STUDENT SPEAKING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, 1841 - 1884

by
Marvin Leonel Esch

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the
University of Michigan
1958

Committee in charge:

Professor William M. Sattler, Chairman
Assistant Professor F. Clever Bald
Professor W. Robert Dixon
Associate Professor N. Edd Miller
Assistant Professor L. LaMont Okey

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In November, 1884 Thomas Clarkson Trueblood came to the University of Michigan in the capacity of an itinerant elocutionist. Since his work as a teacher of elocution was well received by students, he was invited to join the staff of the Literary College where he taught courses in elocution and oratory. In 1888 he was appointed Assistant Professor of Elocution and Oratory, and in 1893 became Professor and Chairman of the newly created Department of Elocution and Oratory. This department was the first separate "Department of Speech" to be created by a major American university.[1]

While Elizabeth M. Farrand in her History of the University of Michigan, published in 1885, points out that the study of elocution and oratory "has always been neglected at the University,"[2] students did engage in speech activities during the 1841-1884 period. Wilfred B. Shaw, for example, although he agrees with Farrand, stated:

> . . . if the powers that be were slow to recognize the desire of the students for instruction in public speaking, there were many more or less unofficial avenues for

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[1]Loren LaMont Okey, "A Descriptive Biographical Study of Thomas Clarkson Trueblood" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Speech, University of Michigan, 1951), p. 177.

[2]Elizabeth M. Farrand, History of the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor: Register Publishing House, 1885), p. 56.

> those who wished to give vent to their oratorical impulses. Two escape valves existed almost from the first: the old literary societies, and class exhibitions and Commencement programs.[1]

Furthermore, some teachers of English incorporated phases of public speaking instruction in their courses. In brief, then, the creation of a new department at the University should not be construed to mean that no public speaking training was previously provided.

In addition to the fused program of English and speech which at times was evident in English classes, student initiative and faculty action provided for speaking experiences for University of Michigan students. Non-classroom speaking experiences were provided by literary and debating societies, by the class exhibitions, and by the Commencement and Class Day exercises.

Purposes of the Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the speaking activity of the undergraduate students within the Literary College from 1841 through 1884. Little is known concerning the nature of speech work before Professor Trueblood's arrival, and thus this study fills a gap in the history of speech education in the University. At the same time, the study will supplement writings completed in the area of speech education in America. The information provided will also reveal some of the views of students and philosophies of the period, and

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[1]Wilfred B. Shaw, The University of Michigan (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920), p. 218.

in some measure add to the current knowledge of the early campus environment. The specific areas of investigation include the following:

(1) Extra-curricular activities. University of Michigan students in the 1841-1885 period engaged in speech activities through the programs of the literary and debating societies. This study will provide a survey of the activities of these societies, the nature of the speaking exercises, the topics used, and information concerning the speaking situation. In addition, the materials given will show evidences of student interest or lack of interest in these societies. The historical reporting in a time sequence manner will also reveal various stages in the growth and popularity of literary societies, including the "decline" of these student organizations.

(2) Co-curricular activities. Undergraduate students in the period under investigation participated in public speaking exercises sponsored by various classes, and in Commencement and Class Day programs. In some respects, and to varying degrees, these speaking programs were subjected to faculty influence. As with extra-curricular public speaking, this study traces the history of speaking activities of a co-curricular nature.

(3) Formal training in public speaking. As indicated earlier, public speaking found a place in some departmental curricula, often because of the interest of a particular professor. Materials to be investigated include theories of speech, textbooks used, pressures toward elocutionary training, and the lack of a continuing program in public speaking.

Scope of the Study

This investigation is limited to the period from 1841 through 1884. The University traces its origin to 1817 in Detroit where the Catholepistemiad, or University of Michigania, was established. The University under the State of Michigan came into existence in 1837, when the first Board of Regents meeting was held. It should be noted, however, that while there were many branch schools of the University in the southern part of the state, the campus in Ann Arbor did not open until the fall of 1841. Thus this study begins at that date, both because of the limitation of extant materials and because of the lack of significance of the early period.

It has been noted earlier that in the fall of 1884 Professor Thomas Clarkson Trueblood, who was then an itinerant elocutionist, arrived to teach a course in elocution. The year 1884 is therefore a justifiable date on which to conclude this current investigation, since the arrival of Trueblood marks the beginning of the modern era of speech training at the University of Michigan.

This investigation is also limited in two other ways: (1) to the undergraduate student activity of the Literary College, and (2) to the training and activity in public speaking as opposed to the broad general area of rhetorical training or the more specialized area of drama.

Although there was speech activity within the literary and debating societies of the Medical and Law Schools, this investigation is limited to the study of the Literary College.

Furthermore, only the curriculum and experiences in public speaking are analyzed. Studies in the field of speech education by Warren A. Guthrie[1] and Harold Jordan[2] encompass the field of rhetoric and include analysis of both oral and written communication. This study, in contrast, is limited to the oral aspects only.

Materials Utilized

The major source of materials for this study has been the primary materials found in the Michigan Historical Collections and in the University of Michigan libraries. The specific types of materials used in the investigation are here identified.

Primary Materials

Manuscripts of the Historical Collections

Of prime significance are sixteen volumnes of minutes of the three major literary and debating societies encompassing the years from 1841 through 1883.[3] The minutes not only furnish a valuable indication of the nature of the literary societies, but also give insight into the topics debated and presented in orations. They likewise depict the extent of the

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[1]Warren A. Guthrie, "The Development of Rhetorical Theory in America, 1635-1850" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, School of Speech, Northwestern University, 1940).

[2]Harold Jordan, "Rhetorical Education in American Colleges and Universities, 1850-1915" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, School of Speech, Northwestern University, 1952).

[3]Minutes of the Literary Societies, MSS, Michigan Historical Collections. The final meeting up to 1885 recorded in the minutes was December 7, 1883.

speech criticism which the students received. Additional manuscript materials found in the Historical Collections include the student "publications" of two of the three societies, The Sybil, and The Hesperian. [1] These "publications" were copied in long hand by the student editors of the societies. Although they are sporadic in their publication, their editorials frequently furnish valuable information concerning some of the problems faced by the literary societies.

Official Publications of the University

Official University of Michigan publications used in this study include the annual reports from the Board of Regents' meetings, the course catalogues of the University of Michigan from 1841 through 1884, and the annual reports of the President of the University of Michigan. The Board of Regents' reports identify the appointments of the various faculty members in the areas related to speech, and also include materials dealing with the policy followed in Commencement programs and Class Day exercises. The course catalogues of the University provide a brief description of curricular development, while the annual report of the president combined with the "Report of the Faculty to the President" present a more thorough description of some aspects of the curriculum.

Printed Materials (Commencement and Exhibition Programs)

The Historical Collections furnish a nearly complete

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[1] The Sybil, The Hesperian, MSS, Michigan Historical Collections. The Castalia, "published" by Phi Phi Alpha, is not available.

set of the class exhibition programs and the Commencement programs of the period under study. They supply not only a valuable source for the understanding of the topics presented but also give the dates of the events. These references made it possible readily to gain further information through study in the contemporary newspapers.

Class Histories Found in the Historical Collections

The class histories frequently provide reviews of the class exhibitions, the Class Day exercises and the Commencement programs.

The Student Publications

There were no student publications of note at the University until 1867. The Michigan University Magazine was published monthly from 1867 through 1869, while The University Chronicle[1] was usually printed bi-weekly from 1867 through 1890. The Michigan Argonaut was published bi-weekly and weekly from 1882 through 1890. These student publications are of prime significance in furnishing the reviewer with an understanding of the speaking activity at the University after 1867. They contain not only reviews of the literary society meetings, the class exhibitions, and Commencement programs, but they also present many interesting editorials and articles concerning the training or lack of training in elocution provided at the University during the period. They may be found in the

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[1]The title of the paper varies. After September 29, 1869, the publication was named The Chronicle.

University of Michigan Library.

The Detroit Newspapers

Reporters from the Detroit newspapers, especially The Detroit Free Press, frequently visited the campus on the days of class exhibitions and Commencements and reviewed the speaking programs at some length. Although the papers do not cover the events every year, their contribution has been useful. These articles give descriptions of the occasion and the audience together with evaluations of the quality of the speaking programs.

Contemporary Textbooks

The textbooks utilized in classes during the period 1841-1885 furnish the reader with a better understanding of the nature of the curriculum. With few exceptions, they may be found in the University of Michigan Library. Of special importance is a text by Erastus O. Haven,[1] who was one of the early teachers of speech at the University of Michigan, and who later became president of the institution.

Secondary Materials

Three general sources of secondary materials have been used in this investigation: the articles found in The Michigan Alumnus, the general histories of the University of Michigan, and the related studies in the area of speech education.

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[1]Erastus O. Haven, Rhetoric (Boston: Harper and Brothers, 1869).

Michigan Alumnus

The Michigan Alumnus[1] has at times featured articles concerning the early history of the University of Michigan. Included in these works are excerpts from student letters, papers, and diaries which describe the status of speech activities during some of the years of the 1841-1884 period.

General Histories of the University of Michigan

The writings of Wilfred B. Shaw[2], and Burke A. Hinsdale[3] are excellent general histories of the University of Michigan. They provide background material concerning the nature of the administration, the curriculum, and the student life of the era. These two authors, however, cover the area of speaking very briefly. It is Elizabeth M. Farrand[4] and Edwin Humphrey[5] who present the best descriptions of student activities in the literary societies, class exhibitions and Commencement programs at the University of Michigan.

Related Studies

Although today no study has been completed which

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[1]The Michigan Alumnus was published from 1894 to 1934. In 1934 the publication was divided, the Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review becoming the literary publication, the Michigan Alumnus presenting the news of the institution.

[2]Shaw, op. cit.

[3]Burke A. Hinsdale, A History of the University of Michigan, ed. by Isaac Demmon (Ann Arbor: The University Press, 1906).

[4]Farrand, op. cit.

[5]Edwin Humphrey, The Michigan Book (Ann Arbor: Inland Press, 1898).

presents a detailed description of the early speech activity at one particular college, there has been of late increasing emphasis placed on research and history of speech education in America. Among the more important studies are: William P. Sandford, "English Theories of Public Address, 1530-1828"[1]; Harold F. Harding, "English Rhetorical Theory, 1750-1800"[2]; and Warren A. Guthrie, "The Development of Rhetorical Theory in America, 1635-1850."[3] They present valuable contributions which survey the foundations of rhetorical theory in America. The former two stress theories of public address found in England up to the nineteenth century, while Guthrie surveys rhetorical theory and elouction in the United States. He defines rhetoric as the art of communication, oral and written, and shows the influence of Hugh Blair, George Campbell, and Richard Whately on the early college curriculum.

A comparative study was completed by Harold Jordan on "Rhetorical Education in American Colleges and Universities, 1850-1915."[4] In this work Jordan traces the training which was carried on in rhetoric (rhetoric being both oral and written communication) during the period. Major emphasis is placed on a survey of the textbooks used at the sixty-six colleges

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[1]William P. Sanford, "English Theories of Public Address, 1530-1828" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Speech, Ohio State University, 1929).

[2]Harold F. Harding, "English Rhetorical Theory, 1750-1800" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Speech, Cornell University, 1928).

[3]Guthrie, op. cit.

[4]Jordan, op. cit.

and universities investigated, on the organization of speech departments within the various universities, and on the extra-curricular activity found in the institutions. His study showed that there was little training in elocution during the early years of the period, apart from the rhetorical exercises, the informal extra-curricular activities of the literary societies, the public exhibitions, and the Commencement programs.

David Potter's Debating in the Colonial Chartered Colleges[1] is a significant related work which investigates the extra-curricular as well as the curricular aspects of speech training. In his work Potter traces the practices in debating from 1642 to 1900, focusing attention on four major types: (1) The Syllogistic Disputation, (2) The Forensic Disputation, (3) The Literary and Debating Society, and (4) Intercollegiate Debating.

The investigation by Loren LaMont Okey titled "A Descriptive Biographical Study of Thomas Clarkson Trueblood"[2] has also been useful in this study. While the present study covers a period prior to the Trueblood era, the investigation by Okey was helpful because it gave an indication of the nature of speech programs at the University of Michigan after 1884.

Design of the Study

This study is divided into seven chapters and an

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[1]David Potter, Debating in Colonial Chartered Colleges ("Columbia University Contributions to Education"; New York: Columbia University, 1944).

[2]Okey, op. cit.

appendix of four parts. After this introductory chapter and a chapter tracing the general history of the University of Michigan during the period, the work is divided into four major sections, each of which describes a particular opportunity afforded the student for experience and training in public speaking. A concluding chapter which summarizes the investigation is presented.

Chapter II presents a general history of the University of Michigan from 1841 through 1885. It investigates the changing nature of the student at the University, the expanding enrollment and curriculum, and the major administrative policies found during these years. It furnishes a background for the more specialized analysis which follows.

Chapter III investigates the speaking within the literary societies of the University. It presents a brief history of the major groups and a description of their activities. It describes the topics presented and the nature of the speaking found within these groups.

Chapter IV, "Student Speaking in the Class Exhibitions," and Chapter V, "Student Speaking in the Commencement Exercises," are companion chapters. They describe the development and decline of each of these related areas, the audience and occasion which the students faced, the selection procedures and preparation of student speakers, and the topics used in the speeches. They also include available information concerning the performance of students at the class exhibitions and in the Commencement programs.

Chapter VI deals with the rhetorical exercises and curricular training in speech. It lists the professors who were appointed to the area of rhetoric and English and describes the courses they taught which pertained to speech. The textbooks utilized in the courses are described. In addition, this chapter identifies the opinions of some members of the student body and faculty which favored more training in speech in the University during the 1870's and 1880's.

The Appendix provides the reader with lists of the speakers, and the topics used in class exhibitions and Commencement exercises at the University of Michigan. It also includes copies of two of the few extant speeches of the period: a prize debate speech from a literary society of 1868, and a copy of the Class Day oration presented in 1871.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN--1841 TO 1884

The purpose of this chapter is to survey and describe the general environment and background of the University which form the setting for the speech training and activities of the period under study. In part what will be reported is based upon histories of the University of Michigan, and especially the writings of Burke A. Hinsdale[1] and Wilfred B. Shaw[2]. The University of Michigan, An Encyclopedic Survey,[3] undertaken in 1937 as part of the celebration of the first hundred years of the University, has also served as a useful source. This chapter is not designed to reproduce materials from these works except insofar as these sources, and others, help to depict the University environment and provide the setting for the speaking activities of students.

The present chapter investigates the development of the University under the various administrations, outlines the curriculum to be found during the time, and briefly describes the everchanging pattern of student life as the University moved from an enrollment of seven students in 1841

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[1]Hinsdale, op. cit.

[2]Shaw, op. cit.

[3]The University of Michigan, An Encyclopedic Survey (Ann Arbor: Published by the University, 1941).

to over 1,200 in 1884.

The Development of the University Under the Various Presidents

The Development of the University in the Early Period

The University of Michigan claims its founding in 1817 in Detroit, when presiding Judge Augustus B. Woodward drew up a bill establishing the Catholepistemiad, or the University of Michigania for the territory. Through this act a primary school and a classical academy were established in Detroit. The real inception of the present institution, however, had its origin in a statute of March 18, 1837, shortly after Michigan had become a state. In the period from 1837-1841 branches and preparatory schools were established in the southern part of the state. During this time the Ann Arbor campus was being readied for opening in September of 1841. The first Board of Regents' meeting was held in Ann Arbor on June 5, 1837, with a Board composed of twelve members appointed by the governor and six ex officio members. Historians have noted that although the men were capable in their own areas, most of them were primarily concerned with politics and few had any background in school administration.[1]

Two faculty members met the six students who enrolled at the University at Ann Arbor in the fall of 1841. The faculty were the Rev. George Palmer Williams, who taught mathematics and natural science, and the Rev. Joseph Whiting, who

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[1]The University of Michigan, An Encyclopedic Survey, I (Ann Arbor: Published by the University, 1941), 26.

was the Professor of Greek and Latin Languages.[1]

The Board of Regents of the University continued to be appointed until 1850, when the present system, that of electing the Regents, was put into effect under the Constitution of 1850. The same law required that the Board of Regents should elect a President of the University who would be the principal executive officer of the institution.[2] Prior to this time the Regents had proposed the appointment of a Chancellor for the University, but none had been appointed. The early practice was to make each professor in turn president or principal for one year.

Tappan Administration

Henry Philip Tappan was inaugurated as the first President of the University in 1852. He served as president until June, 1863 at which time he was forced by the Board of Regents to resign his position.[3] The Tappan administration represented a period of great growth and change in the curricular offerings of the University. Tappan emphasized his belief in the German system of education, and openly tried to institute that system at the University. Michigan became the first university in the country to introduce scientific courses within the regular arts curriculum, and to recognize the area of science by the inauguration of the Bachelor of

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[1] The University of Michigan, An Encyclopedic Survey I, op. cit., 35.

[2] Hinsdale, op. cit., p. 40.

[3] Shaw, op. cit., p. 54.

Science Degree. The concept of the Graduate School was developed, and the Law and Medical Schools became well established, in conformity with President Tappan's idea for the development of "a real University."[1] Although President Tappan instituted many reforms which were to set the pattern for the University in the future, he was not always tactful in doing so. He made many enemies among the faculty, the Board of Regents, and the people throughout the state. This led to his dismissal in 1863. Hinsdale says:

> The state of affairs was intensified by some hostility to the president within the faculty of the arts and by an external opposition that had grown out of one route and another. For one thing the president, conforming to the custom of the society in which he had lived, kept wine in the cellar, and sometimes put it on his dinner table; which scandalized the very erratical temperance people of the state. So at the June meeting of the board in 1863, the Regents adopted a resolution declaring that the interest of the University demanded certain changes in the officers and core of instructors and that Doctor Henry P. Tappan be removed from the office and duties of the President of the University of Michigan and Professor of Philosophy.
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> This action was a clap of thunder out of a clear sky. Nobody, or at least few, had anticipated it.[2]

The dismissal came at Commencement time and Tappan left the University immediately. There was much unrest throughout the state and in Ann Arbor concerning the hasty action by the Regents. Petitions were drawn up demanding Tappan's return, but the decision by the Regents was not changed.

Erastus O. Haven Administration

Dr. Erastus O. Haven was elected Professor of Rhetoric

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[1]Shaw, op. cit., p. 50.

[2]Hinsdale, op. cit., p. 50.

and English Literature and President of the University at the same meeting that Doctor Tappan was removed. Since leaving the University in 1856, he had served as Editor of the Zion's Herald, a Methodist newspaper, and had been a preacher and platform speaker. In contrast to his predecessor, Haven was quite diplomatic and dispelled much of the disharmony found at the University during his administration.[1]

Two major problems were solved during his administration: the need for financial assistance, and the admission of women. In 1867 the University acquired the first financial support it had received from the legislature since 1838.[2] Most historians agree that the grant came about largely because of the soundness of President Haven's policy and his presentation of the needs of the University. In his annual report for 1868, Haven reported his approval of a proposed policy for the admission of women to the University.[3] The state legislature had recommended this action in 1867, but the regents did not approve the policy until 1870.

Although the administration of President Haven was a prosperous one and one of comparative peace, he nevertheless tendered his resignation in 1869. This was accepted with regret by the Board of Regents.

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[1] Hinsdale, op. cit., p. 57.

[2] Ibid.

[3] "Report of the President to the Board of Regents, 1868" in the Proceedings of the Board of Regents of the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor: Published by the University, 1868).

Henry S. Frieze Administration

While the Board of Regents searched for a permanent successor to President Haven, Professor Henry S. Frieze, the head of the Latin Department, was made President pro tempore. He served for two years. His administration was marked by the formal admittance of women in 1870, and by the policy of allowing admission to the University by diploma.[1]

Prior to Henry S. Frieze's administration, students of the various high schools in the state were required to take examinations for entrance to the University. The new policy created a system whereby students of approved high schools throughout the state were admitted to the University upon presentation of diplomas. At the same time, however, faculty members were required to visit the schools and to determine the quality of courses offered. This policy had a great effect in unifying the system of education throughout the state and in creating a mutual interest on the part of both the University and the secondary schools.

James B. Angell Administration

James B. Angell came to the University from the University of Vermont in 1871, and served for a period of thirty-eight years. From 1871 to 1885 many significant events occurred, perhaps the two most notable being the revision of the Literary Department courses and the establishment of the School of Education.[2] Angell modified the traditional

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[1]Shaw, op. cit., p. 60.

[2]Hinsdale, op. cit., pp. 62-76.

classical course and established a curriculum whereby a degree could be had without the study of Latin and Greek. Likewise, a system of election was inaugurated which permitted students to choose more than half of the courses they wished to pursue.

In 1880 the "first chair in the Science and the Art of Teaching"[1] was established, marking the first permanent department in any University devoted to the area of education.[2] President Angell had long felt the need to have the students familiar with methods of teaching before going into the field, and the action by the Board of Regents in 1879 came after a request of some five years standing.

Curriculum Within the Literary College

This section concerns the significant changes which the curriculum within the literary department of the University of Michigan underwent from 1841 to 1885. No special attempt is made to discuss the philosophy behind the changes. The reader is advised to study the aforementioned histories if a more thorough understanding of the curricular program is desired.

The curriculum within the literary department of the University naturally went through many changes and expanded greatly in the period from 1841 to 1885. The University moved

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[1] Shaw, op. cit., p. 72.

[2] Ibid.

from the traditional pattern of education in its early years to a forward looking and original policy by the 1880's.

For the first eleven years during the 1841 to 1884 period the literary department followed the strict pattern of the traditional college course and method of instruction. Candidates for admission to the freshman class were examined in "English Grammar, geography, arithmetic, algebra through simple equations, Virgil, Cicero's select orations, Jacob's or Felton's Greek Reader, Andrew's and Stoddard's Latin Grammar, and Sophocles' Greek Grammar."[1] Mental discipline rather than learning was the desired goal stated by the faculty. The course of study was divided into language and literature, mathematics and physics, and intellectual and moral science or philosophy, and the program called for no variance from the standard throughout the four years.[2]

In 1852 President Tappan announced a division of the literary department curriculum into a classical course and a scientific course.[3] The former remained essentially the same as that of the previous eleven years, while the scientific course excluded Latin and Greek and led to a Bachelor of

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[1]See the Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor: Published by the University) for the years 1841-1852. Michigan Historical Collections. It will be noted that the title varies throughout the years under investigation. The Catalogues for all the years mentioned may be found in the Michigan Historical Collections. Hereafter the Catalogue will be referred to as Catalogue of the University of Michigan.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1852.

Science Degree. Later a Latin and science course was developed in which modern languages took the place of Greek in the classical course, leading to a Bachelor of Philosophy degree.

In addition to the changes in the curriculum, elective studies were begun in 1855, when the students were allowed to select one-third of their work in their senior year.[1] The real change in allowing freedom of elections, however, did not come until the 1870's.

In 1877-78 great changes were made in the general curriculum.[2] In that year over one-half the courses in the Literary College were opened to free election, thus allowing a wider range of study than the previous prescribed curriculum. Also, the Latin and Scientific Course was changed by eliminating the requirement of Greek, and a new English course was established. The English course leading to the degree of Bachelor of Letters consisted of work in English, French, German languages, and the study of Literature and history. The changes brought about in 1877 set the pattern for the modern University of Michigan.

Student Life

The difficulty of adequately describing the student life and environment of the University campus during the period under study becomes evident when one surveys the growth

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[1] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1855.

[2] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1878.

of the University student body and faculty from 1841 to 1884. It will be recalled that the six students who entered the University in 1841 were taught by two faculty members. By 1850 the faculty had grown to seven and the student enrollment to seventy-two. In 1860 the faculty numbered twenty-eight and the student body numbered 526; in 1872 the faculty had grown to thirty-two while the student body had almost doubled, reaching 1,112. Ten years later the faculty had added nineteen new members, while the student enrollment stood at 1,427.[1] It can be seen that the University environment was a dynamic and expanding one. The picture can be clarified somewhat by describing the campus at various intervals throughout the period of change.

The First Twenty-Five Years

W. V. Moore described the University campus in the fall of 1846:

> When I entered there was on campus one dormitory known as the north wing for the principal building. There were also four brick residences that were occupied by four of the Professors.
>
> There was an open shed on the campus, in the rear of the dormitory in which the boys were accustomed to prepare their wood for use in their stoves, as all the students of that time except residents had rooms at the dormitory in which they slept and studied.[2]

The University at the time looked like a small farm, and most of the students came into town on horseback or by stage. The Michigan Central ran only one train a day between

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[1] Hinsdale, op. cit., p. 135.

[2] W. V. Moore, "Early Days at Michigan," Michigan Alumnus, VII, No. 59 (December, 1900), 102.

Detroit and Dexter.

Although by 1860 the secret societies of the University were well established the social life of the University was limited. The students had given up the dormitories and had gone out to board at the houses of the townspeople, thus clearing the University halls for classroom use. There were no organized recreational activities during the period, although the students did engage in fishing and hiking trips for diversion. The most popular social events apparently were the church socials and the class and literary society exhibitions. These afforded the students a "night out" and a chance in the then non-coeducational University to become acquainted with the daughters of the townspeople.[1]

Student Life From 1866-1884

The post-Civil War period brought many changes to the University student's life. As noted, enrollment greatly expanded from 1865 to 1870, and a great interest was shown during this period in the literary societies and in public speaking. There was during the same time an increasing tendency among the students to become members of fraternities, and the fraternities in turn began to take up the social function of the literary societies. Meanwhile, the recently formed student newspapers served as a new outlet for the student's creative ability.

The enrollment during the 1870's and the early 1880's

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[1]Shaw, op. cit., p. 177.

remained comparatively steady, and this period saw the continued development of the fraternities and sororities along with a new emphasis on athletics.[1]

Summary

This chapter has summarized the University's environment during the period from 1841 through 1864 in terms of the changing administrative policy, the developing curriculum, and the varying pattern of student life.

(1) There were four presidents who served during the forty-four years, and each made his own distinctive contribution to the development of the University. President Tappan, more than any other, may be said to have set the pattern for the major University policy during the period, while President Angell brought about changes in the late 1870's which introduced the philosophy of the modern University of Michigan.

