butler's Grammar in the preparatory or intermediate year, Green's Analysis of English in the freshman year, and Quackenbos' Rhetoric in both the preparatory and sophomore years.[125] Composition instruction is pursued once weekly in the classroom and once every three weeks at home, without the aid of a textbook. At Male in 1859, prior to course differentiation (discussed in the fourth chapter), freshman and sophomores used Quackenbos' Rhetoric, juniors read Campbell's rhetoric and Kames' Elements of Criticism, and seniors read Whately's Rhetoric and Logic.[126] Perhaps surprisingly, Lucille Schultz notes that Quackenbos (the most extensively used texts at both Male and Female in the first ten years) was "considerably less innovative and more rule-bound" than the books she analyzes, set most clearly at odds with the emphasis on student experience that she traces in other lesser known texts ("Elaborating" 12). At the same time, according to Carr, Carr, and Schultz, Quackenbos freely redacts from Campbell and Blair, which at least aligns many of his epistemological positions with Hailmann's. The fact that this text and others were in use at these schools does not contradict the assertion that these schools followed the

[125] Noble Butler, *A Practical Grammar of the English Language* (Louisville: Morton & Griswold, 1858); George P. Quackenbos, *Advanced Course in Rhetoric and Composition* (1854). I cannot identify publication details for Green's *Analysis of English.*

[126] See note 31 for Quackenbos; George Campbell, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1776); Lord Henry Home Kames, *Elements of Criticism* (1762); Richard Whately, *Elements of Rhetoric* (1828) and *Elements of Logic* (1826).

philosophy of object teaching promoted by Hailmann, but instead suggest that these schools may have followed Hailmann's advice that rhetoric and language teachers should not "work on the old routine plan of school grammarians" but instead should use textbooks as a supplement to the student-centered process of discovery and learning about language use. It behooves us here to remember that textbooks are only one piece of evidence of pedagogy, often complicated in classroom practice and use. This may be especially true of object teaching, which is resistant to the use of textbooks at all. It suggests a productive interaction between collegiate rhetorical education as represented by popular textbooks, and pedagogical theories emerging from the lower schools, which the high schools were particularly well-positioned to experience.

Overall, then, what Hailmann offers to rhetorical education is an early and insistent emphasis on the students' own knowledge and time-intensive practice that is dialogic and interactive. While promoting the value of correctness that was a hallmark of his time, Hailmann also opens avenues for students to learn through practice and error, often suggesting that the teacher herself make mistakes in her lessons to allow the students to correct her, building both confidence in their abilities and trust that the classroom is a safe space for mistakes (46-47). Making the classroom a place of trust and pleasure, Hailmann argues, promotes authentic learning and self-activity that will transcend the schoolroom. Though upholding the Enlightenment belief that there is a pre-established empirical "truth" available, this pedagogy aimed at helping students discover that truth for themselves. This emphasis on the student, produced by the intersection of rhetorical education and the object teaching philosophy of the New Education, might serve to attenuate common biases against and criticisms of nineteenth-

century rhetoric. Instead of a merely positivist writing instruction, practical rhetorical education in this case is one that reflects the natural learning process of students, and therefore can be carried out into later life, both in work and civic participation. The core of practical education for Hailmann and other New Education theorists was, in short, a preparation for lifelong inquiry, learning and participation.

Theorizing an Agenda for "Practical" Composition and Rhetoric Instruction

> *[Our goal is] EDUCATION—education bound fast to its primitive import; no mere accumulation of facts, which is information; nor yet a mere furnishing of the mind with knowledge, which is instruction…it comes to educate man, as man, to bring to his use resources not to be reached through the training that merely brings bread, though often giving to that its best efficiency."*
>
> –James McElligott, Introduction *Outline of a System of Object Teaching*

So, what does Hailmann's object teaching and the practices of these high schools help us to understand? I argue that Hailmann and other new educational theorists promote an alternative meaning for "practical" education that was embraced by the Louisville high schools. Central to the sense of "practical" here is the notion of practice and personal applications of learning—of self-activity, as Hailmann would term it. Hailmann writes:

> [I]t will be found that this method will induce the child to *voluntarily* 'study at home;' for in their plays the children will *apply* the information they have obtained at school inventing new plays, if the old ones do not answer their purpose. They are thus taught early to *apply knowledge to practical life,* and thereby are enabled to make knowledge really their own, a living part of the living minds; for knowledge that cannot be applied to practical life is like dead, soulless matter buried in the ground with no sign of its existence but the ill odor of its decomposition" ("O" 22, emphasis in original).

The application of knowledge imagined by Hailmann is not a strictly pragmatic insistence on use and utility, a reductive mechanization of learning for doing, but instead also a gesture towards personal and individuated application and adaptation: invention, play,

discovery, and making knowledge a "living part of living minds," which all gesture towards a broad humanistic conception of what is "practical."

This emphasis is grounded in the theories of the New Education (and echoed in later pragmatist educational philosophers) who saw learning as a lifelong endeavor, applied to work but also transcending that context to enrich life and the human experience overall: "to enable man to be useful and happy to the fullest extent" through the ability to make meaning, continually understand, judge, and apply new information, and take action in the world (*O* 20). This includes rhetorical action and physical action, both democratic participation and labor. In this way, higher forms of education were framed as both a social good (to be useful) and an individual good (to be happy), as the philosophy of the New Education saw them as mutually constituted.

Educational theorists across the nineteenth century and beyond have struggled with this balance between the social and the individual that the New Education sought to resolve. In a 2014 *College English* article, Linda Adler-Kassner traces this same tension in the historical balance between liberal education, professionalization, and disciplinarity in higher education.[127] In our current reform climate, she argues, reformers are reframing "the public good and education's role in serving that good," dismissing the "dynamic tension" between competing goals of liberal learning, professional training, and disciplinarity that has been cultivated by schools and instead positing a competency-based career- and college-readiness agenda (438). The difficulty in responding to these reform efforts as educators is that career-readiness, like "practicality," is "an excellent

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[127] Adler-Kassner, "Liberal Learning, Professional Training and Disciplinarity in the Age of Educational 'Reform': Remodeling General Education." *College English* 76.5 (2014): 436-457.

example of a strong frame, dominating discussions about students and learning through language that is coming to be seen as 'commonsense'" (437). Adler-Kassner argues that "to forge grounded responses to attempts to remake general education, it is critical to examine how educational reformers perceive postsecondary education and consider these perceptions in any effort" (437). In other words, she argues that we need to understand and interrogate the veracity of the arguments and terms being mobilized in educational reform discourse, and to work strategically with (and against) them as we design our responses. Namely, she asks, "what might happen if we reclaim the term *college ready* and create or highlight approaches that demonstrate how a remodeled balance between liberal learning, professional training, and disciplinary identity can help students become career ready?" (449).

In this same way, Min Zhan Lu and Bruce Horner's "Composing in a Global-Local Context" troubles the assumptions of a pragmatic-critical pedagogical divide to reframe key terms such as *career, mobility,* and *marketable skills*.[128] While "the meanings of such terms are largely taken as self-evident, and thus something the pursuit of which teachers must perforce either accommodate or demystify" (114), Lu and Horner destabilize these terms and suggest students and teachers interrogate their meaning in their own lives as a way of addressing these pressures in the classroom. As they point out, students'

> investment in higher education is materially, intellectually, emotionally, and viscerally costly and risky: it's not clear how, when, or whether that investment will 'pay off,' and what economic, emotional, or intellectual form the 'return' will take. Thus, the nature of what teachers might imagine they will be working with students to resist, accommodate, oppose, or even pursue alternatives to is

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[128] Lu and Horner, "Composing in a Global-Local Context: Careers, Mobility, Skills," in *College English* 72, no. 2 (2009): 113-133.

> historically specific, and so cannot be determined in advance. Instead, it is a matter that requires both student and teacher investigation and articulation in and through writing (115).

In this same way, "practical" education is open to student and teacher investigation, as well as historical investigation. Like the terms and pressures analyzed by Adler-Kassner and Lu and Horner, it is not realistic either to accommodate or to deny the pressures to offer students a practical education, especially as the definition of this pursuit is multiple and always shifting. As I hope to have demonstrated in the discussion of Hailmann, multiple ways of conceiving and addressing the "practical" needs of students have circulated in the history of American higher learning, and educators have been resisting a reductively career-focused conception of education for at least 150 years, even in the context of universal public education. The definitions of practical—and the approaches to addressing it—are historically and contextually contingent and multiple. While this may seem an obvious point, I argue that it is particularly necessary to interrogate our assumptions about this term in order to more effectively engage in educational reform debates, which often take the understanding and value of the "practical" for granted. Indeed, no one is arguing for the "impractical," yet in our resistance to the reductive pedagogical and political aims that an interest in practical education seems to entail, we are accepting a limited definition of what is practical for students. Having identified practical education with job skills and career readiness, with measurable outcomes and corporate managerial values, with return on investment of tuition dollars, with mechanistic efficiency and standardization—and dismissing this value as such—we are missing an opportunity to interrogate and redefine the very nature of "practical" and shift the terms of engagement for higher education.

The idea of a practical education based in practice and use has been devalued to the extent that it is assumed to align primarily with undertheorized and oversimplified practice, and that it has been set at odds with "theory," or more intellectualized learning. Indeed, theorizations of practical education may have been devalued precisely because of their alignment with practice, and their emergence from practitioners like Hailmann rather than "theorists." But to theorize practice across a broad range of contexts in life, as many in the field of Rhetoric and Composition continue to do, pushes against these reductions. Rather than dismissing attempts to address the practical needs of students as "theory of a more mundane sort," as Kitzhaber would have it, we might recover historical attempts to theorize student practice as encouraging predecessors for our field. As Mastrangelo points out, the modes of learning that Rhetoric and Composition "has prided itself on, such as emphasizing active learning, students as knowers, and process over product, are often forgotten and need to be reclaimed rather than reinvented."[129]

Though practicality came to be associated with efficiency, order, and almost mechanistic application of "skills" to labor, the early articulations of practical education as inspired by "natural" laws of human development, emphasizing the emergent—even slow—process of learning, which takes place both outside of the classroom and across a lifetime, is an equally viable definition of practicality. Use and practice need not be detached from theorized and rich human social action. Indeed, we might say that the practice required in pedagogies like Hailmann's insist on a broader conception of human experience and action, focusing on the individual always in relation to the world.

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[129] Mastrangelo, "Learning from the Past: Rhetoric, Composition, and Debate at Mount Holyoke College," *Rhetoric Review* 18.1 (1999), 47.

In short, this broadened sense of practical is a way of naming things we already do and value—student-centered learning that transcends the classroom and has meaning for students' lives. We provide a place for safe practice and reflection. Just as we know that our own teaching practices are by no means a-theoretical, neither are our students' practices and applications necessarily so. We should encourage students themselves to analyze and reflect on the tensions between individual and social benefits for education, between usefulness and happiness, between the competing claims and goals of their own educations as object lessons in themselves—to understand education as practical insofar as it continues into later life, continually redefined and renewed by each practice.

The following chapter focuses in on the ways the educational atmosphere of the New Education and the shifting discourse of practicality provided for advanced academic study, teacher preparation, and rhetorical opportunity for students at Female High School, and how students themselves used the opportunity to "form and express ideas" of meaning to their lives to intervene in public discourse about school, gender, and their own writing processes.

CHAPTER THREE

"THE FLOWER OF DEMOCRACY": LOUISVILLE FEMALE HIGH SCHOOL AND YOUNG WOMEN ENTERING THE PUBLIC SPHERE[130]

> *"We wish them to be able to communicate the knowledge they have gained, and we instruct them in the great principles of language by means of a thorough instruction in the Latin and French, by constant practice in impromptu compositions, and by giving them the simpler principles of Rhetoric…Above all this, however, we labor to make them independent in thought and action. We endeavor to cultivate the individual character of each, and not bring all down to one dead level. We believe in system, but not in that system that demoralizes the whole character while it keeps the body under restraints; that loses sight of the individual and recognizes the class only."*
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> –Principal E. A. Holyoke of Louisville Female High School, 1860[131]

Speaking at the 1860 commencement ceremonies of Louisville's Female High School, Principal E. A. Holyoke underscored the importance of developing the independent character of each of his students, and of understanding them as individuals and not merely as a (social, gender, or cohort) class. This high-minded mission characterized the educational and professional opportunities of Female throughout its first two decades of operation, as educators worked to define the identity of Louisville's first public high schools in the landscape of academies, colleges, normal schools, and

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[130] Portions of the following chapter are revised from a previously published article, "'A Maturity of Thought Very Rare in Young Girls': Women's Public Engagement in Nineteenth-Century Commencement Essays," Rhetoric Review 34.2 (2015): 129-146. Copyright 2015 by Taylor and Francis. Reproduced by permission of the publisher.

[131] *Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the University and Public Schools to the General Council of the City of Louisville* (Louisville, KY: Bradley & Gilbert, 1860), 10-11. All subsequent references to this report will be cited as *Annual Report* 1860.

common schools, and in relation to the local educational and social needs of this growing city.

While Female was established as a collegiate institution that would serve as the counterpart to the university for men, its function as a normal school and its connection to the common schools were of particular significance to enabling women's advanced academic study, rhetorical opportunity, and the individualization of instruction described in the previous chapter and reflected in the above quote. In its association with teacher preparation, women's higher learning at the public high school was imagined to serve not only the individual but also the community, while the association with the common schools rendered students as children of the community rather than women, making the enterprise palatable in a time of otherwise fraught debates about women's higher education. Whether in service to or as children of, the idea of "community" served the educational advances of students at Female High School.

Paul Stob has traced the community-centered project that is at the heart of even individualist rhetoric in the US. This sense of community is not a broad social engagement but instead a "local communalism" that, as Stob demonstrates, has a long history in the US.[132] In a similar vein, David Gold notes the importance of community in the establishment and success of African-American colleges and normal schools in the South, and Christie Anne Farnham notes the particular role public displays of students' learning from women's colleges served as opportunities to gather together and forge

[132] Paul Stob, "The Rhetoric of Individualism and the Creation of Community: A View from William James's 'The Will to Believe.'" *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 44.1 (2014): 25-45. Also see Robert N. Bellah, et al., *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

social bonds.[133] Of course, Joseph Harris' critique of the idea of community in classrooms is relevant here as well, as neither the educational opportunities of the high school itself nor the public events for participating in that education were extended to African Americans and others, as much as this fact is effaced by the idea of the schools as a democratic gathering place and site of opportunity.[134] Yet the rhetoric of civic engagement and community and the rendering of students as either "girls" or future teachers (both benign figures in the social imaginary) that dominated the discursive landscape extended the rhetorical, educational and professional opportunities of students at Female High School.[135] Local histories allow this work of negotiation, justification, compromise and subtle innovation in the extension of women's educational and rhetorical opportunities to come into focus, particularly as these opportunities both reflect and complicate the historical picture represented by curricula, textbook selection, or other common documents from which we compose histories. In this chapter, I place such documents in conversation with the remarks of school leaders and the writing of students themselves to explore the complex network of values, traditions, and voices that contributed to women's education in and for this community.

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[133] Gold, *Rhetoric at the Margins: Revising the History of Writing Instruction in American Colleges, 1873-1947* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 2008); Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South* (New York: New York UP, 1994).
[134] Harris, *A Teaching Subject: Composition Since 1966* (Upper Saddle River [NJ]: Prentice Hall, 1996), 97-116. A high school for African American students was established in 1873.
[135] While my reference to the "professional" opportunities for women as teachers may seem anachronistic, I take this term from the school board reports, which cast teaching as among the "learned professions" in the early years, and also explicitly imagine women as teachers. However, it remains true that women's engagement in teaching would not strictly be understood as a profession, and such work would be increasingly distanced from this term as teaching became more feminized through the century. For more on the gendering of teaching, see Jessica Enoch, "A Woman's Place is in the School: Rhetorics of Gendered Space in Nineteenth-Century America." *College English* 70.3 (2008): 275-295. For more on the term and trend of professionalism, see Burton Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America.* New York: Norton, 1976.

As I will demonstrate through a close reading of three students' essays, the discursive construction of girls, teachers, and community--all fairly conventional, even pious, enterprises--nevertheless allowed room for and even facilitated work that contained challenging elements. While the essays produced by students are demonstrably not "subversive" essays, they take advantage of a kind of intellectual latitude that's built into the institution within which these young women are writing, and is capitalized on by students. In this way, the account of these students' writerly activities and the rhetorical landscape surrounding them invites us to consider the role of civic engagement and community as rhetorical tropes in the service of advanced education and social equity in our own time and to reconsider assumptions about the constraints of women's rhetorical practice historically.

"Upon their Native Soil": Community and the Public Work of the High School

The public high schools in Louisville were grounded in the promise of collective benefit for the community: that graduates would remain in Louisville to meet specific economic and social needs, for the greater good. This promise justified the need for advanced learning for women in a time of otherwise fraught debate on the matter, when women's access to higher learning was not widely understood to be a good in itself. Writing in the 1855 report of the school board, John Heywood of the Committee on Examination and Control made the particular link between educational access and the public good clear when he appealed for the prompt establishment of high schools in the city:

> It is a matter of great importance to place, as soon as possible, the advantages of the High School within the reach of pupils whose past course gives a guarantee that they will faithfully improve its privileges, and to whom we may hereafter

> confidently look for thoroughly educated men and women, to fill vacancies which may occur; and to keep the teacher's ranks constantly supplied with intelligent and accomplished instructors. [136]

In other words, the high schools were very specifically tasked with providing educated teachers and workers for the city of Louisville. The emphasis on providing teachers for the public schools is a constant appeal across school board reports and public speeches, and the promise was fulfilled as all nine of the first graduates of Female went into teaching after graduation, followed by a great majority in the decades following as well.[137] As teachers, graduates of Female had the opportunity to shape culture and learning for a tremendous number of young people, and many remained active not only as teachers but also as participants of the Alumnae Club, hosting lectures and lyceums for the ongoing education of the community. In this way, the schools served as what Deborah Brandt has called a "sponsor" of literacy across the community, not merely for the students who attended.[138]

Whether in relation to preparing teachers for the schools, preparing alumni as cultural leaders, or simply preparing young women for life (and motherhood), Female High School presumed its work to be locally grounded, locally driven, and locally directed. This dedication to one's community is not unique to Louisville, or to high schools, but instead places Female in line with the history of normal and high schools across the Midwest and South, which were often similarly dedicated to providing

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[136] *Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the University and Public Schools to the General Council of the City of Louisville, for the Year Ending July 1, 1855* (Louisville: Hull & Brother, 1855), 23.

[137] Principal Grant notes in 1860 that "nearly all" of Female's graduates to date had been hired as teachers (*Annual Report* 1860, 10). In *Annual Report* 1864, Principal Chase notes that 10 of 12 students had expressed interest in teaching, and four had already secured positions in the public schools by the time of his writing (72). In 1865, he notes that 14 of 19 expected to engage in teaching (68). Superintendent George Tingley uses the fact that "three-fourths of those who graduate desire to engage in teaching" to argue for the establishment of a distinct normal class in 1866, as well as a Training school (19).

[138] Brandt, *Literacy in American Lives* (New York: Cambridge UP, 2001).

teachers for their local communities.[139] This trend can be observed in the policies of Kentucky's State Normal School (formerly the literary department of Transylvania University), also opened in 1856 with 80 students from across the state, which provided instruction to one student from each district with the provision that they return there and teach one year for every year of instruction.[140] The high schools aspired to produce a similarly locally minded cadre of teachers who would serve in their home community. State Superintendent of Education J.D. Matthews underscored this local focus (along with a regional distrust that went with it) when he wrote:

> Every facility and all the advantages of other and older states, in every branch of science and in every department of learning, may be obtained by the youth of our State upon their native soil. Parents and guardians are beginning to realize the importance of early associations and the most enduring attachments of youthful training, and will assuredly avail themselves of these institutions of learning, founded in their midst, and with their own treasure, and for their accommodation.[141]

Particularly in the years leading up to the Civil War, regional distrust was an important factor in establishing local public schools in Kentucky, along with religious sectarianism, as described in the first chapter of this project. But, as Matthews' comments make clear, the schools were also a point of pride. Though private seminaries and academies were available to women previously, advocates hoped that the public schools would be institutions to which all citizens—having dedicated their own taxes, and having a potential role in the examinations—could feel a sense of attachment and ownership. George W. Morris of the Committee on Examination and Control makes this point well in his praise that the girls' public examinations were "of a high order of excellence, full

[139] See Gold, *Rhetoric at the Margins.*
[140] Matthews, *History of Education in Kentucky*. Bulletin of Kentucky Department of Education 7.4 (July 1914), 85.
[141] Matthews, *History of Education,* 84.

of precious gems of thought, and gained laurels for the fair authors, and at the same time won additional honors for the institution they represented."[142] He might have gone on to say that the institution conferred honor on the city as well.

The shared sense of pride in the work of Male and Female High Schools among community members is evidenced in the frequent reports on the work of the schools in local newspapers as well as the community's participation in school ceremonies. Like the examinations, the commencement ceremonies were consistently well-attended, so much that in 1860 "Every available space was occupied, and hundreds who came to witness the entertainment were obliged to turn away disappointed, not being able to gain admittance."[143] The enthusiasm of the community for the project of the Female High School is evidenced both by the large attendance at such events, and the "rapturous applause" received upon announcement that the high schools would continue operating as they have, "which speaks well for their popularity, and the marked favor by which they are regarded by the community" (38). A reporter for the *Louisville Democrat,* noting the widespread enthusiasm of the community, remarked that "the interest manifested by our citizens was not more gratifying than it was general."[144] Similarly, a reporter in the *Daily Courier* explains that the school, "organized and endowed by the munificence of the city—has become one of our hopes and reliances."[145]

The community's purposes and interests in women's education may have justified the school, but students also used education for their own personal improvement. As

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[142] *Annual Report* 1860, 38.
[143] Ibid.
[144] "Commencement Exercises of the Female High School," *Daily Democrat* (June 28,1860).
[145] "Examination of the Female High School," *Daily Courier* (June 15, 1858).

Janet Eldred and Peter Mortenson argue, students at female academies and seminaries like Science Hill Academy in Kentucky that were moving away from "ornamental" education and towards more serious academic study had to balance intellectual ambition with social strictures that directed women's learning toward "republican motherhood" and away from personal improvement.[146] Like Science Hill Academy, Female High School also specifically framed its educational goals as serious and rigorous learning rather than the "ornamental" education that was falling out of favor at the time, suggesting its aspirations towards higher learning comparable to a post-secondary education. But what is also significant in reference to Female, which Eldred and Mortensen do not take up in their work, is the role of increasing access to free, community-based education and the role these schools played for their students and their communities. At public high school this tension may have been even more pronounced, as the schools were funded with public funds and therefore imagined to be more responsible to the community and not the individual. Unlike the paid academies and seminaries that brought together girls and women from across and even beyond the state of Kentucky, Female High School was strongly informed by a sense of local solidarity and commitment, and seems to have fostered important local friendships and networks for its students that supported their sense of identity formation, literate ability, and dedication to the school long after graduation. In other words, students' personal improvement may have been effaced by the community-building function of the school, but that community-building also served students' own individual and social needs after graduation.

[146] Eldred and Mortenson, *Imagining Rhetoric: Composing Women of the Early United States.* (Pittsburgh: U of Pittsburgh P, 2002), 25.

As people were invited to see women's education and engagement as the shared work of the community, in direct service to the community, and for collective benefit, students at Female seem to have enjoyed expanded educational and rhetorical opportunities. I identify two primary features of Female that facilitated educational, professional and rhetorical opportunities for students. First, the need for teachers for the public schools meant that high school students were actively professionalizing in preparation to teach, while also studying a highly valued academic curriculum. The combination of cultural and vocational curricular goals was fairly atypical in higher education at this time, as schools tended to focus on either "practical" matters to prepare teachers (largely in the North and at normal schools) or classical training for cultural development (primarily in the South and at academies).[147] The social and economic mission of the high school in service of the Louisville community, though—as well as the city's location at the border of the North and South, perhaps--provided students with access to a highly valuable classical curriculum as well as professional opportunities.

In addition, the status of the high school as a part of the common school, along with the goal of public engagement and service, combined to produce remarkable opportunities for young women to speak in public and intervene in public discourse.

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[147] On normal schools, Kenneth Lindblom, William Banks, and Risë Quay. "Mid-Nineteenth-Century Writing Instruction at Illinois State Normal University: Credentials, Correctness, and the Rise of the Teaching Class" in *Local Histories: Reading the Archives of Composition,* edited by Patricia Donahue and Gretchen Flesher Moon (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007), 94-114.On education of the South see Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle*; David Gold and Catherine Hobbs, *Educating the New Southern Woman: Speech, Writing, and Race at the Public Women's Colleges, 1884-1945* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 2013); Eldred and Mortenson, *Imagining Rhetoric*. While Mastrangelo notes that many graduates of the Seven Sisters Colleges were trained as teachers and missionaries, and indeed a majority of graduates did use their higher education in order to teach, the curriculum there did not include instruction in teaching theories and methods; Mastrangelo also notes that any emphasis on teacher training had waned by the turn of the century ("Learning from the Past: Rhetoric, Composition, and Debate at Mount Holyoke College." *Rhetoric Review* 18.1 [1999], 53).

Under the auspices of commencement speeches, young women in Louisville were speaking annually before audiences of hundreds of mixed-gender audiences, and using this opportunity not only for the epideictic and encomiastic genres typical of such occasional rhetorical contexts, but instead to comment directly on their own lives, their school, and their roles as women in American society. This finding follows Lindal Buchanan's important work on delivery that introduces the notion of the "academic platform" as an important site of rhetorical practice for young women in academies and schools.[148] Along with work such as that of Lisa Mastrangelo's on the Seven Sisters Colleges and Suzanne Bordelon's on the rhetorical opportunities provided by normal school alumni associations at the end of the century, the opportunities of Female High School suggests that nineteenth-century young women had significantly more access to rhetorical training and public performance than has been assumed, largely through various school events and access to the academic platform.[149] Where we might have assumed these opportunities to be limited to progressive female and coeducational colleges or other sites later in the century, their presence at a public women's high school of the South suggests they were far more widespread than even these scholars were able to acknowledge.

In the following sections, I analyze both of these notable features of Female. First, I provide an overview of the academic curriculum and the shifting status of teacher preparation therein. Next, I explain how the conception of students as "girls" galvanized

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[148] Buchanan, "Regendering Delivery: The Fifth Canon and the Maternal Rhetor," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 32.4 (2009): 51-73.

[149] Mastrangelo, "Learning from the Past"; Bordelon, "'What Should Teachers Do to Improve Themselves Professionally?': Women's Rhetorical Education at California State Normal School Alumni Association in the 1890s," *Rhetoric Review* 30.2 (2011): 153-169.

support for Female within the community, particularly in providing opportunities to practice their rhetorical skills in public. Finally, I will describe the Examinations and Commencement activities at Female and how they engage and respond to the broader community and analyze samples of student essays read at these public events, demonstrating the ways these "school activities" served also as opportunities for the young women to intervene in public discourse towards their own ends.

A Collegiate High School Curriculum for Professionalization and Democratic Participation

Despite still-common social strictures against women in the workforce (especially middle class women), educators in Louisville appeared to be responsive to the changing roles of women in society and (even if unintentionally) preparing them for the rapidly changing opportunities that would open to them by the end of the century. Emphasizing the sense of uncertain economic futures felt by many in the country in the face of frequent economic crises and the continually changing industrial economy, the Committee on Examination and Control in 1860 summed up the role of Female High School as follows: "All classes now seek its benefits for their children. Young ladies educated within its walls leave them prepared to meet and struggle with every chance and change of this mortal life."[150] Being at the cultural crossroads of Louisville, educators drew on traditions from both North and South to meet this goal, providing a semi-classical education with a practical bent (which came to be termed an English education, as discussed in the previous chapter) along with the credentialing to earn a wage by teaching. This hybrid approach reflected the uncertain and liminal status of high schools

[150] *Annual Report* 1860, 27.

in the educational landscape and the changing value of Classical learning in high schools, academies, and colleges across the last half of the century.[151] Advanced training in Latin, and to a lesser extent Greek, continued to be the most valued educational endeavors in the US in part because they continued to be entrance requirements to the most prestigious colleges almost until the end of the century, but the classical curriculum was also under fire for not being practical, especially for students not intending to matriculate to college.[152] By the last quarter of the century, both high schools and colleges across the country (including the most prestigious) were embracing a more "practical" English curriculum over the Classical and were experimenting with elective systems for learners with different goals.[153]

The academic course pursued at Female was at first a two-year, then a three-year, and by 1863 a four-year program encompassing an English education, which emphasized Latin and classical studies, with study in French substituted for Greek. The course of study in 1859 (the earliest date for which such data is available) encompassed three years and included examinations of lower grade students in Hooker's physiology, Gray's "How Plants Grow," Chemistry, Latin and Grammar, Rhetoric, Algebra and French. The

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[151] Kitzhaber, *Rhetoric in American Colleges, 1850-1900*. (Dallas [TX]: Southern Methodist University Press, 1990).

[152] Jean Ferguson Carr, Stephen Carr and Lucille M. Schultz, *Archives of Instruction* (Carbondale: SIUP, 2005); Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1783-1876* (New York: Harper Collins, 1980); William Reese, *The Origins of the American High School* (New Haven and London:Yale University Press, 1995).

[153] Differentiated learning tracks, while attempting to address the different academic needs and goals of students, has been implicated in the demise of the "female scholar" by Karen Graves, and also developed associations with caste-based education in the US that separated students based on predetermined class-based career outcomes into the twentieth century (David Labaree, *The Making of the American High School: The Credentials Market and the Central High School of Philadelphia, 1838-1939* [New Haven: Yale UP, 1992]).

highest grade was examined in Cicero, Moral Philosophy, Geometry and French.[154] The curriculum evidences an early emphasis on rhetoric and languages, as well as math and science, all of which might seem surprising given our modern assumptions about women's lack of access to these areas of study.

By 1860, an additional "intermediate" year of study was developed for those students who were not prepared for the full high school course of study, making the course for some students four years. It is not clear from existing documentation whether the students enrolled in the intermediate course were required to pass the admission examination for Female, but it is likely that they did take the exam and were identified as needing additional preparation based on mediocre scores. However it was determined, the role of this preparatory course can be read as both extending and controlling access to the high school: those students who were underprepared were given a "second chance" beyond the examination, but were also slowed in their progress in taking this additional year of preparatory work.

At the same time, discussions of education as a lifelong and community-based effort work against reading of the preparatory course as exclusionary. Throughout his 1860 commencement speech, Principal Holyoke returns to the idea of education as an

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[154] Other subjects were taught in addition to those listed here. However, there is no comprehensive list available for these years, and the committee report from which these subjects were drawn reported that "It is hardly necessary to take up, *seriatim,* the various branches of study on which the pupils of the First and Second Grades were examined, on the second day, and record the degree of excellency which they exhibited in each. Let it suffice to say, that the most scrupulous on such occasions would have found every motive for praise, and none for dissatisfaction" (Report of the Committee on Examination and Control in *Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Male High School, Female High School, and Public Schools of Louisville, to the General Council of the City of Louisville, for the Scholastic Year of 1859-'60* [Louisville, Bradley & Gilbert, 1860], 28).

ongoing process, encouraging students to see value in the process of learning rather than merely the product of the degree. Principal Holyoke emphasizes:

> You cannot send your child to the school to purchase an education as you send him to the shop to purchase a garment. Education is not a thing to be had at a certain place, at a certain price, and from a certain man. It is constant, ever progressive. You are educating your child by your every look, and word, and act, as well—yes, far more than he is doing who teaches him algebra or Greek. The morning paper plays a more important part in the process than the text-book; and your fire-side, or the street-corner, than the schoolroom…If you would encourage your children by your presence in the school-room we should find it less difficult to teach them that effort is the true evidence of character, and success but a natural consequence.[155]

The call to parents to be involved in the schooling process is characteristic of both Female's and Male's emphasis on community involvement, evidenced most markedly in the public examinations (discussed below). Here, also, Holyoke is advocating for a sense of education that includes the home and extra-curriculum as central to the literacy and learning of students. This extended sense of literacy instruction is taken up in the work of current scholars like Anne Ruggles Gere, Deborah Brandt, and Shirley Brice Heath that attends to the literacy learning that takes place outside the classroom.[156] As Lynn Gordon argues, these extra-curricular activities may have been especially important to women students, whose more limited access to education was supplemented by strong extra-curricular communities and alumnae networks.[157]

Holyoke's remarks also underscore the importance of the high schools as centers of community investment and activity. Not only were parents invited into the classroom, but so were community members and a regular body of visitors from the board, all of

[155] *Annual Report* 1860, 12.

[156] Gere, "Kitchen Tables and Rented Rooms: The Extracurriculum of Composition," *College Composition and Communication.* 45.1 (1994): 74-92; Brandt, *Literacy in American Lives.* (New York: Cambridge UP, 2001); Heath, *Ways with Words: Language, Life and Work in Communities and Classrooms* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1983).

[157] Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1990), 28.

whom were stakeholders in the project of the high schools. As a shared endeavor and preparation for life, work and citizenship, the high schools focus on process over product in education. This emphasis is in line with other reforms, such as the incorporation of object teaching in the primary and grammar schools,[158] focused on developing the "faculties" including reasoning and observation rather than on learning a set body of information. The emphasis on object lessons serves to further collapse the divide between

school learning and the education that occurs in life and is based in the idea that school learning should mimic the processes of discovery and intellection that occur in "nature": "nature's method of teaching must not be thwarted by the teacher, but sedulously be regarded."[159] In this same vein, Holyoke trusts students to follow their own interest "to become accurate thinkers and reasoners."[160] Such an outcome is pursued through courses in which "things as well as books are studied, [enabling] us to accomplish much in cultivating habits of observation and reflection."[161] These comments work against the use of the high schools as merely credentialing or enculturating students to conservative norms and emphasize the project of education as ongoing.

Given its ambivalent academic status and mission as a school, early principals of Female were uncertain about curricular choices, as evidenced by the frequent changes to the course of study over the first decade. By 1860, science instruction has been

[158] See Chapter Two for a discussion of object teaching.
[159] *Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the University and Public Schools to the General Council of the City of Louisville* (Louisville, KY: Bradley & Gilbert, 1861), 19. Subsequent references to this report will be cited as *Annual Report* 1861.
[160] *Annual Report* 1860, 10.
[161] Ibid.

attenuated, though rhetoric, composition, and classical languages are still strongly emphasized (Figure 1).

Figure 1[1] **Female Course of Study 1860-61**
Intermediate Department- One Year Quackenbos's Rhetoric; English Analysis; Butler's Grammar; Dodd's High School Arithmetic; Dodd's Elementary Algebra; History of the United States; Warren's Physical Geography
First Year Dodd's Elementary Algebra; Green's Analysis of English; Warren's Physical Geography; Andrews and Stoddard's Latin Grammar; Andrew's Latin Reader; Pinney's French Reader
Second Year Dodd's Algebra; Quackenbos' Rhetoric; Hale's History of the United States; Andrews' Caesar; Noel and Chapsal's French Grammar; Aesop's Fables, to be translated into French.
Third Year Geometry, Latham; Analysis of English; History of the United States, concluded; English History; Virgil; Racine; Moliere
*All the pupils have a weekly exercise in Composition at the school rooms, while each grade is required to prepare written essays at the home once in three weeks.

Under Holyoke, the textbook from which these women studied rhetoric was from the famous George Payne Quakenbos-- the same text used by the Freshman and Sophomore men, after which the men studied from Campbell. The grammar departments of Louisville learned from Quackenbos's composition. In his introduction to *Advanced Course in Composition and Rhetoric,* Quackenbos places himself in the tradition of Blair

and other widely read rhetoricians in that he borrowed "freely" from their "ideas, and occasionally language."[162]

While quite popular, Quackenbos's texts are remarked upon often as examples of the typical, or as Schultz says "considerably less innovative and more rule-bound," texts than some of his contemporaries.[163] Nan Johnson in *Gender and Rhetorical Space in American Life: 1866-1910,* further characterizes Quakenbos among the most notable of gender-exclusive academic rhetoricians

> whose treatises defined oratory as the rhetorical art that contributed the most toward the proper workings of the political process, the disposition of justice, and the maintenance of the public welfare and social conscience. These rhetoricians persistently defined the rhetorician as male, and they discussed the ethics and epistemology of rhetoric with the male as the universal prototype. As Quackenbos observes in his treatise, *Advanced Course of Composition and Rhetoric* (1879), spoken language is employed by man alone and language use in general is the sole province of men because men alone possess reason (13). Quakenbos's assumption that ontological links between reason and language use are gendered is clear also in his explanation of argumentative discourse.[164]

According to Johnson, women were not imagined or invited as a potential audience of this text. The use of this text in a female high school, then, gestures towards a resistance to gendered limitations on rhetorical learning. Though it's possible that the female students were not invited to study certain highly gendered aspects of the text, such as the sections on delivery, it's also possible (even likely, given the public examinations and applications of delivery to teaching) that they were indeed trained in delivery, and in ways comparable to their male counterparts—that they entered rhetorical territory that was otherwise understood as "the sole province of men." In this way, local histories

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[162] Quackenbos, *Advanced Course of Composition and Rhetoric* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1859).

[163] Schultz, "Elaborating Our History: A Look at Mid-19th Century First Books of Composition," *College Composition and Communication* 45.1 (1994), 12. Also see Kitzhaber, *Rhetoric.*

[164] Johnson, *Gender and Rhetorical Space in American Life, 1866-1910* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 2002), 29.

provide valuable insights into the complicated enactment of rhetorical traditions as represented in textbooks.

If Female's use of Quakenbos' text complicates our understanding of the gendered strictures implicit in the text, students' uses of the lessons therein further raise questions about the role of books in these classrooms. Specifically, Lucille Schultz has identified Quakenbos' as a stifling text in that students were not invited to write about their own experiences. However, from these women students' deft applications of rhetorical principles to their own experiences (as evidenced in their writing, discussed below), it seems our interpretations of the uses of such rhetoric texts—particularly the level to which the intended strictures of textbooks were actually heeded—are complicated by the local story of Female. As many critics have suggested, the textbook is clearly not the sole or even primary source of rhetorical and compositional learning. In this case, the culture of Female and the public role its students had in the community seem to have been equally instructive, providing students access to a high quality rhetorical education, as well as opportunities to demonstrate their skills in public.

Alongside of this academic curriculum, teacher training was an important aspect of the school, since the provision of teachers for the community was a central role of Female. As early as 1859, Principal Holyoke had experimented with offering a formalized normal course of study, with explicit instruction about how to teach for all students. By 1863, teacher training was firmly established at Female (though it often does not appear in curriculum lists). In this way, Female is legible as part of the history of Normal schools in women's higher education that has been more recently attended to by scholars like Kathryn Fitzgerald, Kenneth Lindblom, William Banks & Risë Quay, and

others. Importantly, though (as Lindblom, Banks, and Quay point out), this history may not be as "affirming" as Fitzgerald's research has posited, as Normal schools can also been seen to direct women's literate activity towards teaching as a socially acceptable occupation and demonstrate the ways teaching and learning functioned as means of cultural reinforcement and control associated with both notions of "normalization" and subtly constricting notions of "republican motherhood."[165] However, the embrace of teaching at Female is notable because the school combined a collegiate education with a practical attention to teaching, emphasized individuals' different educational purposes and goals, and catered to women who would not have been forced into teaching out of need but instead may have considered teaching for intellectual and professional development (particularly prior to marriage). The monthly teachers meetings that discussed teaching theory and practice through the first decades of the high schools supported this educational aspect of teaching.

In fact, teaching itself is often framed as an extension of learning—an opportunity to continue to study and share one's learning with one's colleagues. By 1861, monthly school meetings were instituted: one meeting of the principals of the ward schools with the professors of the high schools, and one general meeting of all the teachers, the latter of which often entailed professional development lectures by the high school professors or other invited speakers. Though these meetings were not well liked among teachers at first, they became quite popular when the administration began to bring in notable

[165] Kenneth Lindblom, William Banks, and Risë Quay, "Mid-Nineteenth-Century Writing Instruction at Illinois State Normal University: Credentials, Correctness, and the Rise of the Teaching Class" in *Local Histories,* edited by Patricia Donahue and Gretchen Flesher Moon (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007).

speakers on more intellectual topics.[166] In this way, these meetings and the profession of teaching as a whole can be read as an opportunity for extended learning and a source of intellectual community for women.

In their studies of antebellum women's colleges, Christie Anne Farnham and David Gold seek recognition of the high quality of education at women's colleges in the South and identify a tolerance of women's classical and rhetorical education across southern women's colleges that is not characteristic of northern colleges at the center of many histories.[167] Farnham argues that this leniency was a result of the entrenched aristocratic values of the South that detached women's learning from professionalization. Because working outside the home was so dishonorable for the middle- and upper-class women of the South, who could remain in school through the higher branches, Farnham argues that there was less cultural anxiety around women learning the classics: "the teaching of the classics had a different function in the South: In the North it was a threat to sex segregation in the workforce; in the South it was emblematic of high social status" (32).

In short, female schools at the time were not often offering both advanced rhetorical training and public speaking opportunities *and* professionalization for a teaching career: classical rhetorical instruction was offered as cultural training detached

[166] Superintendent George W. Anderson explained in 1861: "I would not seek a compulsory attendance on them. They must be voluntarily sought if they are to be diffusive of benefits. Efforts must be made to make them interesting and profitable" (*Annual Report* 1861, 9). Superintendent J. P. Gheen argued by 1862 that when the meetings were moved to Male High School "the teachers exhibited more spirit in attending than ever before" because the meetings were comprised of a series of lectures by Male's faculty, "which greatly interested the more intellectual teachers, and exerted a beneficial influence upon them and their schools" (*Annual Report* 1862, 36).
[167] Christie Anne Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South,* (New York: New York University Press, 1994).

from the idea of professionalization (largely in the South), and teacher training was offered with a distinctly "practical" bent that did not include rhetorical instruction and opportunities for public performance (largely in the Northeast), but rarely were the two combined.[168] And yet, at Female students were both learning the classics and preparing to enter the workforce.

In fact, Principal Chase makes a case for classical Latin grammar study as preparatory not only for written communication in English and effective study of most other branches, but also specifically for teaching. Quoting from a report of Boston's public schools to argue for Latin's continuance in 1863 in terms of what we might call "transfer" today, Chase writes:

> Experience proves beyond a doubt that the study of Latin greatly facilitates progress in English studies. English Grammar, for instance, becomes a light task after the Latin Grammar is mastered. Other things being equal, pupils who have had the discipline which is derived from the study of a foreign or dead language, surpass, in other studies, those pupils who have not had the benefit of such discipline.[169]

In his comments, Chase gives the Classical tradition a decidedly practical cast: the study of Latin supports study in Natural Science, Mathematics, Logic, and Rhetoric, and is "incalculably valuable to the [future] teacher." The view of Latin as facilitating what we would call "transfer" was not abnormal, but instead characterized much of the defense of

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[168] Some normal schools and other high schools proved to be exceptions to this general trend, especially in the Midwest. For examples, see Gold, *Rhetoric at the Margins*. My argument is less that Female was unique and more that it exemplifies the complex experience of institutions and regions "at the margins" that have been under-examined in our histories, the study of which Gold helped initiate.

[169] *Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Male High School, Female High School, and Public Schools of Louisville, to the General Council of the City of Louisville, for the Scholastic Year of 1862-'63* (Louisville: Bradley & Gilbert, 1863), 98. Subsequent references to this report will be cited as *Annual Report* 1863.

classical studies throughout the last half of the nineteenth century.[170] What is notable here instead is the assertion of the classical curriculum as preparing the future teacher.

As a southern city imbued with the aristocratic social structure of the slavery system but with economic and cultural ties to the North, Louisville was well-positioned to combine educational traditions and goals in this hybrid manner. The case highlights the particular importance of looking at local articulations of regional and national trends, especially in institutions and cities in border spaces like Louisville.

Particularly relevant to the city's "border" identity, by 1861, just five years after the establishment of high schools in Louisville, the nation was at war. Reports celebrate the ongoing success of the schools, but focus heavily on financial troubles attendant to the conflict and provide few details about instruction, especially at Female. To add to the sense of disruption at this time, Superintendent Anderson resigned in 1863, science professor William Hailmann enlisted in the Union army, and Principal Holyoke died in 1862, leaving the leadership of Female in even greater uncertainty.

The changing of the guard meant changes in learning for Female students, and changes to the credentials expected of ward teachers as well. While Principal Holyoke celebrates the "advancement of [Female's] course of study" in 1860 (see figure 1), his successor Chase is demonstrably anxious throughout his report about the extended time and intensity of study required by Female when he takes over in 1863. While both Holyoke and the new principal Chase consistently advocated for teacher training as part of the project of Female, and teacher training remained part of the general academic

[170] Kitzhaber, *Rhetoric.*

curriculum until the establishment of a separate normal program in 1873, the location of teacher preparation in the curriculum changed: while Principal Holyoke marked the highest class of students as the "Normal class," Principal Chase made the change to designate the first two years of high school, or lowest classes, as the teaching track. In contrast to the emphasis on ongoing education and the extracurriculum under Holyoke, Principal Chase writes: "It is hardly to be expected that the majority of those who seek the benefit of the School, in order to qualify themselves for teachers, will remain for a longer period than one or two years; it, therefore, seems desirable that the studies of that period should be those of a Normal School, especially for the benefit of such pupils."[171] In addition to this emphasis on credentialing, Chase also determined that "the course of study hitherto pursued is too heavy for the period allotted for its completion" and proposed changes to the curriculum that included a condensing of Rhetoric to only the second year of study but also a specific mention of Elocution as being embedded throughout the curriculum, like Composition always was.[172] Other topics like History and Literature were to be addressed largely through weekly lectures in this new course of study.