(2) The curriculum within the literary department developed from the traditional pattern of education in its early years to the forward-looking policy of the 1880's. The two most significant changes were the division within the literary department curriculum of the classical and scientific course in 1852, and the beginning of the elective program in the 1870's.

(3) Because of the expanding nature of the student body it is difficult to describe adequately the student life at the University during the extended period of time from

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[1] Hinsdale, op. cit., p. 124 and p. 127.

1841 to 1885. There were, however, two patterns which should be noted. In the period from 1841 through 1865, the life on campus was a rather austere one, with little opportunity except through the literary societies for student expression and social life. The post-Civil War period was characterized by increased interest in the social fraternities, the admission of women students, and the publication of student newspapers.

CHAPTER III

STUDENT SPEAKING IN THE LITERARY SOCIETIES

The purpose of this chapter is to study and report the speech activity of the literary societies at the University of Michigan.

One of the most significant opportunities afforded students for training and experience in public speaking during the period under study was in these organizations. The societies were student extra-curricular groups, both educational and social in nature, which met weekly in specially designated rooms on campus. The speaking activity of the societies generally took three forms: weekly debates, original orations, and essays which were read at the weekly meetings and recorded in the "publications" of the various societies. The groups also held public programs of debating and speaking once or twice a year.

General History of the Societies

There were three major literary societies at the University from 1841 to 1884: the Phi Phi Alpha, the Adelphi, and the Alpha Nu. The Phi Phi Alpha was established in 1842 and the Alpha Nu was organized the following year. Fourteen years later several of the students who belonged to Phi Phi Alpha and who were members of the fraternities met to form a new literary organization, the Adelphi. As a consequence,

Phi Phi Alpha gradually lost support and became inactive.[1] The Alpha Nu and Adelphi societies continued as organizations throughout the period under study and into the 1900's.

In addition to the literary societies within the Literary College there were several major societies in other schools. In the Law School the Webster Society was the oldest and the most prominent, with the Jeffersonian also receiving much student support. The Serapion Society was founded in the Medical School in 1850, although the medical students subsequently failed to take a real interest in this group.

There were many other literary societies that existed for a brief period of time in addition to the major groups mentioned. These were especially prevalent in the period from 1865 to 1870 when there apparently was a great interest shown in speech activity. Farrand reports:

> About 1865 sprang up a multitude of debating clubs, which sustained for several years a weight of names like Homotratezoi, Philomathean, Philozetian, Pamarmonian, Philologoi; others were called The Prescott Club, The Jay Club, etc. In the Law Department there were The Douglas Society, The Clay Society, The Lincoln Society, and The Independent.[2]

In addition to those mentioned by Farrand The Michigan Castalian for the same period lists organizations called The Aristotlean, The Huron, The Alpha, The Tyler, The Spencer, The Frieze, The R. T. U., The Seven, The Haven Club, and The

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[1]There is a question as to just when Phi Phi Alpha became inactive. Three historians, Farrand, op. cit., p. 139, Hinsdale, op. cit., p. 123 and Shaw, op. cit., p. 218 give 1860 as the date. However, Humphrey, op. cit., p. 93 maintained the date to be November 1, 1861.

[2]Farrand, op. cit., p. 194.

Everett Club.[1]

The Beginnings

There is little information available concerning the beginning of the Phi Phi Alpha and the Alpha Nu Literary Societies. Records reveal that the first literary society at the University, the Phi Phi Alpha, held its initial meeting on January 28, 1842, when ten students met to debate the question "Was England Justifiable [sic] in Retaining Napolean in Banishment after Peace Was Declared?" The records show that the issue was decided by the chair in favor of the negative. The only reason given for the organization's existence was the "improvement of its members."[2] The following year on September 30, 1843, ten members of the Phi Phi Alpha, who were disgusted with the disorder in the first group, formed the second literary society in the University, the Alpha Nu.

Throughout the early years of the University the Phi Phi Alpha and the Alpha Nu flourished and formed the principal type of extra-curricular activity for the student body. Indications are that all students in the Literary College were members of either of the two societies. In this regard the catalogue of 1848-49 reports that "there are two literary societies connected with the college, which hold weekly meetings during term time, and possess valuable libraries of select and

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[1]The Michigan Castalian (Ann Arbor: Published by the Independents, 1867).

[2]Minutes of Phi Phi Alpha, January 28, 1842, MS, Michigan Historical Collections.

and miscellaneous books."[1] In discussing the early history of the societies, Humphrey says:

> In each of the older Eastern colleges the undergraduates founded as soon as practicable two literary societies to which were given Greek letter names or names compounded of Greek words. Adopting this custom, students of our University organized during the first academic year at Ann Arbor a literary club called the Phi Phi Alpha. This was started June 10, 1842, under the presidency of the late William B. Wesson, '44, of Detroit. To it belonged Collins, Fish, Goodridge, Lawrence, Marsh and Pray, all of '45. On the thirtieth of September 1843 some of its members, including Collins, Fish, and Marsh, joined in forming the Alpha Nu of which E. W. H. Rawles, '45, was the first presiding officer. The two societies embraced in the early days most of the students in the college and were nearly equal in membership. It is said that they were generally at variance about questions of college import. "The elections of their officers" says a graduate of '48, "were fruitful of bitter contests managed after the most approved methods of the political wire pullers of the day." For some years the societies were measurably secret, and to reveal their transactions was an offense for which members were tried and punished.[2]

Little more is known of the history of the third literary society, the Literary Adelphi, than of the other groups. Records show that on Saturday, February 28, 1857, a meeting was called with W. D. Williams as chairman "to perfect a plan for organizing a new literary society in the University."[3] A committee on the constitution of by-laws was appointed as well as a committee of five to confer with the faculty and the Board of Regents concerning a suitable meeting place. The second meeting was held on Friday evening, March 6, in Professor Haven's recitation room. At this time the officers

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[1] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1849, p. 3.

[2] Humphrey, op. cit., p. 92.

[3] Minutes of Literary Adelphi, 1857, MSS, Michigan Historical Collections.

were elected, Cushman K. Davis being elected the first president. The first question debated was "Resolved, That a Limited Monarchy is Preferable to a Republican Form of Government."[1] Minutes indicate that on March 20 of that year "a tax of 15/100 dollars was levied on each member to buy a secretary's book." In April the society borrowed one hundred fifty dollars in order to furnish their new room "with lamps, carpets, and lounges of considerable expense."[2]

The Rise and Fall of the Societies

The most active period for the literary societies came in the period immediately following the Civil War. The Alpha Nu Society had its largest enrollment, 113 members, in 1865-66, while the Literary Adelphi claimed seventy-three for that year.[3] The student newspaper revealed in 1867, "The literary societies at the University are in a very prosperous condition . . . each possesses between seven hundred and one thousand volumes, has an active membership numbering about eighty individuals and occupies a room, both confortably furnished and tastefully decorated."[4] The article went on to show that the prosperous condition of the societies was in no way due to the aid received from the heads of the University. On the contrary, the writer of the article stated that there had been little or no administrative support given to

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Humphrey, op. cit., p. 94.

[4] The Michigan University Magazine, June, 1867.

the societies.

Yet, in spite of the apparent prosperous conditions, by 1870 interest in the literary societies began to wane, and the organizations never again regained their former prominence. The decline of the literary societies may be attributed to many factors: the increased enrollment in the University, the rise of the fraternities and sororities, and the increasing student interest in other extra-curricular activities such as athletics, music and the student newspapers.

Perhaps the major contributing factor in the decline of the literary societies was the internal differences among members and the ever-present tendency to create new organizations. It has been indicated earlier that numerous debating clubs and literary societies were formed from 1865 to 1870. Some of these organizations had a membership of as few as six or seven. This fact lends support to the theory that whenever a small faction became dissatisfied with the parent organization, they broke away to form a new society of their own. This political maneuvering was well described in a student's diary of an earlier time:

> Last evening, however, our literary societies had their elections. It is amusing to witness the scheming of the candidates and their partisans to secure election. All our members, seventy-three, were present for the purpose of voting. Our candidate was beaten by the casting vote of the president. I kept a resolution which I made not to get excited over the matter. I was unanimously elected assistant marshal without having asked . . . .[1]

By the year 1871 one of the major societies had

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[1] Diary of George Beck, published in "Seventy Three Years Ago," The Michigan Alumnus, XXXV, No. 12 (December 22, 1928), 255.

developed so much internal friction that the group had to adjourn one meeting for lack of a quorum. An article in The Chronicle of that year summarized the trend: "For the past few years the tendency of the literary societies has been steadily downward."[1]

The period of the 1870's saw many attempts made to bolster the ranks of the organizations, and to gain support for their activities. Yet the trend from 1870 to 1884 is one of lessened success. An article in the student newspaper in 1874 stated that "speakers are a nuisance, speakers a bore--the evanescence of uttered thought is discarded for the durability of the printed page . . . wherefore the literary societies are expiring."[2] This brought a sharp retort in the following edition of the newspaper. The writer in this rejoinder stated that the literary societies were active groups, and that they rarely had fewer than thrity-five to forty present at their meetings. The article admitted that literary societies had been in a state of decline two years earlier, but went on to say that the societies are now active in their programs. The student writer of this article concluded by saying, "You can't have the funeral just now."[3]

Yet the trend continued. In 1876 the student newspaper again referred to the poor state of the literary societies and suggested that public discussion contests and

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[1] The Chronicle, September 23, 1871.

[2] The Chronicle, November 28, 1874.

[3] The Chronicle, December 12, 1874.

reunions might spark the organizations. The article pointed to such attractive features as the pleasant rooms and the valuable libraries of the clubs. Nevertheless, the writer stated:

> . . . both societies together received the nominal support of less than one-fourth of our students, while actual support falls on one-fourth of these . . . a large part of the best ability in college contributes nothing to its support.[1]

Another article in The Chronicle two years later adds support to the conclusion that the literary societies in the 1870's had lost the support of students. It decried the present state of the literary societies, by saying: "In days gone by these organizations did receive the attention of the students which they merit . . . but, alas, this lively interest began to wane . . . ."[2] The article made reference to the previous healthy condition in contrast to the present state when it stated that "the time was when the exercises of the literary societies were just as worthy of being written up as any college row, rush, or scrimmage . . . ."[3] Now, however, even smaller colleges throughout the area were "crowing over"[4] the University's literary societies.

There did seem to be some renewed interest in the literary societies in 1878-1879, as pointed out in a student newspaper the following May: "There has been a praise-worthy zeal shown by the literary societies during the past winter in the way of doing excellent work, as well as in making

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[1] The Chronicle, April 22, 1876.

[2] The Chronicle, November 9, 1878.

[3] Ibid.

helpful improvements in their rooms."[1]

The support for the societies was short-lived, however. The roll of the Literary Adelphi shows evidence of the lack of student interest. In 1882-1883 there were but thirty members listed in the secretary's books, and roll was not even taken that year. The final meeting prior to 1885 recorded in the secretary's minutes found in the Michigan Historical Collections was dated December 7, 1883. Eight persons attended the meeting. What is more, this meeting had to be postponed because the janitor failed to light the gas lights.[2]

Debate Activity in the Societies

Of all the speaking activity within the literary societies, the weekly debates apparently aroused the most interest and were accorded the most emphasis. In order to understand the nature of the debate activity it is necessary to study the forms of debate, the types of decisions rendered, the topics presented, and the preparation of the students for the programs.

Forms

The forms of debate used in the literary societies varied greatly throughout the period and within each organization, so that it is difficult to establish any definite pattern for a given type of debate. In the very early days, Phi

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[1] The Chronicle, May 31, 1879.

[2] Minutes of Literary Adelphi, 1883, MSS, Michigan Historical Collections.

Phi Alpha members presented written disputations at the weekly meetings.[1] The single member on each side was selected in one of two ways, either by the president or through alphabetical rotation. The one-man debate team soon gave way, however, to the format suggested in the by-laws and constitution of the Phi Phi Alpha in 1842. In this form the students utilized two-man teams who led off the debate with speeches of unspecified length. Following the organized portion of the program, an open forum was held which quite frequently turned into a session resembling a parliamentary debate.[2] Although these two-man teams were apparently most often used by the Phi Phi Alpha organization during the 1840's and 1850's, it should be added that there are many instances of four and five students debating on each side of a question. Thus, the pattern of debating was flexible even within a given group.

The Literary Adelphi Society used another form of debate fashioned after the Senate of the United States. This style appears to be a forerunner to our modern legislative assembly found in current intercollegiate forensic programs. Each member of the Literary Adelphi represented a state of the Union, and the topics discussed were the same as those facing the United States Senate at that given time. The debates extended over a period of several weekly meetings, and

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[1] Minutes of Phi Phi Alpha, MSS, Michigan Historical Collections.

[2] Ibid.

reference is frequently made in the minutes of the society to the debates being "long and spirited and exceedingly interesting."[1]

The Literary Adelphi magazine, The Hesperian, highlighted this emphasis upon debate and parliamentary debate in particular when it revealed in 1860, "If there is any lack of oratory in the Adelphi, it may be because talent has developed itself along different channels. . . . parliamentary--not eloquence ."[2]

By the late 1870's, at least one literary society was utilizing a format quite similar to one found in modern intercollegiate debating. The constitution of the Literary Adelphi adopted in 1877 revealed that there was to be a weekly debate-forum with two-man teams. Each speaker was to have ten minutes for his presentation, or longer with the permission of the organization. The debaters were to have "five minutes to close" the debate, with the affirmative being last. Following the formal debate what was termed an "open forum" was held. The forum was in reality a parliamentary session, utilizing Robert's rules of order, with a three-minute time limit imposed on presentations from the floor.[3]

Decisions

The type of decision rendered in the debates within

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[1]Minutes of Literary Adelphi, 1860, MSS, Michigan Historical Collections.

[2]The Hesperian, May, 1860, MS, Michigan Historical Collections.

[3]Amended Constitution of Literary Adelphi, adopted April 27, 1877, MS, Michigan Historical Collections.

the literary society varied as greatly as did the forms of debate used. Decisions were rendered at times on the merits of the questions and at other times on the merits of the debating. From 1866 on, there is indication that a system using both methods was employed.

During the first ten years it was the custom to have the president of the organization render a critic decision each week on the merits of the debating. The task must have been an unpleasant one, however, for the president frequently turned over this job to an appointed critic. Moreover, in surveying the minutes of the period one sees that very often the critic or the president deferred his decision until the next meeting, and in frequent cases there is no record of his announcing his choice at that time. One can only suggest the critic's reason for postponing his decision: possibly because of the lateness of the hour at the time of the close of the debate, or possibly because of the personal involvement with the debaters which made the giving of a decision a difficult task.

During the same ten year period reference is made in the minutes to the total membership voting in each debate. This decision probably followed the open forum period and was on the merits of the question. The political activity within the society was unquestionably intensified by this method of debate decision.

By the 1860's the Literary Adelphi had attempted to do away with the critic-judge decision. The amended Constitution adopted by the Literary Adelphi in April, 1866 stated:

"All questions shall be decided according to the merits of the arguments by the majority of the votes of the society."[1]

The literary society minutes of 1866 also reported a new system was used which was similar to one found in the early period of intercollegiate debating. Three judges were appointed who were to judge on the merits of the debate, while the audience was to render a decision on the merits of the question.[2] This system of decision continued through to 1879, the amended by-laws of Adelphi indicating in that year that the president shall appoint three judges "who . . . shall decide the question according to the merits of the arguments presented."[3] In the same system the question was put to the entire society after the forum period.

Topics

With the exception of the first year when the faculty chose the topics, the subjects for the debates were usually selected by the students two weeks in advance. A committee was frequently assigned the task of drawing up a list of suitable topics, from which topics for a given meeting were chosen by lot or ballot.

Certain topics are repeated at least three or four times during the life of the literary societies, sometimes

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[1]Constitution (Amended) of Literary Adelphi, April 13, 1866, MS, Michigan Historical Collections.

[2]Minutes of Literary Adelphi, 1866, MSS, Michigan Historical Collections.

[3]Amended By-Laws of Literary Adelphi, October 17, 1879, MS, Michigan Historical Collections.

with a period as long as ten years intervening. This suggests perhaps that the students made reference to the secretary's minutes of earlier years. Among the most popular problems were: "The Relationship of England and Ireland," "Mormonism," "The Benefit of the Crusades," and questions concerning a protective tariff.

Shaw has given the impression that the topics presented within the literary society were generally of little consequence:

> The traditional programs of these societies were largely orations, essays, and concluding debates in which such momentous questions as,
>
> Resolved: That the Benefits of Novel Reading Will Compensate for Its Injuries.
> Resolved: That We Have Sufficient Evidence for Belief in Ethereal Spirits.
> Resolved: That Brutes Reason.
> Resolved: That Woman Has as Much Influence in the Nation as Man.
> Resolved: That Students Should Not Form Matrimonial Engagements While in College.[1]

In truth, however, one finds in surveying the minutes of the societies that although some of the topics were of the humorous type, the majority were either historical or political in nature, with some literary themes in addition. Many of the topics showed the foresight of the students in debating topics such as, "Resolved: That a Congress of Nations Should Be Instituted for the Purpose of Adjusting All National Difficulties."[2]

If any class of topics may be said to have been most

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[1]Shaw, op. cit., pp. 218-19.

[2]Minutes of Phi Phi Alpha, November 23, 1849, MS, Michigan Historical Collections.

popular it would have been the political subjects. During the period of national crisis in the 1850's, the topics selected for debate by the literary societies reflected the growing concern over the issues of slavery and national unity. On December 9, 1859, the Literary Adelphi presented at a public debate the question, "Resolved: That the Exclusive Right of Legislation in Regard to African Slavery in the Territory Rests with the People of the Territory, and Not with the Congress."[1] The record shows that the house voted against the issue. Later that same school year, the Adelphi met as the "United States Senate" to debate the admission of Kansas, while on May 18, 1860, they debated the topic, "Resolved: That the Tendency of the Times Foretells a Speedy Dissolution of the Union."[2]

The Civil War Period likewise reflects the interest of the student body in the national conflict and the issue of slavery. Students debated such topics as, "Resolved: That All Slaves Shall Be Free by 1900," "Resolved: That There Shall Be No Peace Without Abolition."[3] and "Resolved: That the Negro Should Have the Right of Suffrage."[4]

A survey of the topics used in debates over a three-

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[1]Minutes of Literary Adelphi, December 9, 1859, MS, Michigan Historical Collections.

[2]Minutes of Literary Adelphi, May 18, 1860, MS, Michigan Historical Collections.

[3]Minutes of Literary Adelphi, December 19, 1862, MS, Michigan Historical Collections.

[4]Minutes of Literary Adelphi, January 27, 1865, MS, Michigan Historical Collections.

year period supports the conclusion that a variety of topics of a political, historical, and humorous nature were selected. As there are no extant materials showing exactly what the students said in debates, (other than the prize debate presented in the Appendix), the list also may prove the best method of gaining an understanding of the nature of the debates.

The political topics included:

That A Repeal of the Union Between Ireland and England Would Be Beneficial to Ireland.
That the Conduct of England Towards Ireland is Not Justifiable.
That Mormonism Ought to be Supressed by Laws.
That Women Should Have the Right of Suffrage.
That the Success of the Democratic Party at the Next Election Would Be a National Calamity.
That the Course of Rev. Bullin in the Independent Trial Has Been Infamous.
That Representatives in Congress Should Be Governed by the Will of Their Constituents.
That the Legislature of the State of Michigan Should Enforce Attendence Upon Her Public Schools.
That New York has More Territory Than Michigan.
That a Republican Form of Government Would Be Beneficial to the Nations of Europe.
That the Republican Party is the Party of Progress.
That a Protective Tariff is for the Best Interest of the Whole Country.
That the Electoral College Be Discontinued and the People Vote Direct for the President and Vice President.
That Divorces be Granted Only in Cases of Fornication.
That England is Better Disposed Towards the United States Than the Latter Towards England.
That the American People Have a Right to Express Their Opinions.
That the Press Should Be Unrestricted.

The historical subjects were:

That Caesar Was A Greater Man than Napoleon.
That Catholicism is Detrimental to Progress.
That There Should Be but One Church.
That the Crusades Were Beneficial.
That Caesar Was a Greater Man than His Father.
That There is More to Approve than Condemn in the Character of Cromwell.

Several humorous topics also were debated:

That the Mississippi River Flows Uphill.
That Cats Have a Moral Right to Howl on Thanksgiving Night.
That the Virtues of the Puritans are Generally Overestimated.
That Women Should Be Admitted to the Privileges of This University Equally with Men December 11, 1870.
That There Was a Rainbow Before the Flood.[1]

Preparation

There is not a great deal known concerning the students' preparation for debates, although it may be assumed that with about two weeks to prepare for a given topic, thoroughness was sometimes lacking. From the material available two facts are clear: (1) Students were utilizing the extemporaneous speaking method in debates as early as 1862; and (2) There was great disagreement among the student body regarding the quality and quantity of student preparation on debating subjects.

An editorial in the Literary Adelphi's Hesperian in 1862 referred to the use of the extemporaneous method:

> The speakers have generally taken a deep interest in their subjects and come upon the rostrum well prepared. They did not, like a machine, roll out a certain number of words, carefully manufactured before hand, but having thoroughly mastered the subject, they trusted to the spur of the moment to clothe their ideas with living, burning words from a warm heart, and although not so nicely finished, nor the sentences so very correct and beautifully rounded, yet they possessed a vigor and power that was most refreshing to hear to the hearers . . . .
>
> This appears to be the most natural and effective way of speaking, and we congratulate the Adelphi for its

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[1]Minutes of Literary Adelphi, 1868-71, MSS, Michigan Historical Collections.

> progress in this direction, and we advise all who desire to become earnest, effective speakers to cultivate extemporaneous speaking.[1]

This editorial would indicate that students prepared for debates carefully, but an editorial two years later presents an opposing conclusion: "There is too much indifference in the society in regard to excellence in writing as well as in the exercises of the debate. We have hardly had an article or a speech in the society this year to stir up an honest, hardy cheer."[2]

Ten years later the issue was still not settled. Two articles in The Chronicle discussed the topics presented within the literary societies and the student preparation for debating. The first article revealed that the literary societies were holding debates of a political nature. The writer condemned this practice because he felt that students did not have sufficient time to prepare for debates. He recommended, on the other hand, that literary debate topics be used.[3] An article appearing in the following issue refuted this idea, maintaining that political debates were live ones and that all questions demanded preparation.[4]

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[1]The Hesperian, February 7, 1862, MS, Michigan Historical Collections.

[2]The Hesperian, March 14, 1862, MS, Michigan Historical Collections.

[3]The Chronicle, January 13, 1872.

[4]The Chronicle, January 27, 1872.

Oratory in the Societies

It has been stated that it was a general practice in the programs of the literary societies at their weekly meetings to present debates, essays and original orations. The orations and essays, apparently, were the least popular activities among the students of the group.

One student was assigned the task of presenting an oration at each weekly meeting, but the task was not a pleasant one. The speakers frequently did not have sufficient time to prepare for their assignments. In contrast to the debates, where the preparation was less formal and less detailed, the development of the orations required more specific and concentrated work. The minutes of the various literary societies reveal that whereas there were few instances when the weekly debate was not held, there were frequent occasions when students did not present orations.

The student groups attempted to apply added pressure by imposing a fine of from ten to twenty-five cents on those who failed to fulfill assignments in oratory. In spite of this regulation, students frequently did not meet their oratorical obligation. In most of these cases, the fine was suspended by a vote of the group when the student in question gave an explanation for his failure to be prepared to speak.[1]

Criticism

A second contributing factor to the student's lack

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[1]Minutes of the Phi Phi Alpha, MSS, Michigan Historical Collections.

of interest in oratory was probably occasioned by the failure to have helpful criticism for student orations. Although most literary societies had "critics," whose duty it was to evaluate the orations, there was seldom any detailed analysis of the performance of the individual speakers at the literary society meetings. In 1843 the Phi Phi Alpha Society passed a resolution in this regard: "A critic shall be chosen who shall correct improper pronunciation and make such suggestions as may seem necessary for their improvement in speaking."[1] The minutes of later years, however, do not reveal that a member fulfilled this position at the weekly meetings, except on infrequent occasions. If the speakers did receive criticisms of their performances, it was probably superficial and given by a student member of the society. There is no evidence showing that faculty members participated in the activities of the organizations.

Topics

The topics presented by the students in their orations within the literary societies were similar in nature to those presented in the class exhibitions and the Commencement programs. Biographical sketches, historical and political issues, and commonplace subjects were the rule. There is but infrequent reference made to any subject directly concerned with English or American literature. Subjects of this type were generally chosen for the essays presented in student publications.

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[1]Minutes of Phi Phi Alpha, February 17, 1843, MS, Michigan Historical Collections.

The topics chosen for orations in the literary society meetings were generally those selected by the students. An exception to this practice was in the first year of the organization of Phi Phi Alpha when a professor drew up suggested topics for presentation. These included, "On the Popular Nature of Education," "On Pleasure Arriving from Scientific Pursuits," "Knowledge is Power," and "The Spirit of Chivalry."[1]

A representative list of the titles of orations presented within a brief period in the Literary Adelphi Society reveals the general nature of the topics selected:

1868

Unity of the Church
The Principle of Human Equality
Practical Education
Hungary
The Future
The Pacific Railroad
The South
Our Indian Relations
Cuba
Association
Temperance

1869

The Cuban Revolt
A New Political Party
The Advancement of Education--The Hope of America
Territorial Extension
Fame
Liberty Our Watchword
Tides
Woman Suffrage
John C. Calhoun
Shall Women Vote?

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[1] Minutes of Phi Phi Alpha, November 11, 1842, MS, Michigan Historical Collections.

1870

The City of Ann Arbor
Minority Representation
Education
Horace Mann
United States President
The Immortality of the Soul
The Beauties of Nature
The Force Bill
English Republicanism[1]

"Publications" of the Literary Societies

Each of the three major literary societies published literary papers in manuscript form. These were collections of essays, original poems, and editorials submitted to the student editor by the members of the society. The editor in turn was required to copy in long hand each contribution in a large ledger-type book. The papers were scheduled for "publication" semi-monthly, and the contents were expected to be read at the literary society meetings. The Phi Phi Alpha paper was called The Castalia, the Alpha Nu, The Sybil, and the Adelphi, The Hesperian.