[171] *Annual Report* 1863, 99.
[172] Ibid.

Figure 2 **Female Course of Study Proposed for 1863-64**
First Year Algebra—with a review of Mental and Practical Arithmetic. Latin—Andrews & Stoddard's Latin Grammar and Reader; Andrew's Latin Exercises. Botany and Zoology. Universal History. Vocal Music.
Second Year Algebra completed. Latin—The Metamorphoses of Ovid; Andrew's Latin Exercises. Natural Philosophy. Rhetoric and the French Language. Vocal Music.
Third Year Geometry. Latin—Virgil; Andrew's Latin Exercises. French—Telemaque. Chemistry. History of England. Moral Science. Vocal Music.
Fourth Year Plane Trigonometry, Algebra and Geometry reviewed. Latin—Cicero's Orations, Latin Prose Composition. French—Racine, and Noel and Chapsal's French Grammar. Physical Geography. Physiology. Mental Philosophy. Vocal Music
*Exercises in Elocution and Composition shall be required of the pupils through the entire course of study; and on Wednesday of each week, lectures on topics connected with History, Literature, or Science, may be delivered by the Principal, Professors, or persons invited by them.

Of course, the precise balance of this multi-purpose curriculum was understandably in flux in the first years of Female, as the school worked out its own institutional identity and educational mission, and sought to determine the best methods for meeting the manifold educational goals proposed for the school and its students. But such fluctuations also evidence the flexibility of the high school form at this time. On the border of institutional identities, high school leaders had the opportunity to invent the high school and to experiment with different forms of advanced curricula and practices. Some of their curricular features would become common in normal schools around the country, but the innovations at Female predated many comparable trends that would emerge in normal schools and, later, colleges around the country. The particular

combination of a traditional academic curriculum and teacher training responded to Louisville's local needs for teachers and the flexibility of the early high school form. The function of the local context, then, is that women's higher education was *for* the community; but the students at Female enjoyed further gains as students *of* the community, particularly as "high school girls," which I will now discuss.

"Frolicsome Innocence of the School Girl"

As children of the public school, located in and in service to their own community, high school girls experienced more latitude in their rhetorical engagements in the context of commencement ceremonies and examinations. I suggest that the status of high school girls *as high school girls* had a particular impact on their educational opportunities—that the high school girl was rendered innocuous through her association with and containment within the common school system, and thereby may have been afforded more opportunities for public rhetorical engagement and professionalization than her early college or normal school counterparts. While women's education was a fraught issue at this historical moment, identification as a gendered subject—and the expectations and anxieties that have attended that identification—morph across adolescent and early adult development, as well as across historical moments and social contexts. According to Catherine Driscoll, the very idea of the "girl" is a product of late modernity and the myriad changes in legislation (such as child labor laws), educational structures, discourse about puberty and majority, and "new modes of knowing the subject," that "constituted not only new gender norms and roles, but new genders,

including the girl."[173] The modern discourse about girls constructs them in dialectal relationship to a modern subjectivity and independence against which they are defined, producing feminine adolescence as necessarily "contained and disempowered" (52). As a result, the concerns about and justifications for girls' schooling were different from those of college "women," and those concerns and justifications also vary regionally and at different points across the century.

Their position as part of the common school system, not the college, highlighted the high school students' status as "girls" and aligned the high school with the project of citizenship training of mothers and future teachers. As Lucille Schultz explains, the goal of high schools "was to prepare increasing numbers of students for the reading and writing tasks of participating in a democracy."[174] The role of rhetorical performance for girls may be less surprising, then, given the connection between public education and democratic participation, and between public performance and teaching. Even if women were as yet barred from direct political participation through voting or holding office, they were conceived of as democratic citizens participating in the public discourse of the community, at least (or especially) within the protected space of the school auditorium and classroom.

Far from the specter of the "college girl," the students at Female High School were presented as "our children" and their work was purposefully directed towards "our schools." In a characteristically dismissive representation, a report of the 1858 public examinations of the school from the front page of the *Daily Courier* characterized the

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[173] Catherine Driscoll, *Girls: Feminine Adolescence in Popular Culture and Cultural Theory* (New York: Columbia UP, 2013), 57-58.
[174] Schultz, *The Young Composers*,127-28.

students as “A bevy of rosy-cheeked, bright-eyed, thoughtful browed, lithe-limbed girls.”[175] Other reports similarly frame the students as children, emphasizing the importance of both parents and citizens supporting them in their efforts and remarking on “the kindly feeling of the audience” towards their young charges.[176] A report on the school’s 1860 closing ceremonies is worth quoting at length for its articulation of the uncertain social status of the high school girl:

> The delivery was perfection, and the quiet self-possession, though nothing bold or unmaidenly, with which the young ladies sustained their various parts, was surprising. It required much determination, aided by an imperative sense of duty, for shrinking damsels to perform a part that has blanched the cheek of manhood, and which strong men have shrunk from. It could only have been done by those who felt conscious of doing creditably what they all did in fact most admirably, and with a naivete [sic] that was charming they seemed to preserve all the sweetness and simplicity of girlhood, coupled with the grace and dignity befitting the estate upon which they have just entered. At no period in the life of woman is she so attractive as when she is just gliding from the frolicsome innocence of the school girl into the undefined responsibilities of more advanced life.[177]

As this report makes clear, the young women who spoke in these ceremonies were safely contained within a discourse of girlhood naiveté that capitalizes on the fact that these were not really “women” yet. Though the specter of womanhood does surface here, these young women did not “[confront] suspicions regarding their sexual drive, motivation and identity” in the ways that Lindal Buchanan and others have demonstrated that other women addressing mixed-sex audiences did (53). Rather, as “school girls” doing “school exercises,” these students were rhetorically contained and ascribed an appropriate role within the production of knowledge and labor of the school system. As Nan Johnson emphasizes, rhetorical practices are “enacted on a politicized cultural field

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[175] “Examination of the Female High School,” *Daily Courier*, June 15, 1858.
[176] “Commencement Exercises of the Female High School,” *Daily Democrat,* June 28,1860.
[177] “High School Exhibition,” *Daily Courier,* June 28, 1860.

constituted by the links among ideologies about gender, race, or class and conventional principles of rhetorical performance" (10). Some of the seeming conflicts and contradictions in women's rhetorical instruction identified by Johnson take on new meaning when we further acknowledge this gender of "girlhood" and the enabling context of the high school ceremony. In short, the "cultural field" is also articulated in relation to age and institutional location for high school students, who were provided exceptional opportunities for public engagement because of their particular gendered identity as girls rather than women.[178]

In the following, I describe the context of these rhetorical opportunities and analyze samples of student essays read at these public events, demonstrating the ways "school activities" served also as opportunities for the young women to intervene in public discourse toward their own ends.

"A Place for Her Name on the Scroll of Fame": Three Commencement Essays

To better understand the uses these women made of this public speaking opportunity, I turn now to an analysis of several compositions read by graduates of the 1860 class of Female High School at the closing ceremonies. The closing ceremonies were a two-day event, including a public examination and a graduation ceremony. Both were well-attended public events that featured readings interspersed with musical performances and remarks by the principal. From the very first class of graduates, all students of Female composed and presented "impromptu compositions" during their

[178] Notably, schoolgirls also had opportunities to intervene in public discourse through the Educational section of the *Courier* (established in 1866), which published student essays, educational news and editorials. Grammar school students used their theme writing assignments to refute the arguments of a local citizen against educating women, and their essays produced an ongoing debate in this section for the next six months. Though this engagement was similarly contained (within the Educational section), these deliberative essays also had a broad public audience.

public examinations, and all graduates also read their own compositions during the school's graduation ceremony. The impromptu compositions were "on various subjects, selected from those given by the audience at the request of the Principal, and by him drawn from a hat, written in the presence of the audience during the examination of other pupils," demonstrating the central role of the community in the work of the high school.[179] The exigence and circumstances for composing essays for the graduation ceremony is less clear, but the range of subjects suggests that the students selected their own topics.

While institutional documents and texts provide valuable insights into the intentions of school leaders and teachers, many scholars have made the case for the importance of student writing as evidence of instruction and values: such student writing reveals not only what students were "supposed to be learning" or doing, as represented in textbooks and the statements of teachers and administrators, but also some of what they actually *were* learning and doing with their writing—and what they were becoming through such acts. It provides evidence of the ways school-based genres and values were taken up, repurposed, or resisted by students with their own purposes. Noting the special status of student writing as a genre itself, Ruth Mirtz uses the term "metagenre" to describe student writing as "a kind of experimental, knowledge-building writing which contains many other kinds of writing."[180] In this way, student writing often defies the limits of textbook genres and guidelines.

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[179] *Annual Report* 1860, 26.

[180] Ruth M. Mirtz, "The Territorial Demands of Form and Process: The Case for Student Writing as Genre," in *Genre and Writing: Issues, Arguments, Alternatives.* Ed. Wendy Bishop and Hans Ostrom. (Portsmouth, NH: Boynton Cook, 1997), 194.

The three essays from commencement readings, composed and read by students before a public audience, and subsequently published in the 1860 *Annual Report*, are examples of writing "on the edges of school," where the pressure of school-based genres may have been lifted, allowing for more agency in the selection of content and the positioning of the writer in relation to her text. Drawing on the work of Anne Ruggles Gere on the "extracurriculum" of adult writing, Schultz explains, "extracurricular texts that students composed, either outside of school or at the edges of school, reveal that in these peripheral spaces, students wrote in ways that went beyond textbook directives: they assumed the persona of a writer and wrote with attendant authority about their own experience of writing."[181] While school-based genres and Mirtz's "metagenre" of student writing can "exert a centripetal pull toward assimilation to dominant subject positions and interests,"[182] the compositions produced for commencement evidence a sense of room for the voice and writerly agency of their young women authors.

Not having other school-based writing from Female against which to compare these compositions, we cannot know how far the trends in this writing extended into normal classroom practice.[183] I also cannot clearly ascertain whether these writings,

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[181] Schultz, *Young Composers,* 108-109.

[182] Katherine Fitzgerald, "The Platteville Papers Revisited," in *Local Histories,* edited by Patricia Donahue and Gretchen Flesher Moon (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007), 133.

[183] An exception is an essay titled "American Footprints on the Sands of Time" by Sallie Thuston dated June 17, 1872, while she attended Female High School. The date of this document and an accompanying "Grammar Certificate" for "satisfactory examination in required studies dated July 1, 1872 suggest the essay could have been an examination, though neither the original assignment nor teacher comments are preserved. The essay is comprised of reflections on the power of language and education, with reflections on the fate of Native Americans in the history of the US such as in the following excerpt: "The language of a people sheds light upon its history, unfolds the relations it sustains to other nations and affords a key to its character. That of the Indians, the Aborigines of America formed a true [index] to theirs. Familiar with nature in all its variety and grandeur they delighted in drawing figures from objects which she presented, representing prosperity by the glowing sun and adversity by the lowering clouds. There is something sad in the fate of this unfortunate people, much to awaken our sympathy and much in their character which

marked as "Commencement Readings," were produced in the context of the "extempore compositions" for examinations, or produced especially for commencement under other circumstances. Nonetheless, because these compositions were read during the most public display of the school's work, and deemed valuable enough to preserve in the published school board report, we can assume that their content and style was deemed acceptable and perhaps exemplary by school officials. Overall, these essays challenge many of our assumptions about what was acceptable in both student writing in general, and women's writing in particular, in the US at midcentury.

Women's writing was a fraught issue in the US at this time. Though professional women authors were exceedingly popular by this point in the century, they were also often censured for social impropriety or derided by critics on more supposedly literary grounds. Anxieties about women's professional writing also inflected school-based writing instruction and language practice. Scholars such as Gold and Robert Connors have discussed the particular limitations on women's writing choices and rhetorical engagements in colleges. Gold notes that "Much of the scholarship that does focus on college women's writing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has found it to be highly circumscribed due to lingering antebellum and Victorian ideologies that limited both the public roles and rhetorical training of women."[184] He points out that this limitation held true not only for elite women's schools but also many of the more progressive normal schools, such as Platteville Normal in Wisconsin. Similarly, Connors

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betrays us into involuntary admiration… This beautiful country was not intended by the Almighty always to be their home, sometime far off heroes more destined to discover the many beauties, explore her lakes and rivers, climb the steep ascent of the mountains, pursue the chase on her plains and render useful the many precious ores hidden in her soil" (Sallie Thustin- Mss. C at the Filson Historical Society).

[184] Gold, *Rhetoric at the Margins,* 65

highlights how college women's rhetorical training and oral performance was even more limited than their writing: "Even educated women knew they had no chance of practicing civic oratory."[185]

In reference to their training in rhetoric and writing and to sharing their writing in public, students at Female seem to have been afforded surprising opportunities to develop as engaged language users, in comparison to many college and even normal school students. As I suggest above, I link the provision of these opportunities to the school's dedication to the community and the status of the high school girl as both a child of the community and future teacher.[186] As Schultz explains, "The goal of schools, as they were initially constituted for younger students, but also as uniform high schools became part of the U.S. landscape toward the end of the century, was to prepare increasing numbers of students for the reading and writing tasks of participating in a democracy."[187] The role of rhetorical performance for girls may be less surprising, then, given the connection between the classical tradition and democratic participation, and between public performance and teaching. Even if women were as yet barred from the direct political participation of the vote or holding office, they were very clearly conceived of as democratic citizens participating in the public discourse of the community in Louisville, at least within the protected space of the school auditorium and classroom.

As evidence of the academic climate and the values of writing instruction at Female, and of the political climate surrounding women's education in Louisville at this

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[185] Robert J. Connors, "Women's Reclamation of Rhetoric in Nineteenth-Century America" in *Selected Essays of Robert J. Connors* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2003), 266.

[186] While Gold holds up Texas Woman's University as a notable exception to the trend limiting rhetorical opportunities for women, he traces the innovations there to a community focus that is similar to that of Female High School. Notably, Female's innovations also predated those of TWU by some 30 years.

[187] Schultz, *Young Composers,* 127-28.

time, the 1860 student essays are worth exploring in depth here. As the work of student writers that circulated beyond school-based contexts, they also complicate our received notions of the limits on women's writing and oratorical performance.

The three essays I discuss below are commencement readings, composed and read by graduates on June 27th, 1860, before a public audience, and subsequently published in the annual school board report of that year. Unlike the dry "themes" we have come to expect from nineteenth-century student writers, the writings engage serious and controversial social issues, draw at times on personal experience, and evidence an impressive flexibility in genre, topic, and tone. I begin with the most conventional of the three, a discussion of the rhetorical constraints of letter writing that is most recognizable as a "school theme" due to its fairly impersonal approach to a standard topic. Next, I introduce a more complicated essay that creatively engages political debates about separatism as an analogy for the student's own experience of leaving high school, and which draws frequently on shared cultural references—from Shakespeare to popular magazines—to produce a lively portrait of life at the school. Finally, I conclude this section with an essay that takes on controversial ideas about women's roles by arguing that women should be afforded both educational and professional opportunities equal to men's.[188] While Schultz and others have argued that nineteenth-century school-based writing "was not a site for play, for resistance, or for writing about writing" (127-28), these texts show students making these very moves in a school exercise, if not a classroom.

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[188] It may be of interest to the historian to note that these essays appeared in the report in a different order: Radcliffe (Butler), Burke (Howard), Gibbons. I have chosen to present the essays in order of increasingly challenging interventions to suit the argument of this piece.

Laura Alice Burke (Howard) "Letters"

> *We can always tell the letters of a friend. They are frank and unstudied, with a warmth of feeling glowing throughout, as it wells up from the heart and drops upon the page. The letter of a man of business, short and ceremonious, with words like quarter and half-pound papers of coffee, tea, and spice, and sentences measured as men measure calico, very much stretched, and yet too short. The Lawyers! What a pity that we should pay for what we cannot read! Stiff, formal, and sharp, like his scent of a fee. What a dread missive is the Doctor's, reminding us of the pestle and mortar, and giving us the chills scarcely less than one of their bills or their pills! (31)*

Laura Burke's essay, "Letters," is a reflection on different types of letters and their purposes. This essay draws frequently on commonplaces to forward its argument that letters are deeply meaningful and socially situated communication. Across the three pages of her brief composition, Burke not only discusses the characteristics of the personal and professional letters mentioned above—from a friend, business man, lawyer and doctor—but also narrates the reception of letters in a range of specific contexts: an old man learning of the death of friend, a "laboring man" receiving a letter from the debt collector, a "coy little miss" spiteful that she did not receive a letter from her suitor. She punctuates each of these scenes with apostrophe, delivering sermon-like pronunciations—"Blessed be letters!"—as she narrates these scenarios, drawing on the traditional authority of shared cultural experiences and universal "truths" rather than recounting any personal experiences. And yet, even in her use of a universal "we" that distances herself from the piece, Burke is notably writing not on "justice" or some other abstraction or topic far from her personal experience, as nineteenth-century school themes are often thought to do. She is writing about something she would have known well, and also writing about writing itself, both of which demonstrate the movement

identified by Schultz and others towards personal, immanent topics drawn from students' lives by the end of the century.

She is also notably writing about a topic her textbook—Quakenbos' *Advanced Course of Composition and Rhetoric*—invited her to consider in its section on genres.[189] In that section, Quackenbos dedicates several pages to the conventions of letter writing and directs students to compose letters for practice. Though he does not invite students to write a piece contemplating the idea of letter writing as a whole, Burke's piece actually echoes the approach of Quackenbos' own enumeration of the varieties or principal kinds of letters, including news letters, letters of business, and letters of friendship, among others.

While demonstrating a knowledge of the different discourse styles across personal and business contexts, and among groups, Burke is also demonstrating her knowledge of common rhetorical strategies, such as in her use of metaphor, apostrophe, and rhyme, all of which she was reading about in her school text. In a school essay, these features are certainly familiar to us; however, though her essay certainly feels more like a theme than the other two examples, it would be a mistake to read limited agency into Burke's reproduction of writerly expectations. Even in her somewhat formulaic production, Burke is actively performing the "good student." As Min Zhan Lu and Bruce Horner have recently argued, "agency is manifested not only in those acts of writing that we are disposed to recognize as different from a norm, but also in those acts of writing that are ordinarily recognized as producing simply 'more of the same': conventional, unoriginal,

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[189] Quackenbos' *Advanced Course* is listed in *Annual Report* 1860 as the rhetorical text for both Female and Male during this school year. Textbook adoptions from earlier years are not available.

ordinary, conformist."[190] They further explain that "every instance of the use of language, including what is recognized as repetition, represents an exercise of agency, a choice, whatever the level of consciousness in the making of it, and a contribution to sedimentation" (589). In this same way, reading nineteenth-century themes from a lens of continual language change and choice helps us to recover the agency in students' rule-bound writing efforts, recovering the work of "good students" such as Burke as they align themselves with conventional compositional values and styles.

We know Burke's academic performance was approved by school leaders not only because her essay was selected for inclusion in the school board report, but because she was hired as an assistant at Female High School the year she graduated and held the position until 1862. Born in 1844, Burke was just 16 when she graduated and began working at Female. She most likely stopped working because of her impending marriage to Edmonds J. Howard, a wealthy shipbuilder, in 1863, though she remained involved with the school as an alumna, reading a selection from Longfellow's "Miles Standish" at the 1864 commencement ceremony, for instance.[191]

Rachel H. Gibbons "Disunion"

> *Daily, hourly, simultaneously, from the four corners of our agitated country is echoed the word Disunion; and everybody, from the glib-tongued politician to the white-headed school-boy, is trying to excel everybody else in the 'length, pitch, and power' of his vociferations.* (33)

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[190] Lu and Horner, "Translingual Literacy, Language Difference, and Matters of Agency," *College English* 75.6 (2013): 582-607.

[191] "The Howard Family," Howard Steamboat Museum, http://www.steamboatmuseum.org/thehowardsaga/thehowardfamily.html, N.d.; *Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Male High School, Female High School, and Public Schools of Louisville, to the General Council of the City of Louisville, for the Scholastic Year of 1863-'64* (Louisville: Hull & Brother, 1864), 72.

In these opening lines, with the invocation of a serious political issue facing the nation on the cusp of civil war, Rachel Gibbons essay "Disunion" would have certainly grabbed her audience's attention. Following this introduction, Gibbons even more shockingly moves from describing the potential revolution to asserting that "there are many now, not only willing but impatient to take part in the 'irrepressible conflict,' and among that many, we graduates apparent stand pre-eminent, for nowhere has the subject of disunion been discussed with so much vim, as within the walls of our dilapidated school-house" (33). In the tense political context of antebellum Louisville, where the allegiances of citizens were famously divided even within families, Gibbons tells her audience that the women of Female High School had decided they "didn't believe in unions" (34).

From references to how the war would affect national economics and commodities such as molasses, to allusions to the War of 1812, Gibbons shows she is well versed in the stakes of the debate she is invoking. She is also impressively adept at the form of delayed revelation she is practicing, as the audience comes to realize the true meaning of "disunion" in her essay: "we have met to-night with one aim, one purpose: the union must and shall be dissolved…we have decided to settle the affair by *diploma-cy*" (emphasis original, 33-34). The union that is breaking, in other words, is the union formed among the girls during their time at high school.

From the point of this reveal onward, Gibbons cleverly maintains the tone and language of political satire while providing humorous details about her own school days:

> "As I gaze for the last time on my perpendicular, polished desk, and think how often tears and drops of ink have chased each other over its surface, I can but wonder that the final split did not occur sooner than to-night. Here by the window—I always had a propensity to get near windows—have I spent some of the most weary, not-to-be-forgotten hours of my life. When the soldiers passed they would be so near that I could hear their measured tread on the street

> below…but if I moved an angle of 45 degrees, I was told to complete the triangle ACB" (34).

Gibbons uses juxtaposition to highlight both the proximity and the divide between school life and the public world, identifying her desire for "freedom" as the cause of the separation, or "disunion."

Gibbons' essay expertly weaves political commentary with a humorous treatment of her own personal experiences at high school. Even though she is not, ultimately, producing deliberative rhetoric as she would seem to be doing at the outset of the piece, she is playing on her ability to do so if she chose. Gibbons herself recognizes the uniqueness of her apparent move into contemporary deliberative rhetoric in her statement that "one would have supposed, from the number and nature of our debates, that we had been translating the eloquence of modern legislative halls, instead of that which echoed from the Roman forum" (34). In other words, she recognizes that young women were imagined to be studying ancient rhetoric, and not engaging in contemporary political debates, and that she would be beyond the bounds of her schooled discourse in doing so. By shifting her rhetoric from the deliberative to epideictic, she diffuses the tension surrounding her display of rhetorical ability, while still demonstrating her facility with engaging the terms of contemporary politics. In particular, satire and humor provide Gibbons a way into a discussion of contemporary social issues when straight political commentary might have been beyond her reach. In using satire to describe herself and her schoolmates, she makes fun of herself, but she also makes fun of "statesmen, editors, poets, stump-orators, news-boys" and all of the masculinized public world, a marker of her sense of freedom in writing for this occasion. "Cease your clamor," she tells them,

dismissing them as readily as they would have dismissed her own “crisis” upon leaving school.

Gibbons essay is a near-perfect example of Schultz’s “writing at the edges of school.” Gibbons’ essay is written both at and *about* the temporal edge of school, graduation. It is also deeply rooted in extra-curricular discourse in its almost overwhelming number of popular culture references, alongside more traditional literary sources. Without marking her references, quotes, or allusions for her audience, Gibbons could assume her audience would be in on the joke when she quoted from the Declaration of Independence, Shakespeare, or even English hymn writer Isaac Watts. She draws on these different registers of discourse strategically, as becomes most apparent in her reference to the comic magazine *Yankee Notions,* which she pits purposefully against more literary sources: “How many eloquent things I might say, suited to the occasion, if I only possessed the pen of Shakespeare or the ink-stand of Prentice; but, classmates, in the language of the amorous swain of six years, though ‘My pen is bad and my ink is pale, My love for you shall never fail’” (35). The “amorous swain” here referred to is a fictional young woman with very poor spelling writing to her “dere henry.” The epistolary exchanges between the young woman and her beau were featured in an 1854 issue of *Yankee Notions*, and this epithet became a popular signature line for letters during the Civil War as well. [192] Thus, even as she invites her classmates to “throw our dusty books to the four winds,” she brings the graduates and the audience together in their shared cultural knowledge, just as the common school system promised.

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[192] Though reprints of this piece circulated elsewhere, Gibbons’ reference to the “amorous swain of six years,” suggests that her source is the 1854 edition of *Yankee Notions*. Despite the fact that the term “swain” refers to a male suitor, Gibbons would be referring to the fictional author “Kathrun.”

But as much as her speech relies on cultural references from a shared white middle class culture, Gibbons is also using the available means to assert agency in the determination of her and her classmates' educational futures. Her essay ends with an emphasis on the individuality and varied futures of her graduating class of nine: "to-morrow will find us with separate hopes, separate ambitions, and rejoicing in the motto, 'E pluribus *nine*-um.'" (36). Even in the moment of reaffirming the shared bond between graduates, Gibbons insists on the diversity of futures for all nine of the young women graduates of Female. Unfortunately, the future of Rachel Gibbons herself seems to have been cut prematurely short, as records suggest she died in 1861, just a year after this promising graduation speech.[193]

Marie B. Radcliffe (Butler)- "Women and Dreams"

> *It is often said that a women's [sic] dreams are architects, capable of designing only castles in the air, with moonbeams for foundations and rainbows for rafters. This may not be wholly false, but, in so far as it is true, the fault rests not in woman, but in her education*. (26)

Marie B. Radcliffe was 21 years old by the time she graduated from Female and wrote the essay "Women and Dreams" for her commencement. Just as Radcliffe's age blurs the line between our ideas of high school and college students, her essay most clearly challenges our assumptions about acceptable topics for young female writers and speakers in its forceful criticism of the limitations on women's minds and lives at the time.

[193] Though it is not clear from existing records how Gibbons died, it may have been related to illness contracted at Female High School. In his report of 1862, the year after Gibbons' death, Superintendent Morris could well have been referring to Gibbons when he reported that so many students were getting ill from the school, sometimes fatally, that "the statement has become very current in our community, that we are only educating young ladies to graduate and die" (*Annual Report* 1862,17-18). He used this fact to lobby for a new school building for Female.

In a clear move into the realm of deliberative rhetoric, Radcliffe argues in her essay that women should be allowed greater access to quality higher education and professional opportunities. To do so, she raises popular criticisms of women's educational potential and refutes them through appeals to logos and a shared religious ethos. Drawing on the authority of commonplace religious values, for instance, she writes: "If a woman's mind and talents were thus cultivated and developed, then we should have fewer aimless dreamers, and more active, brave, and earnest women; and if in their ranks were seen a physician, a lecturer, a writer, an artist, it cannot be unfeminine, it cannot be wrong, for God gave them their talents, and he doeth all things well" (27). In other words, if we are to agree that God endows humans with gifts for a purpose, then extended occupational opportunities are a natural outgrowth of the intellectual development of women, and women's work should not be confined to the home and school. Just as extending education to women for use in the home (as mothers) enabled the argument that they were fit for the school (as teachers), so too does it enable the argument for women entering other professions. Of course, this was an implication of women's higher learning from which early reformers like Emma Willard specifically distanced themselves, and a claim that remained fraught throughout the century (Farnham 13).

If the move to extend women's occupations was not provocative enough, the models of women's achievement Radcliffe holds up—including Elizabeth Blackwell, Harriet Hosmer, and Rosa Bonheur—drive Radcliffe's progressive politics home in no uncertain terms. Blackwell was a teacher and abolitionist who in 1849 became the first woman to receive a medical degree in the US. Her professional achievement spurred

national debates about women's rights and responsibilities in the pages of magazines and newspapers. If the many references from the essay of her classmate, Laura Burke, are any indicator, the women at Female were well versed in these contemporary debates, especially as they took place in the pages of popular periodicals.

By invoking Blackwell, Radcliffe was evoking this whole rich cultural debate about women's sphere. And her other examples are no less striking. Sculptor Harriet Hosmer was part of what Henry James disparagingly termed "The White Marmorean Flock" of women artists in Rome who were criticized by James and others as "emancipated" women whose femininity and sexuality were in question. Hosmer herself was a leader of this group and a self-supporting artist, as well as a notorious lesbian. The French Rosa Bonheur was one of the most famous 19th-century painters and a woman well-known for her counter-culture lifestyle, especially her cross-dressing. Her decision to paint non-domestic subjects such as horses and wild animals and to don men's clothes was of such interest to Americans that an 1859 piece in *Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion* reported the following in "Foreign Intelligence": "This famous painter of animals was lately present at a ministerial reception in Paris…She did not render herself conspicuous by her dress. Crinoline is unknown to her, and it is hard to say how she keeps her bonnet on her close-cut hair."[194]

"Who," Radcliffe asks, "would withhold their smile of approval" from these women and from the female authors of the day? The answer, of course, is that many did; but Radcliffe challenges her audience and asks:

> Why, when a woman of genius modestly asks for the blessing of the world and a place for her name on the scroll of fame, she receives only the world's unloving

[194] "M'lle Rosa Bonheur," *Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion* (February 26, 1859), 142.

> frown? And when some energetic woman, conscious of genius, and stung by the world's neglect, which is worse than scorn, having pleaded in vain, at last forgets all womanly reserve and in the name of our common nature boldly demands the rights of men, then this same world says: 'Behold what a woman of genius is! how modest! how lovely!' Few can brave this, and thus many talented women live aimless, visionary lives (27).

Radcliffe is not tempered, is not hedging in the least around her belief in the fulfillment of women's capacity in education and in all areas of work, and she challenges her audience through such appeals to "common nature" to recognize the injustice of the restraints on women's work. This work, of course, can include that in the home, but we don't get to that possibility until the last half of her essay, when she acknowledges that there are also a great many dreamers with "no brilliant genius" who "wish the fire-side their only throne, and murmured blessings their only applause" (27-28). These women, too, Radcliffe goes on to say, need education to develop their minds and hearts to conduct their work and lives nobly, and to face the possibility of a change of fortune or future loneliness. Although Radcliffe knew that a majority of women would marry and focus most of their intellectual energy and attention on keeping a home, she argues that educated women can get happiness and fulfillment from their own minds that will enrich their lives at home well into old age. Those without a rich intellectual life, on the other hand, are depicted at the end of their lives "sitting by their lonely fire-sides, nursing the broken dreams that wander like ghosts through the darkened chambers of memory, muttering the soft, sweet words whose last faint echoes died long ago when faith and love expired" (29).

While Radcliffe's ideas may have been drawn from any number of extra-curricular sources, their mobilization in the context of Female's commencement

ceremony demonstrates a remarkable level of tolerance on behalf of both the school and the audience. A reporter from the *Daily Democrat* remarked that Radcliffe's reading "was the best of the evening. It had more earnest feeling, more mature thought, than the others." One of the only criticisms was from George D. Prentice, editor of the Louisville *Journal,* who praises the essay while also noting that it displayed "a maturity of thought very rare in young girls. The strong-mindedness was, indeed, an objectionable feature, emanating from so lovely a girl, whose business in life is to brighten a fireside, and not to discuss women's rights."[195] The fact that others did not voice objection to this "strong-mindedness" and that Butler's essay was preserved and distributed in the annual report demonstrates that such an intervention was welcomed or at least tolerated as part of the rhetorical education of Female students.

Radcliffe did go on to "brighten a fireside," marrying the year after her graduation and raising six children with Reverend Thomas D. Butler. However, she was never one to "wish the fire-side [her] only throne, and murmured blessings [her] only applause" herself. Instead, she continued to publish frequently throughout her life, in both magazines and books, and to speak in public meetings of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and elsewhere up to the end of her life. In his introduction to a posthumously published volume of her poems and essays in 1884, Radcliffe's husband, Reverend Thomas Butler, proudly describes Radcliffe's active public life, relating in particular one story of her well-known rhetorical prowess:

> she accompanied me to an annual meeting in the country north of Grand Rapids, where brethren and sisters spoke to me with regard to asking her to preach at the meetings. As I had to go, after the first day of meeting, to fill an engagement at

[195] Quoted in Butler, *Poetry and Prose by Marie Radcliffe Butler* (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1884), ix.

> Charlotte, I told them that they had my consent for her to preach, provided she did not speak in the open air meetings. When we met again at home the next week, I learned that she had preached four successive evenings in the public hall (xiii-iv).

Hence, we learn that Radcliffe maintained her involvement with women's issues, her public writing and speaking, and her resistance to imposed social restrictions throughout her life. And it can be said to start with her time at Female. The significance of this first commencement speech is evidenced by the fact that it is referenced by Radcliffe's husband in the introduction to *Poetry and Prose by Marie Radcliffe Butler,* where Butler also playfully cites the critical report on her essay in the Louisville *Journal.* The essay and its reception clearly mattered to Radcliffe and her family. In reading it, we witness a young woman negotiating the borders of classroom and public rhetorical spaces, using her school-based knowledge and the opportunity for public engagement provided by the commencement ceremonies to make a political intervention through her writing.

Situating High School Girls in Women's Rhetorical History

The location of high schools within the student's own community and the uncertain status of high schools (and high school girls) in the educational landscape combined to enable surprising educational opportunities for young women at Female and other Midwest high schools. The opportunities for rhetorical education and practice in the early years of these high schools complicate the picture of nineteenth-century women's education and rhetoric provided by histories that are focused on either the North or the South, as well as those that focus on colleges and on adult women learning and speaking outside their home communities. It may be that it is precisely the liminal geographic location and institutional position of this high school that produced the opening for

innovation described, insofar as these characteristics are both intimately connected to the interest in producing local workers and teachers, and valuing and celebrating the work of the community's young women. I argue that Female's particular identification as a high school had a significant impact on the opportunities provided there, as high schools were not subject to state accreditation procedures and the attendant debates that circulated around women's colleges, and as high school students were safely contained within a discourse of "girlhood" and a position within and for the benefit of their home communities.

In this way, attending to the Midwestern high school is another way to "situate [existing histories and narratives] within an expanded analytical framework"—to supplement our existing histories of women's education through the inclusion of other traditions.[196] In particular, the opportunities for public speaking evidenced here suggest that young women may not have been as debarred from public oratorical practice as is often assumed, and that some female students who went on to colleges may not have brought strictures about gendered performance with them from high school to college so much as experienced them for the first time there.

The model of education that supported such educational and rhetorical innovations for female students can be understood as a precursor to the kinds of public work and civic engagement contemporary scholars value. As we rethink the work of higher education in relation to communities outside of the classroom, it is useful to return to earlier moments when some of the similar interests and goals were being negotiated.

[196] Donahue, "Disciplinary Histories: A Meditation on Beginnings" in *Local Histories: Reading the Archives of Composition,* edited by Patricia Donahue and Gretchen Flesher Moon (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007), 223.

Community and civic engagement served as the banners under which women at Female High School gained access to rhetorical education that they were able to put to their own uses in public speeches, as well as in their lives thereafter. The school provided a space of humanistic learning where students explored questions that mattered to them, and initiates a space for public rhetorical intervention by women. It also created public intellectual spaces where women and men can come together to forge communal bonds through ceremony and to participate in a shared project of education for the city, and responds directly to the interests of community members, who provide examination questions for the students. In short, the high school places students and their community in conversation, mutually involved in the educational interests of one another and both advancing the democratic possibilities of the city they shared.

Historian Karen Graves has analyzed similar opportunities for the development of the "female scholar" in the early years of the St. Louis high schools, which she argues was eclipsed by the ideal of the "domesticated citizen" by the end of the century. Indeed, the most exciting aspects of this account of Female were similarly short-lived. Though Alumnae Club president Anna J. Hamilton in 1899 would describe Female as the "flower of democracy" who "has been a prominent factor in school life and in the life of the community" since her introduction to the city forty-two years earlier, the school and its community had changed radically by that time, and the range of civic participation afforded to Female students changed with it.[197] The fate of academics, teacher training, and rhetorical opportunities at both Male and Female in the final decades of the century is the subject of the following chapter.

[197] Quoted in Voegtle, 10.

CHAPTER FOUR

HEAD WORK AND HAND WORK: DIFFERENTIATED LEARNING AND (EMBODIED AND GENDERED) VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

In the previous chapters, I have presented the Louisville high schools as sites of educational innovation responsive to the democratic project of preparing students for civic participation and "useful and happy" lives. Through the educational philosophy and pedagogies associated with object teaching, all students were conceived of as humans forming and expressing ideas through interactions with the world around them. At Female High School, this same spirit, along with the particular interest in preparing teachers, served as a warrant for advanced rhetorical education and practice, alongside (and in service to) their professionalization as teachers. As pioneers of public high schooling in their region, and largely predating the interest in and anxiety about articulating secondary and tertiary education into comprehensive state and national systems,[198] these educators and students were in many ways inventing the high school in response to their own local educational, civic, and economic needs. While they did draw on the experiences of earlier high schools in the Northeast, they also drew on normal schools and regional colleges as models, and were thereby able to take advantage of their geographically and institutionally liminal position to imagine a form of higher education for the local needs of their socio-economically diverse students.

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[198] See Marc A. VanOverbeke, *The Standardization of American Schooling: Linking Secondary and Higher Education, 1870-1910* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

These early efforts are important to recover because they demonstrate the overlap between the project of public high schools and colleges; they highlight the productive intersection between different ideologies and educational philosophies (again, across regions and educational levels); they evidence exciting opportunities for women to learn and practice writing and speaking skills for public engagement; and—most importantly—they gesture towards different possible futures for the democratic project of free public higher education. It is true, however, that the account given to this point represents only a brief chapter in the story of the Louisville high schools. The ongoing negotiation of material, social, ideological, and economic pressures in the operation of the schools resulted in changes to the curriculum and organization of both the Louisville high schools and high schools across the nation by the end of the century.

In particular, the differentiated curriculum that took hold for both male and female students by the 1880s marked the beginning of a shift in the democratic project of the high schools. On the one hand, the differentiated curriculum was responsive to student needs and interests, which was an ongoing consideration for school leaders interested in recruiting and retaining students. It was also responsive to state- and nation-wide investments in developing industrial, commercial, and technical education programs to prepare students for jobs in the changing economy following the Civil War. On the other hand, differentiation served to segregate students into discrete educational tracks aligned with gendered and classed career outcomes. As the alternative tracks became increasingly vocational, the liberal arts core and academic subjects lost their central place in the curriculum, and those programs and their students became increasingly distanced

from both the collegiate and democratizing project of the high schools as they were originally constituted.

As I will argue in this chapter, the differentiated curriculum led to a division of professionalization and work from academic pursuits in ways that had implications particularly for working and lower class and women students. Though the mission of the schools was differentiated from the outset as school leaders attempted to meet the needs and wants of a diverse student population, and multiple options and curricular tracks were imagined from the beginning in the articulation of a "polished, a practical or a profound education,"[199] the formalization of different curricular tracks institutionalized and ossified what had been a more flexible and overlapping set of options (at least in theory) into a system that confirmed rather than offered opportunities to transcend class- and gender-based boundaries and occupational futures.

This general trend has been identified by historians of high schools from across the country. Examining the all-male Central High School of Philadelphia, educational historian David Labaree argues that the development of differentiated programs there protected the value of the Classical track as a credential for the more privileged students as the number of high school graduates expanded.[200] Adding to this argument, feminist educational historian Karen Graves traces a similar trend in the St. Louis schools, where the co-educational high school differentiated into gendered programs that, she argues, led to the demise of the "female scholar" in favor of the "domesticated citizen" whose

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[199] Grant in *Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Male High School, Female High School, and Public Schools of Louisville, to the General Council of the City of Louisville, for the Scholastic Year of 1860-'61* (Louisville, Bradley & Gilbert, 1861), 22. Hereafter, references to any such annual report of the Board of Trustees of Louisville will be with the abbreviated title of *Annual Report,* followed by the year. Full publication details available in references.

[200] Labaree, *The Making of the American High School: The Credentials Market and the Central High School of Philadelphia, 1838-1939* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1992).

curriculum was increasingly distanced from the academic standards of her male counterparts.[201] I add to this line of inquiry by examining the ways differentiated programs in the gender-segregated high schools in Louisville both responded to and reinforced increasingly gendered and vocational education programs for both men and women. In particular, science and rhetorical education became increasingly gender-specific territories; many of our assumptions about women's lack of access to science and rhetorical instruction can be traced not so much to the nineteenth century overall as to the final decades of the century specifically, as each became associated with specific male student populations and career trajectories in the increasingly vocational high schools.

But the high schools were not alone in embracing this trend towards vocationalism. In their recent book on Southern women's colleges, David Gold and Catherine Hobbs argue that public women's colleges in the South capitalized on the burgeoning interest in and need for industrial training to extend college opportunities for women in the post-bellum years.[202] As they explain, "Industrial and vocational education also took on special meaning in the South, where the Civil War had resulted in economic distress and left many 'surplus women' who needed to work; as such, vocational education was often seen as liberating, while the old liberal arts ideal was sometimes associated with an elitist and outdated antebellum ideology" (4). While industrial and vocational education may indeed have served as a warrant for women's education in this way, the vocational trend at already-established liberal arts high schools such as Female and Male can be understood as a less laudatory development. Rather than serving as a

[201] Graves, *Girls' Schooling during the Progressive Era: From Female Scholar to Domesticated Citizen* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 101-127.
[202] See Gold and Hobbs. *Educating the New Southern Woman: Speech, Writing, and Race at the Public Women's Colleges, 1884-1945* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 2013).

warrant for enhanced rhetorical training and higher education, the vocational trend in the high schools mitigated a focus on intellectual development, replacing the academic and civic goals of providing a liberal education for civic participation and teaching with training in gendered career-oriented skills and behaviors. Placing the histories of high schools alongside those of colleges (particularly women's and men's A&M colleges established in the 1870s and 80s) highlights the fact that gendered industrial and vocational training was both a progressive and a retrograde development, affecting different institutional sites in different ways. Across institutional contexts, the development of vocational education programs reflected an emerging attention to students' gendered and classed bodies and material needs as higher education was extended to swelling numbers of (increasingly diverse) students.

The differentiated courses set off from the standard academic track in Louisville included commercial, manual, and teaching courses that became increasingly vocational in their orientation towards students as embodied and classed future workers rather than as students preparing for a broad range of civic engagements. We can observe this shift in the curricula for these programs as well as in the ways students are discussed in school board reports and policies.

The program that most profoundly evidences this shift is the manual education program, focused on developing the skills and abilities of the body and hands. Around midcentury, manual training was being incorporated into Louisville's high schools for all learners, through Pestalozzian pedagogies that emphasized the importance of student-centered, hands-on learning and discovery, as discussed in Chapter Two. As Hailmann put it, "The profession should be brought to realize the fact that the aim of education is

the establishment of the young in efficient humanity, and that this is impossible without hand training."[203] In this way, manual education was integrated into the curriculum for all students, as part of the holistic "mind, body, soul" vision of the new educationists.

Manual education (as well as commercial and normal education) took on its own identity not as an integrated area of learning but as a distinct program of study. First, discrete manual training courses were developed in the 1870s, related to but separate from the main high school; then, Louisville (and many other cities) established a manual training high school that was separated altogether from the traditional high school by 1892. These separate programs and schools, though at first remaining academically ambitious, can be said to be the beginnings of vocational education as we understand it today, and of the strict divide between intellectual and manual work in the social imaginary. As Mike Rose argues in *The Mind at Work,* the uncertain status of manual education in our schools is in part due to our historical inability to value manual work as intellectual activity, which was reinforced by a division between academic and vocational education programs by the turn of the century.[204] Dorothy Hewes, educational historian and biographer of William Hailmann, describes this shift in terms of its enforcement of socio-economic status:

> Coming as it did at a time when the function of the high school was being questioned, and when the public was becoming aware of the school's failure in regard to the growing numbers of immigrants and impoverished families, the original concept of developing trade skills in all students was soon abandoned. Rather than combining the mathematics, literature, sciences and other typical academic courses with manual training, the new sequence only trained those who were destined for a lifetime of such work.[205]

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[203] Hailmann quoted in Dorothy Hewes, *W. N. Hailmann: Defender of Froebel.* (Grand Rapids, MI: The Froebel Foundation, 2001), 138.
[204] Rose, *The Mind at Work,* (New York: Penguin Books, 2004), 172.
[205] Hewes, *W. N. Hailmann,* 136.

Though the Louisville schools resisted this sense of manual education as vocational training for a specific trade, and the Manual High School maintained high standards and a prestigious reputation, Hewes' comments underscore the link between manual training and vocational training and its status as part of a movement to attend to the classed and gendered bodies of students in developing curricula. This shift was attended by and precipitated a rhetorical bifurcation of the mind and the body, with an increased attention and responsiveness to the embodiment and material needs of students in the non-collegiate tracks.

In this chapter, I trace this development of differentiated courses and manual education programs, and the rhetorical construction of embodied and gendered students that this curricular development reinforced. I begin by providing a brief history of differentiated learning and manual education at this site, analyzing the emergence of a vocational bent in particular; while acknowledging the local pressures and national trends that informed the decision, I represent this development as one ultimately of decline in the context of Louisville's schools, undermining the democratic mission of the public schools by the end of the century. From there, I specifically outline the gendered implications of these developments and the rhetorical shifts in discussions of the mind and body that attend the curricular and institutional changes, and end by considering the legacy of this history for conceptions of gendered education today.