Topics

The topics of the various student publications were somewhat similar to the subjects used in orations, although greater emphasis is placed on literary works. Frequently the students used Latin or Greek pen names to identify their contributions.

The first volume of The Sybil included a poem, "A

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[1]Minutes of Literary Adelphi, 1868-70, MSS, Michigan Historical Collections.

Sonnet to a Lady," as well as a brief play, articles on reputation and memory, and a three page analysis of Cicero's orations.[1]

The following volumes of The Sybil indicate the diversity of the works. Included were editorials, short stories, poems, and essays on such topics as "The Two Rivals," "The Modern Epicurean," "Popularity," "Sublimity," "Intolerance," "Fragment," "Parody," "The Genius of Liberty," "The Uses of Tobacco," "The Fate of Tennis," "Night," "The Grave," "Beauty," "Originality," "The Past," "The Death of Webster," and "Robespierre."[2]

Problems of the Editors

The student editors of the "publications" of the literary societies were not only faced with the burdensome task of transcribing in long hand the entire semi-monthly volume, but they were also plagued with many other difficulties. The students frequently failed to submit articles when due, and when they were submitted they were often poorly done, and in some cases even plagiarized.

If the students were somewhat negligent in preparing their orations, they were even more so in submitting copy for the student publications. The student publications of the society preserved in the Michigan Historical Collections show time and again that the paper did not "publish" by a given

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[1]The Sybil, Volumes I-VII, MSS, Michigan Historical Collections.

[2]Ibid.

deadline, if at all. When the publication was presented, it was only with extreme effort and sacrifice by the editor. There is frequent reference to these difficulties made by the editors in their editorials. In 1862 the editor said, "The Hesperian must and shall be issued every half month with at least four pages of something to read."[1] Apparently the student editor had good intentions. Yet the publication ceased for that year on December 12th.

Earlier in 1862 another editor revealed his personal feelings upon being selected for the task of developing the paper. He referred to the drudgery of the editorial task as well as to the inferior quality of the work presented when he said: ". . . for ourselves we cannot say we feel greatly under obligations, for being allowed the honor of copying bad grammar and spelling into bad penmanship."[2]

Apparently the quality of the work submitted for the manuscript literary society papers was relatively poor throughout the period. As early as 1845 the editor of The Sybil criticized the writings of students because the papers showed that "common sense has been the most uncommon thing in the world." What is offered by the writers consists of "a few quaint and trite remarks and commonplace ideas."[3]

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[1]The Hesperian, October 31, 1862, MS, Michigan Historical Collections.

[2]The Hesperian, March 14, 1862, MS, Michigan Historical Collections.

[3]The Sybil, Volume I, MS, Michigan Historical Collections.

The problem of plagiarism was also prevalent in the contributions to the literary society publications, as well as in the speeches of the day. In reviewing the student manuscripts one discovers many sections which appear to be taken directly from written sources. A later writer in reviewing The Sybil pointed up this problem of plagiarism in the contributions to the paper: "Huge chunks of the encyclopedia, examples of students caught redhanded in amputation of a whole limb from the philosophy of Sam Jones or Schopenhauer; heavy, grotesque, ingenius, such was the output of the serious minded students of the time."[1]

"The Publics" of the Societies

In addition to the weekly closed meetings, the literary societies frequently held "publics," that is, open meetings to which other students, faculty, and townspeople were invited. These exhibitions took many forms during the forty-four year period under study, but in all cases they afforded the students another opportunity to speak before a different type of audience. By reviewing the general nature of the "publics" and the audience reaction to the programs, one will gain a better understanding of the student speaking in this extra-curricular activity.

Periods of Popularity

The popularity of public exhibitions of the literary

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[1]"The Sybil of Alpha Nu," Inlander, VIII, No. 9 (June, 1898), 363.

societies reveals the general interest in the societies themselves within a given period. The societies' exhibitions were well attended during the early years of the '40's and '50's, reached a peak during the post-Civil War period, and then experienced a sharp decline in the 1870's and 1880's.

Little is known of the nature or of the popularity of the "publics" in the early days other than the brief references given in the minutes of the various societies. The public exhibitions of the literary societies were not covered by the Detroit or other area newspapers and there were no student publications during the first twenty-six years of the period. The minutes of the Phi Phi Alpha show that the first exhibition was held in 1842. On November 4th of that year the Phi Phi Alpha group passed a resolution calling for "an exhibition at the close of this term."[1] There is evidence showing that the various societies sometimes held two exhibitions a year beginning with the exhibitions of 1842. As an example, the minutes of the Literary Adelphi show that on October 16, 1856 a public debate was held on the topic, "Resolved: That the Decision in the Dred Scott Case is in Accordance with the Constitution."[2] This issue, incidentally, was lost by a vote of eight. We also know from the same minutes that the following year on March 18th the public discussion had to be postponed because of unfavorable weather

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[1]Minutes of Phi Phi Alpha, November 4, 1842, MS, Michigan Historical Collections.

[2]Minutes of Literary Adelphi, October 16, 1858, MS, Michigan Historical Collections.

conditions.[1] Other than such sketchy reports revealed in the minutes, however, available sources offer few details concerning the public exhibitions until the publication of The Michigan University Magazine in 1867.

One notation in a student diary of 1856 does, however, support the theory that the exhibitions were very popular during that period:

> February 15, 1856: spent the evening at Alpha Nu, and was obliged to stand most of the time on account of there being so many there. The room was filled to such an extent that some feared the floor would give away. . . . The question was Spiritualism, and I was glad that it lost.[2]

By the time of the publication of The Michigan University Magazine in 1867, the literary societies had reached the peak of their popularity. In fact, a new system of prize contests had been adopted in addition to a public debate between the two societies, the Literary Adelphi and the Alpha Nu. The Michigan University Magazine of 1867 reported:

> . . . this trend toward activity of the societies will be heightened, no doubt, by the system of prize contests that has been adopted. There are to be three public exercises of this nature, among the upper classes yearly, in each society, and this, in connection with the public debate, which custom has been established between the two societies, (the Literary Adelphi and Alpha Nu) must contribute greatly towards fostering what is so desirable.[3]

During the next five years there are signs that the

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[1] Minutes of Literary Adelphi, March 15, 1856, MS, Michigan Historical Collections.

[2] "Student Life in 1856, A Diary," The Michigan Alumnus, XXXV, No. 19 (February 23, 1929), 426.

[3] The Michigan University Magazine, June, 1867.

literary societies' public exhibitions were well attended. There is frequent reference to "the house being overcrowded"[1] or that student speakers were listened to by "large and attentive audiences."[2]

Yet as early as 1868 the question was raised as to the advisability of continuing the exhibitions in general and the prize debates in particular. "Whether or not the success attained has been all the vigorous imaginations of the fond fathers of the system picture it, will probably never transpire, but as for us we regard the whole system as an unmitigated nuisance, which should be abated instanter."[3] There is no direct record to show how long these prize debates and prize contests continued, although there is no mention of one being held after 1873. The policy of public exhibitions by the literary societies, however, continued during the period under study.

By the late 1870's and early 1880's the literary societies were holding many special programs in an attempt to bolster their declining ranks. During the 1870's the literary societies continued to hold public exhibitions similar to those of the late 1860's, and these programs formed the most positive activity the groups had during the period of decline. An article in 1879 reported that "on the whole, the entertainment was a credit to the society and an encouragement to all who

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[1] The Chronicle, March 26, 1870.

[2] The Michigan University Magazine, January, 1867.

[3] The Michigan University Magazine, March, 1868.

welcomed with pleasure the signs of literary improvement in college circles."[1] In an attempt to publicize the student organizations, the literary societies held more and more public exhibitions. Programs by the senior ladies, by the junior ladies, by the senior men, all were common. The exhibitions could but reflect the weakened condition of the literary societies themselves.

The Nature of the Exhibitions

The literary society exhibitions took three forms during the forty-four year period: (1) the open meeting type of the first twenty years, (2) the prize debates and contests of the late 1860's, and (3) the many special programs of the late 1870's and 1880's.

The Early Period--Open Meetings

During the early years the exhibitions by the societies were in effect public meetings of the organization conducted in the same manner as the regular weekly meeting: a student paper was read, an oration was presented, and a debate was held. The formal business of the society on such occasions was conducted at the conclusion of the public program, and then the occasion was generally climaxed by an invitation of the president to partake of "solid and liquid refreshments at headquarters downtown."[2] This type of exhibition

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[1] The Chronicle, June 18, 1879.

[2] Minutes of Literary Adelphi, June 12, 1857, MS, Michigan Historical Collections.

was generally held at the close of each term and continued through the 1860's. There is no extant material which gives further information about these early programs.

The Middle Period--Prize Debates

As indicated earlier, a system of prize debates was inaugurated in 1867. The Michigan University Magazine for June of that year reported the topics for the program to be "Resolved: That the Power to Regulate Suffrage Should Be Delegated to Congress," and "Resolved: That the President Should Be Entirely Unrestricted by Law." The subjects for the prize orations were "The Influence of United States on Cultivation of Science and Literature," "The Relation of Expediency to Right," and "Truth Crushed to Earth Shall Rise Again."[1]

The paper gave a rather detailed account of the prize discussions the following year. The first article noted that the exhibition was held on February 18, in the Law Lecture Room with the question, "Resolved: That Free Trade Should Be the Policy of The United States" as the subject for debate. The article emphasized that the students had not fully committed their speeches to memory and that all had trouble with notes:

> . . . N. S. Guthrie, of Ohio, was first speaker on the negative. He makes a fine appearance on the stage and has a splendid voice for speaking. He began with much promise, but at the end of a sonorous and well rounded period, in the delivery of which his whole attention was

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[1]The Michigan University Magazine, June, 1867.

> evidently absorbed, he unfortunately lost the place, and having the courage not to refer to his manuscript, he was obliged to take his seat. At the close of the ensuing piece of music, which being a "lead march" happened to be most provokingly appropriate, being clamorously called for by the audience, he continued his remarks, finishing his speech with success, amidst enthusiastic applause.[1]

The Michigan University Magazine of 1868 describes in some detail the prize debate of the Literary Adelphi for that year, and also printed in full the prize winning debate speech.[2] The question for the evening was "Resolved: That the Plan of Cumulative Voting, as Proposed by Senator Buckalew, Should Be Incorporated in Our Present System." The judges for the occasion were "Professor Frieze, Reverend Mr. Eidmen, and the Honorable H. J. Beakes."[3] In this debate at least, the speeches were in manuscript form and were read. The article refers to the fact that the gas lights were so dim that it was impossible for the debaters to read their speeches without great difficulty.

The most detailed extant description of a public exhibition concerns the Webster Society "public" of the Law School. Although this study limits itself to the Literary College, it seems advisable that this account be recorded because it furnishes a fairly complete report of such programs:

> The first of the two annual public exercises of this, the oldest and most popular of the societies of the Law Department, occurred on the evening of the 14th ultimo, at the Unitarian Church. A large and attentive audience

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[1] The Michigan University Magazine, March, 1868.

[2] The Michigan University Magazine, March, 1868. See Appendix A for the Prize Debate Speech.

[3] Ibid.

had assembled; at half past seven o'clock the exercises began with the Gwinner's Band . . . .

The orator of the evening was R. W. Butterfield, who delivered appropriately and with force a very ably written production on "Alexander Hamilton."

After the oration Messrs. S. B. Eason and T. J. McDonnell, sustaining the affirmative, and Messrs. C. K. Offield and L. T. Kinne supporting the negative, discussed the following question: "Resolved: That the Reconstruction Policy of Congress Is Unconstitutional and Inexpedient". . . .

Mr. Eason opened the discussion with a speech argumentative, well put together, and highly ornamented. His illustrations and figures were appropriate and striking. His position on the stage was good and his gesticulation graceful. The attempt, at the close of his speech, to bring the two irreconcilables--the "Blue" and the "Gray"--into too close juxtaposition and caused them to dwell together for so much loving kindness was certainly objectionable.

Mr. Offield made the first speech on the negative. The gentleman has evidently talked to more audiences than one. Most people, most probably, were highly entertained. He is unusually fluent and his style exceedingly flowery. . . . It might be suggested that to sacrifice force to beauty--which is not at all out of the order of things--or to permit rhetoric too often to usurp the prerogatives of logic is not the method by which an oration will most likely obtain success.

Mr. McDonnell impresses one as an eminently practical man. He handles a subject like a logician . . . his analytical cast of mind and powers of logical thought will certainly render him successful in his chosen profession.

Mr. Kinne closed the debate with a speech that commanded the attention of the audience, notwithstanding the fact that they had been sitting for two hours and a half in a close crowded room. Still, if the gentleman had paid more attention to eloquence of diction and to apt and appropriate illustrations, . . . the twenty minutes he consumed in speaking would probably not have seemed quite so long.

The whole entertainment was a success.[1]

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[1] The Michigan University Magazine, January, 1868.

The Later Years--Special Programs

The accounts of the literary society public exhibition recorded in the student newspaper in later years were much less detailed than the one above. They do, however, furnish information as to the nature of the events during the time when literary societies in particular and the speech activities in general were on the decline.

In 1870 it was reported that:

> The Alpha Nu and Adelphi Literary Societies' exhibitions held in the Unitarian Church, Friday evening March 11, were well attended, the house being over-crowded. C. M. Wells of the Alpha Nu, delivered an oration on "The Bible in the Public Schools," the question "Resolved: That the Pardoning Power Should Be Abolished," was discussed . . . . "On the Sea and On the Shore" was the title of an original poem . . . the music by the University Glee Club was well received. The exercises were too long, but for the most part attentively listened to . . . during the evening, several glaring though common blunders in accentuation were made.[1] [The article indicated "inquiry" and "research" as good examples.]

In 1872, the exercises of the two societies were again held in the Unitarian Church in March. An oration on "An International Congress" was presented, and the proposition: "Resolved: That the Government of the United States Ought to Own and Control the Railroads" was debated, along with the presentation of a poem, "Talis Vita." The article noted that the music was furnished by Gwinner's Band, that the speakers were "listened to by a large audience," and most significantly, "the exercises for once were of proper length."[2]

In 1879, the literary societies instigated a new

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[1] The Chronicle, March 26, 1870.

[2] The Chronicle, March 23, 1872.

approach in their public exhibitions which shows the influence of Professor Moses Coit Tyler and his department. The Chronicle for November 15, 1879 stated that the Literary Adelphi society would present a public exhibition dealing with Robert Burns as an author. This program included historical skits, a critical essay on Burns, and the reading of four of his works.[1] The following year Adelphi presented a special program centered around Richard Sheridan, showing the leading characterizations of this "author and statesman."[2] The article noted, however, that there was little attention given by any outsiders to this public exhibition.

As already indicated, many special programs were being held at this time, including programs presented exclusively by the coeds at the University. The women had been invited to enter the two major literary societies in the 1870's[3] and their presence was felt within the organizations. Most articles in The Chronicle during the 1870's noted that the flowers which decorated the hall at the exhibitions "showed the touch of a woman's fair hand."[4]

As may be surmised, the ladies' programs were the more popular. The newspaper recorded in 1883 that the program presented by the ladies of Alpha Nu had a large audience that filled the hall to overflowing. The students that evening

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[1] The Chronicle, November 15, 1879.

[2] The Chronicle, May 29, 1880.

[3] The Chronicle, June 18, 1879.

[4] The Chronicle, November 10, 1883.

presented an essay, a select reading, a paper on "The Coed," and a debate on "Resolved: That the Contract Theory of Government is a Practically Sufficient Explanation of Existing Political Relations."[1] It should be observed that the women had great motivation to prepare for their performances, partially because of the popularity of their exhibitions, and also because of their need to be accepted in the University community. In 1880, the student newspaper made mention of the thoroughness of preparation among the women students, and proposed that the men might well imitate the women on this matter.[2]

Audience Reactions

For at least the first thirty years the literary society public exhibitions were generally well attended by faculty and townspeople as well as by students. The "publics," like the class exhibitions, furnished not only entertainment but provided social events for the University. Thus there were many in the audience who came because "it was the thing to do" rather than because they were truly interested. This factor together with the typically long programs occasioned a great deal of unrest in the audience.

At least one time the audience took revenge for the length of the program with "cat-calls" and "hissing sounds." The reporter covering the event approved the reaction of the group and maintained that there might be some excuse for the

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[1] The Chronicle, April 18, 1885.

[2] The Chronicle, July 2, 1880.

behavior of the audience since the "program was so protracted as to be somewhat tedious."[1] Another critic summarized the problem of the length of the speech programs of the time: "However elegant the speech is, our patience must become weary before the close of a discussion three hours long. Witness every junior exhibition that was or ever will be held."[2]

Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to survey and describe the speaking activities of the literary societies at the University of Michigan from 1841 to 1884. The chapter has shown that:

(1) There were three major literary societies at the University: the Phi Phi Alpha, the Literary Adelphi, and the Alpha Nu. The Phi Phi Alpha society was founded in 1842 and was the first of the organized societies. The Alpha Nu society was established one year later in 1843. The Literary Adelphi came into existence in 1857, and drew largely from the membership of the Phi Phi Alpha. Later, in 1861, the Phi Phi Alpha society went out of existence. The Alpha Nu and the Literary Adelphi continued as organized groups on into the twentieth century.

In addition to the three major literary societies, there were numerous literary and debating clubs which existed

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[1] The Chronicle, April 15, 1870.

[2] The Michigan University Magazine, March, 1868.

for a period of a year or two, especially during the late 1860's. This was also the time when the literary societies were most popular. During the period of the 1870's and 1880's membership in the societies declined greatly.

Except for the very early years, the faculty took no direct action in support of the work of the organizations. The University did, however, give financial assistance by furnishing rooms within the University halls for libraries and meeting places for the organizations.

(2) The literary societies generally held weekly meetings on Friday evenings during the school term, at which time a debate was held, an oration presented, and essays from the students' publications were read. In addition, the societies held open meetings to which the general University community was invited.

(3) Debating formed the most significant activity of the literary societies. Topics and participants were usually chosen two weeks in advance, and the weekly debate at the regular meeting was the most popular and best prepared portion of the program. In the early years teams numbered as high as four or five students, but by the 1860's the pattern was set for two-man debating teams. The general format was to have the constructive speeches presented by the major participants, followed by a parliamentary session open to the entire organization. Decisions were generally rendered for the debates, either by the president or by a critic or critics appointed by him. These judges voted on the merits of the debating,

and at times presented a critical evaluation of the program. In addition, a decision was generally rendered by a division of the house on the merits of the question.

The topics chosen for debates were generally political or historical in nature, although some literary and humorous subjects were also discussed. The topics selected in the 1850's and 1860's reflect concern by students for the problems affecting the "Union."

The students generally prepared extemporaneous speeches for the weekly debates, but they had manuscript speeches for the public exhibition programs. Comment from the students themselves demonstrates that they were often inadequately prepared for their debate performances.

(4) One student was assigned the task of presenting an original oration at the weekly literary society meetings. The topics presented included biographical sketches, commonplace subjects, and political problems. The student members of the societies were even more critical of their own preparation for the orations than of the weekly debates. The minutes of the societies show that the students frequently did not fulfill the assignment by presenting their orations. In such cases, a fine was supposed to be imposed for laxity to duty, but this rule was largely ignored or by-passed.

(5) The major literary societies "published" a semi-monthly collection of original essays, stories, poems, and plays in manuscript form. The Phi Phi Alpha's publication was The Castalia; the Alpha Nu's, The Sybil; and the Adelphi's,

The Hesperian. The editors of the "publications" had great difficulty in obtaining copy for the publications. Also, in their editorials they frequently criticized the poor quality of the manuscripts submitted. The editors revealed that in some cases the students apparently plagiarized in order to fulfill their obligation "to publish."

(6) The literary societies frequently presented open meetings to which the general University and the townspeople were invited. At first these programs were the same as the weekly meetings of the organizations. By the 1860's joint debates and programs were held and in 1867 a system of prize contests was inaugurated. The topics presented at the public exhibitions were in general similar to those presented at the weekly meetings, although the debate topic selected was most frequently one of current political interest.

CHAPTER IV

STUDENT SPEAKING IN THE CLASS EXHIBITIONS

This chapter will review the general history of the class exhibitions and include materials concerning the audiences and speaking occasions. In addition, an effort will be made to report what is known about the speech delivery and composition of the addresses given. Finally, this chapter will report the opinions of students and other observers with regard to the success of class exhibition speaking programs.

Types of Class Exhibitions Speeches

The presentations at the class exhibitions took three forms. Original orations, along with infrequent original poems, were presented by the sophomore and junior students at their respective exhibitions. Masterpieces of literature were declaimed by the freshmen students.

Original Speeches

The original speeches presented by the sophomore and junior students were generally ten minutes in length. By the late 1860's, however, Professor Moses Coit Tyler, the faculty member in charge of rhetorical training, had cut down the time to five or six minutes, and a strict watch was kept on the speakers. The student newspaper noted:

> The five minute rule which was strictly adhered to, though it necessarily made many of the speeches to a

> certain extent incomplete, yet worked admirably in preventing the weariness which is sure to attend an entertainment of this kind, when some regulation is not insisted upon.[1]

These original speeches were presented in English, although it was not unusual to find an occasional oration spoken in Greek or Latin, especially during the first fifteen years of the 1841-84 period. Topics for the respective Sophomore and Junior Exhibitions usually were of the commonplace type (presentations on a general concept such as truth, sympathy, good and evil), with a few exceptions in the form of speeches on current problems. It will be noted below that there was no little dissatisfaction with the type of speeches being presented at the exhibitions, as well as disfavor toward the actual content and delivery.

The Declamations

While the sophomores and juniors presented original materials at the exhibitions, the freshmen class presented memorized declamations, famous orations, poems, and soliloquies. This differentiation was carried out because it was felt that the training should fit the level of the students. Thus the declamations of the freshmen prepared them for the following years' work.[2]

Purposes of Class Exhibitions

There appear to be several major reasons for the

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[1] The Michigan University Magazine, March, 1868.

[2] The Chronicle, June 11, 1870.

holding of the class exhibition programs. The event served as a reward to the students selected to speak and offered them opportunities to develop skill in composition and speech delivery. At the same time the exhibition provided a creative outlet for the students and a social occasion for the University community.

Rewards to the Students Selected

The Junior Exhibition was one of the outstanding events in the life of the undergraduate at the University, second only perhaps to Commencement itself. For the first seventeen years an attempt was made to have the entire junior class present itself in public exhibition. The students normally took part in rhetorical exercises throughout the semester, and the public exhibition served as a suitable climax to the training.

When the faculty in 1861 found it necessary to make appointments for Junior Exhibitions because of the size of the class, the programs took on even greater stature. Humphrey stated:

> The speakers were elected by the academic faculty (for law or medical students had nothing to do with these distinctly collegiate exercises), and were usually the leading men of the class in scholarship and literary ability. "Junior exhibition," says The University Chronicle of October 26, 1867, "is looked upon by the undergraduates as the most important event of this course, and its honors are coveted more than all others, more, even than class day positions or commencement preferences; in fact it is the only thing in nature of a prize connected with the University." Under the system which went into effect in 1867, an appointment to speak on commencement day became a greater honor than one for junior exhibition; but the latter continued to be regarded as very desirable,

although some of every class professed indifference.[1]

Developing Skills in Composition and Speech Delivery

In addition to serving as a reward for superior students, the class exhibitions afforded one of the few opportunities which students had for developing skill in composition and speech delivery. The training of students in speech in the very early days fell on the professor of logic and rhetoric.[2] The students prepared for the exhibitions through their course work in rhetoric and English language and literature. The degree of training varied greatly during the 1841-1864 period and was dependent in part upon the special interests of professors. In all cases, however, the class exhibitions served as an incentive for intensified work in composition and speech delivery.

A student in 1850 in writing to his parents referred to the intensive work that went into the preparation for a Junior Exhibition. At least he used this as a basis of justification for infrequent and brief letter writing habits:

> . . . we have seven in the class . . . we will have a Junior Exhibition which will cost us five dollars or more as there are so few of us. I am now ready with my oration. . . . For four weeks past I have been much hurried with my junior oration and now have not any time to spare for letter writing.[3]

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[1]Humphrey, op. cit., p. 56.

[2]See Chapter VI.

[3]Harvey Brayton Nichols, Letter printed in "The University in 1850," The Michigan Alumnus, XX (January, 1914), 198-201.

Creative Activity for Students

The class exhibitions, along with the literary society activities and the Commencement program, apparently offered one of the major opportunities for the students to display their abilities during the early years of the University. There were no University publications of importance until 1867. No organized activity existed in drama, music, or art at the University during the time.[1] Thus the weekly rhetorical exercises and the student exhibitions at the end of the terms served as one of the few creative outlets for the students.

The Social Features of the Class Exhibition

The class exhibitions at the University seemed to have been one of the social high-points of the year not only for the students but for the faculty and townspeople as well. It was the era before radio, television, and the motion picture. Intercollegiate athletics such as rugby, basketball, and baseball were still to be popularized, and consequently the enthusiasm for an event such as a student program of speaking was high. It was also an opportunity for the young ladies of Ann Arbor to meet socially with the boys from the University, and no little mention is made in the newspaper comments concerning the attendance of the fair sex at the exhibitions.

As will be indicated later, the audience reaction to the speakers supports the view that the class exhibitions were

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[1] Hinsdale, op. cit., pp. 123-30.

as much a social event as a speaking opportunity. The Chronicle in issuing an invitation for the event in 1870 summarized the prevailing mood by stating: "The Junior Exhibition will take place next Tuesday evening. All young gentlemen and ladies who wish to spend a pleasant evening socially are expected to be present and occupy the galleries."[1]

Classes Which Sponsored Exhibitions

The Junior Class

Although the practice of holding class exhibitions was started by the sophomore class, it was the junior class which developed the tradition of holding speaking exhibitions. Humphrey reports:

> [The first exhibition] . . . was given in the old Presbyterian Church by the sophomores on the evening of August 10, 1843. Four orations, four dissertations, four essays, and one poem, gave every member of the class a chance. By the same class of 1845 the first Junior Exhibition was given August 14, 1844.[2]

Shaw states:

> The same class continued the precedent the next year, followed by succeeding junior classes, so that these exhibitions became an institution, long supported not alone by the students but by faculty and interested citizens, as well. The end did not come until 1871 when the last Junior Exhibition was held.[3]

From 1844 through 1857, the Junior Exhibition was held once each year, with each member of the class participating in the program. In 1857, however, it was deemed necessary to

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[1] The Chronicle, March 26, 1870.