Differentiated Learning as Vocational Training

From their first classes of learners, the Louisville high schools struggled to balance competing pressures and goals for their institutions. The early promise of providing "a polished, a practical, or a profound" education to their pupils reflects the

ambivalence about their particular mission and their attempt to be everything for everyone. This difficulty was exacerbated by the fact that the economic, social and educational landscape around them was changing. The economy was industrializing, producing changes in population and labor distribution that led to the emergence of an urban working class in the last two decades of the century. Advances in science and industry produced a demand for advanced training in these areas, which would be supported by the Morrill Land Grant Act and other related efforts to provide students with access to agricultural, industrial and mechanical training.[206] Women were also entering the labor force more regularly, particularly out of economic need following the postbellum depressions and in response to expanded opportunities in not only teaching but also clerical and factory positions.[207]

In the educational realm, the shifts were precipitated by an increase in the student population at all levels as common schools were established and expanded, as high schools emerged out of them to continue the learning of the lower grades and provide teachers for the schools, and as more colleges were established and increasingly sought the larger student bodies requisite to developing into comprehensive research universities.[208] The increase of students in school at all levels was related in complex ways to social and economic shifts that put increased value on formal education for attaining universal basic literacy, on expanded literacy standards and on broadened higher education opportunities to prepare the professionals and managers needed as leaders for the new industrializing economy. The schools also came to serve an important role in educating the new "working class" of this emerging economic order, which had a

[206] John Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 2011), 104.
[207] Gold and Hobbs, *Educating the New Southern Woman*.
[208] VanOverbeke, *The Standardization of American Schooling,* 26.

particularly profound effect on the educational project of the public schools. As educational historian Michael Katz notes, "The shift in social organization that accompanied the emergence of a class of wage laborers, rather than industrialization and urbanization, fueled the development of public institutions."[209] Though schools were no new invention, the widespread establishment of high schools as public institutions was particularly responsive to the emergence of this class of workers, whose children had seemingly different needs than the traditional body of upper class and elite students.[210]

As Labaree has argued, the credentials market emerged at this time as a particularly important force in the shaping of American public high schools and colleges.[211] In places like antebellum Louisville, a high school or college degree was far from required for entry into middle class occupations and professions. Apprenticeship and family connections still served as significant pathways into these careers, even as these social and economic systems were being replaced by more organized corporate business structures and educational systems. The medical and law programs in Louisville, for instance, did not require a high school or college degree for admission; in fact, these programs were as yet departments in the larger system of the Louisville College (later University of Louisville), alongside the "academical" or collegiate department that was to become Male High School, the students of which shared reciprocal privileges with the medicine and law departments, so that students could take courses across all three entities. As the educational system on a national level became more complex and

[209] Katz, *Reconstructing American Education* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), 14.
[210] Of course, this highlights the tacit elitism of the early years of public high schools in Louisville, which, though ostensibly open to all white students, only served a small portion of the population, and did not accept African American students until the opening of a separate high school in 1873.
[211] Labaree, *The Making of the American High School.*

hierarchical, and as student interest swelled sufficiently to support the elaboration of such a system, Louisville's schools proliferated and organized similarly.

At the same time, Institutions of higher learning across the country were beginning to embrace the "modern" subjects and elective courses, expanding the stock of subjects to keep up with the growing body of scientific knowledge. The proliferation of subjects to study and the attempts by both colleges and high schools to attract more students led to differentiated curricula and elective systems, since not every student needed to or wanted to study all possible subjects. Principal Grant justified the development of different programs at Male in these very terms: arguing that the universal course was "calculated to meet the wants of but a small part of the citizens who are entitled to its privileges," he presents the differentiated courses (Classical, English/Scientific and Partial/Commercial) as "an opportunity to secure the most thorough and complete course of instruction compatible with the peculiar circumstances of each individual."[212] Attentive to differences in time and interest, the more "practical" English or Scientific track at Male was thought to be appealing to those with an interest in the sciences and "with a limited time at their command," but it maintained high academic standards commensurate with a BS degree, while the Commercial course was designed to quickly prepare students for business with a reduced two-year program resulting in a Certificate of Graduation.

Such flexibility was deemed important to recruit and retain students. Prior to compulsory education laws, students had the option to leave school for work at any time. Many did so, and graduation rates remained extremely low throughout the first three

[212] *Annual Report* 1860, 3-4.

decades of the schools.[213] This was of particular concern to school leaders because it skewed their financial figures, making the upper divisions more expensive per pupil and producing a higher overall cost per student for the high schools, which opened them to ongoing public criticism for extravagance.[214] The differentiated curriculum was at least in part an attempt to accommodate students, and several other measures—such as allowing working students to enroll part-time—further evidence these attempts to respond to student material needs. Unfortunately, graduation numbers from the subsequent decade show that these attempts were only marginally successful, as students in the English course were significantly less likely to complete their full course and graduate. In fact, only one or two students completed the English/Scientific course until 1869, when four students graduated with the BS degree, although more than half of students started out in the English/Scientific program. The annual reports suggest that many students—perhaps particularly those students with more "practical" interests, but also likely those whose families were most needful of the extra income—left school early to pursue business opportunities, especially during the decades surrounding the Civil War, when economic considerations were particularly pressing for many families. In short, the high schools remained hard-pressed to retain more than a handful of students to graduation day.

While I read these early attempts to differentiate learning as part of the process of working out what higher education should be and do for individuals and communities, and working through how best to accomplish that goal (which are questions to which we are still seeking more adequate answers today), the trend towards differentiation

[213] At Male, graduation numbers never exceeded 30, even as enrollment rose to 300 students. The average graduation rate from 1859-1895 was 12 students/year. Female graduated students more regularly, likely since young women did not have the same options to pursue business that young men had.

[214] *Annual Report* 1860, 5.

continued, with more distinct curricular tracks increasingly tied to specific career outcomes, and increasingly distant from the core academic subjects.[215] For males, differentiated programs included the early program options discussed above (Classical, English/Scientific, and Commercial/Business) until about 1868, when the commercial or partial course was dropped. The school experimented with offering a preparatory department from about 1868 to 1884, and also developed the curriculum into two two-year high school courses (business and classical) by 1872, to be followed by an option of two more years of "university" study for the BA or BS degree. The commercial and business courses became part of a separate co-educational training department housed in the Normal School around 1890. The manual or industrial course that was being developed from the early 1870s and took on much of the work in advanced sciences became the most obviously separated out, and eventually became its own high school in 1892, as Manual Training High School.

At Female, the universal curriculum was retained throughout most of the century, but the status of normal instruction within that curriculum and of commercial or business courses shifted each decade. Courses in teaching and business were offered at Female High School until a Normal program was established at a separate site in 1871,[216] a business class was established at the Female High School in 1887 and transferred to the Normal School in 1891, and a co-educational commercial class was established at the Normal School in in 1889. These three programs—business, commercial, and normal—joined institutionally as the "Training School" by 1891.

[215] The status of these programs is often hard to track across institutional documents, as their titles and institutional locations shifted regularly over the half century.

[216] The program was suspended from 1878 to 1881. (*Annual Report* 1895, 127)

Though the normal course was often treated as a post-graduate course for graduates of Female, privileging these graduates as applicants, it also functioned as an alternative vocational track throughout at least the 70s. The commercial and business classes were also an alternative to the high school course, requiring an eighth grade education for admittance. As Hiram Roberts, principal of the Normal School, explains, the commercial and business courses were explicitly vocational: "In addition to much valuable knowledge of a practical and esthetic nature, secured by a mastery of the course of study, the members of the [commercial] class acquire skill in penmanship and knowledge of accounts, business methods, and business forms which can not but add greatly to their efficiency in any business in which they secure employment."[217] And, again, in reference to the Business class, the emphasis is strictly vocational, as well as gendered: "The ability to do skillful work in stenography and type-writing affords for our girls one of the very best means of bread-winning. The offices of our lawyers, merchants, and business men of all classes are filled with our graduates and the graduates of other institutions, and they are made better and brighter and happier by their presence" (130). Though these classes are mixed-gender, the sense that the programs of the "Training Department" are primarily women's work is clear from the mention of "our girls" as well as the specific provision for students from Female to attend the normal school.

The establishment of the normal training program was an attempt to further professionalize these teachers for the benefit of the schools, but its location as part of the training school, alongside the abbreviated commercial and business courses, also positions this program as vocational rather than academic and professional, as it was

[217] *Annual Report* 1895, 130.

earlier in the history of the school.[218] The institutional location of the normal course as part of this training department demonstrates how each of these programs had become feminized and vocational by the end of the century, specifically emphasizing their appeal to women students and articulating policies to recruit them, even though they were technically co-educational.[219] Though the alignment of these programs makes sense, on the one hand, because each of these programs was associated with a particular career outcome, on the other hand, they evidence a shift in the status of teaching as a professional enterprise. Teaching was formerly considered on a par with other intellectual and learned professions, identified as one of the careers that entitled Male graduates to an honorary Masters degree after three years of practice. By the last decades of the century, teaching was not only clearly a woman's vocation but also did not technically require a high school education for its practice, which was an ongoing point of contention in the pages of the city's newspapers, as citizens and administrators worked out the merits of graduating students more quickly versus requiring more education and training.

When these programs began to separate off into discrete curricular tracks, they not only separated academic work from vocational work, but also established and reified the idea that certain students were fit for one or the other. Whereas earlier versions of the differentiated curriculum were flexible both in the ability to switch programs and in the ways they each enabled further collegiate study regardless of the high school course taken, the establishment of different schools of study increasingly focused on preparing

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[218] Note, for instance, that teaching was formerly one of the "learned professions" that qualified Male graduates for a Master's degree after three years of practice. See Chapter Three for more on the early history of Female.

[219] This echoes the trend at other co-educational normal schools, such as those studied by Bordelon in California, which catered primarily to female students ("'What Should Teachers Do to Improve Themselves Professionally?': Women's Rhetorical Education at California State Normal School Alumni Association in the 1890s," *Rhetoric Review* 30.2 [2011]: 153-169).

students for particular career outcomes rather than providing a general liberal education. Though students could undoubtedly still switch programs and schools, there was no longer an explicitly stated intention that they could do so, which works both symbolically and institutionally against this possibility. The idea of catering to abilities, interests and material constraints was replaced by the idea of preparing for specific vocations, which increasingly affirmed rather than challenged a student's existing socio-economic and gendered status.

This shift can be traced in the language school leaders use to describe their students and their curricular options. When a separate English course (with a scientific emphasis) was originally offered in addition to the Classical course in 1861, Principal Grant of Male emphasizes the intellectual goals of each program: "It is intended that each shall be *thorough* and *complete* in itself. Aiming first at the highest practicable *intellectual culture*, they have been so arranged as to secure to each student that kind of *knowledge* which he will require to make him an intelligent member of society, a good citizen, and an *enlightened, practical, business man.*"[220] The principal's comments are characterized here and elsewhere by a sense of accretion and inclusion in the use of the word "and," rather than a sense of division and differentiation: in other words, the curricular goal here remains to make *all* students intelligent citizens and (eventually) good businessmen and professionals. The value of the practical and the use of manual training and science instruction attends *both* the Classical and newly developed English track at Male, while both programs focus centrally on what Grant here calls "intellectual culture." Working specifically against the pressure to specialize boys early in preparation for business or industry and to divide the development of mind and body, Grant insists:

[220] *Annual Report* 1860 report, 6, emphasis in original.

“No system of education is worthy of the name that contemplates anything less than the thorough and harmonious development of *all the faculties,* mental, moral and physical…Exclusive attention to one pursuit or study should be reserved for well-developed, vigorous manhood.”[221]

The differentiated programs are more clearly separated out and subordinated to the college course by 1869 when school board president William Morris writes: “the Male High School is designed to furnish here at home an institution of learning where our sons can receive all the advantages of education for business purposes; or they may pursue a complete course of college studies.”[222] The use of a semi-colon here is telling: boys in Louisville now have two distinct educational tracks to choose from, aligned with two different occupational futures. Morris elaborated on the logic of this plan in 1869, again separating the several career outcomes with a semicolon: “An opportunity to complete an education is here afforded to those who would continue their studies for their own private advance; or who wish to prepare themselves more thoroughly to teach, or to enter upon any professional or mercantile pursuit.”[223] In this quote, we can observe a shift from the democratic project of preparing citizens for the benefit of society to an emphasis on personal gain and specific career outcomes that attends the vocational trend. In this process, teaching also becomes aligned with “professional or mercantile” pursuits, as discussed above. It is perhaps not incidental that an elaborate proposal for a polytechnic department of Male High was considered at this time, the spirit of which would lay the groundwork for Manual High School.

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[221] *Annual Report* 1863, 61.
[222] *Annual Report* 1869, 10.
[223] *Annual Report* 1869, 11.

Manual Training: The Head and the Hand

Manual education is the site at which the stakes of differentiation and the attendant shifts in the democratic project of the high school become most pronounced. Early manual education entailed an embodied sense of students who will have need to use their hands in life, and was closely related to if not synonymous with object teaching. Manual education for Hailmann, like object teaching, had as its object the "uniform development of *all* the faculties of the child, so that the judgment which teaches the duties may be sustained by the moral convictions of the necessity of their fulfillment, and by the *moral* and *physical* power to fulfill them. Body, mind, and soul must be well and equally developed, well exercised, capable, and strong."[224] In this way, Hewes describes manual education as a particularly democratic aspect of early high school curricula.[225] Object teaching also helps us understand manual education as central to *intellectual development* in this theory of learning. Intellectual and manual or bodily development are not separated but instead mutually constituted.[226]

While manual education in its early manifestations opened interesting possibilities for conceiving of and developing a whole and embodied student for participation as active citizens, it became detached from academic and intellectual study, increasingly preparing students for a set body of actions and jobs rather than for citizenship and life more broadly. The work of the mind became increasingly detached from the work of the body, and the practitioners of each became increasingly separated in their academic

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[224] Hailmann, "Outlines of a System of Object Teaching, Prepared at the Request of the Board of Trustees of the Public Schools of the City of Louisville by William N. Hailman, Professor of Natural Science" in *Annual Report*, 1861, v-vi.
[225] Hewes, *W. N. Hailmann.*
[226] Drawing is also considered an early precursor to manual training, and is also a subject that was required for all students through the 1870s and 1880s, before being confined largely to the Manual High School.

programs. As Rose describes, "the attempt to transform the general curriculum through manual tasks fades and a movement begins to create an 'industrial education' that is separate from the standard academic course of study."[227] Whereas manual education around midcentury was discussed as a means of scientific discovery, a means by which to learn and write about the world, it comes to be discussed as a discrete program that addresses the needs of specific learners/future workers.

An 1869 proposal from a committee tasked with exploring the possibility of a polytechnic department at Male explains the development of such a department as a way to render the school "in the highest degree efficient and equal to the demands of the present eminently practical and progressive age.[228] The committee explains that the development of a polytechnic department

> will not only be of inestimable value to the institution, by making it a practical, scientific, and industrial school, but it will improve it as a classical and literary academy. The advantages will be mutual. It will make classical students better acquainted with the practical affairs of life, and it will insure scholarly acquirements to young men whose future career may be cast in the industrial pursuits of life, making them more intelligent, more cultivated and gentlemanly in their social relations, better able to understand and grapple with difficulties and obstacles in their path, as artisans and manufacturers, developing their ingenuity and inventive skill, teaching them how to observe, and instructing them in the proper modes of executing mechanical and chemical operations required in the various industrial processes of the arts.[229]

In short, it seems the imagined industrial student has much more to gain by way of this development, and that primarily in relation to how well they will be able to do their jobs. In place of citizenship, work and "social relations" emerge in this proposal. Calling on the identity of Male as the "University of the Public Schools," the committee assert that the high school are to fit students "for particular pursuits" rather than provide a general

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[227] *The Mind at Work* (New York: Penguin Books, 2004), 171-172.
[228] *Annual Report* 1869, 43.
[229] *Annual Report* 1869, 42.

liberal arts basis, which work they attribute to the common schools. Those particular pursuits became distinct enough to be separated from Male altogether in the coming decades.[230]

By the 1880s manual training at Male had moved to a separate building in the yard of the Male High School building. By 1892, it had removed to a separate high school altogether, called Manual Training High School. This high school was well-respected, and part of a large national interest in providing manual and trade skills to students. But it also detached these programs from academic study, producing early specialization that largely withheld manual training from academic students and academic training from manual students. This version of manual education came to be about the particular skills and subjects studied, rather than about a broad liberal development of students as citizens and thinkers using their hands to engage and learn about the world. The terms instruction and training come to replace the term "education," though school leaders still attempt to distance the manual school from the idea of a trade school.[231]

Manual training was coming to be understood in terms of technical, scientific and industrial knowledge for what is increasingly a discrete set of career outcomes for "commercial and manufacturing interests."[232] In its abbreviated three-year calendar and increased emphasis on "practical" subjects (now not only removing Latin and Greek languages but also truncating or removing other subjects like Rhetoric from the academic study), it is also explicitly designed to cater to a specific body of students/workers,

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[230] It may important to note that the Colored High School (later Central High) was developed at this same time, opening in 1873. The curriculum there was similarly vocationally-oriented, particularly preparing students as future teachers for the community's schools.
[231] *Annual Report* 1895.
[232] Morris in *Annual Report* 1869, 10.

specifically those "who may have neither the time nor the means to continue in school after they become seventeen or eighteen years of age, for positions of usefulness in the various productive and constructive pursuits."[233] The curriculum at the Manual Training High School included drawing, mathematics, physics, chemistry, physiology, English, history and civics, German, and woodshop, foundry, forge and machine-shop practice (100-108). And, unlike the earlier academic courses at Male, which conferred BA and BS degrees to Classical and English students, respectively, the manual training program and high school would confer less valuable "certificates of graduation."

At the same time, leaders of the Manual High School remained insistent on the high intellectual standards of the school: "This school recognizes the pre-eminent value and necessity for intellectual development and discipline. Close and thoughtful study is required in both shops and class-rooms [sic]. The academic work is taken up as thoroughly as in any school and with a view to giving the student a broad general education, without which any special course of study or work is, to a considerable extent, of little value" (97). Indeed, several students even from the earliest classes went on to collegiate study at prestigious universities, especially the emerging industrial and mechanical colleges like Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the State A & M College of Lexington (now the University of Kentucky) (109). As school leaders emphasized the idea of instruction over training for a trade throughout the end of the century, though, their insistence demonstrates that there was anxiety and a lack of clarity around the relation between teaching and training, academics and job preparation.

Administrators at Male also continued to grapple with the pressure to balance vocational and higher academic goals throughout the century. Writing in 1895 of the

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[233] *Annual Report* 1895, 97.

changes to the curriculum of Male to make it more time-efficient for job-oriented students, Male principal Maurice Kirby acknowledges that,

> While something is to be said in favor of this lopping off of some subjects, yet something is also to be said against the plan of making a diploma a cheap evidence of scholarship…Again, the fact must not be lost sight of, that the High School is, in a sense, the college of the poor man; it is his only chance to give his son anything that looks towards a higher education. This being true, not only must the school be brought within the limits of his means, which have been anticipated for him by the public, but of his time as well. Time is no mean consideration in the education of his son, and, therefore, it is desirable that the youth be put in the way of making his bread and butter as soon as is consistent with a respectable education. And this clipping of the course of study has, doubtless, in a measure, popularized the school, and, as shown below, has tended to increase the number of those taking the full course of study from year to year.[234]

These comments clearly evidence ambivalence about the competing pressures exerted on the high schools to be rigorous and efficient. This image of the school as the "college of the poor man" is also in tension with superintendent's comments in the same report, which highlight the high quality of the school as preparation for elite colleges across the country. By this time, the school had a particularly uncertain relationship to colleges, comparing itself to western colleges but also acknowledging that they were the "poor man's college" and preparatory for other elite colleges at the same time. Citizens as early as 1874 had railed against the "preposterous" ambition of the school as a college or university, though its status by the end of the century remained unclear. Part of this issue was a particular tension about different classes of learners attending with different goals, which the differentiated curriculum only partially resolved. What the differentiated programs did offer, however, was a more clear program of study for gendered vocations, set against those interested in the "poor man's college" or any other college. In this way,

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[234] *Annual Report* 1895, 47.

they paved the way for vocational education and the educational "tracking" that would be lamented by Mike Rose by the end of the next century.

In short, the differentiated curriculum constructed a new vision of high school students as embodied and gendered future workers. This marks the shift from a democratic conception of providing all students with similar intellectual and civic opportunities to imagining certain students as needful of "training" in middle class behaviors and in particular job skills. I trace this shift in the ways school leaders talk about the mind and the body and in the increasing attention to women as particularly embodied (in ways that required monitoring and accommodation) by the last quarter of the century. My reading of the rhetorical and spatial arguments about embodied (gendered and classed) students is the subject of the next section.

Gendered Embodiment and the Vocational Curriculum

By the 1890s, then, the schools had disconnected the "practical" from the triumvirate of educational outcomes, in the form of designated manual, commercial, and business departments. As I will argue in this section, organizing the schools in this way precipitated an attention to vocationalism that constructed learners—especially women and those males outside the classical program—as gendered and embodied future workers. As Graves explains, "Once society accepted that schooling ought to differ among students so as to prepare each for her or his place in the social order, educators across the United States maintained that sex differences were an important factor in determining one's appropriate course of study."[235] Though Louisville already had sex-segregated schools (unlike the St. Louis schools in Graves' study), it was the

[235] Graves, *Girls' Schooling during the Progressive Era: From Female Scholar to Domesticated Citizen* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), xviii.

differentiation of courses that hailed the development of truly gendered curricula, as education came to be more clearly linked to a student's "place in the social order."

By "gendered curricula" I mean not only special curricula for women, but also curricula for an embodied and gendered male. The manual and scientific programs for males had a particularly gendered cast, preparing students for certain sex-segregated industrial and mechanical careers. These programs were set against (and beneath) an ungendered (though tacitly masculine) classical educational program that remained the purview of the dominant class. They were also set against a feminine gendered education, and women became removed not only from the "life of the mind" in the classical courses but also from the now male-gendered scientific and industrial courses. Though early female high schools had a particularly strong scientific aspect, by the end of the century advanced science had been annexed increasingly to the male programs. While both male scientific and industrial courses and female courses can be said to be distanced from the disembodied intellectual work of the male classical track, then, the distance between male gendered and female gendered programs is equally significant.

In other words, attention to material limitations of students through differentiated programs served as a double-edged sword for the democratic project of the high school, inviting with it curricular programs and orientations towards students that emphasized and affirmed their gendered and classed positions. In their language and policies, these programs attended to the embodiment of students in ways that increasingly distanced them from intellectual work and a broader and more equitable notion of education for civic participation. In this section, then, I use the term "gendered embodiment" to refer to the ways students' material, vocational, and physical "needs" came to the fore outside of

the male classical track, reflecting and contributing to an emphasis on the actions and bodies rather than the intellectual and civic development of students.

When learners' bodies and minds were marked as embodied, they obtained gendered significance. Although most would argue that it is not possible *not* to be gendered and embodied, the early nineteenth-century American education projects were indeed largely "ungendered" in their mobilization of the generic masculine. As the purview of the elite, classical education was masculinized and tacitly for males, but part of its power lies in its ungendered universality. For instance, though Nan Johnson rightly argues that women were explicitly dismissed as potential rhetors in traditional rhetorical textbooks like Quackenbos,' it is also true that women like those at Female High School were invited to study these textbooks, demonstrating that they were a potentially unintended but not altogether inappropriate audience for these texts.[236] I argue that this is in part because of the status of these texts as "ungendered" in their presentation of the generic masculine. But, like women, males from outside of the dominant discourse who were seeking and obtaining higher education through public high schools and eventually colleges were also not the imagined audience of future professional and civic leaders constructed in early rhetorics. As Katz argues, working and middle class families seemed needful of education to train them in the behaviors and values of industry, but the traditional classical education was not thought to appeal to or meet the needs of this expanding audience of students.[237] This new audience challenged the heretofore "ungendered" masculine norm in ways not dissimilar to the challenges presented by

[236] Johnson, *Gender and Rhetorical Space in American Life, 1866-1910* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 2002), 29.
[237] Michael Katz, *Reconstructing American Education* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), 17.

female learners, and both male and females came to be addressed through distinctly gendered educational projects and careers set at odds with (or at least differentiated from) the "ungendered" norm of discourse and education of the traditional curriculum. By being embodied and hence gendered, they were similarly subordinated to the dominant form of generic masculine education that increasingly staked out the (ungendered, disembodied) territory of the "mind."

The alignment between these two sets of embodied, gendered learners is evidenced throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in several ways. First, the attention to embodiment of students in the manual programs is echoed by an attention to the bodies of female students in the rules and in the design of school buildings. Second, the curricula of both the Manual Training High School and Female High School evidence a vocational emphasis on specific (gendered) activities and careers, with particular stakes for the study of rhetoric and composition and the sciences. Finally, archival documents show the close extracurricular collaboration between Female and Manual in developing lecture series, performing plays, and studying gendering forms of manual education at the turn of the century, until Female is eventually joined with and subsumed by Manual Training High School in 1950, suggesting that these two programs (and not Female and Male) were two sides of the same gendered coin.

Embodiment: The Status of the Mind and Body in the Manual and Female High Schools

An increased anxiety about the relationship between the body and the mind attends the development of differentiated programs in Louisville. In describing the prospect of a more developed manual program by 1881, the school board argues, "if we

are successful in this undertaking [of developing a manual training school] we make an inroad upon the arguments of such parties [who argue we teach the mind at the expense of the body], teaching both mind and muscle. We encourage labor and place it side by side with labor of the head."[238] As the use of the term labor suggests, this move has to do with industrialization and the production of workers by the end of the century-- the realization that humans can be shaped and formed, that they are historical creatures and that educational institutions form subjects actively for labor. The labor of the body is no longer placed insistently in service of the intellectual development of citizens, as before, but instead is listed first, and placed "side by side with labor of the head." Even the term "labor of the head" instead of "mind" or "intellect" insists on an embodied understanding of these learners, who are increasingly aligned with specific gendered and classed occupational pursuits and separated from collegiate students, professionals, and others who do the work of the "mind."

At Female, the emphasis on embodiment of students is evidenced in part by the changes in rules for students and the design of school buildings. While young women were performing their commencement essays before a mixed-gender public audience from the first years of the school, as discussed in Chapter Three, an anxiety around the physical presentation of these students emerges in the postbellum years. In 1867, a reporter for the *Daily Courier* announces an upcoming benefit for the poor given by the pupils of Female that will include declamations and readings of original materials; he notes: "Admission twenty-five cents, and it will be worth that to get a good look at the young ladies."[239] The emerging reading of students as sexualized and embodied young

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[238] Report from 1881, as quoted in *Annual Report* 1895, 89.
[239] "Valentines" *Daily Courier* (Feb. 15, 1867), 1.

women led to a rich debate about female students' dress throughout the year. By 1879, the rules for Female students had been changed in response to this anxiety, and the following rule was added:

> The pupils of the Female High School are expected to dress in a plain, neat style; the wearing of costly dresses and jewelry is highly disapproved by the Board of Trustees, and should be discouraged by the Faculty. It is hoped that hereafter there will be less ostentatious display of dress at the public exhibitions and the Annual Commencement of the school.[240]

While this rule is as much about minimizing obvious class and status markers as it is about addressing students' sexual appeal to observers, it underscores an attention to students bodies and dress in ways similar to what Carol Mattingly has observed in *Appropriate(ing) Dress,* where she argues that women's bodies and dress represented an important element of their ethos when they ascended the platform to speak.[241] Mattingly notes, "The 'woman question' and growing anxiety about changing roles heightened emphasis on appearance as a defining feature that ensured neat categories for the sexes, adding to the tension" (6). That is, attention to the dress of Female students by the last quarter of the century is indicative of the increased anxiety attending women's roles at that time, and demonstrates how students were being recognized as women through monitoring of their bodies and dress.[242]

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[240] *Manual of the Board of Trustees of the Pubic Schools of Louisville for the year ending June 30, 1879* (Louisville: J. C. Webb, 1878), 50. Hereafter, references to any such Manual of the Board of Trustees of Louisville will be with the abbreviated title of *Manual,* followed by the year. Full publication details available in references.

[241] Mattingly, *Appropriate(ing) Dress: Women's Rhetorical Style in Nineteenth-Century America* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 2002). Also see Lindal Buchanan, *Regendering Delivery: The Fifth Canon and Antebellum Women Rhetors,* (Carbondale: SIUP, 2005).

[242] An 1867 report on the school's closing exercises mentioned that "the young ladies, attired in dresses of immaculate white tastefully trimmed, occupying the front…From the auditorium the tableau presented a unity of facial loveliness, grace of figure, elegance of drapery, and harmony of general contour that challenged universal admiration" ("Female High School," *Louisville Daily Journal* [Jun 28, 1867]).

In addition, the idea of these female students as feminine, and therefore weak, led to suggestions by 1895 that Female needed a new school building. The building that had been built in 1873 as a state-of-the-art "palatial" facility specifically for female students was deemed inappropriate for females by 1895 because it had four floors, which was considered too many stairs for young women to scale, as "A building for a girls' school should not be over two stories high."[243] Instead, school leaders proposed that Male High School take over the Female building, and a new building of only two floors be built to house Female, which was accomplished in 1899.

During this same period (beginning in 1869), an emphasis on order and discipline emerges across the high schools. Whereas earlier articulations of discipline in the schools rely on "self-discipline," there is increasing anxiety in the school board reports about the need for faculty to keep order in the schools. In 1860, Principal Grant of Male explains "The discipline of the school is conducted upon the principle, that the best government for the *youth,* is that which cultivates such a habit of *self*-government as will hereafter control the *man*…Students are taught, that although they have done wrong, and must submit to the penalty of wrong-doing, yet they are regarded as gentlemen, who desire to do right, and not as *felons,* without principle."[244] Similarly, at Female in 1863, Principal Chase describes the system of monthly reports issued to parents exhibiting each student's "standing in each of her studies, her general average, absences, and class rank," and attests that "Under the working of this system, discipline for unscholarlike conduct has not been called into exercise during the year."[245] In these remarks, the assumption of self-government is clear, and discipline is invoked primarily as an issue of scholarship and

[243] *Annual Report* 1895, 45.
[244] *Annual Report* 1860, 9.
[245] *Annual Report* 1863, 100.

attendance rather than of misbehavior, as is clear from the list of exclusively academic matters reported to parents. By 1869, by contrast, Principal McDonald of Male notes the importance of "strict discipline" to securing order in the school, deportment has been added to Female as a primary indicator of class standing, and management, discipline, and obedience emerge as significant considerations for principals and teachers in the rules of the schools.[246] In 1873, an elaborate system of demerits was devised for Male, and Female's rules include a separate section on "Discipline &c" that includes 21 distinct items.[247] By 1895, rather than any notion of self-discipline on behalf of the pupils, the rules for the high schools dictate that "Each professor or teacher is held responsible for the order, obedience, application and advancement of the pupils in the several classes taught."[248] The privileging of order and obedience over learning reflects the emerging sense of students as future workers in need of training in the behaviors and values of the middle class.[249]

The emphasis on students as embodied and gendered future workers reinforces an increasingly gendered curricular program focused on particular activities and behaviors. As the century progresses, female education becomes more distinctly "feminine" as manual training becomes more "masculine," and each program comes to embrace a belletristic rhetorical program that reduces the role of oral and spoken composition and rhetoric. For example, the rhetorical instruction at Female by 1895 focused on reading and evaluating "great works" rather than producing arguments and compositions reflective of the students' own experiences, as it previously did. The fact that "Rhetoric

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[246] *Annual Report* 1869, 75, 64.
[247] *Manual* 1873,
[248] *Annual Report* 1895, 35-36.
[249] These changes were also responsive to increased number of students, likely from more diverse backgrounds.

and Composition [are] based upon the study of masterpieces of literature" and "All work in Composition is based upon literature" are reinforced no less than six times in the space of the principal's brief nine page course outline.[250] The subject of elocution also emerges in the curriculum around this time, but Principal W. H. Bartholomew's presentation of elocution reads as defensive in his assertion that "In the study of elocution the prose and poetry of the best authors are used, that the pupils may be enabled to assimilate the highest and most expressive forms of the English language; for elocution is but expression by speech, whether it be termed recitation, oration, or declamation" (76). Of course, this is not strictly true, as each of these terms had specific contextual and gendered valences throughout the century (as evidenced by the difference between male "addresses" and female "essays" as early as the 1860 commencement ceremonies). Whether he is attempting to make a case for the continued inclusion of elocution for his students or is justifying the fact that this subject has now been limited only to readings of "the best authors" rather than students' original compositions is not clear. What is clear is that rhetoric, composition and elocution have been seriously attenuated in the curriculum, as English instruction comes to be defined largely as the reading of literature. The structure of the commencement ceremony has also significantly changed by this time, now featuring only four student essays, interspersed with three recitations and several choruses in 1895.[251]

The significance of these curricular changes is in their difference from earlier curricula for Female, their similarity to the approach at Manual, and the distinction of both of these schools from the course at Male that continues to focus on students' own

[250] *Annual Report* 1895, 72-81.

[251] The topics of these essays still seem fascinating, including "A Trio of Illustrators," "Women in Science," and "The Holy Grail in Poetry and Art." (85), but details about their content are not available.

language use rather than on study of "the best authors." In previous decades at Female, composition and elocution are positioned as integrated across the curriculum and constantly practiced. As late as the 1886-87 school year, composition and elementary rhetoric were still listed in the first year; composition and Boyd's rhetoric, "supplemented by study of style through selections made by the pupils," in the second year; and "Rhetoric applied in written essays and compositions of various styles and discussion of technical points" in the third year. These studies appear alongside reading, literature, and English history throughout the four-year course.[252] Though composition is removed from the first year of study in the following year, the course that obtained until at least 1892 featured Hill's Rhetoric, still "supplemented by study of style through selections made by the pupils," along with composition in the second year and "Rhetoric applied in written essays and compositions of various styles and discussion of technical points" in the third year, again alongside literary study throughout four years.[253] This comparison shows the gradual removal of rhetoric and composition from the academic curriculum of Female, and the emergence of a form of elocution that is focused on reading of celebrated works rather than students' own compositions.

Similarly, the English course at Manual by 1895 is focused almost exclusively on the study of literature. The only reference to oral or written composition is in the brief statement that "Formal rhetoric is studied in the second term of the first year, but compositions are asked for at regular intervals throughout the student's career."[254] The nature and frequency of these compositions is not at all clear.

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[252] *Manual* for year ending in 1887, 64

[253] *Manual* for 1891-92, 61.

[254] *Annual Report* 1895, 105.

The presentation of rhetoric and composition at Female and Manual are contrasted with that at Male in the same year, for which it is explained that,

> In the Freshman year the pupil begins the study of rhetoric and composition. The constant aim of instruction in this branch is to make the student fluent in the use of correct English. He is given continuous exercises in writing. It is borne in mind that in actual life, on an average, ninety per cent. of all English used is spoken English, and that if a person speaks correctly, he is reasonably sure of writing correctly (59).

This statement is remarkably different from the claims about language instruction made for Female and Manual in its proposition that the best language instruction is through oral practice. At both Manual and Female, the opposite assertion is made: that the best way to learn language, rhetoric and elocution is through the study of the "best authors." In contrast to the emphasis on reading, the refrain at Male is that "Compositions and original speeches are required throughout the year" and "practice in oral and written English is constant" (60). Despite Principal Bartholomew's claim to the contrary, it seems the stakes of elocution, oration, recitation and declamation are clearly different across these schools.

I argue that the decreased emphasis on rhetoric and writing is tied to the gendered vocational project of the differentiated curriculum insofar as Female and Manual students were conceived not as potential civic rhetors but as embodied and classed future workers. Though the notion of high school girls as gendered and embodied rhetors who might pose a challenge to the social order is new for Female High School (as discussed in Chapter Three), the idea that female rhetors would pose problems is not surprising, given Lindal Buchanan's argument that delivery, though the most "material" canon, also "becomes imbued with ideological concerns and ramifications" as women take the stage as

rhetors.[255] Similarly, the emerging gendered image of male students as future industrial and mechanical workers supports the idea that they are not needful of more rhetorical training. Their curriculum focuses on reading for pleasure, which, while not a bad goal, is a different goal than that of preparing students for written and spoken engagement through rhetorical and compositional training, as at Male.

In reference to the sciences as well, a gendered and embodied attention to students leads to changes in the curriculum. Though Female shared a science instructor with Male in the early years and had advanced scientific apparatus and facilities, the advanced and applied sciences become increasingly the purview of the male manual and technical programs. By 1895, the Manual Training High School was established with advanced study in physiology, physics, chemistry and applied mechanical sciences. By contrast, Female students study some physiology, physics, and chemistry, but are also the only students to study botany and food sciences. They are also allotted only 50% of the funding of Male for experimental apparatus by 1892, and both Male and Female's expenditures on such equipment was much less than the expenditures for equipment for Manual.[256] Though the sciences studied by Female are not less valuable, they are clearly gendered, especially in botany's goal of bringing students "to realize that a plant is a living thing, with a part to play on the earth, contributing materially to its history" that seems to assume female students would be more interested or more needful of knowledge about the vegetative world, whether through lack of exposure or applications to the emerging practice of domestic food sciences.[257]

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[255] Buchanan, "Regendering Delivery: The Fifth Canon and the Maternal Rhetor," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 32.4 (2009), 53.
[256] *Annual Report* 1895.
[257] *Annual Report* 1895, 73.

Filling the void of academic subjects that have been reduced or removed at Female are courses in drawing, physical culture, and vocal music, and at Manual are woodshop, foundry, forge, and machine-shop practice and drawing.

The Extracurriculum: Rhetoric Pushed to the Margins

While Gold and Hobbs celebrate the ways vocational education served as a warrant for women's colleges in the South by the 1880s, in the context of a previously liberal arts mission of Female it can also be viewed as a decline when industrial, commercial and vocational programs superseded academic study in the public high schools, especially in comparison to efforts to integrate vocational training with a liberal arts academic curriculum in earlier decades. In the face of a gendered vocational curriculum, the extracurricular opportunities for women and manual training students take on central importance. For instance, public speaking shifts from being a central part of school ceremonies (with emphasis on public engagement with schools and students) to an aspect of the extracurriculum largely beyond school. Speakers from the Alethean Society and alumnae society are featured in lieu of other female graduates at ceremonies, and opportunities for composing deliberative essays are increasingly relegated to extracurricular literary club and alumnae events. While Gold and Hobbs, Anne Ruggles Gere, Christie Anne Farnham, Suzanne Bordelon and others have cited the importance of extracurricular and alumni activities to female students and their rhetorical development, it is important to trace the removal of these opportunities from the school proper into the realm of the extracurricular for both female and "non-academic" males, suggesting that those skills are not central to their preparation and lives.[258]

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[258] Gold and Hobbs, *Educating the New Southern Woman*; Gere, "Kitchen Tables and Rented Rooms: The Extracurriculum of Composition," *College Composition and Communication.* 45.1 (1994): 74-92; Farnham,

The role of alumni organizations is significant and pronounced by 1895, which, though exciting, evidences that some of the academic work of the high schools has been offloaded to these organizations by the end of the century. The five pages of the Female's annual report dedicated to the activities of the Alumnae Society—including lists of officers, committees, programs, and events—almost equal the number of pages dedicated to the school's own course of instruction. These alumnae activities include a series of talks by women on various subjects, including "Is Woman Shirking her Duties?," "The Greatest Need of the Nineteenth Century," and "Woman in Reform Movement [sic]," and papers on literature, music and education presented by alumnae, as well as a series of lectures by male speakers from across the nation. Also included here are reports from committees such as the Arboretum Committee, which planted and nurtured indigenous tree species in Cherokee Park, and the Art Committee, which put together a gallery exhibition of art by alumnae in the High School Chapel. The work of the Alumnae Society, Principal Bartholomew notes, "exercised a wholesome influence upon the school and community."[259]

Perhaps not coincidentally, Female also develops a rich extracurricular connection to the Manual Training High School at this time. According to Graves, "The high school acted as a force in the construction of gender even more intensely as the differentiated curriculum was called upon to prepare girls and boys for their sex-specific roles as worker and citizen. Extracurricular activity in the school reinforced the emerging directive that girls' schooling should differ from boys.'"[260] More specifically, in

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The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South (New York: New York UP, 1994); Bordelon, "'What Should Women Teachers Do?'"

[259] *Annual Report* 1895, 81.

[260] Graves, *Girls' Schooling,* xviii.

Louisville extracurricular activity reinforced the directive that gendered girls' and boys' schooling should each differ from the classical education program of Male.

By the end of the century, the strong extracurricular programs sponsored by the Alumnae and Alethean societies were intimately connected to providing gendered instruction to students, which alumnae Anna J. Hamilton explicitly connects to manual education. Speaking at the dedication ceremony for the Female High School building in 1899, Hamilton mourns the fact that "Our High School girl, alas! is not well-rounded. In mentioning her many good qualities I was obliged to omit one, and a very important one. She is not thoroughly practical. What she needs to make her the woman she should be is manual training."[261] Hamilton goes on to note that the Alumnae society has stepped in to fill this void until a "charming champion" of manual education for girls should take on the cause: "So she has arranged for a course of lectures on home economies, embracing home furnishings and decorations, plain sewing and hygeinic [sic] cooking" (12). The belief in gendered education for specific vocations, and increasingly for the home, has forcefully emerged into the educational discourse by this time, not only in the value of particular gendered activities but also in the explicit distancing from academic subjects, such as when Hamilton argues, "The art of furnishing a home in a sanitary and economical manner is more valuable than Byzantine or Phoenician art, and the chemistry of cooking more fascinating and more necessary than the study of Browning" (13). The gendered and embodied vocational (and home-based) education of young women by the end of the century is further underscored by Principal Bartholomew's remarks on the same occasion, which place a foremost emphasis on student's roles as future mothers. In marked contrast to the philosophies of lifelong education earlier in the century, he writes,

[261] "Girls High School 50th Anniversary," 12.

“Everything in the process of education must be viewed as a means to an end. The student is the supreme object of development” (15). Though his “end” is may have been an encompassing one, his comments nonetheless underscore a notion of education as utilitarian and largely vocationally-oriented, and of students as “objects” of development.

Hamilton goes on to compare the extracurricular work of Female students to that of “her brother of the Commercial Club” (12), gesturing toward the increasing alignment between Female and the vocational manual and commercial programs, which came to the fore particularly in the extracurricular opportunities of these schools. Though it is outside the scope of this project, the extracurricular projects of Manual High School and Female High School become intertwined by the beginning of the twentieth century. Yearbooks and archival documents evidence the close collaboration between these two programs in performing plays, engaging in extracurricular writing and organizing lecture series, until these two schools eventually merge in 1950 as DuPont Manual High School.

Fate of differentiated programs into the twentieth century

Unlike the St. Louis schools in Graves’ study that evidence the decline of the “female scholar” in favor of the “domesticated citizen,” Female High School cannot strictly be said to experience academic decline following the differentiated curriculum. Instead, that school retained high academic standards that guaranteed its graduates admission into local colleges well into the twentieth century. Similarly, Manual High School cannot be said to have low academic standards, and it too remained a valued credential for graduates. At the same time, the differentiated curriculum played an important role in shifting the mission of the high schools from providing a general academic curriculum for civic participation into an increasingly gendered curriculum

with an emphasis on student bodies and careers. In the course of this shift, rhetoric and composition took on a peripheral position in the academic curriculum, and advanced science increasingly became the purview of male students who were "suited to" and destined for careers in mechanical and industrial fields (while the idea of domestic sciences emerged for females).

In this way, I argue that the differentiated curriculum is implicated in a dichotomy between embodied students and careers and intellectual pursuits that had the effect of bringing rhetoric beyond the scope of most students' needs, and advanced science beyond the scope of female needs. These are legacies with which feminist and Rhetoric and Composition scholars have had to contend into the present.

Another legacy of the differentiated and gendered vocational turn is well-established feminization of the teaching force. Female students were studying teaching methods and theories from their earliest years as part of the general curriculum, and some 60% of graduates of that school went into teaching, constituting a significant portion of the teaching corps in the city that had a long-term impact on education there. The removal of this program to the Training Department entailed a proposition that teaching was a vocation, rather than an intellectual profession, contributing the devaluation of this work.

What emerges most significantly in the examination of Louisville across this dissertation, though, is not an understanding of the fate of these gendered educational paradigms and programs, so much as the recognition of moments of possibility prior to this outcome. In recovering the early years of free public high schools in Louisville and elsewhere, during which the dominant forms of educational discourse were still imagined

to meet the diverse social needs of students for a "polished, a practical, or a profound" education, we are provided a vision of other possible futures. While these differential educational outcomes imagined for the general curriculum already implied differential cultural value and social distinction in their very enumeration, they also suggest more overlap, more flexibility, and ultimately more possibility for a diversity of gendered and classed learners to gain access to the dominant discourse through popular education, and to integrate the work of both the body and mind to pursue the "intellectual culture" that would help all learners to become "intelligent member[s] of society, good citizen[s], and *enlightened, practical"* people.[262] In short, they highlight not just what was, but what might have been and what might become possible when we reconsider the historical relations between class and gender, and between the mind and the body.