[2] Humphrey, op. cit., p. 55.

[3] Shaw, op. cit., p. 177.

hold two annual exhibitions because of the expanding University enrollment. As the class size continued to grow in the subsequent years, the problem of affording each junior an opportunity to speak at the public exhibition became even greater. In 1861 the faculty therefore found it necessary to make appointments for the Junior Exhibitions, rather than to afford the opportunity to all students. We shall see in a later section how this factor of the method of selecting the students to participate in the program played a major role in bringing about the discontinuance of the class exhibitions.[1] It will be shown how the method of selection was a chronic problem from 1861 to 1871 when the last exhibition was held. Indeed, the last reference to the class exhibitions presented in an article in The Chronicle refers to this problem:

> The very general dissatisfaction expressed [over the method of selection of the speakers] . . . will probably result in a discontinuance of Junior Exhibition. We are not prepared to say that this will be the wisest step the faculty could have pursued. We are, however, fully convinced that they could have arrived at a worse conclusion.[2]

The Freshmen and Sophomore Classes

With the exception of the year 1843, the freshmen and sophomores held exhibitions only in that period following the Civil War when speech activity was at its peak. The establishment of these under-class exhibitions appears directly related to the arrival of Moses Coit Tyler as Assistant Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in 1867.[3] The catalogue for

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[1] See the section on "Selecting the Speakers" below.

[2] The Chronicle, January 25, 1873.

[3] See Howard M. Jones and Edgar Cassady, The Life of Moses Coit Tyler (Ann Arbor: University Press, 1933).

1869-1870 states that included in the work in the Department of English Language and Literature are to be public exhibitions by each of the classes.

The student newspaper, The University Chronicle, reported the revival of the Sophomore Exhibition and the inauguration of the Freshmen Exhibitions in 1868:

> From time immemorial it has been the custom in the University for the Juniors to monopolize all the speaking in public except the Commencement exercises. . . . But old things are passing away, and already the monoploy in the exhibition business has been broken, for we are to chronicle for the first time the fact that the sophomores have claimed a share of the public attention . . . .[1]

Later that year The University Chronicle reported the first Freshman Exhibition in a bit more cynical fashion. Referring to the fact that speakers were selected on a volunteer basis, and indicating the vanity of the freshmen student body, the paper stated: "It is currently reported that the freshman class is to have an exhibition in the old Chapel. The first six rows of seats may be expected to be reserved for the speakers."[2]

The sophomore class continued their exhibitions for three years until April 29, 1870. The freshman class likewise held but three such events: the first in 1868; and the second on May 28, 1869, when eighteen members of the class of '72 were appointed by Professor Tyler to perform. The last exhibition came on May 31, 1870, when twenty-three freshmen were chosen by Professor Tyler to present declamations

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[1] The University Chronicle, March 10, 1868.

[2] The University Chronicle, April 17, 1869.

and recitals.[1] The senior class opportunity for public speaking experience was presented in the Commencement addresses.

The Selection of Speakers

As indicated earlier, for the first few years all junior class members were expected to appear in the exhibition programs. As the class grew larger this policy became unrealistic, so that by 1861 the faculty was forced to select the students. In the case of the short-lived freshmen and sophomore exhibition programs, the faculty did not face the same problem as in the Junior Exhibitions because speakers were chosen on a volunteer basis. (Contemporary comment by the students at the time was to the effect that only sophomores would be vain enough to volunteer.) In the case of the selection of the juniors, it can be seen that the faculty had so much difficulty in making choices that they turned the task over to the students. When the students were unable to agree on a plan they returned the dubious honor to the faculty again.

Edwin Humphrey summarized the problem:

> The speakers were elected by the academic faculty and were usually the leading men of the class in scholarship and literary ability . . . .
>
> As the classes grew larger the difficulty, always great, of pleasing everybody with the annual list of speakers, increased. The problem became more intricate when public opinion compelled the cutting down the number of appointees. The marking system in vogue at all other important colleges had never been used by us, so that there was no actual written evidence of superiority in scholarship or literary merit. Consequently the reasons for a particular appointment were matters of opinion, and

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[1] Humphrey, op. cit., p. 56.

> in a country where everyone's opinion is as good as any others, that test is apt to be unsatisfactory.[1]

Finally in 1868 the faculty turned the problem over to the students, and proposed that the junior class should make a decision regarding representation. This caused The University Chronicle to review the entire method of selecting the speakers for the Junior Exhibition: "With the exception of two or three times the appointments for Junior Exhibitions had heretofore been made by the faculty. This year however the privilege of deciding how and by whom the speakers shall be chosen had been given the class itself . . . ."[2]

Three methods of selection were then suggested for consideration by the junior class:

> (1) It is proposed that the class itself elect the speakers. . . . On what Basis? Would scholarship, or speaking ability, or honorable deportment, or social popularity, or all these united be requisite for a man's election? . . .
>
> (2) Some think it best that appointments be made by competition--This suggestion was for the students to submit manuscripts to the faculty unanimously for their consideration . . . .[3]

Yet, this solution presented several shortcomings. The problem of speech delivery became an issue. It was pointed out that some of the students might be good writers but ineffective as speakers. Furthermore, students selected might have low academic class ratings. Finally, there was speculation concerning whether students would be willing to take part in

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[1] Ibid.

[2] The University Chronicle, November 28, 1868.

[3] Ibid.

exhibitions governed by such procedures.

> (3) It is also proposed that the subject be left in the hands of the faculty, as it has been in the days agone. This we advocate.[1]

The University Chronicle in supporting this position argued that the professors were doing the right thing and stressed the need to keep unity in the Junior Class. At the meeting of the Junior Class the following week the students concurred with the statement of The University Chronicle, and agreed to permit the faculty to continue to decide which students were to be chosen for the Junior Exhibition programs.

The problem of selecting the speakers for the Junior Exhibition, however, was not solved. Humphrey said:

> . . . for several years there was much discontent; but '70, '71, and '72 managed to hold their exhibitions in peace. When the elections for this important honor were made in '73, a class in which the delegations of the leading secret societies were at swords points, it happened that the smallest delegation had the most appointments and that certain worthy members of the other delegations were passed by. Some also of the non-society men felt slighted. No doubt there was ground for criticism, yet when months afterwards, the names of the appointing committee transpired, the charge of intentional unfairness became ridiculous. But the appointees themselves cared so little about the matter that they offered their resignations, which were accepted.[2]

The Chronicle for the year 1872 supports Humphrey's conclusion. It was charged that the faculty had selected the students who were to appear at the exhibition with no special regard to scholarship. The faculty went only so far as to say that they believed the students chosen were a "fair

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Humphrey, op. cit., p. 59.

average representation" of the class. According to the newspaper this answer was "merely an amiable screen for the faculty to hide behind."[1] In summing up the protest, The Chronicle said, "The class has repudiated the appointments as their representatives for the coming exhibition and have concluded not to provide the customary music."[2] In the following two weeks the faculty disbanded the exercises for the year.

This marked the end of the Junior Exhibitions. The Chronicle in 1873 reported: "All the students will be rejoiced to know that the stupendous farce of last year with reference to the Junior Exhibition is not likely to be re-enacted."[3]

Audience and Occasion of the Class Exhibitions

Auditorium and Number Present

The class exhibitions were generally so popular that no suitable hall for the occasion on the University campus was to be found. Thus until approximately 1862, the exhibitions were held in one of the local churches. For a few years in the 1860's the programs moved to the hall of the Union High School, but this too caused problems.

There is no question as to the popularity of the exhibitions. The Presbyterian Church, where the exhibitions were first held, and the Methodist Church and the Union School

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[1] The Chronicle, March 9, 1872.

[2] Ibid.

[3] The Chronicle, January 25, 1873.

Hall where the exhibitions were usually held in the 1860's and early 1870's, were generally filled for the occasion. A newspaper account reported: "The Presbyterian Church was filled last evening with a large and generally intelligent audience to listen to the Junior Class of the University."[1] . . . In 1868 The Michigan University Magazine stated: "Soon after six o'clock on the evening of March 4, the Methodist Church began to be rapidly filled . . . and by seven o'clock all the available room of that large edifice was fully occupied."[2] Such references to the crowded meeting rooms appear again and again.

The class exhibition of 1860 which was first scheduled to be held in the Union School Hall was so over-crowded that portions of the hall collapsed. The class historian of 1861 states:

> The first exhibition occurred on February 10, 1860, or rather it was to have occurred on that date--the place selected was the hall of the Ann Arbor High School. There was then no University Hall. The assembly room was on the third story up two flights of winding stairs. The night came, and the crowd came also. The hall was packed to its utmost capacity. President Tappan was to preside. Members of the faculty were on the platform. All was in readiness to begin, when one of the tall slender iron pillars, supporting the ceiling and the roof, fell with a crash. There was consternation amounting almost to a panic and a rush for the stair, but almost by miracle no one was seriously injured. But the exhibition was adjourned to the next week, and then was held on the 14th in the Methodist Church.[3]

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[1] The Detroit Free Press, February 17, 1858.

[2] The Michigan University Magazine, March, 1868.

[3] Henry M. Utley and Byron M. Cutcheon, The Class of 1861 (Detroit: John Bornman and Sons, 1902), p. 29.

A contemporary newspaper report of the accident concurs in general with the historian, although the reporter stated that four persons were badly injured:

> The large hall which is situated in the third story of the Union School building was filled to its utmost capacity, and there probably being one thousand persons in attendance, and the exercises about to begin when a portion of the floor commenced settling. In a moment a scene of excitement and confusion presented itself that beggars description.[1]

The Nature of the Audience and Occasion

The audience which attended class exhibitions included not only the students and the faculty of the University, but the city clergy and other officials of Ann Arbor as well. The exhibition served as one of those rare opportunities for the University to join the Ann Arbor community in an evening of fellowship. In those pre-coeducational days, the occasion also assumed special importance because the unattached girls of Ann Arbor and their families might socialize with the eligible young men of the University. A Detroit reporter described the scene:

> Fair women, who apparently without any stretch of the imagination would answer to the beautiful description of the Princess of Ila and her maidens . . . were there to light up their eyes with the joyous scene, and from the crowded galleries, greeted with smiles their favorite speakers. Oh! the imagination there is in a woman's smile![2]

Two years later another reporter for the Free Press attested to the large attendance at the exhibitions:

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[1] The Detroit Free Press, February 17, 1858.

[2] Ibid.

> That great event in a student's life, the Junior Exhibition, took place last night at the Union Hall. At an early hour the hall was crowded to its utmost capacity, when the doors were closed and large numbers were unable to obtain admission. Your reporter . . . squeezed himself into a densely packed crowd of about 1,000 persons. . . . This hall having been designed and erected prior to the days of the crinoline, the audience were compelled to effect their exit in the manner of the aborigines--single file.[1]

There apparently was a definite seating arrangement for persons in attendance, at least when the exhibitions were held in the churches. The upper galleries were filled by the students and their women guests, while the main floor was reserved for the faculty, the town officials, and the older group. The student newspaper revealed: "The galleries were completely occupied by the youth and beauty of the city, while the more sedate were shown pleasant sittings in the body of the church by gentlemanly ushers."[2] This was a typical comment to be found in the reviews of the exhibitions. For example, the announcements concerning the coming affairs listed in The Chronicle also stated that the students should occupy the galleries.

There are at least two accounts in the student newspaper, The Chronicle, which give us a good indication of the nature of the audience attending the exhibitions. The paper for 1870 states:

> A crowded church, music, and 18 speakers, all in one evening--such was the Junior Exhibition March 29, 1870. . . . Several of the Regents were present--the faculty .

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[1] The Detroit Free Press, February 16, 1860.

[2] The University Chronicle, May 22, 1869.

> too, and of course the city clergy. Reporters also were on hand to "write up" the occasion and give those interesting and intelligible abstracts of addresses, which every year grace the columns of the Detroit dailies.[1]

A few months earlier an article referred to the audience and the occasion of the programs:

> Now of the audience what shall be said? Some of course are personally interested in the speakers, but perhaps it is safe to say that the majority go to indulge in that very human desire for novelty. There is a little excitement attending the exhibitions, even from the time the tickets are obtained until the reports are read, which is very gratifying to the collegian, whose life of necessity be somewhat monotonous: and upon this fact may be based a strong argument for their utility. These gala evenings scattered through the course tell favorably upon the results of the year's work: good feeling is established, a natural craving gratified, and the student prevented from becoming a mere drudge.[2]

Program Format

The program format for the class exhibitions was generally standard throughout their existence. It was the custom to have the President of the University preside at the exhibitions, and he usually commenced the program with a prayer and then introduced each speaker in turn. A professional band, usually brought in from Detroit or Fort Wayne, presented music interspersed between each series of three or four speeches. As there were up to twenty-two students speaking in one evening the program generally lasted from three to four hours.

The exhibitions were apparently planned with little imagination and with little concern for the audience. There was feeling among some persons that the highlight of the

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[1] The Chronicle, February 26, 1870.

[2] The Chronicle, April 15, 1870.

evening was in the music rather than the speeches. A Chronicle reporter in 1870 summarized the attitude of many in the audience: ". . . the exercises occupied three hours; if the indifferent addresses had been omitted, [it] . . . would have lasted about two hours."[1]

Audience Reaction to the Program

There is a great deal of evidence to indicate that although the audiences of the class exhibitions were large they were not always attentive. The discourteous conduct of the people in the galleries, presumably the undergraduate students, is alluded to time and again in the student newspapers. There apparently were many causes for the behavior of the audience: the difficulty of hearing the speakers in the large auditorium, the social nature of the occasion, the length of the program, and the quality of the speeches presented.

One adverse factor which caused unfavorable audience reaction was the lack of suitable accommodations for the programs. There was, of course, no system for amplifying the voice at that time, and the students were not experienced in speaking before such a large group. These factors, coupled with the architectural design of the auditoriums, produced a difficult situation. The exercises were frequently held in the Union School Hall. An account written by Professor Henry S. Frieze points out why this meeting room was unsatisfactory:

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[1]The Chronicle, February 26, 1870.

[2]The Chronicle, April 15, 1870.

> The hall was very long, and the stage at first located at one end, the speakers could not be heard by more than half of the audience; there was therefore inattention, impatience, loud talking, and great confusion. At one of these exhibitions at which Dr. Williams presided, a junior stopped short in his speech and protested against the uproar. The late Judge Lawrence, then President of the School Board, and unwilling to have the great hall regarded as a failure, arose, and appealed to the noisy multitude in such a felicitous manner as to win attention and good feeling; and then he requested the crowd in the long aisles to seat themselves flat on the floor. They all at once complied, there was general silence, and the speaking proceeded without further disturbance. Before the hall was again occupied for similar purposes the stage was removed to its present location at the side, and continued to be employed for Commencement and exhibitions, until the new Presbyterian Church, completed in 1862, afforded a more convenient place.[1]

Even when the exhibitions were held in the churches, however, the reaction of the audience was not always favorable. The discourteous conduct of some of the people in the galleries is shown by the student newspaper reports. The University Chronicle for 1868 in reporting the Sophomore Exhibition stated:

> We regret that we are compelled to alude to a slight tendency to disorder which was evidenced two or three times during the exercises. Hissing is certainly out of place, and should be severely frowned on by all, while applause may be ridiculous if too long protracted.[2]

A year later the same newspaper had a similar complaint:

> We deeply regret the necessity of again mentioning the disorderly conduct of those occupying a large section of the galleries. It was very annoying during the whole evening to many in the audience and certainly insulting

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[1]Henry S. Frieze, "The Times of President Tappan," The Palladium, XXX (Ann Arbor: Register Printing and Publishing Co., 1888), 124.

[2]The University Chronicle, March 10, 1868.

to the speakers.[1]

A vital factor in causing the unfavorable audience reaction was the questionable quality of some of the programs presented. The best indication of the unfavorable response to the Sophmore and Junior Exhibitions came when a reviewer praised the Freshmen Exhibitions. The latter, it will be recalled, consisted of declamations rather than original works by students:

> The audience attends with a reasonable confidence that it will not have to listen to the execrable poetry, and sickly and bad logic, which is occasionally served up in the public exercises of the higher classes, and with the pleasant expectation of hearing some favorite selections well rendered. Many a one goes to freshmen exhibition bound to be pleased, who goes to junior or sophomore exhibition because others do and with the full intention of declaring it all a bore.[2]

Evaluations of the Class Exhibitions

The contemporary evaluations of the class exhibitions are largely limited to descriptions of the programs by newspaper reporters. In The Detroit Free Press the event was covered somewhat sporadically, but when articles were written a detailed report was usually given. Full one and two column stories are to be found, and this in a four page daily indicates the importance of the event. The student publications, of course, covered the program when they came into existence. In both cases, however, it should be recognized that the evaluation of the class exhibitions available to us

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[1] The University Chronicle, May 22, 1869.

[2] The Chronicle, June 11, 1870.

is given either by an "unqualified" newspaper reporter or an undergraduate student. None the less, these articles do furnish us with some insight into the problems of delivery which the participants faced, along with the general nature of the composition of the speeches presented.

Speech Delivery

In surveying the contemporary comment concerning the speech delivery of the speakers at class exhibitions, one finds that there were three common criticisms: (1) the unnatural or stilted emphasis pattern displayed by many, (2) the somewhat related problem of a sometimes inaudible voice, and (3) the excessive formality of the speakers. There were other criticisms of the speakers to be sure, such as the "degree of negligence in the commitment of their piece"[1] or the "general carelessness in their appearance upon the stage."[2] These criticisms, however, were not as predominant as the three mentioned.

The most frequent adverse comment of the newspapers was one that decried the patterns of false vocal emphasis. There is little to show that the students were in any way striving for what we call today the "conversational quality." Instead, they seem to be attempting to compensate for their overworked commonplace subject and for the somewhat inattentive if not discourteous audience. Reviews of the exhibitions

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[1] The Detroit Free Press, March 26, 1856.

[2] Ibid.

mentioned that the student speakers were "rather unfortunate, in a few instances, in the selection of words for emphasis." Another common criticism stated that a student's "voice seemed unnatural for some cause." Similarly, another student was criticized because his "tone was bad, bordering closely upon what is familiarly known as the camp meeting style."

The criticism that the students were dull and uninteresting in their presentation appears directly related to the first criticism. Apparently on frequent occasions students resigned themselves to the situation which confronted them: that of presenting an overworked subject to an inattentive audience. These speakers in such cases showed little or no enthusiasm for their subject matter:

> With all but a few there was an evident lack of enthusiasm or interest on their part and as a consequence there was little interest manifested by the audience in what was merely being mechanically uttered in a dull routine of words upon a beaten treadmill system. We will not stop to specify or call names. There are those who aught and we trust will appreciate the truthfulness of what we have said without being personal in our remarks.[1]

The third general criticism of the speakers came from the formality of the occasion. The students were extremely formal in their manner on the platform, and this added to their unnaturalness and their stilted emphasis pattern. The University Chronicle of 1869 chided the sophomores for overformality in their exhibitions: "On proper occasion, the ability to make a fine bow is undoubtedly a good thing, but for sixteen speakers to make sixty-four bows in one evening!

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[1] Ibid.

there's politeness for you . . . ."[1]

The reporters at the exhibitions apparently were sensitive to the formal, unnatural manner of the students, for when the reviewers complimented the speakers on their delivery, it was usually for a factor directly in contrast to their more frequent criticisms. Thus a person whose delivery was "distinct and pleasant," or whose speech was "delivered in a manner both forceful and easy," was most frequently praised. The reporters admittedly eulogized the performances of some of the students in the exhibitions. In doing so, however, writers were often content to say that speakers showed "a good deal of energy" in their presentations.

Speech Composition

Because there are no extant manuscripts of the student exhibition speeches and because the contemporary newspaper comment was general in its approach, there is not sufficient evidence in most cases to draw many conclusions concerning the composition of the speeches given. One is nevertheless able in surveying the articles to draw some inferences concerning the topics presented and the language of the speakers. It is, however, impossible to generalize on the style and organization of the speeches.

The Topics

It has been indicated that the Freshmen Exhibitions presented declamations, poems, and soliloquies, while the

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[1]The University Chronicle, April 17, 1869.

Sophomore and Junior Exhibitions presented original speeches in English. There are some occasions noted where the orations were presented in Greek and Latin, and on occasion an original poem was presented, but these are uncommon.

There was in general favorable response to the selections given at the Freshmen Exhibitions. The topics selected for presentation provided for a varied program for the audience and offered drill in elocution for the students who took part.[1] An example of the topics presented at the short-lived Freshmen Exhibitions is indicated by the program of 1869. Selections included were: "Speech of Pericles," "The Character of Napoleon by Charles Phillips," "Liberty of the Press by Colonel Baker," "Wolsey's Soliloquies by Shakespeare," and "The Impeachment of Warren Hastings by Macaulay."[2]

The topics for Sophomore and Junior Exhibitions were usually of the commonplace type or were ones developed from a historical theme. There were occasions when a speech concerning a current problem was presented, and at times when two speakers joined in an informal debate, but these were exceptions. It was noted on one occasion in The Chronicle that one of the most popular references in the library was the programs of the student exhibitions of former years. Apparently the students had difficulty in developing new topics. The Chronicle expressed these dissatisfactions over the selection of subjects in an editorial:

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[1] The University Chronicle, April 24, 1869.

[2] Freshmen Exhibition Programs, Michigan Historical Collections.

> A general criticism, equally applicable to all our class exercises, could be made, that too many of the speakers were unfortunate in the selection of their subject. If there is any virtue in the theory of hitching ones wagon to a star, it could be used as well in choosing a subject for an oration as in any other way. Commonplace subjects invariably lead a man into difficulties, and usually keep him there. It is worse than useless for a schoolboy to attempt saying anything of interest on "Progress" or "liberty" or "The American Ego" or "The Universal Yankee Nation." A subject of importance well understood can only insure complete success.[1]

Another article gives added support to the view that overworked subjects were selected by the speakers for presentation:

> We had our usual dilations on ancient Greece and Rome, Napoleon, The Magna Charta, The Revolutionary Fathers, etc.--always served up by the young speakers on such occasions. We would probably be disappointed if we did not hear them.[2]

An examination of the topics selected for presentation in the exhibitions of various years throughout the period reveals this emphasis upon commonplace topics.

The Detroit Free Press of 1851 reported that among the speeches presented at the Junior Exhibition that year were: "Mental Sublimity," "Mind and Its Wanderings," "Danton Versus Lamartine," "Three Temples," "The Aristocracy of Learning," "Duty the Watchword, Not Fame," "The Spiritual Superior to the Sensual."[3]

The Detroit Free Press for 1856 lists the following topics as among those presented in the exhibition of that year,

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[1] The University Chronicle, April 24, 1869.

[2] The Michigan University Magazine, March, 1868.

[3] The Detroit Free Press, April 21, 1851.

and also sheds some light as to the style of the compositions:

> We will notice a few of the speakers who we thought treated their subjects with peculiar good taste, and an ability that promised fair for their future . . . .
>
> "Statesmanship," an excellent practical popular theme handled in a masterly manner . . . .
> "Philosophy of Romance" . . . was treated rather philosophically than romantically.
> "Notoriety" . . . the speakers criticisms were just, though scathing and withering.
> "Napoleon" . . . showed a discriminate judgment as well as a fine appreciation of the talents of the great civilian statesman as well as warrior.
> "American Taste" . . . gave evidence of correct knowledge of what American taste should be and what in too many respects it is. Numerous humorous bits and it must be admitted just criticisms were made and passed upon the prevailing taste of our public--it was the speech of the evening.
> "Old Spirits Versus New" . . . well adapted and well chosen subject for the times.
> "The Greek God of Eloquence" . . . the speaker went into a rapid though concise history of the times which gave birth to heroic and progressive old orders of Greece.[1]

The student newspaper listed the following topics which were presented in the first Sophomore Exhibition of 1868: "The Path of Success," "Hero Worship," "American History from 1880-1890," "Joan of Arc," "Motors," "The Glory of the Farm," "The Enterprising Man," "The Oppressed," "Imagination," "The Delusion of the Age," "The Duty of the Age," (it is interesting to note that these last two orations constituted a debate on the inferiority of the African race), "Faith in the People."[2]

According to The University Chronicle the topics for the Sophomore Exhibition in 1869 included:

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[1] The Detroit Free Press, March 30, 1856.

[2] The Michigan University Magazine, March, 1868.

Remedial [the problem of idleness in the cities]
Our Prison System
Shall We Study?
Chivalry
The Unpopularity of Farm Life
The Spirit of the Age
An Undeveloped Talent [concerning the cultivation of vocal music]
Crete
Rome for Italians [concerning the occupation of Italy]
Der Deutsche in Amerika
The Lecture System [this speech concerned the lecture system at the University, and maintained that the lectures could not go on much longer because of the exorbitant prices now being charged by the lecturers. It proposed that the system should benefit all the people.]
States Rights
Three Periods of Irish History
New Ideas Regarding Political Reform
The Good Templars
Reserved Power [regarding the power of nature in eminent men]
Catholicism--incompatible with the Republic
Catholicism--compatible with the Republic [in reply to the above]
The Growth of Liberty
A poem--A Tale of the Sea
A Greek Oration--The Cretan Insurrection
The Stage [upholding a proposition that the influence of the stage is similar to that of art]
A People in Distress [indicating that aid was needed for the Cubans in securing independence] [1]

The topics for the Junior Exhibition in March of 1871 were: "The Seventh Decade," "Concentration," "Italian Unity," "Compulsory Education," "True Manhood," "The Religious Principle," "Christianity and the Constitution," "Napoleon's Prophecy," "Literary Honesty," "Die Amerikanische Presse," "Our Duty to Politics," "Shakespeare's Coriolanus," "Popular Ideas," "Mediocricy," "Modern Criticism," "Our Foreign Element."[2]

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[1] The University Chronicle, April 24, 1869. It may be noted that the list is different from and is more extensive than the printed program. See Appendix C.