In the concluding chapter, I return to these possibilities to articulate what we, as twenty-first century educators in a time of reform and flux ourselves, can learn from the experiences of these educators and students.

[262] *Annual Report* 1860, 6, emphasis in original.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

"To truly educate in America, then, to reach the full sweep of our citizenry, we need to question received perception, shift continually from the standard lens"

-Mike Rose[263]

In each of the foregoing chapters, I have sought to illuminate an aspect of the first free Louisville High Schools that challenges conventional wisdom about higher learning—where it took place, who participated in and shaped it, who benefited from it or was denied it, and on what grounds. As other local histories have done, the examination of this site of language learning helps us to "question received perception, shift continually from the standard lens," in order that we might think in new ways about both the past and the future of higher learning in America, and about the process of historiography in Rhetoric and Composition.

This account contributes to our historical knowledge in three ways: in its particular attention to high schools in the landscape of higher education; in its attention to an under-studied region of the country; and in its attention to a time period during which national conflicts tend to overshadow the educational innovations and persistence of local educators. In each of these (interrelated) ways, the story of the Louisville High Schools contributes an important thread to the tapestry of accounts that is the history of Rhetoric and Composition.

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[263] Rose, *Lives on the Boundary: A Moving Account of the Struggles and Achievements of America's Educationally Underprepared* (New York: Penguin Books, 1989), 205.

Taken together, though, the insights provided by this local history also afford us an opportunity to reflect on larger questions of historiography and disciplinarity, as well as some contemporary issues in higher education reform. I would like to close this project by reflecting on some of these implications. I will begin by discussing the stakes of this research for the project of composing histories of our discipline, particularly in the opportunities it opens up for dialogue with scholars in Education. I question the relative dearth of such dialogue, and use my research as a point of departure for considering causes. In addition to making these historical and historiographic interventions, I close by suggesting some of the resonances of this project for current and future pedagogy and reform.

Origins Stories, Local Histories, and Disciplinarity

In her reflection on the problem of "beginnings" that closes the volume *Local Histories,* Patricia Donahue draws on Edward Said to articulate the ways in which marking any beginning is a constantly shifting goal: "the boundary a beginning creates as a way to separate itself from what preceded it can only be temporary; its conceptual dependency on what comes 'before' will be marked in numerous ways…As Said himself says, a critical purpose of a beginning is to produce difference where difference was not apparent before."[264] Donahue's comments underscore a particular limitation of demarcating origins for our discipline: beginnings can construct boundaries and foreclose connections with what comes before in ways that have implications for what comes after.

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[264] Donahue, "Disciplinary Histories: A Meditation on Beginnings" in *Local Histories: Reading the Archives of Composition,* edited by Patricia Donahue and Gretchen Flesher Moon (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007), 225.

In light of this realization, I have not here attempted to mark a beginning. By bringing the story of high schools into our disciplinary purview and highlighting the ways they may have connected with, contradicted, complicated, predated, or even enabled the story of pedagogical developments of value to our field, my aspiration is not to promote a new sense of our *beginnings* so much as draw attention to a *before* that is also of value and meaning to our field. My project is less of a challenge and more of an extension, less of a "but" and more of an "and also."

While I am not interested in staking claim to an origin, the assertion of a significant "before" is important to how we conceive of our discipline through its histories, and how we forge connections with others outside of that discipline. The practices associated with the common schools represent just such a "before." Though historians have broadened our disciplinary history to include a range of institutional, extracurricular, and community-based sites where language learning and practice have occurred, our histories have largely continued to overlook a vast range of theories, practices and traditions that stemmed from the lower schools. I believe this omission is neither obvious nor inconsequential. Instead, it reflects and reinscribes assumptions about our discipline's relationship to pedagogy and education that it is time to reconsider.

Given the shared interest in pedagogy between Rhetoric and Composition and Education, why do we, in Rhetoric and Composition, not forge stronger connections with the educational theorists and practitioners engaged in this work but located in or focused on the lower schools? Why does there persist such a clear break between Rhetoric and Composition and schools of Education, despite their shared investment in theorized teaching practices, the support of professional organizations like NCTE to bring them

together, and their shared history? In the following sections, I use the history of Louisville's high schools as a launching pad for considering these larger historiographic and disciplinary questions.

Pedagogy and the Theory-Practice Sandwich

The relation between Education and Rhetoric and Composition hinges most clearly on a shared interest in writing pedagogy. As Karen Kopelson, Joseph Harris and others have pointed out, pedagogy is a central focus for many scholars in our discipline—a focus that in many ways shaped the very inception of the field around 1960, that is featured in the "conversion narratives" of many scholars who have come to identify with that field, and that continues to define the field's identity and pursuits for new scholars.[265] Following Lynn Worsham, Kopelson outlines the "pedagogical imperative" in our scholarship and disciplinary identity that has served to differentiate Rhetoric and Composition from literary studies, and the ensuing problems of a theory-practice split that attends this distinction. Discussions of the theory-practice split and what Worsham calls the "ongoing battle over the nature of our work" are well-trod territory in composition.[266] Indeed, the "endlessly belaboring definitions and demarcating spaces" that is the result of this battle is one of Kopelson's primary concerns.[267]

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[265] Kopelson, "Sp(l)itting Images; or, Back to the Future of (Rhetoric and?) Composition," *College Composition and Communication* 59.4 (2008); Harris, *A Teaching Subject: Composition Since 1966* (Upper Saddle River [NJ]: Prentice Hall, 1996). Interest in this issue is suggested by the issuing of an updated second edition of Harris's book in 2012.

[266] Worsham, "Coming to Terms: Theory, Writing, Politics," in *Rhetoric and Composition as Intellectual Work,* edited by Gary Olson (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 2002), 102. Also see, among others, Sidney I. Dobrin, *Constructing Knowledges: The Politics of Theory Building and Pedagogy in Composition* (Albany: State U of New York P, 1997) and *Postcomposition* (Carbondale: SIUP, 2011); Bruce Horner, "Traditions and Professionalization: Reconceiving Work in Composition," *College Composition and Communication* 51.3 (Feb 2000).

[267] Kopelson, "Sp(l)itting Images," 773.

But as exhaustive and exhausting as this "identity crisis" may have been, it is notably one-sided. In short, we have tended to frame pedagogy's significance primarily as a marker of difference between Rhetoric and Composition and English. Being historically housed in departments of English, it has been easy and logical to see our disciplinary identity in terms of connections with and breaks from English. At the same time, though, the pedagogical agenda of Rhetoric and Composition has defined itself (more subtly, even tacitly) over and against another disciplinary conversation: that of Education.

In fact, the supposed distinction between Rhetoric and Composition and Education has at moments seemed so obvious as not to warrant mention. To return to Kopelson as an example, she follows Stephen North in pointing out that early rhetoric and composition scholars interested in pedagogy understood that if they proposed to focus on the teaching of writing, they would need "not merely to *teach* writing—that was already being done, of course—but to more thoroughly *professionalize* our teaching" by generating disciplinary knowledge and theory about the teaching of writing (751). Quite accurately, this characterization represents the ease with which Rhetoric and Composition has dismissed the work of Education; the point here is that the teaching of writing was already occurring (in English departments) but the generation of knowledge and theory about that teaching was not (in English departments). Neither the teaching of writing nor the professional inquiry into how best to teach writing that had been taking place in Education for some hundred years is acknowledged in this depiction. The specter of Education as a longer tradition or intersecting conversation hardly appears here or elsewhere in our discipline's histories.

To take another example, Maureen Daly Goggin's 2009 bibliography in *RSQ* traces, as its title promises, the "tangled roots of literature, speech communication, linguistics, rhetoric/composition, and creative writing," with no mention of the role of pedagogy or Education.[268] The brief narrative that frames the bibliography cites the development of the several professional organizations that represent each of these areas, including CCCC, without reference to the NCTE (significantly, the parent organization of CCCC).[269] Again, this omission seems logical and justified from the perspective of "English Studies" that Goggin aims to represent. From another perspective, though, it seems strange, indeed, to overlook the contributions of NCTE and the work of writing teachers that organization represents in this otherwise broad-ranging attention to professional organizations and their agendas. Goggin's caution about histories, quoted from Marilyn Butler, is appropriate here: "Though the invented tradition loudly insists on its own authority, it must be taken, not as authoritative, but as a polemic with particularly strong motives for hiding the circumstances which brought it into being."[270]

My point is that Rhetoric and Composition of course didn't invent the idea of theorized teaching practice, or even the generation of knowledge and theory about the teaching of writing specifically, as is apparent from my second and third chapters, but that Rhetoric and Composition scholars tend inadvertently to downplay and even actively distance ourselves from connections with Education. Happily, some scholarship has begun to acknowledge and redress this oversight. For instance, Horner and Lu's

[268] Goggin, "The Tangled Roots of Literature, Speech Communication, Linguistics, Rhetoric/Composition, and Creative Writing: A Selected Bibliography on the History of English Studies," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 29.4 (1999).
[269] Goggin, "Tangled Roots," 66.
[270] Quoted in Goggin, "Tangled Roots," 66.

"Working Rhetoric and Composition" acknowledges the importance of both English education and linguistics as forebears and allies to the work of Rhetoric and Composition as a discipline.[271] The recent volume *Composition's Roots in English Education* goes a long way towards recovering these connections by presenting personal accounts of significant scholars who participated in the shaping of the discipline in the 60s, 70s, and 80s whose experience and training was grounded in English education.[272] The need for such a volume suggests and underscores the force of this oversight among most disciplinary practitioners, as suggested by its contributors. I argue that the theory-practice split, then, can be viewed as more of a theory-practice *sandwich,* or interposition, with Rhetoric and Composition bordered on one side by what Connors disparagingly calls the "the fatuity of an overly specialized and theoretical literary studies"[273] and on the other side by the equally inadequate professional (even overly professional) practice of Education. In other words, one reason some have a hard time fully embracing pedagogy in our field, even with terms like *praxis* available and with the broad recognition of the importance of teaching, is that we have looked at only part of the equation, and have allowed Education to persist as the unnamed signifier at the bottom end of the theory-practice sandwich.[274]

[271] Bruce Horner and Min Zhan Lu, "Working Rhetoric and Composition," *College English* 72.5 (May 2010), 488.
[272] Patricia Lambert Stock (Ed), *Composition's Roots in English Education* (Portsmouth: Boynton/Cook, 2012).
[273] Connors, "Composition History and Disciplinarity," in *History, Reflection, and Narrative: The Professionalization of Composition, 1863-1983,* ed. Mary Rosner, Beth Boehm, and Debra Journet (Stamford, CT: Ablex, 1999), 15.
[274] I explore this construct more fully in an article I am writing, but here sketch the initial outlines enough to make the point for this dissertation. In the article, I will more fully engage the additional literature on the theory-practice split and the scope of our profession.

Mariolina Salvatori's landmark study of the term "pedagogy" helps us to understand how and why this devaluation persists.[275] Drawing on Salvatori, we can map the historical divide between scholarship and pedagogy that Kopelson, Worsham, and others represent as a theory-practice split onto what Salvatori identifies as a liberal-professional split, which serves as a proxy for the divide between English and Education. Salvatori traces the historical devaluation of pedagogy to "the distinction—ossified over time into an increasingly untenable stereotype—between the intellectual preparation, and the concomitant function, that sets the scholar apart from the teacher" (5). This distinction served specific historical purposes in the 1880s, when university departments of pedagogy were emerging and differentiating themselves from the existing project of normal school training. The university departments of pedagogy made a case for their existence and necessity precisely *against* the work of normal schools. Further, Salvatori explains:

> [For] complex economic, political, and ideological reasons, the distinction between the liberal (with its supposedly exclusive attention to scholarship) and the professional (with its supposedly exclusive attention to teaching) also demarcated, within universities, the opposition between departments of English and departments of pedagogy. The latter, housed initially within departments of philosophy and psychology, later became departments of education and subsequently schools of education. (6)

To put that history in terms of Donahue's remarks, the establishment of a "beginning" of departments of pedagogy at the university level was advertised as being "different from and in opposition to departments of pedagogy in normal schools."[276] In short, the assertion of a beginning for these new departments "produce[d] difference where

[275] Salvatori, *Pedagogy: Disturbing History, 1819-1929* (Pittsburgh: U of Pittsburgh Press, 1996).
[276] Salvatori, *Pedagogy,* 6.

difference was not apparent before."[277] Occurring outside the university structure, the work of theorist-practitioners like Hailmann from Chapter Two is dismissed as the work of a generalist rather than specialist. The teacher training of Female discussed in Chapter Three, and even the proliferation of distinct normal courses beyond the general high school curriculum in the 1870s, is deemed inadequate. And the emerging distinction between scholarly, academic work and professional work undergirds the transition towards vocationalism in high schools as they came to be more clearly subordinated to the collegiate, intellectual work of colleges and universities proper.

Yet the liberal-professional divide that served to justify the development of departments of education was also turned against departments and schools of education themselves, as the "pragmatic" and "professional" goals of pedagogy or education were divorced from the notion of liberal (scholarly) goals (increasingly the domain of English). As Salvatori argues, the opposition between the liberal and professional in schools of education and English "has allowed and continues to allow many university professors of English to be dogmatically critical and dismissive of *all* work done in *all* schools of education," as teacher preparation and pedagogy have not only been constructed as the domain of education but also as "the marker of difference between the 'mission' of schools of education and of departments of English."[278] That is, pedagogy obtains a low status specifically *within* the ecology of the emerging research university, where the notion of scholarship has been posited (strategically) as detached from practice, professionalism, and labor.

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[277] Donahue, "Disciplinary Histories: A Meditation on Beginnings," in *Local Histories: Reading the Archives of Composition,* edited by Patricia Donahue and Gretchen Flesher Moon (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007), 225.
[278] Salvatori, *Pedagogy,* 6.

In this way, the recovery of pedagogy by either Education or Rhetoric and Composition relies on the suppression of and devaluation of what came before, making the devaluation of pedagogy not incidental to but structurally constitutive of its meaning within university discourse over the course of its history. We can only defend "our" version of pedagogy by maligning its operation in other spaces.[279] While the function of pedagogy as a "marker of difference" between English and Rhetoric and Composition may have lost some ground, the sense of difference and attendant "suspicion, derision, and condescension"[280] with which English (including Writing Studies) has viewed Education persist, largely through our ongoing linking of Education with the professional, practical goals outlined by Salvatori. Unlike the much-rehearsed theory-practice split in English (particularly between literature and Rhetoric and Composition), this divide between education and Rhetoric and Composition is difficult to evidence because it most often manifests in omissions, gaps, silences, and lost opportunities. And it is justified and upheld by the institutional structure of many universities, where schools of Education have very few formal opportunities to interface with Rhetoric and Composition. Anecdotally, as late as 2009 I was advised by peer mentors to disavow my connections and commitments to K-12 education, which might be viewed as marking me as "unserious" about my field. And I don't believe those peer mentors to have been misinformed.

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[279] Paul K. Matsuda makes this point in relation to the terms "current-traditional" and "process" in our field, arguing that these are backformations that didn't represent practice so much as construct a difference against which we could posit change ("Process and Post-Process: A Discursive History," *Journal of Second Language Writing* 12 [2003]).

[280] Salvatori, *Pedagogy,* 6.

Bruce Horner, for one, acknowledges "that Composition has largely ignored the history of primary and secondary school teachers' efforts to improve their working conditions, despite the close relations between their work and that of Composition."[281] He explains this omission in terms of what I am calling the theory-practice sandwich:

> Of course, to admit those relations would risk Composition's further marginalization from the 'academy'--i.e., 'higher' education. Therefore, efforts are directed instead at demonstrating to the academy that Composition Practitioners produce knowledge according to professional academic disciplinary criteria, so that they will be judged to deserve, and will presumably receive, merit as members of a professional academic discipline. (380)

The avoidance of association with schoolteachers is readily extended to an avoidance of association with departments and schools of education. In this way, Patricia Donahue and Bianca Falbo, in "(The Teaching of) Reading and Writing in Lafayette College," explain the bracketing of teaching in their title not only in terms of the difficulty of inferring pedagogical practice from historical documents but also in recognition of the controversy surrounding the relationship between composition and teaching.[282] In terms of the latter point, the authors raise a spectral voice of compositionists who believe our field to be debased by teaching, which questions: "'Teaching? Sounds like *education*'" (39, emphasis original).

The devaluation of Education as a discipline even creeps into Joseph Harris's book-length defense of teaching, *Composition: A Teaching Subject*. Harris explains that "a newly disciplined generation of composition scholars now seek [sic] to distinguish

[281] Horner, "Traditions and Professionalization: Reconceiving Work in Composition," *College Composition and Communication* 51.3 (Feb 2000), 380.
[282] Donahue and Falbo, "(The Teaching of) Reading and Writing at Lafayette College," in *Local Histories: Reading the Archives of Composition,* edited by Patricia Donahue and Gretchen Flesher Moon (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007).

themselves from mere classroom practitioners."[283] He is clearly critical of this move, but his use of it as an example of how "academics routinely lay claim to expertise by denigrating the knowledge of nonspecialists or amateurs" (90) seems uncomfortably to border on calling classroom practitioners "amateurs." Even "nonspecialists" seems to assert a liberal-professional split that is not entirely recognizant of education as a discipline. In a similar way, Harris's description of Harvard educational scholar James Moffett notes his dissertation on Virginia Woolf, making the point that "Underlying what might seem the social science ed-school sort of discourse of his early work, then, were strong literary tastes and inclinations" (12). Here, the recognition of "literary tastes and inclinations" mitigates against the ascription of a clearly less-valued "ed-school sort of discourse."

Again, I do not want to criticize the positions of scholars like Harris, whom I believe to be a strong and sincere advocate of teaching and teachers; instead, I want to point to a limitation of the language available, after so many years of firmly entrenched dichotomies and devaluation of teaching at the university level. This problem has implications for the research we conduct and the histories we compose.

It would seem that even those of us dedicated to the value of pedagogy have been inadvertently complicit in its devaluation through our lack of attention to the often-silent signifier of Education and through our various disciplinary efforts to distinguish ourselves therefrom. In particular, historians of Rhetoric and Composition have been complicit in this devaluation in the ways we frame the significance of our histories of pedagogy and composition, our assumption of the stability and value of "college"

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[283] Harris, *A Teaching Subject: Composition Since 1966* (Upper Saddle River [NJ]: Prentice Hall, 1996), 90.

teaching and scholarship, and our acceptance of the imposed distance from and devaluation of the work of Education as a discipline. In each new "recovery" of disciplinary pasts and precursors, we are tacitly required to justify our historical interventions in terms of the existing disciplinary narratives, terms, and value systems—which justifications foreclose the value of other interventions.

For example, in her very important recovery of the history of normal schools for Rhetoric and Composition, Kathryn Fitzgerald expands the scope of our disciplinary inquiry to include normal schools without fundamentally challenging the disciplinary values and structures that excluded that history in the first place. She writes:

> [The complex history of normal schools] finally resulted in the political supremacy of liberal education over vocational/technical education, the intellectual dominance of research and theory over pedagogy and practice, and the marginalization of teacher education to schools of education in universities. Ironically, from the perspective of teacher education, normal schools themselves metamorphosed into state universities with their own ghettoized schools of education.[284]

What is framed as descriptive here also does prescriptive work, positing and reinforcing a series of identifications that, however historically accurate, are not challenged from a contemporary perspective. Indeed, challenging the field's focus on the college level and the dialectics that attend and uphold it was not Fitzgerald's project, and I do not fault her for the omission. Yet it is important to recognize that in valuing the work of normal schools before their evolution into liberal education institutions (a laudable project from my perspective), she simultaneously accepts the lack of value of education departments as they emerged. The current low value ascribed to Education is a given, a launching point from which she can make her intervention. As Horner explains, "There is a slippage

[284] Fitzgerald, "A Rediscovered Tradition: European Pedagogy and Composition in Nineteenth-Century Midwestern Normal Schools," *College Composition and Communication* 53.2 (2001), 227-28.

in the arguments underlying such derogation. The historical fact of the degradation of those involved in certain forms of 'low,' 'mechanical' work is taken as evidence that such work is inherently and fully alienating and degrading. The historical fact of the dominant commodification of skills used in such work is assumed to exhaust the full potential value of that work."[285] I am certainly not interested in accusing Fitzgerald of such assumptions, but rather want to point to the ways our acceptance of the low value and ghettoization of education may contribute to our own "legitimization crisis," constructing an "other" against whom we are constantly tasked with differentiating ourselves. Indeed, it is Fitzgerald's assertion of normal schools as comparable to colleges—*not* secondary schools—that leaves her open to the critique by Ryan Skinnell, addressed in the introduction to this project.[286] That is, both she and Skinnell take the divide between secondary and college education as more reliable a criterion than it is from the perspective of this project.

To put it another way, Fitzgerald's is a historical intervention from which I want to make a historiographic and disciplinary one: how reliable and useful are the criteria for legitimacy of histories for our field? What present and past material relations shape our presentation of history? How might the ways we justify inclusion of alternative histories make it harder to justify other histories and to change the status of pedagogy in the academy? In short, how might we, through our language and our ongoing devaluation of Education, reinforce the very origin stories and boundaries we are seeking to collapse?

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[285] Horner, "Traditions and Professionalization," 376.

[286] Skinnell, "Harvard, Again: Considering Articulation and Accreditation in Rhetoric and Composition's History" *Rhetoric Review* 33.2 (2014): 95-112.

By insisting on the association of normal schools with colleges rather than secondary schools (Fitzgerald), by justifying our interest in teaching (Donahue and Falbo), or by otherwise hedging our discussions of pedagogy with the assertion of difference from the field of Education or other signifiers of undertheorized teaching associated with an imagined past or unenlightened "practitioner" (against our self image as scholar-teacher), we may be reinscribing the devaluation of pedagogy and education in other spaces. As Paul K. Matsuda, quoting G. Pullman, has argued in reference to the terms "current-traditional" and "process," with Education we have done "little more than create a daemon for the sake of expelling it."[287]

For whatever complaints we might have about the institutional realities of departments and schools of Education, we cannot afford to be complicit in their ongoing "ghettoization," as it has implications not only for that discipline but for the entire enterprise and idea of pedagogy, and for our own histories.

The Historical High School: Challenging the English-Education Divide

The significance of the theory-practice sandwich for this particular project should be obvious. With my focus on high schools, I have had to justify this project as relevant to Rhetoric and Composition, which is differentiated from Education in part through its tacit interest in college rather than primary and secondary education. Again, though, this disciplinary distinction does more than draw neutral scholarly boundaries. Those boundaries are fraught and political, informed by the theory-practice sandwich. They are also untenable. As I outlined in my introduction and demonstrated throughout this

[287] Pullman, quoted in Matsuda, "Process and Post-Process," 70.

project, the distinctions among different institutional types and the disciplinary boundaries that coalesce around them are not reliable or particularly productive from a historical perspective. Examining local histories of writing instruction at the high school level allows us to complicate our sense of history and observe the ways educational theorists and teachers from the "lower schools" participated in and even predated the work of our discipline. The "before" of places like the Louisville schools helps us to read our disciplinary "beginnings" differently.

In their 2014 *RSQ* article, "Origin Stories and Dreams of Collaboration," Cara A. Finnegan and Melissa Lowe Wallace demonstrate the particular value of local histories in challenging origin stories and supporting interdisciplinary connections, presenting the local history of collaboration between scholars and departments at one institution to complicate the narrative of "divorce" between Rhetoric and Composition and Communication: "The study of a local example like the one we offer here," they argue, "mitigates a tendency to house the history of U.S. rhetorical studies in a study of its journals and disciplinary associations."[288] Historical work that focuses on the "disciplinary archive," as such, "not surprisingly tends to be more invested in engagement with disciplinary causes and effects than with other potential influences," like the local interests, commitments, and relations of faculty (421).

The sense of detachment between English Education and Rhetoric and Composition that is marked by their different journals and disciplinary identities is similarly challenged by attention to local histories of pedagogical theory-building and

[288] Finnegan and Wallace, "Origin Stories and Dreams of Collaboration: Rethinking Histories of the Communication Course and the Relationships Between English and Speech" *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 44.5 (2014), 421.

practice. In short, local histories help to push at the boundaries of disciplinary archives to allow "other potential influences" on educational practices and values to emerge.

Prior to the articulation of disciplinary organizations and clearly differentiated academic levels that have come to shape and define our inquiries, then, it makes a great deal of sense to look instead to local histories to see how education was proceeding, to attend to the diffuse and decentralized educational and intellectual work being done. Particularly prior to the era of university program-building and elaboration of disciplinary associations at the end of the nineteenth century, as discussed by Salvatori, the educational landscape was more open, making the very constitution of a "disciplinary archive" from this time difficult to pin down. Yet we too often rely on "university"-level histories and figures as our criteria for relevance, in part due to the liberal-professional divide described by Salvatori.

The work of William N. Hailmann and the New Education discussed in Chapter Two serves as a case in point. Hailmann and his contemporaries promoted an interest in student-centered learning (through adulthood) that has been largely lost to the history of Rhetoric and Composition because of the theory-practice sandwich discussed above, despite attempts to recover it by Fitzgerald and Lucille Schultz. The fact that Hailmann and the New Education came to be associated most closely with modern notions of the Kindergarten movement can partially explain why he would be disregarded by Rhetoric and Composition scholars. Perhaps more importantly, the location of these theorists outside the structure of the university makes them unlikely forebears for a field anxious about legitimizing itself as a scholarly university discipline. Given the force of the liberal-professional split, the taint of practice seems *necessarily* to mark all educational

theorists before the development of education as a university discipline. Those educational theorists we do import, like John Dewey or Paulo Freire, we claim as theorists, not pedagogues or practitioners; we associate them with the liberal, not the professional. While we might integrate the rhetorical-pedagogical work of extra-curricular and community sites and figures, such as those represented in Jessica Enoch's research on the rhetorical instruction of women teaching African America, Native American, and Chicano/a students in alternative spaces or in Anne Ruggles Gere's work on women's clubs, we draw a strangely reliable line at "secondary" schooling.

My point is not that we should cite Hailmann in our disciplinary histories, or even Pestalozzi, Froebel or other figures in the European tradition of pedagogy discussed in Chapter Two. Instead, I want to raise the question of whom we do cite, and why—to question the constitution of our disciplinary archive and the assumptions that underlie it. I want to challenge the seemingly obvious boundaries between secondary and college, between practitioner and scholar, that underlie much of our work, and to open more lines of communication between histories of Education and Rhetoric and Composition.

Beyond being historically unsound, the disciplinary boundaries forged around the secondary-college divide are not productive from an advocacy perspective. In light of current educational reform debates, various scholars in our field have expressed interest in forging interdisciplinary connections in order to combat the corporatization of education. In this way, Keith Gilyard argues for the importance of connecting K-12 and college writing teachers in our policy discussions.[289] Heidi Estrem has similarly

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[289] Gilyard, "Getting It Together: Notes toward a Shared Future for NCTE and CCCC" *College Composition and Communication* 62.3 (2011): 539-549.

advocated stronger ties between English Education and Rhetoric and Composition in graduate education.[290] Scholars like Linda Adler-Kassner and others looking at the Common Core Standards, threshold concepts, dual-enrollment and other hot-button issues in Education that concern Rhetoric and Composition increasingly bridge the divide between Education and our field. The 2013 Mt. Oread Manifesto in *RSQ* makes a related case by proposing "an integrated curriculum in rhetorical education to replace separate introductory courses in communication and first-year composition in order to develop citizen participants, not simply future employees or literate students" along with an affirmation of pedagogy as "a respected area of scholarship."[291] (3).

As we continue to hone, expand, shift and otherwise morph our disciplinary identity and institutional location, particularly as we move into interdisciplinary centers of general education or writing across the curriculum, and as we seek to make connections to K-12 educational discourse, it becomes increasingly untenable to disavow our connection to schools of education and their histories. Local histories can help us to complicate such divides and celebrate the messiness of our overlapping histories and beginnings. Beyond the specific story of Louisville's high schools that I have constructed here, then, I hope to contribute to this project of boundary-crossing and alliance-building in liberal education and higher learning, writ large. Again, the establishment of "beginnings" for both Rhetoric and Composition and departments of education has entailed the "assertion of difference where difference was not apparent before." I hope to have made that difference less apparent once more.

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[290] Estrem, "Making Pedagogy our Business: Strengthening the Ties between English Education and Composition-Rhetoric" in *Academic Cultures: Professional preparation and the Teaching Life,* edited by Sean P. Murphy (New York: MLA, 2008): 221-234.
[291] "The Mt. Oread Manifesto on Rhetorical Education 2013," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 44.1 (2014): 1-5.

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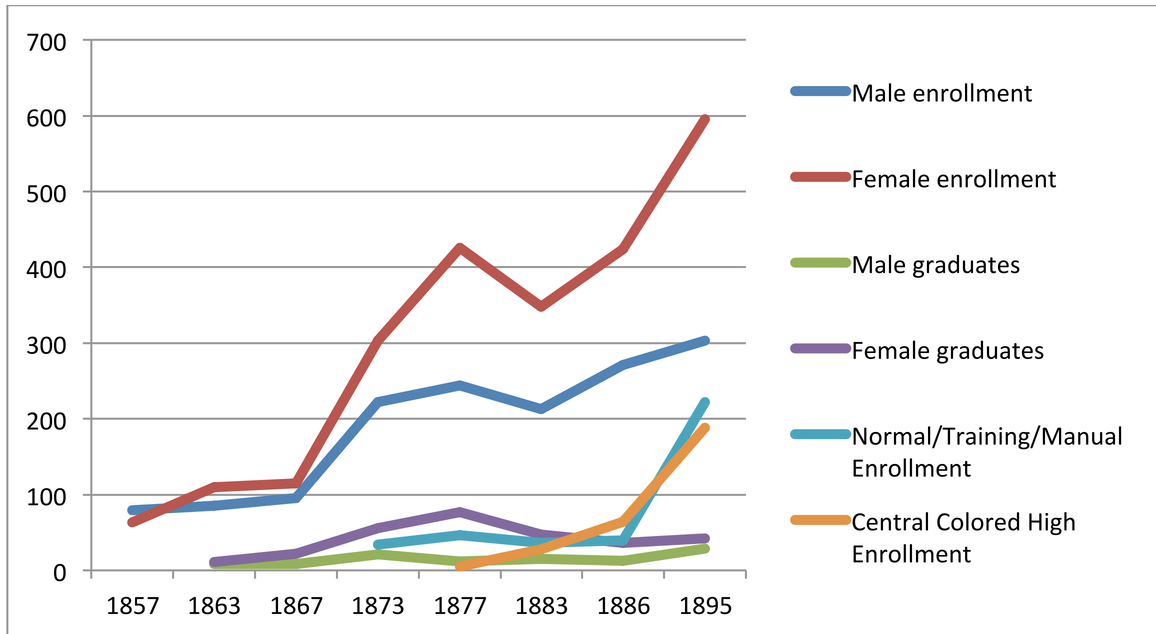
APPENDICES

Comparison Table for 1863 and 1895

	1862-63	**1894-95**
Total population of school-age children	Approx. 16,200 (as of 1860)	Approx. 202,968
Number enrolled in ward and high schools	4,610	25,617
Total number enrolled at Male	90	303
--Graduates	8	29
Total number enrolled at Female	120	595
--Graduates	11	42

Enrollment and Graduation Trends



Periodic Sampling of Enrollment and Graduation Figures

1857

	Number enrolled	Number of graduates
Male High School	79	n/a
Female High School	63	n/a
Ward Schools	3230	n/a

1863

	Number enrolled	Number of graduates
Male High School	85	8 (4 BA, 4 BS)
Female High School	110	11
Ward Schools	4415	n/a

1867

	Number enrolled	Number of graduates
Male High School	95	8 (all BA)
Female High School	115	22
Ward Schools	7708	n/a

1873

	Number enrolled	Number of graduates
Male High School	222	21 (6 AB & 15 certificates)
Female High School	303	56
Training School	34	22
Ward Schools	13,726	n/a
Colored Schools	633	n/a

1877

	Number enrolled	Number of graduates
Male High School	244 enrolled	12
Female High School	426	77
Ward Schools	14826	n/a
Training	46	n/a
Colored “A Grade”	5	n/a
Total Colored	2944	n/a

1883

	Number enrolled	Number of graduates
Male High School	213 (enrolled)	15
Female High School	348	47
Normal Class	36	n/a
Ward schools	13789	n/a
Colored schools (28 High Colored)	3745	n/a
Night Schools	1539	n/a

1886

	Number enrolled	Number of graduates
Male High School	271 (enrolled)	13
Female High School	424	36
Normal Class	40	n/a
Ward Schools	16,355	n/a
Colored High School	64	n/a
Colored Ward Schools	3,830	n/a

1895

	Number enrolled	Number of graduates
Male High School	303 enrolled	29
Female High School	595	42
Manual High School	222	24
Colored High School	188	23*

Sources: "Louisville Girls High School 50th Anniversary" Pamphlet in Filson Historical Society Library; Annual School Board Reports.

*Number of graduates for Colored High School not listed in report. Number derived by subtracting Male, Female, and Manual graduates from number of total graduates provided by superintendent. Female figure only includes diplomas, not certificates, which may affect Colored graduation numbers.

CURRICULUM VITA

AMY J. LUECK
DOCTORAL FELLOW IN RHETORIC AND COMPOSITION
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
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315 BINGHAM HUMANITIES
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EDUCATION

Ph.D., Rhetoric and Composition, University of Louisville May 2015
Dissertation: "A Polished, Practical, or Profound Education: (Gendered) Literacies and Higher Learning in Louisville's First Free Public High Schools, 1856-1896"
Committee: Karen Kopelson and Susan Ryan (co-directors); Bruce Horner; Mary P. Sheridan; and Jessica Enoch

M.A., Literature, University of Pittsburgh 2010
Certificate: Composition, Rhetoric, Literacy and Pedagogy
Advisor: Jean Ferguson Carr

MAT courses in K-8 Education, **University of Memphis** 2006-2007
12 hours of coursework in Education

B.A., Loyola University Chicago 2006
Magna cum laude, University and Departmental honors, Phi Beta Kappa
Major: English with a Concentration in Creative Writing
Minors: Journalism and Women's Studies
Study Abroad: University College Cork, Cork, Ireland (Spring 2004)

PUBLICATIONS

Refereed Journal Articles
"'A Maturity of Thought Very Rare in Young Girls': Women's Public Engagement in Nineteenth-Century High School Commencement Essays." *Rhetoric Review* 34.2 (2015): 129-146. Print.

"The Historical In/As Responsive" (Response). *JAC* 34.1-2 (2014). Print.

"Writing a Translingual Script: Closed Captions in the English Multilingual Hearing Classroom." *Kairos* 17.3 (2013). Web design by Shyam Sharma. Web.

"Writing without Sound: Language Politics in Closed Captioning." *Currents in Electronic Literacy* (Spring 2011). Web.

"Disciplinary Resistance: Promoting Possibility for the Writing Program" (Response). *JAC* 32.3-4 (2012): 751-58. Print.

Book Chapters

With Megan J. Bardolph. "Informal Writing and the Design of Academic Conferences." *Economies of Writing: Revaluations in Rhetoric and Composition.* Eds. Bruce Horner, Susan Ryan and Brice Nordquist. Forthcoming. Print.

"'Several Sigourneys': Circulation, Reprint Culture, and Lydia Sigourney's Prose." *Reconsidering Sigourney: Essays on Lydia Sigourney.* Eds. Elizabeth Petrino and Mary Lou Kete. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. Forthcoming. Print.

With Beth Boehm. "Graduate Student Peer Mentoring Programs: Benefitting Students, Faculty and Academic Programs." *The Mentoring Continuum: From Graduate School Through Tenure.* Ed. Glenn Wright. Syracuse: Graduate School Press [Syracuse University Press]. Forthcoming. Print.

Other Publications

"Available Technologies for Changing Student Needs: Using Technology to Reach Graduate Students on our Campuses." *Technology in Student Affairs* (Summer 2013). Web.

"Something Seems Terribly Wrong with my 20s" in "Classroom Confidential." Ed. John Branston. *Memphis Flyer* 14 Dec 2006: A1. Print. (Creative nonfiction teaching narrative for cover feature)

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

"'A Prominent Factor in the Life of the Community': The Public Work of High Schools in the Nineteenth Century." Thomas R. Watson Conference. Louisville, Kentucky. October 16-18, 2014.

"'The Difference' in Graduate Mentorship: Groups, Diversity and Interdisciplinarity." UNM Mentoring Conference. Albuquerque, New Mexico. October 21-24, 2014.

"A Master's Degree from High School?: Revisiting the Institutional Identities of High Schools, Colleges, and Universities in the Nineteenth Century." Rhetoric Society of America. San Antonio, Texas. May 22-26, 2014.

"The Mind and Body of Higher Learning: Tracing the Institutional Location of (Gendered) Manual Training in Nineteenth-Century High Schools." Conference on College Composition and Communication. Indianapolis, Indiana. March 19-22, 2014.

"Participatory Engagement and the Production of Knowledge at Academic Conferences." Writing Research Across Borders II. Paris, France. February 18-22, 2014.

"Faculty of the Future: Voices from the Next Generation." American Association of Colleges and Universities. Washington, D.C. January 22-25, 2014.

"Increasing Disciplinary Connections, Decreasing Time to Degree: A Consideration of Time to Degree in Relation to Interdisciplinary Research." Modern Language Association. Chicago, Illinois. January 9-12, 2014.

"Writing a Translingual Script: Closed Captions in the English Monolingual Hearing Classroom." Conference on College Composition and Communication. Las Vegas, Nevada. March 14-16, 2013.

"The Rhetorical Function (and Limitations) of Efficiency in Our Disciplinary Discourse and Practice." Thomas R. Watson Conference. Louisville, Kentucky. October 18-20, 2012.

"Re/framing Gender through American School Books." Rhetoric Society of America. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. May 26-28, 2012.

"Technology FOR Effective Teaching: Application of the TPACK Model in the Composition Classroom." Digital Pedagogy Poster presentation with Shyam Sharma. Conference on College Composition and Communication. St. Louis, Missouri. March 22-24, 2012.

"Graduate Student Mentoring: Practices and Possibilities." American College Personnel Association. Louisville, Kentucky. March 25-27, 2012.

"Rethinking Expediency in FYC: Using Closed Captioning to Interrogate Language Politics." Penn State Rhetoric Conference. University Park, Pennsylvania. July 9-11, 2011.

"Closed Captioning as Translation: Beyond English Only." Indiana University Graduate Conference. Bloomington, Indiana. March 22-24, 2011.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

University of Louisville 2011-2014

ENG101: Introduction to College Writing
ENG102: Intermediate College Writing (Two Sections)
ENG105: Advanced College Writing for Freshmen
ENG306: Business Writing (Honors)
ENG311: American Literature I: Beginnings to 1865

Other Teaching/Tutoring Experience

Technology Resource Instructor — 2012
2012 Celebration of Teaching and Learning
University of Louisville

Writing Center Tutor — 2008- 2010
Student Athlete Advising and Academic Services
University of Pittsburgh

SAT Verbal and Writing Tutor — 2008-2010
Kaplan Test Preparation
Pittsburgh, PA

Writing Teacher — 2009
Young Writers' Institute
University of Pittsburgh

Fourth Grade Teacher — 2006-2008
Teach For America*Memphis
Peabody Elementary School
Memphis, TN

English Language Tutor for Adult Learners — 2004-2006
Loyola Community Literacy Center
Loyola University Chicago

RESEARCH AND ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANTSHIPS

Research Assistant for PLAN Professional Development program — 2011-2014
Beth Boehm, Dean, School of Interdisciplinary and Graduate Studies
University of Louisville

- Assisted in the research and implementation of professional development programming for graduate students
- Created content and design for UofL's MentorCenter website dedicated to resources to support peer and faculty mentoring
- Established and maintained cross-disciplinary connections with multiple university and community stakeholders

Assistant Director — 2012-2013
2012 Thomas R. Watson Conference
University of Louisville

Archival Research Assistant — 2010-11, 2013-14
Susan M. Ryan, *The Moral Economies of American Authorship: 1830-1870*
University of Louisville

Awards/Honors

Guy Stevenson Award for Excellence in Graduate Studies 2015
School of Interdisciplinary and Graduate Studies
University of Louisville

K. Patricia Cross Future Leaders Award 2014
American Association of Colleges and Universities (AAC&U)

Carolyn Krause Maddox Prize for best graduate paper ($400) 2014
Paper title: "'The Flower of Democracy': Women's Rhetorical and Professional Opportunities at Louisville Female High School"
Women's and Gender Studies Department
University of Louisville

CSGS/ETS Grant Recipient ($2500) 2014
Award for Innovations in Graduate Education from Admissions to Completion
Proposal title: "Alternative Academics and Scholars in the Workplace: Preparing Graduate Students for Diverse Career Options at the University of Louisville"
Council of Southern Graduate Schools/Educational Testing Services

Outstanding Contributions to Graduate Education by a Graduate Student award 2014
School of Interdisciplinary and Graduate Studies
University of Louisville

M. Celeste Nichols Professional Development Award ($500) 2013
Women's Center
University of Louisville

Mary Craik Scholarship for Women Students ($4400) 2013-2014
Competitive Essay-Based Award
University of Louisville

First Place ($250) in national graduate student manuscript competition 2013
Paper title: "Available Technologies for Changing Student Needs: Using Technology to Reach Graduate Students on our Campuses"
Technology in Student Affairs

Grant Recipient for *Peabody Press* Student Newspaper Club ($300) 2007
Junior League of Memphis

Gerrietts Prize for Excellence in Creative Writing 2006
Loyola University Chicago

Service

Service to the Profession

Executive Committee Conference on College Composition and Communication (CCCC)	2014-Present
Co-Founder and Member (Chair 2012-2013) Rhetoric Society of America (RSA) Student Chapter University of Louisville	2011-Present

Service to the University

Student Ambassador School of Interdisciplinary and Graduate Studies University of Louisville	2014-2015
Presidential Appointment to the Commission on the Status of Women University of Louisville	2012-2015
Integration of Work and Family Committee University of Louisville	2012-2015
2014 Celebration of Teaching and Learning Steering Committee University of Louisville	2013-2014
Student Standing Committee 21st Century Initiative University of Louisville	2013-2014
Core Committee on Academic and Research Priorities 21st Century Initiative University of Louisville	2012-2014
Vice President Graduate Student Council University of Louisville	2012-2013
Academic Policy Board University of Louisville	2012-2013
Ad Hoc Faculty/Student Workgroup on Online Evaluations University of Louisville	2012-2013
Senator Student Government Association University of Louisville	2011-2013
Information/Technology Chair Graduate Student Council University of Louisville	2011-2012

Service to the Department

Invited presenter: Networking workshop — 2014
English Graduate Organization
University of Louisville

Treasurer — 2013-2014
English Graduate Organization
University of Louisville

Peer Mentoring Coordinator — 2013-2014
Founder of Mentoring Program for Master's students
English Department
University of Louisville

Peer Mentor — 2011-2014
English Department
University of Louisville

Graduate Student Representative — 2011-2012
English Department Faculty Senate
University of Louisville

Graduate Student Representative — 2010-2011
Faculty Graduate Committee
University of Louisville

Host/Coordinator — 2009-2010
Pitt MFA Reading Series
University of Pittsburgh

Executive Board Member — 2008-2009
Graduate Student Organization
University of Pittsburgh

Community-based and Other Service

Volunteer History Instructor — Summer 2013
Louisville Gentleman's Academy for At-Risk Youth

Co-founder and Non-Fiction Editor — 2010-2014
Flywheel Magazine

Founder and Sponsor Teacher — 2007-2008
Peabody Press, Student Newspaper
Peabody Elementary School

Intensive Writing Workshop Instructor for 5th Grade Students — 2007-2008
Peabody Elementary School

Contributing Writer/Community Relations for Peabody Elementary — 2006-2008
Cooper-Young Lamplighter and *MCS Insider* publications

Editor-In-Chief — 2005-2006
Diminuendo Magazine- Quarterly Literary Magazine
Loyola University Chicago

WORKSHOPS DESIGNED AND CONDUCTED

Be Searchable: Online Professional Portfolios
Peer mentoring workshop series
Women in Academe panel (for faculty and graduate students)
Graduate Student Leadership panel
Teaching with Technology
Technology for Professional Development
International Student Academic Orientation
Mentoring Workshops (for faculty and graduate students)
Mentoring Learning Community (for faculty and graduate students)
Women in Leadership panel (for faculty and graduate students)

TEACHING/RESEARCH AREAS

Histories of Rhetoric and Writing Instruction
Graduate Student Education and Mentorship
Translingualism and Theories of Language Difference
Nineteenth-Century Literature
Women's Literature
Archival Methods
Composition Theories

TECHNOLOGY EXPERIENCE

Designed and maintained the UofL School of Interdisciplinary and Graduate Studies' PLAN and MentorCenter websites
Created multiple educational and scholarly videos, including a video for UofL graduate admissions and a series of videos on mentoring
Proficient in teaching with technology and facilitating student multimodal projects
Experience with web page development (Plone, Dreamweaver, HTML)

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Rhetoric Society of America- University of Louisville Student Chapter (Founding Member)

College Composition and Communication Connected Community
Coalition of Women Scholars in the History of Rhetoric and Composition
National Council of Teachers of English
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