[2] The Chronicle, March 28, 1871.

Language

The comment which is made concerning the language of the student exhibition speeches appears directly related to the choice of topics. The speaker when confronted with a commonplace subject usually resorted to trite and overworked expressions of speech or to excesses of expressions in vocabulary. One article reported: ". . . there were too many 'worn out' subjects, and consequently too many common expressions, such as 'anchor of the soul,' 'abyss of time,' 'land of the free and home of the brave,' etc."[1] An article at another date stated: "As a general criticism we might remark that the Nation was pretty heartily used, and the national flag was compelled to float before our eyes rather more frequently than the necessities of the case demanded."[2]

Style

It is not possible to analyze in detail the style of the exhibition speeches, although descriptions by newspaper reporters provide indications of some of the characteristics of style. An early article in The University Chronicle concerning the Junior Exhibition in 1869 is perhaps the most comprehensive and bears detailed examination. This article examines some aspects of style, describes the topics presented, and comments on the delivery of the speakers as well. It may be noted, however, that this was the period when Professor

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[1]The University Chronicle, April 24, 1869.

[2]The University Chronicle, May 9, 1868.

Moses Coit Tyler was prominent on the campus, and great interest was evident in public speaking.

> Mr. W. F. Matthews delivered the opening address, upon the subject, "Truth Will Triumph." His selfpossession was noteworthy. His remarks were well enough, but contained nothing that had not been said often by better men. A few of his antitheses seemed rather lame . . . .
>
> Mr. R. H. Thayer spoke upon "Eulogy Abused." He was rather unfortunate, in a few instances in the selection of words for emphasis, but in the main delivered his speech well. His ideas were expressed in smooth language, and his gestures were very fair.
>
> Mr. W. B. Stevens made some commonsense remarks upon "Conversation" his delivery was free from restraint and was characterized by his unusual earnestness.
>
> Mr. C. S. Carter's subject was "Mania for City Life." His appearance upon the platform was good, and all his gestures were appropriate. He gave many strong reasons for improving the country, instead of giving entire attention to the cities.
>
> Mr. T. C. Cristy's ideas were sensible and sound, and well worthy of adoption by all political parties. His articulation was perfect, but his voice seemed unnatural from some cause, during a portion of the time. His subject was "The Nation's Parricides."
>
> Mr. Frank Bradley's oration was written in the Greek language . . . it was fluently delivered, but too long. Short addresses in the various languages, ancient and modern, make a pleasing variety.
>
> Mr. Charles Keen Dodge of Jackson, Michigan, was then introduced, and made the slightly original statement that "the most remarkable delusion of modern times is the organization of Good Templars . . ."
>
> Mr. W. Hyde gave his views of "What America Demands of Her Scholars." His speech was a diluted reiteration of the demands which have been made upon them for the past hundred years, his tone was bad, bordering closely upon what is familiarly known as the camp meeting style. His speech was not a success . . . .[1]

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[1] The University Chronicle, April 17, 1869.

Preparation for the Class Exhibitions

The class exhibitions held at the University might be termed "co-curricular," for the students prepared for their exhibitions through their work in rhetoric and English language and literature as will be shown in Chapter VI. The training of the students in the very early days fell on the professor of logic and rhetoric.[1]

There is evidence to show that the thoroughness of training given to students varied greatly throughout the period. The Detroit Free Press, in discussing the Junior Exhibition of 1860, expressed its satisfaction regarding the improvement of the speaking:

> . . . this improvement no doubt [is] due to the efforts of the recently appointed Professors White and Brooks, who now have the department of study in their charge. Heretofore we are informed, the preparation for the public literary exhibition of the University has been chiefly under the care of President Tappan, who, though himself a highly respectable rhetorician, has had too many other cares on his hands to give the adequate attention to the rhetorical drilling of the students. It is plain that more time and effort are now bestowed on this important branch of the University . . . .[2]

The Detroit Free Press took notice of the occasion that year to give a rather detailed critical review of the past Junior Exhibitions in general, and of the University's training in rhetoric in particular:

> It has always been the custom in past years to eulogize indiscriminately the public literary exercises of the University. Now it may be well suitable to encourage young men by a proper amount of praise but to make them think

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[1] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1841-1870.

[2] The Detroit Free Press, February 16, 1860.

> they are already finished speakers and writers, when they have only set out on a long road leading to such an attainment--when indeed, but a few of them will ever have the patience to continue long on the way--we deem a questionable policy. Although as we have said, it has been customary to eulogize the public rhetorical exercises of the University, there has nevertheless been much complaint made in private that this department of instruction has been neglected. Such has been our own impression. Neither the style of the composition, nor the range of the subject, nor the delivery of the young men has been quite satisfactory to the best and most intelligent friends of the University. We think there is no use in disguising these facts; and we are more willing now to speak of them as we discern immediate evidences of improvement. Not only is the elocution better than formerly, but the style of writing exhibits much less senseless rant, much more force, clearness of thought and classical finish.[1]

It seems evident that although the press made a habit of reviewing very favorably the public exercises of the 1850's, there was actually direct criticism of the University because the students were given little training in speaking. It should be noted, however, that this criticism was not made known prior to 1860.

The students apparently received the most extensive training for the exhibitions when Moses Coit Tyler came to the University as Assistant Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in 1867. The Michigan University Magazine in commenting on the exhibition of 1868 paid special recognition to Professor Tyler and the work that he was doing in the area of rhetoric:

> . . . there was a remarkable evenness in the declamation of the different speakers. None can be said to have greatly surpassed the other. The average excellence too was higher than in other former performances of the kind we have listened to here. This is no doubt largely due to the training of Professor Tyler and speaks well for his

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[1] Ibid.

> energy and ability as a teacher of rhetoric. We are constantly reminded of the great service he is rendering the University in this department.[1]

There are some interesting accounts of how students prepared themselves for the exhibitions. George Pray, a member of the first graduating class, made at least three specific references in his diary to the Junior Exhibitions and his method of preparation:

> June 4: I wrote the outline of a piece for exhibition.
> June 25: I rehearsed my piece before Professor Williams today. I am ready for the exhibition anytime.
> July 28: In the evening I went out into the woods and got on a stump and rehearsed my oration with great effect on the trees and bushes.[2]

Some twenty years later an allusion of a humorous nature is made about preparation methods:

> Those unearthy and discordant sounds issuing from the different recitation rooms, along with the occasional appearance of a student with portentous mien, hurrying out of town for unknown parts and carrying a "Vocal Culture," remind the initiated of the approach of the exhibition season . . . .[3]

At another time the student newspaper noted a somewhat unusual method of preparing for the Junior Exhibitions:

> The juniors have persistently hurled their exhibition speeches at the gravestone of the cemetery every fine day for weeks. Do they expect to wake the dead by their eloquence?[4]

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[1] The Michigan University Magazine, April, 1868.

[2] Diary of George Washington Pray, published in "University's First Class Graduates," Michigan Alumnus, XXXVIII, No. 20 (March 5, 1932), 386.

[3] The Chronicle, February 26, 1870.

[4] The Chronicle, March 28, 1870.

The Protests by Students

The students at the University frequently took the occasion of the class exhibitions to ridicule the faculty and fellow classmates. The student protest generally took the form of two sources: (1) mock programs deriding the faculty and administration as well as fellow class members; and (2) demonstrations at the exhibitions themselves. These student protests, although at times going beyond the bounds of good taste, furnish one of the most interesting aspects in the history of student life at the University. An intense inter-class rivalry was prominent during the time of the class exhibitions, and apparently the freshman and sophomore classes were the leaders in disturbances. Frequently they were aided by students who were chagrined at not being selected for appearance on the program which their class was presenting.

The mock programs of the student exhibitions apparently began in the 1860's, when the classes became so large that it was necessary to select the students who were to appear on the program rather than to have all class members speak. The programs were usually printed in a nearby town and brought to Ann Arbor a day or two before the scheduled exhibition. In general the programs burlesqued the exhibition proper as well as the music and the faculty. The program for the class of 1862 was entitled "The University Bedbug," while the next year the mock program was entitled "The Great Moral Exhibition of the Junior Class of Michigan University."[1]

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[1]Humprhey, op. cit., p. 67. See also the Mock Programs, University of Michigan Collection, General Library, University of Michigan, and the Michigan Historical Collections.

Frieze has perhaps best given the description of the problem of the mock program:

> A mock program afforded large opportunity to those members of the Junior Class who are not honored with an appointment to exercise their wit at the expense of their more lucky classmates, and of any others, whether officers or students whom they might wish to ridicule. Members of the faculty, especially such as had salient perculiarities, and sometimes the president, not infrequently found themselves advertised in doggeral lines to take part in the performance while the exhibitors themselves were named and characterized in such a manner, and their themes also designated with such absurd titles, that when the poor victims appeared on the stage, the audience being plentifully supplied with the mock program as well and the genuine could hardly escape their influence. Many of the officers were indicated in these humorous documents by some nickname . . . but beginning as they did, in a spirit of harmless mirth, just like the practice of hazing, they inevitably took on at least a more or less criminal character, not seldom outraging morality and decency. For college life cannot avoid occasions of personal enmity, and the college community must always contain at least some base character; and the influence of both came naturally to show themselves in these anonymous programs . . . . Accordingly these programs at last became a public nuisance; and President Tappan and the faculty made every effort to suppress them. This was very difficult because of the facility with which the printing of them could be secured in neighboring towns and of the ease with which they could be circulated in secret. To be sure the authors in a few instances were detected and expelled; but the temptation to make use of such a congenial instrument for venting malice and vileness from time to time led some of the more reckless to repeat the offense, and it can scarcely be said to have been abolished until the junior exhibitions themselves disappeared.[1]

Humphrey states that in the late 1860's the attacks made through the mock programs became so vicious that finally in 1868 when the Class of 1869 was presenting its exhibition, several members of the sophomore class were suspended because of their part in the printing of the mock program. This incident brought about the suppression of mock exhibitions.[2]

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[1] Frieze, "The Times of President Tappan," op. cit., p. 129.

[2] Humphrey, op. cit., p. 68.

The Chronicle supports this assertation, but shows also that the students were later reinstated after a petition to the faculty by the freshman class.[1] Students of the later classes took a pledge to refrain from printing the mock programs.

The second form of protest took the form of demonstrations at the exhibitions themselves. The most famous incident against the exhibitions came at the Sophomore Exhibition held April 29, 1870, in the Methodist Church, when a rooster was tossed from the gallery to the stage in the midst of the program. Humphrey described the scene as follows:

> As the evening wore away the flagging interest of the audience was aroused by the descent of a rooster in a somewhat intricate curve from the gallery to the stage, where it lay at the feet of Acting President Frieze. This induction of poultry into the Methodist Church was too much for the patience of the authorities. Four of the class were suspended for six months, others for a longer period of time, but all were restored in consideration of a pledge by the class that it would refrain during the ensuing year from the usual disorderly conduct of sophomores.[2]

The Chronicle gives the following account of the episode:

> But a word about that rooster, that genuine, live rooster which was tossed last night from one of the galleries down to the front of the stage! That was fowl play on the part of the freshmen. The event took place when the exercises were about half over and while the audience was standing and listening to the . . . orchestra. The sensation caused by the bird was so great and uproarious that the music ceased for a time, and laughter and chagrin reigned supreme.[3]

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[1] The Chronicle, May 28, 1880.

[2] Humphrey, op. cit., p. 56.

[3] The Chronicle, April 30, 1870.

The mock programs and the student behavior at the exercises reveal the feelings which many of the students had toward the class exhibitions. Apparently many of the students were skeptical of the value of the speaking situation and the dignity of the occasion and acted accordingly. Others took the occasion to ridicule their more fortunate fellow classmates who were selected to speak. As a result, the students on the exhibition programs generally faced trying speaking situations.

Summary

(1) The general history of the class exhibitions covers a period from 1843 through 1871. The most emphasis was placed on the Junior Class Exhibitions which were held from 1844 through 1871. The sophomore class had a total of six exhibitions, all but one in the post-Civil War period; while the freshman class sponsored programs in 1869 and 1870.

The immediate cause of the discontinuance of the exhibition programs was the disagreement over the proper method of selecting the students who were to appear on the programs. In addition, however, there was some general dissatisfaction with the exhibitions throughout the years in which they were held, and especially immediately prior to their discontinuance.

(2) In the early days of the University, the exhibitions were regarded as a major event in the calendar of the University. Even as late as 1867, an invitation to speak at the Junior Exhibition was regarded as one of the highest honors of the University. The general dissatisfaction over the method

of selecting the speakers coupled with incidents occasioned by strong class rivalry did much to weaken the importance of the exhibitions.

(3) The class exhibitions were festive and social in nature. The programs were always exceedingly well attended, although there are indications that many in the audience came to fill a social obligation rather than to hear the speakers. The audience included some of the most prominent persons of the University and the city of Ann Arbor, with the President usually presiding. The University students were generally assigned seats in the galleries and at the rear of the hall. Especially in the later years, the student listeners became hecklers and therefore strict orderliness was no longer common at exhibitions.

(4) In the early days when the classes were relatively small, every junior student was expected to participate in the exhibition programs. As the classes grew larger, the faculty was required to select the speakers who were to appear on the program. There is no evidence that reveals the exact criteria which the faculty used in selecting the speakers.

(5) The degree of preparation of the students for the program and the training offered by the faculty for these exhibitions varied greatly throughout the period. During some years the student prepared for his appearance through the rhetorical exercises offered to the various classes. The Professor who took the most interest in this training was probably Professor Moses Coit Tyler, who came to the University in

1867. There is reason to believe that the students worked over a long period of time in the preparation of their exhibition speeches.

(6) In general the newspaper comments on the delivery of the speakers were quite similar to those which one might find in modern times. The one fault consistently found with the delivery of the various speakers was the stilted and unnatural manner of presentation and emphasis, indicating a lack of the "conversational quality" as we know it today.

(7) The speeches for the exhibitions were generally ten minutes in length, although in the later years Professor Tyler reduced the time by instigating a strict five or six minute ruling. The topics presented were generally philosophical in nature, but there were occasions when contemporary events were discussed. For the most part, the student speakers selected a commonplace topic and presented it in an orthodox, oratorical manner. The contemporary news comment on the speeches generally tended to compliment the speaker in laudatory terms, but there is sufficient specific criticism concerning the speeches at the exhibition to indicate a general dissatisfaction with the hackneyed development of over-worked topics.

(8) The students protested frequently against the class exhibitions by printing offensive mock programs of the exhibitions. These were generally distributed throughout Ann Arbor on the day of the program. On other occasions the students created major disturbances at the exhibitions. These

protests form an important segment in the history of student life at the University, and in part were an outward manifestation of dissatisfactions with the exhibitions.

CHAPTER V

STUDENT SPEAKING IN COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES

In Chapter IV it was shown that the class exhibitions provided one of the major opportunities for students to speak before public groups. The other major public demonstration for the students came at Commencement time, for what the class exhibitions were to the juniors the Commencement exercises were to the senior students. Seniors at the University were afforded two opportunities to speak during the Commencement week exercises: an appearance on the regular Commencement Day program, and, after 1861, an appearance in special Class Day exercises.

Origin and History of Student Commencement Speeches

Early Policies on Commencement

In the Spring of 1845 as the first Commencement for the University approached, the Board of Regents began to make plans for the first Commencement program to be held on August 6th. The Board generally felt that the Commencement should be a rather quiet and dignified event and that, as was the custom in other universities, the students should make a formal presentation at the graduation. They thus passed the regulation stating that all students were expected to perform at Commencement and that the faculty would be in control of

the program. The resolution read:

> Candidates for degrees shall attend such public processions on Commencement Day as the faculty may direct and perform such public exercises as may have been previously appointed them. No public exhibition or exercises shall be allowed without approval of the faculty. There shall be no military parade, bands of professional musicians, illuminations or fireworks, balls or parties for feasting by the students, on the occasion of the Commencement . . . .[1]

Farrand stated that this regulation was difficult to enforce from the first. The seniors soon were having Commencement banquets approved by the faculty. Likewise, before long professional musicians were included in the graduation procession.[2]

The advisability of having each student speak at Commencement was also questioned early. The Board of Regents at their meeting on August 5, 1845 had a motion before them to cancel the Commencement speeches and to substitute one valedictory address.[3] The motion was defeated, however, and thus the practice of having student speakers at the Commencement programs continued until 1878.

The importance with which the University administration viewed the Commencement exercises is evidenced by the policy established in 1859:

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[1] University of Michigan Regents' Proceedings: 1837-1864 (Ann Arbor: Published by the University, 1915), p. 291. Available in the Michigan Historical Collections.

[2] Farrand, op. cit., p. 56.

[3] University of Michigan Regents' Proceedings: 1837-1864, op. cit., p. 319.

> With 1859 began "the senior vacation": examinations were held in May, the senior was allowed the month of June for the preparation of his oration, for rest, and for removing any deficiency which occurred in his college work.[1]

The practice of a senior vacation was continued until speeches were abolished in 1878.

Modifications of Early Policies

As the classes of the literary college grew larger the Commencement Day program was of necessity extended, and soon the exercises became an all day affair. As early as 1849 two separate Commencement programs were held (although most sources show that it was 1854 when the Commencement was first divided into two sections):

> The class with 23 members, graduated July 18, 1849, from the old Presbyterian Church, the assignment of places was not honorary but alphabetical. At the morning session thirteen of the members delivered orations. At the afternoon session, the remaining ten, followed by baccalaureate by Professor Williams.[2]

Even with the plan of having the Commencement program divided into two sections the policy did not keep pace with the increasing University enrollment. By the late 1850's one who attended Commencement Day exercises could look forward to a program lasting over eight hours, and made up for the most part of eight to ten minute speeches by the graduating students.[3]

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[1]Farrand, op. cit., p. 145.

[2]M. K. Brown, "History of the Class of 1849" Michigan Alumnus, VI, Number 8 (May, 1900), 337.

[3]The Detroit Free Press, June 24, 1858.

Finally by 1861 the program had become so unwieldy that the University changed its policy and selected twenty-five students who were chosen by lot to present the orations. If this new policy brought about the easing of the pressure of the length of the Commencement program, it also caused a problem by excluding some of the senior students who would otherwise perform. As in the case of the Junior Exhibition, the method of selection was an issue that caused a great deal of hard feeling between students and faculty.[1]

Discontinuance of the Policy of Student Speaking

As will be shown below, there was much unrest during the 1870's over the matter of Commencement speaking, and finally in 1878 the practice was discontinued. By the time of the discontinuance there was general dissatisfaction with the practice of student appearances, and the size and complexities of the University made the administration of the program unwieldy.

The class history of 1878 records:

> Two notable decrees determined upon in the most secrecy of a faculty meeting were published to us and to the world towards the close of the first semester--one abolishing Commencement appointments, the other, . . . forbidding boastful recitals and discourteous personal allusions in class history. The first of these resolutions was heartily endorsed by us.[2]

Selection of Commencement Day Speakers

For the first sixteen years every graduating senior

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[1]See the section on "Selecting the Speakers" below.

[2]"The Class History" as published in The Chronicle, June 29, 1878.

of the literary college was expected to present a Commencement speech. As already shown, however, the increasing enrollment at the University led to the abandonment of this policy. In 1861 classes had grown so large that some method of selecting the speakers had to be made.

From the outset the method of selecting the seniors who were to participate in the programs was a burden on the faculty, and no definite policy was ever established on the means of selection.

The class history of 1861 indicated that there were fifty-three graduating seniors. Twenty-four of these were selected by lot to speak on the Commencement program, although all were required to write orations.[1]

The following year the faculty inaugurated the policy of selecting by ballot the students who were to appear.[2] Nevertheless, the problem that had plagued the Junior Exhibitions, that of the method of selecting the speakers, was also to play an important role in the disontinuance of student speaking at the Commencement:

> As was the case of the junior exhibition, the selections made by the faculty were not always exempt from criticism, yet on the whole they were fairly representative of the ability of the students as shown by their four years records. The authorities gave '70 the option of making its own appointees, but after several meetings that wise class decided to let the speakers be chosen as before. In 1873-1874 The Chronicle urged that "the standard of excellence to be attained, and the regulations for the award, be fixed for this, our only college honor." After '75 had reached its senior year it asked that Commencement speaking be abolished; but the faculty denied the request, and,

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[1]Utley and Cutcheon, The Class of 1861, op. cit., p. 36.

[2]Humphrey, op. cit., p. 60.

> perplexed by the great size and abnormal merit for the class adopted the unprecedented plan of selecting twenty men by vote and then of drawing by lot ten speakers from the twenty. As the names of the ten not drawn were not made public, every member of the class could flatter himself that he was one of the twenty even if his name did not appear among the ten; and it was jocosely reported that at least thirty men were individually and privately informed by members of the faculty that they were lost in the official lottery. No subterfuge of the kind was resorted to in '76 or '77, but with the departure of the latter class student-speaking at Commencement ceased . . . .[1]

A study of the student newspapers in the 1870's reveals the discontent expressed by the student body over the Commencement appointments. By 1874 the pressure was so strong that the President announced the appointment to the individual students rather than at the Chapel exercises as had been customary in the past. They were finally disclosed to the general public on the day prior to spring vacation. When the students returned from spring recess, many in the class were disturbed over the method of announcement and the timing of the appointments. The Chronicle requested to know by what standard this "honor, a mark of approval by those who should be competent to bestow it,"[2] was given.

The feeling over the selection of the Commencement speakers continued high the following year. The faculty attempted to quiet the unrest by selecting the speakers by lot, but this only served to arouse the students even more. The seniors selected by lot "tried to abolish the nuisance [of Commencement speeches] by saying that they would not speak, but when they resigned the faculty informed them that they

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[1] Ibid.

[2] The Chronicle, April 11, 1874.

would either say their speeches or not graduate."[1]

A letter to the student newspaper commented on drawing lots for Commencement appointments: "If the faculty had wished to arouse ill-feeling on the part of the seniors, both toward themselves and each other, they could take no better course."[2]

The following year there was continued student pressure to change the Commencement program. However, the students accepted the appointments without protest, when members of the faculty wrote the names of ten men who excelled in their particular department on a slip of paper, with the highest man receiving the appointment. The Chronicle of that year, nevertheless, prophesied the procedure to come when they pleaded: "We sincerely hope that before long a choice may at least be allowed, between these declamations from boys, who in many cases have not been accustomed to attend a literary society, and men like Curtis, Tyler, etc."[3]

In 1877, the last year that Commencement speeches were to be given by the students, The Chronicle stated flatly that "the system of Commencement appointments is a failure."[4] The article emphasized the fact that the appointment to speak was looked on outside of the University as a mark of superior proficiency in college work. Yet from a student's viewpoint

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[1] The Chronicle, February 2, 1875.

[2] The Chronicle, April 24, 1875.

[3] The Chronicle, April 3, 1876.

[4] The Chronicle, November 11, 1876.

scholarship seemed to have been disregarded and the important factor was the individual student's popularity with the faculty. The writer argued that there was either the need for fair and open competition in the matter, or that the appointments should be done away with.[1] The latter course was decided upon the next year.

In 1878, after the first outside speaker had presented the Commencement address, The Chronicle noted:

> The brilliant address by the honorable G. V. N. Lothrup was enough, we think, to bring over the few who still believe in Commencement speeches. The speeches we missed, but we took great pleasure in doing so . . . .[2]

Preparation for the Performances

The method of preparing the students for a Commencement appearance follows a similar pattern to that of the training received before the class exhibitions. As indicated in Chapters IV and VI, the students received general training through their rhetorical exercises, although the type of instruction provided varied aspects during the period under study.[3] As with the Junior Exhibition, the training was greatly dependent upon the interest shown by the professor in charge of rhetorical exercises at a given time.

Apparently Saturday mornings was the time for the seniors to work on their final orations. Farrand said: "The

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[1] Ibid.

[2] The Chronicle, June 29, 1878.

[3] See Chapter VI.

members of the senior class prepared themselves for their final exhibition by delivery, each in his turn, an original speech on Saturday in Chapel before the assembled students."[1] A notation in the diary of George Beck, a student at the University in 1857, supports Farrand: "October 24, Saturday--this morning went over to Chapel to prayers, stayed for a while and listened to the declamations of the junior and senior classes."[2]

There were two University policies which tend to show that the University was desirous of giving the students adequate training for their senior performance. The Report of the Faculty to the Board of Regents on recitations indicated in 1847 that the professor in charge of rhetoric heard and criticized each Commencement speech.[3] In addition, as stated earlier, beginning in 1859 the senior students were given a vacation during which part of their time was devoted to the preparation of the Commencement oration.

Yet as we shall note in Chapter VI, the students by the 1870's were raising complaints on the lack of training afforded the senior in preparing his speech. An argument in The Chronicle asserted that the Commencement speeches were in effect the one test the alumni and citizens could use to judge

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[1]Farrand, op. cit., p. 178.

[2]Diary of George Beck, printed in "Student Life in Ann Arbor in 1857," Michigan Alumnus, XXXIV, Number 33 (March 24, 1928), 494.

[3]"Report of Faculty on Recitation" in the University of Michigan Regents' Proceedings: 1837-1864, op. cit., p. 382. See also Chapter VI.

the class. It was further stated that it was unfortunate to test the seniors on a subject which received scarcely any attention in the University.[1]

The Audience and the Occasion of the Senior Speeches

In this section the nature of the audience and the occasion of the Commencement speaking is described. By reviewing the location of the Commencement programs and the general nature of the occasion along with some of the unusual features of the Commencement, a better understanding of the total speaking situation will be provided.

Location of the Commencement Programs

The Commencement programs were so popular during the early days of the University that a hall suitable to accommodate the crowd was a continuing problem until 1874. As early as 1850 the Board of Visitors from the office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction Office decried the lack of space and the crowded conditions. In its report of that year the Board suggested the purchase of a tent that would seat some 2,500 persons and thus furnish adequate space. This suggestion, however, went unheeded.[2]

In the 1840's and 1850's Commencement was usually held

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[1] The Chronicle, April 11, 1874.

[2] "Report of the Board of Visitors" in the Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan, 1850 (Lansing: R. W. Ingals, State Printers, 1851), p. 34.

in the Presbyterian or Methodist churches, and after 1856, in the Union School building or the churches. Finally, in 1874 the University Hall was completed and was used for such programs, and the problem was temporarily solved.[1] Shaw said in this connection:

> The annual Commencement exercises were usually held in one of the local churches and sometimes, after 1856, in the Hall of the Union School Building, though nowhere was there an auditorium large enough to hold all who wished to attend--the situation did not change in fact until the erection of Hill Auditorium in 1913. Upon one occasion women were admitted an hour earlier than men. (A bit of partiality which drew a protest against such injustice and a reference to the perfectly good space wasted through the necessities of the prevailing crinolines.) One class, at least, that of '46, held its exercises in a great revival tent, especially imported from Chicago and set up after weeks of strenuous exertion on the part of the students.[2]

The Nature of the Audience and Occasion

The Commencement exercises in the early days at the University offered a festive occasion and an attentive audience for the senior student speakers. The day was one of the most popular in the year of "the University and the town." The ceremonies usually began with a procession which formed on campus and marched to the auditorium where an overflow crowd was waiting.

In the audience were generally not only the leaders of the Ann Arbor community but many officials of the state government as well. George Pray, a member of that first graduating class, wrote in his diary on August 6:

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[1]Humphrey, op. cit., p. 60.

[2]Shaw, op. cit., p. 178.

> The great day has at length come and gone--at an early hour the people began to pour into town from all quarters. We commenced operations at 10 o'clock. Everything went off alright [sic]. Some of the fellows were frightened a little, and no wonder, for paraded on the stage were the chief men of the State and the audience was a respectable one.[1]

The Detroit Free Press gave the best indication of the popularity of the Commencement exercises when it reported in 1860:

> A very large crowd was waiting outside (the Methodist Church) and as soon as the procession had passed in as many of the outsiders as could flocked in and filled every conceivable part of the church, standing in the aisles, gallery, and vestibule by the hundreds.[2]

Farrand in an early history of the University described the first Commencement exercises in the following manner:

> It was a great day for the town as well as the University; merchants closed their doors and old and young crowded to the church. Each student of the graduating class delivered an oration, and, in the judgment of the press of that day, each acquitted himself well . . . on August 6, 1845, was held the first Commencement of the University of Michigan, when eleven students received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. The exercises were held in the Presbyterian Church, Professor Williams presiding.[3]

Special Features of Commencement Day Program

The student newspaper of 1869 furnishes perhaps the best description of the special features of the Commencement ceremony, indicating the nature of the procession and the program itself:

> Though the early morning was unpropitious, the clouds gradually broke away, and the day became bright. At the

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[1]Diary of George W. Pray, printed in "Dearest Tells of Senior Days," The Michigan Alumnus, XXXVIII, Number 9, (November 28, 1931), 167.

[2]The Detroit Free Press, June 28, 1860.

[3]Farrand, op. cit., p. 58.

> ringing of the college bell at 9:30 a.m., a procession was formed on the campus, consisting of the citizens, students, graduating class, alumni, Regents and faculty; it was under the direction of O. B. Curtis, class of '65, and led by the Detroit Opera House Orchestra, marched to the M. E. Church. The house was completely filled, and the audience--suffice it to say, the audience was a goodly sight to look upon. After the Regents, faculty, and the city clergy had taken their seats upon the platform, the "Detroit Light Guard March" was played by the orchestra. Prayer was offered by President Haven, after which orations were delivered.[1]

Another special feature of the Commencement program was the use of flowers at the occasion. It was the custom to decorate the meeting places lavishly with floral arrangements, and also to present at least one bouquet to each speaker at the conclusion of his presentation. The Chronicle commented on the custom:

> The Commencement exercises of the literary department were held in University Hall on Wednesday morning. An audience of between 2,500 and 3,000 was present. . . . [Everyone] brought from one to a dozen bouquets. The result was truly astonishing as a floral exhibit. The Detroit Post says, "As an exhibition of garden products, Commencement at the University is a success, and of late years at least, quite eclipses anything done by the state Pomological society in that line!"[2]

Changing Audience Reaction Toward Commencement

The audience and the occasion for the Commencement exercises in the early days was in many respects similar to that of the class exhibitions, with a few exceptions. Commencement was naturally a more festive occasion and one which more dignitaries saw fit to attend. Likewise, it may be noted that there was generally more decorum at Commencement exercises,

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[1] The Michigan University Magazine, July, 1869.

[2] The Chronicle, June 30, 1876.

and the students for the most part were shown the respect usually accorded graduating seniors. Although there is some evidence to show that there was genuine enthusiasm shown toward the speakers in the early Commencement exercises, the interest in the student speaking gradually waned. In 1877 (the last year in which students appeared on the program) The Chronicle summed up the attitude of the audience with disparaging terms:

> A good speech is one of the last things that a Commencement Day audience expects from one that appears before them. All they come for is to see the persons whom the faculty have selected to speak, to get a general idea of their style and temperament and then pass to something else. The true attraction of Commencement lies in the fact of its being a day with a rapidly varying program, where many faces are brought before the audience.[1]

The Nature of the Commencement Day Speeches

Topics

In surveying the topics selected for presentation, one finds four general classes of subjects chosen by the students: biographical and historical sketches, commonplace subjects (speeches on general concepts such as truth, sympathy, evil), discussions of current political problems, and occasionally an original poem. The commonplace subjects and the biographical and historical sketches were by far the more popular with the students. A reporter commented on this point in 1858: "Politics were very sparingly touched, but biographies suffered. Sixteen biographical speeches--whew!"[2]

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[1] The Chronicle, June 30, 1877.

[2] The Detroit Free Press, June 24, 1858.

By reviewing the topics of the Commencement speeches for four years during the period, we are able to gain some insight into the four general classes of topics to be found in the graduating speeches.[1]

In 1845 the Commencement program included ten commonplace subjects:

Romance
The Power and Province of Rational Philosophy
The Ideal
Intellectual Sovereignty
Perfection of Philosophy
Claims of Agriculture on Science
The Hire of Intellect
The Proper Direction of Intellectual Effort
Physics and Meta-physics--Their Laws Equally Determinable
Connection Between Faith and Knowledge

In addition, one historical speech titled: "The Influence of the Crusades," was presented, as well as a salutatory address, two poems, one in English and one in Greek, and an original dramatic sketch.[2]

The program for 1861 listed twenty-four student speeches. The commonplace subjects included:

The Cost of Civilization
NonCompliance
Hart
Ideas are Kings
"It Will Work Itself Out"
Our Country's Struggle
Towers of Babel
Conflict of Truth
Hallowed Ground
The Spirit of True Enthusiasm
Military Greatness
"Labor is Life--Worship, Rest"

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[1] Commencement Programs, Michigan Historical Collections and University of Michigan Collection. See Appendix D for a list of all Commencement speech titles available.

[2] Ibid.

Power of Will
Sympathy
"Columbia"

There were six historical and biographical sketches:

Our Great Loss
The Downward Wave
Great Uprisings
Ellsworth
Thomas Carlyle
Manifest Destiny

And three current problems completed the list:

Government Popular
Government Stable
Our Silent Teachers[1]

The list of 1874 included commonplace subjects such as "Satire," "Mathematics in Nature," "Physics and Metaphysics," "Culture and Service"; an historical sketch titled "The Intellectual Activity of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century"; and a discussion of a current political problem on "Self Regulation of Industries."

The following year there were but eight speeches on the Commencement program. The program consisted of two commonplace subjects, "The Education Influence of Law," and "A Nation's Language Records A Nation's Thought"; two historical or biographical sketches called "Alexander and Aristotle," and "The Political Service of Tom Paine"; three discussions of current events, "The Next Century," "Government by Discussion," and "The Evils of American Journalism"; and an original poem entitled "The Fairy of the Glen."[2]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

Controversy Over Subjects Selected

There was at least one occasion when the subject selected by the seniors to be presented at the Commencement exercises raised a controversial issue. During the very early days at the University there was a great deal of concern expressed by many citizens of the State over the possibility of the University becoming too secular in its training. In 1848 the Board of Regents was critical of some of the topics discussed in the Commencement speeches that year, although no mention was made of the particular speeches. They did, however, pass a resolution to the effect:

> That the Board of Regents, while it accords to the graduating class great praise for the manner in which they acquitted themselves during the Commencement exercises this day, deem it to be their duty to express their disapprobation of the allusions made in some of their addresses to subjects calculated to wound the religious sensibilities of a numerous and respectable portion of our fellow citizens, and to require the faculty in the future to suppress on public occasions all such essays that wil offend in that particular.[1]

This problem was evidently cleared up in future years, for no further reference is made to the incident in future Board of Regents' reports or in the Superintendent of Public Instruction's reports. By 1850 the Board of Visitors from the Superintendent's Office were praising the addresses of the graduating seniors in the usual terms: "The addresses of the graduating class at Commencement evidenced a good degree of talent and study. They were bold and manly in sentiment, generally

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[1] University of Michigan Regents' Proceedings 1837-1864, op. cit., p. 398.

marked by good taste in composition, free and vigorous in elocution."[1]

The Problem of Originality

One of the most persistent problems of the Commencement Day speeches concerned the lack of originality as shown both by the chosen and the content of the speeches. It has already been revealed that a survey taken during the period showed that former Junior Exhibition programs and Commencement programs were very popular references in the University Library. A survey of the titles of the Commencement speeches will support this theory. The students themselves were apparently aware of two problems in this regard: similarity of topics chosen by the student speakers, and near plagiarism in content of some speeches.

Regarding topics chosen The Chronicle said: "There was unfortunately a striking similarity in topic among several of the speakers, but there was also a pleasing absence of commonplace, and we were not reminded by every speaker that our nation is this year one-hundred years old."[2]

The more serious charge of plagiarism was also discussed in an editorial in The University Chronicle in 1869. In part the article says: "It has become so proverbial in college that the students present but a very few new or original

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[1]"Report of the Board of Visitors" in The Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1850, op. cit., p. 33.

[2]The Chronicle, June 30, 1876.

ideas in their orations and essays . . . ."[1] The editorial continues by pointing out that we "only attempt to rearrange others' ideas and depend on books to furnish us with thoughts if not with words."[2]

Content of the Commencement Speeches

We lack specific knowledge concerning how the speakers at the Commencement exercises developed their topics. Since there are no known copies of Commencement speech manuscripts available, one must rely on the descriptions found in the current newspapers. Unfortuantely, many of the newspaper stories give little more than the titles of the speeches.

We do know that the speeches were from eight to ten minutes in length and that they were developed by manuscript and then memorized. There is also evidence to indicate that by the 1870's some speeches were running as short as six minutes in length.

The most complete description of the content of the speeches themselves is found in The Michigan University Magazine in 1869, wherein is developed in some detail the subjects covered at that year's Commencement. In surveying the article, one gains the most complete understanding of the materials covered by the students which are available to us at this time:

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[1] The University Chronicle, June 12, 1869.

[2] Ibid.

M. B. Kellogg, of Constantine, though the subject was perhaps not best for the occasion, made a good speech on "The World's Sympathy." He presented . . . the thought that a fellow feeling, a bond of sympathy, brings near together the world of mankind, and that man in all his positions and relations of life is mutually dependent on his fellows.

"The High and the Low" by J. M. Gelsten of Ann Arbor, consisted mostly of a setting forth of the results of the counteracting forces of good and evil; and he showed by historical references that progress springs from the never ceasing conflict. Mr. Gelsten has a good voice, and he speaks deliberately. His subject was somewhat stale.

C. E. Otes of Milo, in a well delivered and forcible speech advocated the claims of "The Soldier as a Statesman," affirming that military discipline fitted a man for the performance of governmental duties. History he thought has fully established the fact, hence, the prejudice existing against the soldier as a civil officer should be laid aside.

T. S. Dewey, of Cambridge, spoke on "The Laboratory of the Mind," referring chiefly to the wonderful achievements of the human mind, and the surpassing glory of the heavens. The production was not without merit and was distinctly spoken.

W. C. Johns, of Decatur, made a strong argument in favor of reformation of the civil service. He thought the present deplorably corrupt conditions of the body politic demanded passage of the civil service bill, which is now discussed by the newspapers of the country.

"Theory and Practice" was dealt with ably and interestingly by T. O. Perry of Tecumseh. He showed that when properly understood, there was no great difference, after all, between theory and practice, and that the two should properly be united in perfect harmony.

It is just to say, that the oration "The Signs of the Times" by F. M. Hamilton, of Fort Wayne, Indiana, was of more than ordinary merit. He referred at some length to the various marked characteristics of the American people, such as their love of freedom, intense impatience of authority, disregard for precedence, and desire to grant equal privileges to all men. Our people, he said, should preserve full liberty and independence of thought, an inevitably prosperous future must be the lot of our country.

W. J. Darby, of Princeton, Kentucky, spoke on "An Imperishable Endowment," the instinctive feeling in the breast of every man, that a future life awaits him. Mr.

Darby mentioned the various views of different people in regard to the state of man beyond the grave, and maintained that every human being feels the immortality of the soul, and is not convinced of it by any process of reasoning. The speech was well written. A better subject could have possibly been chosen.

"The Mechanical Age" was the subject of W. J. Cocer of Ann Arbor, who gave many forcible reasons for characterizing this as an age of mechanism. But few men, he said possess individuality--the large majority think in platoons, and are controlled by outward forms and organizations, even religion has become a mere formal ritualism. In short the iron hand of mechanism is weighing heavily upon everything in the physical, the moral, and the intellectual world. The well formed sentences and thought of this production were worthy of praise.

The last oration was that of W. J. Gibson, of Ann Arbor, who delivered a fine speech on "The Mechanic." He asked and answered the questions. Who is the mechanic?--What has he done? And how has he been rewarded? The speaker defined the mechanic as one who by mechanical appliances makes the materials of nature available and useful to man. His labors are incalculable; he it was who built the bridge which man has passed over from barbarism to civilization. The speech was an able plea for the higher education of the mechanic. Mr. Gibson was selected by the speakers to make the valedictory address.

The general opinion of the audience was, that the Commencement exercises were entirely successful. Some of the speeches were worthy of high praise; and the music was all that could be desired. . . .[1]

Student Skill in Speech Delivery

As in the case of class exhibition speeches, one must rely upon the reporters of the day for evaluations of the Commencement programs. Since these writers were inclined to offer praise for the speeches in general terms, they often said little that could be regarded as analytical or critical. When critical comments are made, however, they center largely upon three recurring faults of the speakers.

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[1] The Michigan University Magazine, July, 1869.

The first fault noted was the false and exaggerated vocal emphasis on the part of some, and a monotonous and dull pattern demonstrated by others. Frequent comments found in the reviews of the Commencement exercises suggest this point:

> He hurried through his piece with such rapidity that the audience were unable to keep up with him.[1]
> Too little animation.
> was in bad taste--too theatrical.
> A Commonplace oration delivered in spread eagle style.[2]
> The speaker jerked out his words as though to spit them out.[3]

In spite of the laudatory approach taken by many of the reporters towards the Commencement reviews, there are by comparison very few remarks concerning students who "delivered. . . [their speeches] with feeling and earnestness" or who were "listened to for the speech itself and . . . loudly applauded."[4]

Accounts of the speakers at the Class Day exercises point to a second recurring problem that the students had in delivering their presentations effectively: that of adequate vocal projection. A comment showing that "the speakers' delivery was evidently his own, but unfortunately he neglected to take into calculation the needs of those in the back seats"[5] can frequently be found in reviews. On some occasions the audience actually reminded the speaker to speak louder: "A

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[1] The Detroit Free Press, June 26, 1860.

[2] The Detroit Free Press, June 24, 1858.

[3] The Detroit Free Press, July 1, 1859.

[4] The Detroit Free Press, July 16, 1859.

[5] The Chronicle, June 29, 1878.

poem was read by Mr. Horton . . . by a way of criticism we can only complain that the gentleman did not read loud enough--at least not at the beginning. It was not long, however, before the furor began to assert itself in his manner."[1]

The third problem of many senior speakers was the lack of adequate memorization of their materials. The seniors for the most part wrote out their speeches and then memorized them, and apparently this procedure made it more difficult for them to be direct and natural in delivery. The difficulty in memorizing their manuscripts also added to their uneasiness on the platform. An account is given of one such student who when his memory failed him took his speech from his pocket and read it with the introduction: "Ladies and gentlemen, what I have not in my head I have in my pocket."[2]

Among the reasons why some of the students lacked an effective delivery in the Commencement speeches are those that have been named in connection with class exhibition speeches: (1) the students had little previous experience in speaking before large audiences, and thus many were tense and lacked adequate projection; (2) some seniors apparently were not directly concerned with the topics which they presented, and this made their presentations less "direct"; (3) the training in delivery, which in many cases apparently supported "an oratorical style" in speaking, did not adequately prepare the speakers for the Commencement programs.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] The Chronicle, June 30, 1876.

The Origin and History of Class Day Exercises

The second opportunity for seniors to speak at Commencement time came in the Class Day exercises. In this program a limited number of seniors selected by their classmates presented both formal and informal programs including a class oration, a poem, a history, and a prophecy. The practice of holding Class Day exercises did not begin until the early 1860's. The exercises were held in the early days at the beginning of senior vacation, but in 1874 the date was changed to a few days prior to formal Commencement exercises, usually on Monday or Tuesday.

There is some dispute as to which class inaugurated the custom of Class Day exercises. Farrand reveals that the class of 1862 inaugurated the practice when they held exercises as juniors in March of 1861:

> The class of 1862 inaugurated another college custom. "Class Day exercises" were held by the junior class on March 19, 1861. The class made application for the use of a chapel for their exercises, and were advised by the faculty to secure some public hall. The entertainment was given accordingly, in the Congregational Church, in the evening, and the program was as follows:
>
> (a) Inaugural of the Patriarch--Albert J. Chapman
> (b) Poem--Mind, Its Struggles and Triumph--Martin L. D'Ooge
> (c) Chronicle of the Chronicler--James H. Goodsell
> (d) Oration--Theodore Parker--Albert Nye
> (e) Prophecy of the Seer--John E. Colby
>
> A few months later the class of 1861 held class exercises on the Monday preceding Commencement. The oration and poem were delivered in public in the afternoon; the history and prophecy were for the class alone, and were discussed at Hengsterfer's in the evening at the class supper.[1]

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[1] Farrand, op. cit., p. 143.

The class of 1861, however, disputed the origin of Class Day:

> It had been claimed that Class Day was founded in the University by the class of 1862, when they were juniors, by class exercises, March 19, 1861. But that was simply a modified "Junior Exhibition." Class Day, as a feature of Commencement week, was founded by the class of 1861, on Monday, June 24, 1861. That class claims to be the origin of "distances" for that sort of a Commencement week observance . . . .
>
> It will be a difficult task to wrest from '61 the honor of having founded Class Day. It will require something better than a mid-winter junior exhibition to do it.[1]

If it is correct to say that the March 19, 1861 program was a "modified" Junior Exhibition, the date of June 24, 1861 represents the earliest Class Day exercise at the University of Michigan. After this time the custom of holding Class Day exercises continued throughout the period investigated in this study.

The participants in the Class Day exercises were elected by their colleagues, and so did not run into the difficulties of the appointment system.[2] Being elected to participate in the Class Day exercises was one of the more significant honors bestowed upon a senior student. This was especially true after the discontinuance of student speakers at Commencement.

The Nature of the Class Day Exercises

While these programs varied greatly from year to year,

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[1] Utley and Cutcheon, The Class of 1861, op. cit., p. 37.

[2] In 1880, however, a dispute between independents and fraternities caused the program to be omitted for that year.

it was customary to present an oration, a poem, the class history, and the class prophecy at the occasion. As stated earlier, the first Class Day exercises were both formal and informal in nature. For the next two years, however, the program was observed informally. Subsequently in 1865 the custom developed to present the formal portion of the Class Day exercises including the presentation of an oration in the morning at one of the local churches, and to retire to some part of the campus grounds for an outdoor exercise in the afternoon. The formal celebration held in the morning apparently included the presentation of the class to the president as revealed in The Michigan University Magazine:

> Heretofore the speaking on the part of the faculty has been in Latin or Greek, or both, but we understand that this year, for the sake of variety, the class will be introduced in good old English by Professor Winchell, in behalf of the faculty, and response in same language will be made by President Haven.[1]

The afternoon program featured the reading of the class prophecy and class history, and in most cases the presentation of some sort of a memorial from the class.[2] The student newspaper of 1876 noted:

> In the afternoon was held the class history and prophecy in the angle north of the main building and west of north college, [assumedly at the corner of State and North University Streets] a very cool and delightful place.[3]

Although the attendance at the Class Day exercises varied greatly during the period under study one pattern seemed

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[1] The Michigan University Magazine, June, 1867.

[2] Humphrey, op. cit., p. 63.

[3] The Chronicle, June 30, 1876.

to develop. The formal exercises in the morning usually were attended by only a "moderately large audience," while the afternoon program carried on by the students became a more popular affair.

There is little known of these exercises, but the material that is available reveals that Class Day was an unusual mixture of the formal program, sponsored by the faculty, and the informal, at times indiscreet program conducted by the students.

Formal Aspects of Class Day

The Class Day orations were generally rather lengthy discourses on a philosophical or artistic subject. The Chronicle in 1875 revealed:

> The oration by B. C. Burt was a finely written production on "Art in America." The speaker dwelt briefly upon the history of art in this country, mentioning some of the numerous artists and poets. The utility of art was insisted upon as a necessary recreation for our overworked American people as a means of developing their finer feelings and tastes.[1]

These speeches generally met with boredom or with outright disfavor by most of the graduating seniors. One such student decried:

> The services are opened with a prayer, after which the class orator preaches a sermon, Calvinistic in doctrine and Methodistic in delivery, spiced only with the words Greece and Rome, laid on at the rate, say, of three to the square inch.[2]

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[1] The Chronicle, July 3, 1875. For the text of the Class Day oration in 1871, see Appendix B.

[2] The Michigan University Magazine, June, 1869.

The Informal Aspects of Class Day Exercises

The afternoon exercises on Class Day gradually became more informal and more student-centered. As an example, the class of 1870 presented a leather medal to the homeliest man in the class. In 1871 prizes were given for "the best (?) poniest," "the best (?) penman," "the best (?) whiskered man," "the best (?) orator," and the "biggest eater."[1]

Problems of Class Day Exercises

There was on the part of many individuals general misgiving regarding the idea of observing Class Day. The students for the most part disliked the formal exercises, that is, the reading of the poem and the oration in the morning, while the faculty was frequently disturbed over the afternoon session. There was always the question of formality versus informality and faculty supervision versus student abandon. This led to programs which lacked a unifying theme:

> The unique performance originated we are told, in 1863. Previous to that year each graduating class gave a sort of farewell entertainment, including a history and prophecy, in one of the college buildings, but President Haven, then just entering upon his office, and which to have a public presentation of the class requested it to make arrangements for an oration and a poem. This was done and the result is the incongruous ceremony which has ever since been repeated, though such, the President assures us, was not his wish.[2]

As the afternoon exercises became more student-centered they became more offensive, especially in the reading of the

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[1] Humphrey, op. cit., p. 65.

[2] The Michigan University Magazine, May, 1869. The article was in error on the date of the inception of the exercises.

class history at which time some members of the faculty were in effect publicly "insulted." On two or three occasions the administration attempted to censor the history before its reading, but their efforts were suppressed by the seniors.[1] Finally in 1878, the faculty took definite action on the matter when it passed a resolution:

> Whereas, the public exercises of Class Day have frequently been made the occasion for discourteous allusions to officers of the University, and for both full recitals of disorderly exploits on the part of students, the faculty hereby announces that if hereafter, any member of any graduating class shall upon Class Day indulge in words or acts regarded by the faculty as disrespectful to any officer at the University, or deemed of a nature to encourage misdemeanors in other students and to interfere with the good government of the University, the name of such offending person will not be presented to the Regents for graduation.[2]

The class historian of that year made much of the resolution, claiming that it was quite a slur on the members of the senior class, and that certain principles were at stake, not the least of which was freedom of speech.[3] There was some effort on the part of the students after 1878 to do away with Class Day altogether because of faculty criticism and implicit censorship. But in spite of various criticisms and difficulties, the tradition persisted with somewhat milder subject matter until 1924.

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[1]Humphrey, op. cit., p. 65.

[2]"Resolution of the Faculty, February, 1878," as recorded in Farrand, op. cit., p. 288.

[3]"The Class History of 1878," as published in The Chronicle, June 29, 1878.

Summary

(1) It has been shown that there were two opportunities for senior students to participate in the exercises of Commencement. These were the Commencement program proper and the Class Day exercises. Students were required to speak at the first Commencement in 1845, and the practice continued until 1878, when the first outside speaker was placed on the program. The first real Class Day was held in 1861, and this practice was continued into the twentieth century.

(2) In the early days all students were expected to speak at Commencement. In the 1860's, however, classes were so large that the faculty began making the selection, and soon a Commencement appointment became the most important honor connected with the University. However, because the faculty had no announced standard for selecting the speakers, a great deal of unrest among the senior students was created by the selection of speakers.

(3) The speakers received general training in preparation for the Commencement performance through the various rhetorical exercises, and received specific help on the composition and delivery of orations from the professor in charge of rhetoric. The degree to which the student received assistance and training varied greatly throughout the period, and presumably, varied from student to student.

(4) The occasion of the Commencement exercises was always the most festive of any in the University life, with bands, processions, and floral decorations in the meeting

place. The audience always included the dignitaries of the University, city, and state. Until the 1874's attendance at Commencement was so large as to overflow the hall where the exercises were held.

(5) The topics presented by the seniors at Commencement exercises were for the most part like those of the Junior Exhibitions. Most were commonplace topics or biographical sketches. The length of the speeches varied from about ten minutes in early times to six minutes in the 1870's.

(6) The most apparent weakness of the student speakers was their unnatural manner on the platform. Few students achieved a high degree of directness in speaking. The so-called "oratorical style" characterized many of the speeches, and still others revealed a monotonous vocal cadence. There was also some difficulty in developing sufficient vocal projection by speakers to be easily heard throughout the large crowd assembled at Commencement.

(7) Class Day exercises offered a greatly varied program for the seniors. In the morning formal exercises sponsored by the faculty were held with the presentation of the class oration and class poem. In the afternoon the students conducted a speaking program. Students used this occasion to relieve the pressures of college life with less formal entertainment which included the presentation of the class history and various humorous awards.

CHAPTER VI

CURRICULAR TRAINING IN PUBLIC SPEAKING

It has been shown in Chapters IV and V that undergraduate students at the University received some formal training designed to prepare them for their participation in the class exhibitions and in the Commencement programs. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the type and the extent of this formal training by studying available data concerning public speaking as a phase of curricular subjects.

The information to be presented will be classified under four major headings. The first section indicates the major professors who were in charge of the areas of instruction related to speech, together with professorial titles. In the second section what is known concerning the curriculum pertaining to speech is analyzed. Section three briefly examines textbooks used in courses which have an emphasis upon public speaking. Section four deals with the opinions or "pressures" by both students and faculty relating to specialized training in elocution and the establishment of a chair of elocution.

The information presented in the four main divisions of this chapter will follow a chronological pattern. When possible data will be subdivided in terms of three periods identified as: The Beginning Period, 1841-1852; The Middle

Period, 1852-1867; and The Later Period, 1867-1884. Significant in this regard are the appointment of President Henry P. Tappan in 1852 and the appointment of Professor Moses Coit Tyler in 1867.

Professors Who Taught Courses Related to Speech

The purpose of this section is to identify the major professors who taught courses related to public speaking during the period 1841-1864. It was the custom during this time to combine various professorships such as those in logic, rhetoric, history, and philosophy. Professorships by title did not name "elocution," "oratory," or "public speaking," although speech instruction might nevertheless have a place in the responsibilities of given professorships.

The Beginning Period

At the first board of Regents meeting of the University of Michigan action was taken to establish a professorship in "mental philosophy." It was stated that this professor "shall have in charge the instruction in moral philosophy, natural theology, rhetoric, oratory, logic, and history of all religions."[1] This position, however, as invisioned by the Regents in 1837, was not immediately filled. When the campus opened in Ann Arbor in 1841, George P. Williams was appointed Professor of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics, and he offered whatever speech training that was available to

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[1] University of Michigan Regents' Proceedings, 1837-1864, op. cit., p. 5.

the students during the first two years.[1] In 1843 the Rev. Edward Thomson was appointed Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy, and along with Williams, apparently assisted in providing some speech training for the students.[2] In 1845, Rev. Andrew Ten Brook was appointed Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy.[3] The following year in 1846 the first professorial title including the terms logic and rhetoric at the University of Michigan was bestowed on Daniel D. Whedon.[4] He was given the Chair of Professor of Logic, Rhetoric, and Philosophy of History. Professors Ten Brook and Whedon served to provide rhetorical instruction during the remainder of the beginning period, although philosophy, logic, and history would seem to have been especially emphasized.

The Middle Period

In 1852, the year of President Tappan's arrival, the catalogue announcement under the heading of "Rhetoric" stated that "the Professor of Ancient and Modern Languages, and the Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy take charge of this branch jointly."[5] Apparently by this date there had been some pressure toward a separate professorship of English

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[1] University of Michigan Regents' Proceedings: 1837-1864, op. cit., p. 5.

[2] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1843, p. 5.

[3] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1845, p. 4.

[4] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1846, p. 4.

[5] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1852-53, p. 33.

and rhetoric. In fact, the chair of "Professor of Rhetoric and English Language"[1] had been established and announced in in the 1852-53 catalogue, although the position had not been filled. This desire to have a separate branch of study was accomplished in some measure when in 1854 Rev. Erastus O. Haven was given the title of Professor of History and English Literature.[2] This marked the first time that the designation "English Literature" was used. Furthermore, the oral aspects of English or public speaking were included as responsibilities of the professorship which Haven assumed.

When Haven left the University and returned East, Andrew Dickson White and Datus C. Brooks were put in charge of the training in English Language and Rhetoric, the former holding the position of Professor of History and English Literature, and the latter filling the chair of Assistant Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature.[3]

With Haven's return in 1863 as President of the University, Brooks was named Librarian, and White was given his wish of a professorship exclusively in the area of history. Erastus O. Haven then assumed his dual role as President and Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature. He was assisted by Allen J. Curtis who was Instructor in Rhetoric and Mathematics.[4]

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[1] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1852-53, p. 5.

[2] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1858-59, p. 8.

[3] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1858-59, p. 6.

[4] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1864-65, p. 3.

The Later Period

In 1867 Moses Coit Tyler came to the University as Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature. It will be noted later that Tyler, apparently more than any other man prior to Professor Trueblood, influenced the curriculum of rhetoric within the University. Tyler had a direct influence upon the amount and type of training that the students received in public speaking and elocution, at first favorably, and then in the 1870's adversely.

President Haven indicated in his annual report of 1868 that A. J. Curtis had been absent the previous year because of ill health. "In the meantime the professorship was ably filled by the appointment of Moses Coit Tyler, M. A., who by his zealous and able devotion to the English Language and Literature and the Science and Art of Elocution, is greatly elevating the standard of scholarship of the University in these two branches of study."[1] Casady and Jones in their comprehensive work on the life of Tyler stated that President Haven had chosen Tyler largely because of his reputation as a speaker and journalist. His main business therefore was teaching elocution and rhetoric along with one course in the history of literature.[2]

Although Tyler was diligent and thorough in his training of students in public speaking and elocution, his main

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[1]"President's Report to the Board of Regents," September 29, 1868 in the Proceedings of the Board of Regents of the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor: Published by the University, 1870), p. 279.

[2]Casady and Jones, op. cit., p. 119.

interests lay in the study of literature, and this he pursued with increasing effort at the expense of the elocutionary training. As early as 1869-70, he had dropped the word "rhetoric" from the catalogue and titled his department as that of "English Language and Literature."[1] W. R. Humphries in his study of "English Language and Literature" at the University has traced the trend away from the teaching of rhetoric:

> Hinsdale said that in 1874 Tyler's title was changed to Professor of the English Language and Literature (Hinsdale, page 241), and the Alumni Catalogue published in 1923 also dates the new title from 1874. The proceedings of the Regents (at that time not fully nor always accurately indexed) shows no earlier official change. But the annual catalogues for the years from 1867-73 behaved rather capriciously: According to them, Tyler's professorship was of Rhetoric and English Language and Literature in 1869-70, 1871-72, and 1872-73. His report in 1872 . . . appears in the proceedings as coming from the Professor of English Language and Literature, and the same title appears elsewhere in the proceedings of these years. It is evident that Tyler's inclination from rhetoric to literature was strong during his earlier residence at Michigan, and that his inclination received at least some official approval.[2]

It has been noted earlier in this study that during the 1870's there was a general decline in public speaking activities through the elimination of the Junior Exhibition and the Commencement addresses. Furthermore, it was during this period that there was a great decline in membership in the literary societies. Although there is no evidence to reveal any causal relationship between Tyler's de-emphasis on elocutionary training and the general decline in public speaking

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[1] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1869-70, p. 49.

[2] W. R. Humphries, "English Language and Literature" in The University of Michigan, An Encyclopedic Survey, op. cit., p. 549.

activities at the University, it should be noted that the two did occur simultaneously.

For a period of eighteen months Professor Tyler served as literary editor of Henry Ward Beecher's Christian Union in New York City in 1873 and 1874. During his absence a Mr. Leslie Ervin was acting professor in the field.[1] Also during the 1870's Harry Burns Hutchins, who later was President of the University from 1909-20, served for four years as Assistant Professor of Rhetoric and History from 1873 through 1877.[2]

In 1877 Isaac Newton Demmon was appointed as Assistant Professor in History to succeed Hutchins.[3] Demmon remained as a professor in the department during the period under study, and he was apparently one of those instrumental in inviting Professor Trueblood to the campus.[4]

In 1881 Tyler left to join Andrew White at Cornell, and Demmon became Professor of English and Rhetoric. Another professor, Benjamin J. Burt, was also named and given an assistant professorship in English and rhetoric.[5]

It should be emphasized that in the early years speech instruction was carried on by a professor who had charge of many diversified subjects. As the University enrollment

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[1]"President's Report to the Board of Regents, 1874" in the Proceedings of the Board of Regents of the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor: Published by the University, 1874), p. 383.

[2]Catalogues of the University of Michigan, 1873-77.

[3]Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1876-77, p. 8

[4]The Chronicle, December 6, 1884.

[5]Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1881-82, p. 11.

increased, more specialized appointments were made. These normally took on the names of "English Literature and Rhetoric," and then later, "English and Rhetoric." We may draw the inference with some justification that the title reflected the interest of the professor appointed, and was related to the material he emphasized in his courses.

The Nature of Curricular Training

Training pertaining to public speaking within the University varied greatly both in quantity and quality in the forty-four year period under study. With but few exceptions students from 1841 to 1877 had at least some formal work in rhetoric and logic in addition to English language and literature. It was in these courses also that students received their training in rhetorical exercises which in turn helped to prepare them for their participation in the class exhibitions and Commencement programs. In this section what is known concerning the curricular work is described and its relationship to the rhetorical exercises is shown.

The Beginning Period

This period (1841-1852) is characterized by an emphasis upon traditional rhetorics and the classics in the formal curriculum. At the same time, however, there was a strong emphasis upon weekly rhetorical exercises.

The general curriculum of the University student at this time followed a pattern similar to that of other colleges in the United States in emphasizing the classical tradition.

Entering students were generally examined in Cicero's Select Orations, as well as the more traditional courses such as English grammar, geography, arithmetic, and algebra. The curriculum itself was heavily weighted toward the Greek and Latin Languages, the student studying works by Homer, Thucydides, Xenophon, Lysias, Socrates, Demosthenes and Tacitus, as well as the Four Gospels in Greek.[1]

Richard Whately's and Samuel P. Newman's works on rhetoric were the most popular in the early rhetorical curriculum of the University. The catalogue for 1843 lists Whately's Elements of Rhetoric as the text to be studied in the third term of the junior year, while Whately's Elements of Logic was used in a course in intellectual and moral science in the second term of the senior year.[2] A Practical System of Rhetoric by Newman was apparently first used in 1845 in the second term of the sophomore year.[3] The use of Newman and Whately continued on the same general pattern until 1847, when Hugh Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres was substituted for Whately. The seniors the same year were studying Henry P. Tappan's Elements of Logic or Whately's Elements of Logic along with Plato's Gorgias.[4]

In addition to the formal curricular work, training

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[1] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1843, p. 11.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1845, p. 10.

[4] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1847, p. 10.

in public speaking per se was achieved through weekly exercises in elocution, composition, and disputations. The Board of Regents' report for 1841-42 stated: "The classes . . . have weekly exercises in elocution, composition, and disputations."[1] On this point the catalogue of the University for 1843 revealed:

> The classes attend each three recitations or lectures daily, except Saturdays, when they have one recitation and an exercise in elocution. They also have weekly exercises in translation, composition, or written disputations.[2]

The report of the faculty on recitations for 1847, after citing the number of recitations conducted by the Professor of Logic, Rhetoric, and History for that year, showed that students were given individual coaching in speech presentations:

> Most of this department lies out of the regular recitation and needs minuter explanation. The professor hears and criticizes all the compositions. He criticizes privately to each student, the chapel orations and Commencement speeches. He hears all these rehearsed as declamations of all the classes through the year. As the times of these employments are irregular, . . . it is difficult to give an exact estimate.[3]

As a climax to the rhetorical exercises, public declamations in addition to class exhibitions were held at the close of the first term up until 1852. The Board of Visitors' report

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[1]"Report of the Board of Regents" in the Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1842 (Ann Arbor: 1842), p. 85.

[2]Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1843, p. 10.

[3]"Report of the Faculty" in University of Michigan Regents' Proceedings: 1837-1864, op. cit., p. 383.

of 1850 stated:

> The recent term was closed with a Public Declamation by several members from each of the three lower classes. The speaking, with few exceptions, was highly creditable. Excellence in this respect is so important to our country, and its attainment may be so effectually encouraged, that we would strongly recommend the bestowment of a prize upon the best speaker in each of the classes.[1]

The early University of Michigan curriculum therefore did include instruction in rhetorical exercises spoken orally. This instruction provided personal guidance to each student, and included as well preparation for speeches to be given at Class Exhibitions and Commencement.

The Middle Period

The period between 1852 and 1867 is characterized by a more specialized curriculum in rhetorical training. There was a definite trend toward training in the written rather than the oral aspects of rhetoric, as witnessed by the introduction of English literature into the curriculum. It was also the time during which a course labeled "elocution" was introduced and special faculty interest was displayed toward "disputations."

New Curriculum Under Henry P. Tappan

With Henry P. Tappan came the dividing of the curriculum into the scientific and classical courses. The scientific program of courses led to a Bachelor of Science degree, while the classical curriculum represented the more traditional

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[1] "Report of the Board of Visitors" in The Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1850, op. cit., p. 34.

approach and led to a Bachelor of Arts degree. Both of the curricula contained courses in rhetoric and had "exercises in declamation and English composition, for each class, weekly through both courses."[1] During the last two years, according to the catalogue, original declamations were presented. The catalogue of the University for the following year outlined the work in more detail:

> Rhetoric is attended as a special recitation but one term by the students of the classical department, but constant attention is directed to this important subject by the professors of ancient and modern languages. Weekly exercises are attended by the students during the entire course.
>
> The students of the scientific department receive instruction by lectures, upon the History and Analysis of the English language, and give special attention to the study of Rhetoric. Original essays will frequently be required in this Department.[2]

The Trend Toward English Literature

In 1854 the heading "Rhetoric and English Literature" first was listed in the catalogue as the title of a department, marking the beginning of the trend toward the written aspects of the language. The catalogue of that year identifies the nature of this area of instruction:

> During two terms of the first year, the members of the Scientific Department devote one-third of their time to the study of English Language and Literature. The object of this plan is to secure an examination of the principles of our native tongue, as thorough and exact as that which is necessary for the mastery of a foreign language. The survey of our general literature is necessarily cursory, and is designated chiefly to establish

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[1] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1852-53, p. 25.

[2] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1853-54, p. 30.

fundamental principles of criticism and to cultivate correctness and propriety of style.

All the members of the sophomore class, in both departments have a daily study of rhetoric during the first term of the year, in which a good text book is examined, and a course of lectures given by the professor, and original compositions are presented by the students every week for criticism.

Declamations are required regularly through the whole course; and during the last two years the pieces spoken are original, and previously presented to the professor for criticism.[1]

This emphasis on English Language and Literature can be seen in the descriptions given in the catalogue of 1859. It notes that students in the first year of the scientific course devoted one-third of their time to the Department of English:

The study of English language extends through the first semester, [and then] . . . elementary rhetoric is studied--Quackenbos' Rhetoric and Campbell's Philosophy of Rhetoric (commencing with Part II), are employed.

During the first semester of the second year the history of English Language is examined. During the second semester the course is the same in both departments, embraces the following subjects--formal rhetoric, the history of English style, and the criticism of the masterpieces of our literature. A course of lectures on these and kindred subjects is given by the professor, and the following works examined: Whately's Rhetoric (Boston edition), Lord's Laws of Figurative Language, Trenche's England Past and Present, and Reed's English History.

In addition to original compositions through this entire course, all students are required regularly to present declamations. This exercise continues through the last two years of the collegiate course, and, during this time, only original pieces are spoken.[2]

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[1] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1854-55, p. 33.

[2] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1859, p. 39.

It will be noted that although the rhetorical exercises were still present, the real emphasis was being placed on written composition. At about the same time in the classical course, students were receiving a degree of rhetorical training through the study of languages. This training, however, was largely concerned with correct English usage and does not seem to suggest emphasis upon public speaking. The Ancient Language Department identified objectives by saying:

> The primary object of this department is to give the student a critical knowledge of the structures of the ancient languages themselves, of the principles of interpretation, and of those rhetorical principles which will enable a person to express his thoughts in good idiomatic and a perspicuous English. In this department, therefore, nearly as much attention is paid to the study of English as to the study of Greek or Latin.[1]

Unique Courses Related to Public Speaking

In spite of the trend toward greater study in English and literature within the curriculum, there are several unique developments during the 1852-1867 period.

Elocution. The most significant of these developments is a course taught by Professor Haven in the year 1854-55 entitled "Elocution."[2] It is unfortunate that we know little concerning the nature of the course, although it may be assumed that the work at least partially covered the material found in Haven's Rhetoric.[3] It may indeed have been very similar to

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[1] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1852-53, p. 31.

[2] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1854-55, p. 27.

[3] Haven reports that his text on rhetoric (which contains a section on Elocution) was developed from his previous course notes in the area. See E. O. Haven, Rhetoric (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1869) and the discussion of texts later in this chapter.

the other courses taught at the time. The title is in itself of some significance, for it marks the first such course in the University. The course in elocution was one of the three subjects studied in the third term of the freshman year in the scientific course, preceeding the student's study of rhetoric in the first term of the sophomore year. By the following year the term "elocution" had been dropped, and one is left to speculate concerning the content of the first course and the reasons for its short life.[1]

Disputations. The second unusual development is found in the informal speech work carried on by some of the professors during this period. In addition to the formal exercises and training in public speaking identified in the catalogue, it is evident that there was extensive speech work carried on by at least some of the professors on a less formal basis. Professor Andrew D. White points this out in his autobiography:

> . . . Nor was my work confined to historical teaching. After the fashion of that time, I was called upon to hear essays and discussions of certain divisions of the upper classes. This demanded two evenings a week through two terms in each year and on these evenings I joyfully went to my lecture room, not infrequently through drifts of snow, and having myself kindled the fire and lighted the lamp, awaited the discussions. This subsidiary work, which in these degenerate days is done by janitors, is mentioned here as showing the simplicity of a by-gone period. The discussions thus held were of a higher range than any I had known at Yale, and some were decidedly original. One deserves special mention. A controversy having arisen in Massachusetts and spread throughout the country regarding the erection of a statue of Daniel Webster in front of the State House in Boston, and bitter opposition having been aroused by his seventh-of-March

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[1] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1855-56, p. 30.

> speech, two groups of my student-disputants agreed to take up this subject and model their speeches upon those of Demosthenes and Aeschines "On the Crown," which they were then reading in the original. It was a happy thought and well carried out.[1]

It may be assumed that the disputation described by Professor White is roughly comparable to the disputations of the junior class, at times referred to later in the catalogue.

Advanced Work. The advanced work in the area at that time was of special interest, for it marks two significant developments: (1) a text considered by some to be one of the first "speech" books, Bautain's Art of Extempore Speaking, was used, and (2) the first formal training in debate at the University was offered.

Bautain's work was used by the sophomores in the scientific course in the first semester, along with Channing's Lectures on Rhetoric and Oratory, and Whately's Elements of Rhetoric.[2] A similar course was also given the students in the classical course during the first semester of the sophomore year.

The formal training in debating came in the junior year of the classical course. Both argument and content as well as speech delivery was emphasized:

> During the third year the students are required to meet weekly for debates--the disputations of the first semester being written and memorized, and those of the second semester being extemporized. During the fourth year, the exercises consist of the delivery and criticism of orations.[3]

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[1] Andrew D. White, Autobiography (New York: The Century Company, 1905), p. 264.

[2] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1861-62, p. 39.

[3] Ibid.

Select British Eloquence by Chauncey A. Goodrich was among the references recommended to be used in connection with the exercises that year.

Continuing Emphasis in Speech Training

In spite of increasing evidence of the growing interest in English literature as indicated by a course taught by Brooks in "English Language and Literature, particularly during the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman Period, and the Age of Elizabeth,"[1] the tradition of rhetorical training through exercises in original declamations continued during the period. The catalogues of the 1860's reveal not only a strong interest in rhetorical exercises but some interesting developments for formal speech training as well. The scientific program in 1861 included a course during the first semester of the first year which was devoted to the study of grammar and synonyms. In the second semester, Henry N. Day's Elements of the Art of Rhetoric was used. The course description pointed out that "at every recitation during the year, an exercise in declamation is held, and an original essay is read and criticized before the class."[2]

Along with the curricular training the traditional pattern of rhetorical exercises continued during this Middle Period under Erastus O. Haven and Allen J. Curtis:

Weekly exercises in composition or speaking, or both

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[1]Humphries, "English Language and Literature," op. cit., p. 546.

[2]Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1860-61, p. 43.

> are given during a large part of the college course . . . all the juniors in both courses of study meet weekly for exercises in speaking original productions so arranged that every member of the class will speak three or four times during the semester. The seniors, in regular succession deliver original address Saturday mornings before the whole class.[1]

Class work during this period was clearly integrated with the Saturday morning speaking, the Junior Exhibition speaking, and, of course, the Commencement and Class Day exercises:

> . . . during the sophomore and junior years, each student pronounces an original production or takes part in a debate, once every three weeks. The seniors, in regular succession deliver original addresses Saturday morning before the whole college . . . .
>
> The junior class holds a public exhibition and members of the senior class have public exercises on Class Day and Commencement.[2]

When Erastus O. Haven returned in 1863 as President of the University he reintroduced the term "rhetoric" into the department.[3] There apparently was no strong feeling during the period for a de-emphasis on speech, but rather, there was an increased recognition of the need for training in English and literature. Speech instruction was, however, still an integral part of the student's training. The catalogues continue to reflect recognition for formal elocutionary training. Often, for example, we find catalogue announcements which say that "all the Students [sic] have instruction and exercises

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[1] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1864-65, p. 47.

[2] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1865-66, p. 58.

[3] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1863-65, p. 43.

in Vocal Culture, Declamation of selected and original productions . . . ."[1]

The Later Period

The period from 1867 to 1884 is one in which there was continued emphasis upon public speaking, but speech instruction was, nevertheless, greatly overshadowed by instruction in the English language and literature. The philosophy of Moses Coit Tyler dominates the period. In reviewing what is known concerning the curriculum one will note the gradual de-emphasis of rhetorical exercises. The decreased emphasis upon public speaking in the classroom occurred simultaneously with the abandonment of the class exhibitions and the usual student addresses at Commencement. Later, during the second half of the period, a special course in speech was introduced. What took place, therefore, was the gradual deletion of speech exercises from English courses and the establishment of an elective speech course.

Trends Away from Public Speaking Under Tyler

We have noted earlier in this chapter that Professor Tyler's interest changed from emphasis upon elocution to that of English language and literature during his time at Michigan. When Moses Coit Tyler arrived on campus in the late 1860's, performances in public speaking were at their height of popularity, and there was considerable training given in

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[1] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1867-68, p. 61.

speech and preparation for the performances by Professors Haven, Brooks and Curtis. There was also sentiment toward a strong curriculum in English and literature. Professor Tyler in his early days recognized both of these areas of instruction. He described his work in the department of "Rhetoric and English Literature" in 1868-69 as follows:

> This topic includes four branches of work--(1) The study of our language as to its origin, growth and laws, with a view to the acquisition by the student of correct habits of self criticism, in the use of grammatical, idiomatic, and pure English; (2) The study of the art of effective expression, whether by pen or voice; (3) The study of the literature of our language; (4) Regular practice in writing and speaking. The first of these branches is taught by lectures, the second and third both by lectures and text books; while the fourth branch is pursued by a series of exercises held twice each week during the freshman and sophomore year and once each week during the junior and senior years.[1]

In referring to the freshman class, Professor Tyler said that "the rhetorical exercises of this year culminate in a public exhibition, the participants being selected by the professor."[2]

The sophomore class that year was studying Haven's Rhetoric and presenting original speeches each Tuesday with three rhetorical exercises scheduled at the close of the term. The participants in the sophomore exercises were volunteers. The juniors and seniors, of course, had their regular class exhibitions and Commencement programs which served to keep speech training in the curriculum because of the student's need to become skilled for a "public" appearance. This was done on the part of the juniors by presenting original speeches

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[1] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1868-69, p. 49.

[2] Ibid.

each Tuesday for criticism, while the seniors had "exercises in the delivery of original speeches every Saturday in Chapel before all the classes."[1]

Professor Tyler summed up the curriculum offered in the English Language and Literature Department, as well as his feelings toward his work in the area, in a rather extensive report in 1872. He divided his report into five parts: the course in English language, sophomore lectures in English literature, rhetoric, elocution, and exercises in writing and speaking. The latter half of the report is of special interest:

> IV Elocution.--lectures upon this subject, accompanied by exercises with the class, were given to the classical section of the freshman class during the first three weeks of the semester. Three lectures were given each week. As many lectures were given in the second semester to the scientific section of the freshman class.
>
> Besides these lectures on elocution, elocutionary training in the form of lessons was given to the gentlemen appointed to speak at Junior Exhibition. Eight lessons were given. For a similar object, six lessons were given to the speakers for Commencement. In the case of the latter, many laborious hours have also been spent in private rehearsal of their speeches.
>
> V Exercises in Speaking and Writing.--The care of these exercises is the most delicate and fatiguing task that is entrusted to me. The following items may give some idea of the work actually performed:
>
> The sophomore class presented,
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> | | |
> |---|---|
> | First semester | 93 essays |
> | Second semester | 89 essays |
> | Total | 182 |
>
> The junior class presented,

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[1] Ibid., p. 50.

First semester	75 speeches
Second semester	76 speeches
Total	151 speeches

The total number of essays and speeches for the year--333.

The essays are read, and the speeches delivered from memory, and copies of each, carefully prepared, are left with me for inspection. During the first semester, I was able to deal thoroughly with the work of revision and criticism, and far more time was spent with the students in criticizing privately their production than was occupied in their public delivery.

In the second semester my work in other directions was so great that I was not able to give any time to this very important office of private criticism. In the senior class a very successful experiment was made during the year, for the cultivation of extemporaneous speaking. In place of the melancholy and futile exercise speaking in the Chapel, in which the seniors have hitherto engaged under compulsion, there was presented to them a plan of a voluntary association, to meet once a week, to be presided over by the professor of English, and to engage in the extemporaneous discussion of questions each of which should be selected one week in advance of its treatment. About forty members of the senior class have engaged in this association with heartiness, vigor, and a success increasing to the end of the year. In conclusion, I have the happiness to state that the work done in my department during the past year has been, upon the whole, far more satisfactory to me in its progress, and far more fruitful in wholesome results, than ever before since my connection with it.[1]

The Literary College catalogues of the early 1870's show the growing emphasis upon written compositions. In 1871-72 the freshmen were scheduled for lessons in elocution, the seniors had lessons in extemporaneous speech, and the juniors delivered orations every Monday.[2] The following year, however,

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[1]"Report of Mr. M. C. Tyler, Professor of the English Language and Literature" in the "President's Report to the Board of Regents, June, 1872," in the Proceedings of the Board of Regents of the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor: Published by the University, 1872), p. 222.

[2]Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1871-72, p. 28.

the freshman course was changed to "exercises in elocution and grammatical criticism," indicating the increasing emphasis upon grammar.[1] In that same year the requirements for seniors to speak in Chapel was discontinued, and four years later the Junior Exercises were made elective.[2]

Unusual Developments in the Later Period

Although there was a general trend away from formal training in public speaking, there were two significant developments during the 1870's: (1) the development of the seminar concept allowing for individual student speaking within the classrooms, and (2) the presentation of a course in debate for a brief time.

The seminar concept became quite prevalent especially in the departments of English and History during the 1870's. This teaching procedure afforded the students an opportunity for speech training in many of the classroom recitations. The student newspaper in 1876 says in this regard:

> If the average senior is not able to make an extempore speech without much difficulty or without showing considerable knowledge of the way in which a subject should be handled, it cannot be set down to lack of training. We were struck with this thought while watching the recitations held before Professors Tyler and Adams . . . . We consider that the extemporary speaking required in the conduct of the studies of English literature and history will be of great benefit to those so fortunate as to elect those studies.[3]

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[1] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1872-73, p. 31.

[2] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1875-76, p. 37.

[3] The Chronicle, November 18, 1876.

The second unusual development in the curriculum was the short-lived Junior English Exercises which were taught from 1875 through 1878. This was an elective course and apparently one of the first special courses in argumentation to be taught at the University. The course was chosen by about forty students the first year and was made up of four sections with ten students each. Lectures on elocution were included as well as drills on voice and action in speaking. Primary attention, however, seems to have been given to the debating concept in speaking. The course description includes the following: ". . . practice in debate; written and extempore, as well as in criticism of argument and in the decision of argued questions. The exercises of each student are carefully criticized by the instructor in charge."[1] The Chronicle adds that there were ten questions developed for debate. During the term two of the questions were presented through memorized speeches and the remaining were spoken extemporaneously.[2] While the professor for this course was Professor Tyler, there is evidence showing that he was not fully satisfied with the teaching of argumentation. Jones and Casady in their biography make this observation by saying that Professor Tyler attempted "to cut himself entirely loose from the instruction in rhetoric."[3]

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[1] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1875-76, p. 37.

[2] The Chronicle, March 6, 1875.

[3] Casady and Jones, op. cit., p. 162.

In some respects the success of the argumentation course may be measured by the student reactions to the junior debates. A writer in The Chronicle said that the questions chosen were not always of "live order" and that "old saws are hunted up and reset for the occasion" with the students presenting Socrates' doctrine in large quantities. "On the other hand," the writer also pointed out that "questions of the time are as ably and eloquently discussed as could be wished for . . . ." After the formal debates less serious topics were presented, such as the advocation of a vegetable diet, "whether the horse or the cow has proven more beneficial to mankind," and whether "shooting an aged beast is better than letting it out to die."[1] It is apparently clear from these remarks that students had mixed feelings regarding the argumentation course.

One article in The Chronicle criticized the short time devoted to this subject and the want of proper drill in the area. This writer maintained that the almost universal opinion was to do away with the course entirely or to make it a special area. He argued that "the advantages gained do not pay the professor for his time or the students for his work."[2] A reply in the following issue of The Chronicle, however, sharply refuted the position held by the first writer, indicating that the first person did not speak at all for the junior class and that almost to a man the class "shows appreciation of the same, by asking for more."[3] The varied opinions

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[1]The Chronicle, March 6, 1875.

[2]The Chronicle, February 5, 1876.

[3]The Chronicle, February 19, 1876.

make a definitive judgment about the course impossible. In any case, however, we find that the course in "argumentation" was soon discontinued.

Significant Changes in the Curriculum of the English Language and Literature Department

In the 1878-79 school year the curriculum of the English Language and Literature Department underwent changes which reveal the emphasis placed on literature and written work in contrast to speech. The new curriculum embodied eleven separate studies: six primarily directed toward the study of English literature, four in grammar and rhetoric, and one in speech. Numbers I and II and VII and VIII were the basic courses of the area, depending upon the curriculum in which the student was enrolled. Courses Number I and VII were both entitled "English, grammar, and speeches,"[1] while Numbers II and VIII were merely entitled "Rhetoric."

Professor Tyler discussed the basic work in detail in his report of 1878-79. He indicated that Abbot's How to Parse, and How to Write Clearly, were used in the first courses, and continued by saying:

> Each member was required to write two original speeches and deliver them in the presence of his section.
>
> The aim in this course is: First--to explain the difficulties and irregularities of English idioms, and thereby to help the student to a more intelligent understanding and use of them. Second--to teach rules . . . for securing method in discourse, and clearness in force of expression. These rules are constantly enforced by illustrative

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[1] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1878-79, p. 32.

> examples and by practice in the preparation of manuscripts. The manuscripts are criticized by the instructor before the student commits them for delivery, and not infrequently a student is required to present a revised copy. Third--to teach good habits of public address by speaking under the direction and criticism of the instructor.
>
> Hereafter, it is proposed to give this course in the first semester also, in place of the one given this year. The course is designated for first and second year students and is required of all for graduation.[1]

In the same report Tyler said that David J. Hill's Science of Rhetoric was used in course numbers II and VII, in which the "principles and methods upon which good writing and speaking rest" were taught.[2]

In spite of the fact that the primary emphasis within the new curriculum was on English, there was one speech course offered at the time. This was entitled "Extemporary Speaking," and was taught by Isaac Newton Demmon. It was Course III and was to be taken after successful completion of the basic studies. In analyzing Tyler's comment on Course III in 1879, it seems evident that the study was as much a continuation of the "argumentation course" as it was a course in extemporaneous speaking:

> The course was offered in this subject [extemporaneous speaking] for the first semester. About forty-five elected it and these were divided into three sections. Each discussion was opened with carefully prepared arguments by one on each side who had been designated for that purpose two weeks in advance. The other members were expected to speak to the question without notes. A member was selected from each section to preside and to render a written criticism and decision at the next meeting of the section. At

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[1]"From the Professor of English Language and Literature" in The President's Report to the Board of Regents, 1879 (Ann Arbor: Published by the University, 1879), p. 48.

[2]Ibid.

> the close of each exercise the instructor gave a criticism on the part each member had taken in the debate.
>
> All seemed to feel they had derived a great profit from the course.[1]

The subject, however, was taught only sporadically because of the heavy work load required of the professors in the basic courses. The report by Professor Tyler in 1880 depicts the extent of the work required in the teaching of written composition:

> In estimating the work of the instructor in the above four courses [i. e., the basic courses] the correction of four-hundred-thirty-four manuscripts during the year should not be overlooked. This work is of a peculiar kind and exhaustive kind and brings little or no self-improvement to the instructor. Nothing but the feeling that it is an important service to the student, could ever induce any competent person to undergo the drudgery connected with it.[2]

In the same report Professor Tyler says: "Course III--Extemporaneous Speaking--this course was discontinued at the opening of the year on account of the pressure of work in other courses."[3] In this connection Tyler also pointed out that more thorough instruction in "reading and speaking than we are now able to give are urgent needs of this department of the University . . . ."[4]

The following year, however, the course in extemporaneous speaking was again taught by Professor Demmon. This

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[1] Ibid.

[2] "From the Professor of English Language and Literature" in The President's Report to the Board of Regents, 1880 (Ann Arbor: Published by the University, 1880), p. 43.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

class had an enrollment of only fifteen students and met on Fridays from 4:00 to 6:00 p.m. In contrast with the small enrollment in extemporaneous speaking, we find that 116 students were enrolled in the basic course, that is, Course I, and sixty-four students were enrolled in advanced English Literature courses.[1]

The course in extemporaneous speaking was not taught again until the Spring of 1884-85, when sixteen students elected the course under Professor Benjamin J. Burt. Little is known of the course apart from the fact that the texts used were David J. Hill's Science of Rhetoric and J. W. Shoemaker's Practical Elocution. It should be noted that this course was taught at the same time as the first instruction in elocution given by Professor Thomas C. Trueblood on the University of Michigan campus.[2]

In the 1867 to 1884 period speech instruction changed from an integrated English-speech course to a separate course taught somewhat infrequently. The small enrollment in the special course and the failure to provide speech training in other courses meant that relatively few students in the late 1870's and early 1880's received speech training.

Description of Texts Used in Courses Pertaining to Speech

This section will briefly describe the major texts

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[1] Catalogue of the University of Michigan, 1880-81, p. 39; and "Appendix B. Report of the Board of Regents" in the Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan, 1881 (Lansing: W. S. George and Company, 1882), p. 39.

[2] See Okey, op. cit.

used in the courses pertaining to public speaking during the period 1841-85. By doing so, a better understanding of the nature of the curricular work will be provided.

Whately, Blair and Campbell

It has been shown that in the early years of the University the rhetorical texts by Campbell, Blair, and Whately were used extensively. Richard Whately's Elements of Rhetoric has been thoroughly analyzed in many studies, including those of Sandford and Guthrie.[1] Whately considered rhetoric as an off-shoot of logic and especially stressed argumentative composition and the classical conception of rhetorical invention. Whately also advocated a natural manner in delivery in contrast to the elocutionary methods of the time.[2] Hugh Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres and George Campbell's Philosophy of Rhetoric likewise have been treated extensively by Warren Guthrie and many others.[3]

Campbell's work emphasized audience analysis and the four ends of eloquence: to enlighten the understanding, to please the imagination, to move the passions, or to influence the will.[4] He treated the three traditional modes of persuasion--logical, emotional, and ethical--systematically, and gave

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[1]See Sandford, op. cit., and Guthrie, op. cit.

[2]Richard Whately, Elements of Rhetoric (Boston: James Monroe and Company, 1852).

[3]Warren Guthrie, op. cit.

[4]George Campbell, Philosophy of Rhetoric (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1856).

special attention to language and style in the major portion of his work.[1] Blair placed emphasis upon the three different types of speaking: deliberative, judicial, and demonstrative, supporting his analysis by examples from the great orators in each field. In his work he placed even greater emphasis upon style than did Campbell and differed also in that "literary style" was given special consideration.[2]

Newman

S. P. Newman's text, A Practical System of Elocution, was also used extensively in the 1841-50 period. Newman conceived of "rhetoric" principally as written composition and therefore placed much of his attention upon matters of grammar and composition. Four types of composition which apply both to writing and speaking were identified: didactic (instruction), persuasive, argumentative, and narrative.[3]

Quackenbos and Day

The texts by George P. Quackenbos and Henry N. Day were used in many classes in the 1852-67 period. These texts, through their emphasis upon style, support the thesis that increased emphasis was given to the written aspects of rhetoric in the Michigan curriculum. The work by Quackenbos

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Hugh Blair, Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres (Philadelphia: Hayes and Zell, 1854).

[3] S. P. Newman, A Practical System of Rhetoric (New York: Dayton and Newman, 1842).

treated rhetoric merely as grammar and style. He contended that invention was not a part of the rhetorical approach but was rather simply closely associated with it. The five types of composition he named were: description, narration, argument, exposition, and speculation. His work included materials on the history of the English language, punctuation, rhetoric, prose composition, and poeticial composition.[1]

Henry N. Day's The Elements of the Art of Discourse placed great emphasis on invention and style. Arrangement was considered a part of invention, while style was divided into the "Absolute" properties "founded in the natures and laws of language,"[2] and the "Relative" properties "determined by the state of the speaker's mind or by that of the addressed."[3] The work excludes consideration of delivery, and its primary concern of style and invention reveal the emphasis on the written aspects of rhetoric being taught at the University in 1860.

Bautain

The Art of Extempore Speaking[4] by Bautain, published in 1859, was divided into two parts; the first identified the qualities needed for extemporaneous speaking, and the second discussed the various divisions of subjects and the preparation

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[1]George P. Quackenbos, First Lessons in Composition (New York: Appleton and Company, 1851).

[2]Day, op. cit., p. 211.

[3]Ibid.

[4]M. Bautain, The Art of Extempore Speaking (New York: Charles Scribner, 1859).

of the subject matter. Section I discussed such factors as a lively sensibility, penetrating intelligence, good sense of sound reason, prompt imagination, a firm decisive will, and voice and oratorical action. Section II discussed three different types of speaking: political and forensic, pulpit, and teaching. Bautain also stressed the importance of arranging and developing ideas, entrance into subject matter, development of a crisis in the speech proper, and the importance of an effective peroration. In many respects Bautain's work is quite comparable to speech texts which have been published in recent years.

Erastus O. Haven

An analysis of Erastus O. Haven's Rhetoric[1] should be of interest on two counts: the text was used at Michigan in the 1870's, and, more significantly, the author indicated in the preface that the text material had been used in previous courses which he taught. Thus there is some basis for the assumption that by analyzing the general approach of the work one may at the same time become familiar with the courses taught by Professor Haven at Michigan in the 1850's.

Professor Haven's work was divided into five sections: Part I, "Words and the Material of Expression"; Part II, "Figures of Speech and Thought"; Part III, "Composition and Style"; Part IV, "Invention"; and Part V, "Elocution."

Part I, "Words and the Material of Expression,"

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[1] Erastus P. Haven, op. cit.

discussed the origin and use of language. The section defines short and long words, reveals the methods for obtaining a good vocabulary, and then lists directives "upon the choice of words." It was seventy-two pages in length.

"Figures of Speech and Thought" were taken up in Part II. They included tropes, comparisions, allusions, metaphors, antithesis, allegories and fables, hyperboles, irony, personification and prosopopoeia, apostrophe, dialogue, vision, and wit.

Although the third part of Haven's work was entitled "Composition and Style," the last half of the section includes many diversified subjects which were difficult to classify under the given title. The first thirty-one pages discussed composition as involving the aspects of words, grammar and sentence structure, including principles of rhythm, climax, repetition, interrogation, and exclamation.

The following thirty-five pages presented the theory of style. Idioms and proverbs were discussed, a method of acquiring a good style was revealed, and the need for good taste in rhetoric was supported. Then a chapter showing the relationships among emotion, style, and rhetoric was presented.

The remaining forty-nine pages of Part III developed the concept that style should be modified by the nature of the production. Thus the various types of productions were defined: address, lectures, orations, sermons, epistolary compositions, historical writing, representative writing,

fiction, and poetry. The four objects of writers or speakers were: to instruct, convince, persuade, or amuse.

In Part IV, invention was defined as "the process by which an author obtains the material to be used, and devises and perfects the forms which he will employ to accomplish his purpose."[1]

The first chapter in Part IV listed three rules which should guide in invention: "The First Rule--The writer or speaker should in all cases before proceeding to his work, form a definite idea of what he intends to accomplish . . . ."[1]; "The Second Rule . . .--the writer should collect information, and thoughts and facts bearing on the subject . . . ."[2]; and "The Third Rule--a thorough plan or skeleton of the intended production should be drawn out, and amended till it is satisfactory, and this should be taken for a guide in completing the production."[3]

The remainder of section four showed how various "material is gathered and used in actual composition,"[4] and included brief chapters on invention in description, in narnaratives, in abstract subjects, in discussions (which are debates by present standards), and in miscellaneous productions. Exercises were suggested at the conclusion of each chapter, such as a discussion on "Was the purchase of Alaska by the

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Haven, op. cit., p. 313.

[3] Ibid., p. 314.

[4] Ibid., p. 316.

United States of America a wise measure?" or the writing of a "letter from one of a party saved in a shipwreck."[1]

In the last section on elocution, Haven spent four pages discussing the propriety of the study of the art. He then presented the "mechanical element of elocution," including articulation, rate, range of voice, "adaptation of voice," volume, correct pronunciation, breathing, and gesticulation. In conclusion Haven discussed the intellectual and moral elements of elocution and maintained that "it is the art by which mind and heart produce the greatest effect on mind and heart."[2]

Hill and Shoemaker

The books by David J. Hill and J. W. Shoemaker were used in the late 1870's and early 1880's. These texts differ markedly from one another in the subject matter treated.

David J. Hill in his Science of Rhetoric, published in 1877, contended that rhetoric was allied with grammar, logic, aesthetics, psychiatry, and elocution. He maintained that rhetoric attempts to produce changes in the mind by means of ideas expressed through language, and thus took up the divisions of "laws of minds," "laws of ideas," and "laws of form."[3]

J. W. Shoemaker's text titled Practical Elocution was used in 1883-84. This work fits into the mechanical group of

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[1] Ibid., p. 346.

[2] Ibid.

[3] David J. Hill, Science of Rhetoric (New York: Shelden and Company, 1877).

works of the era. In his book Shoemaker treats mechanical speech exercises in detail and in doing so gives much attention to proper breathing habits. A great number of selections for readings were also included in the book.[1]

Opinions Favoring Elocution Training

By the 1870's there was a general decline in public speaking activities at the University which continued through 1884. In spite of the rather unique experience afforded the students in the junior speeches and the senior forum, there was nevertheless the feeling on the part of some persons that significant training in elocution was not being given. These opinions became stronger in the ten year period, 1874-84.

As early as 1874 a student writer said:

> If there is one thing which above all others we as students fail to acquire during our course it is the faculty of expressing our ideas when before an audience in a clear and accurate manner. Whoever attends our junior speeches, or even the senior forum will see men of superior ability strike attitudes, make gestures, and near them speak in a manner that deserves contempt. The great cause of this evil . . . [is that] little time is given the study in our course. While other branches require our daily attention from two to four years, in this branch of our education five speeches of six minutes length at the maximum are being all sufficient. As for criticism upon our faults either in delivery or subject matter, least said soonest mended. Let the curriculum be so arranged that this be a recognized course of study.[2]

Six months later the newspaper made a similar complaint:

> . . . a severe charge against the University graduate is, while they may be accurate writers, they are too generally bungling speakers . . . [it] is in measure due to the training . . . given .

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[1]Jacob M. Shoemaker, Practical Elocution (Philadelphia: Penn Publishing Company, 1878).

[2]The Chronicle, April 4, 1874.

> Enumerate if you please, the opportunities afforded during our college course for oral discussion. They are very few and generally of secondary character. The literary societies come first, in importance, and yet their inefficiency is well known . . . something is also contributed in the topical study of history . . . it might be for our advantage should the professor of this department be a little more severe in his criticism of our violation of syntax and pronunciation . . . a remedy should be found for the fault is a serious one . . . .[1]

The student protest against the lack of elocutionary training continued for the next ten years. A typical editorial appearing in 1878 indicated the striking difference between the large and small colleges in this matter. The writer argued that the University was giving less and less attention to speaking skills.[2] Pressures continued to be exerted with increasing vigor on the administration for an instructor in elocution up to 1884. A writer in the March 1, 1884 issue of The Chronicle expressed himself by saying that he "humbly asks for a chair of elocution" at the University. As support for his argument he pointed out that Harvard had three instructors in elocution and at least one in forensics.[3]

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[1] The Chronicle, December 2, 1874.

[2] The Chronicle, February 2, 1878. There apparently were elocutionists who visited the campus during the 1870's, but they met with disfavor, as noted in an item in The Chronicle on June 29, 1870: "A modest elocutionist, who didn't like to blow his own trumpet and yet felt impelled to declare that those who joined his class would 'get more gestures' in three hours than they could get anywhere else in as many months, amused some and disgusted others by his performance in Chapel recently. Taking a mean advantage of the permission given him to announce his business in terms, he spent nearly an hour giving seventeen stanzas of "The Raven." . . . Is there a reason why he, more than any other quack, should have been allowed to cry his wares, from the Chapel platform, into our unwilling ears?"

[3] The Chronicle, March 1, 1884.

In the fall of that year strong student agitation continued:

> Another year has opened and yet no provision has been made for drill in elocution. Two years ago a professional elocutionist or two might have been seen about the campus. They have been frozen out and we are deprived of this very important subject. True, freshmen and others taking English, course I, are getting at least a taste of elocution, but the little that is given is bound up in a course in English which no one wishes to take a second time.[1]

The students were not the only groups requesting a chair of elocution within the University. There is evidence, some recorded and some which is inferential, showing that faculty members were insisting upon the need for more work in the area of speech. In his annual report to the president in 1879, Professor Tyler recognized that "the one branch of work which we are obliged to neglect is elocution, and upon this subject I shall take the liberty of addressing to you a separate paper."[2] Unfortunately, the "separate paper" is not available. Again, the following year Tyler repeated his request for an instructor in elocution by saying:

> The need of an instructor in elocution, who should take charge of the work of the first year in speeches and of the course in extemporaneous speaking, has been felt for some time. The large increase during the last two years in the number of students neglecting work in English render such an addition to our teaching course well nigh indispensable to our success in this department.[3]

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[1] The Chronicle, November 8, 1884.

[2] "From the Professor of English Language and Literature" in the President's Report to the Board of Regents, 1879 (Ann Arbor: Published by the University, 1879), p. 50.

[3] "From the Professor of English Language and Literature" in the President's Report to the Board of Regents, 1880 (Ann Arbor: Published by the University, 1880), p. 44.

The Chronicle later records that President Angell and Professors Adams, Demmon and Burt were also interested in obtaining a chair of elocution.

Arrival of Thomas C. Trueblood

The December 6, 1884 issue of The Chronicle contained two articles of great significance in the history of speech education at the University. One item was an editorial similar in nature to many previous protests demanding a chair of elocution. The writer stated: ". . . from all accounts we are still as far as ever from obtaining a chair of elocution in the University . . . . We hope that if this matter is not already presented to the Regents it soon will be."[1] The more significant article, however, was a brief, but most significant news item foretelling a major change in the curricular training in public speaking at the University, and indeed throughout the country:

> Another start has been made to induce the Regents to put [elocution] in the course. The scheme has the hearty cooperation of President Angell, Professors Adams, Demmon, and Burt, and whether successful or not depends on the support of the students. Professor Trueblood, whose announcement will be found in another column, has already begun the organization of a class.[2]

It seems appropriate to add one postscript, for the student newspaper two years later reported:

> A vigorous enthusiasm has been aroused in the University in regard to the study of elocution. Professor Trueblood has nearly two hundred and fifty students at

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[1] The Chronicle, December 6, 1884.

[2] Ibid.

> the present time engaged in earnest work. The enthusiasm in work should end in a short time in permanently establishing a chair of elocution in the literary department.[1]

The requests by students and faculty members for greater emphasis upon speaking skills were therefore rewarded by the coming of Thomas Clarkson Trueblood to the University of Michigan in November, 1884.

Summary

(1) Professors who taught courses in which some attention was given to public speaking included Professor George P. Williams, Rev. Edward Thomson, Rev. Andrew Ten Brook, and Professor Daniel D. Whedon in the early period from 1841-52. In the middle period from 1852-67 Professors Erastus O. Haven, Andrew D. White, Datus C. Brooks, and Allen J. Curtis were in charge of the training. In the later period from 1867-84 the professors included Moses Coit Tyler, Leslie Ervin, Harry Burns Hutchins, Isaac Newton Demmon, and Benjamin J. Burt.

(2) The more important textbooks used at the University of Michigan from 1841-84 include the following: (a) in the early period, Richard Whately, Elements of Rhetoric, S. P. Newman, A Practical System of Rhetoric, Hugh Blair, Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres; (b) in the middle period from 1852-67, in addition to those mentioned, George Campbell's Philosophy of Rhetoric, George P. Quackenbos' First Lessons in Composition, Henry N. Day's The Elements of the Art of Rhetoric, and M. Bautain's The Art of Extemporary Speaking; (c) in the later period, Erastus O. Haven's Rhetoric, David J. Hill's Science of Rhetoric, and Jacob P. Shoemaker's

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[1] The Chronicle, January 15, 1867.

Practical Elocution.

It should be noted that most of the sources used in the University emphasized written composition with secondary attention given to oral communication. The three major exceptions to this generalization concern brief periods of time during which special courses in speaking were given or a unique emphasis occurred. During those periods works by Bautain, Haven, and Shoemaker were used.

(3) Formal course work which the students found at the University of Michigan strongly emphasized some classical subjects related to public address. These included selected orations and writings of Demosthenes, Cicero, and Quintilian. The curriculum was strong in traditional rhetoric until 1855 when the emphasis began to shift gradually to English language and literature. Professor Tyler gave great impetus to this trend in the period of the 1870's. By 1884 there was little real work being done in the University in public speaking.

(4) Rhetorical exercises were an integral part of the training in public speaking and were required of all students from 1841-71. In general, these took the form of weekly exercises in declamation for the freshmen and sophomores. The materials used in the exercises for upper level classes were original compositions. The work in this area constituted training experiences for students, some of whom later appeared in public declamations, class exhibitions, and Commencement programs. Extra-curricular work probably was in effect a direct part of curricular training. As a whole, the rhetorical exercises were unsuccessful in giving adequate training in

public speaking. In the 1870's the rhetorical exercises became voluntary on the upper level, while the freshmen and sophomores received training in formal classes in the department of English Language and Literature. By 1878, the rhetorical exercises had disappeared altogether.

(5) Throughout the period there were isolated instances of special courses in elocution and in extemporaneous speaking. In 1854 Professor Haven taught a course entitled "Elocution," but nothing else is known of this course. In the early 1860's, a course was taught in extemporaneous speaking in which a very progressive text for the time was required. By 1880, the students were taking a course in argumentation and debate under the heading "Extemporaneous Speaking."

(6) There was apparently a fair degree of dissatisfaction over the lack of training in elocution and oratory in the University during the 1870's and early 1880's. The student opinions as expressed in The Chronicle continually stressed the need for special instruction in speech. On several occasions faculty members in their annual reports to the president also emphasized the need for a special instructor in elocution or speech. These requests by students and faculty members may have had an influence upon the administration when the University of Michigan acquired the services of Thomas Clarkson Trueblood in 1884.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study has been to analyze curricular and extra-curricular speech programs afforded the undergraduate student at the University of Michigan during the period 1841-84. Primary sources found in the Michigan Historical Collections and in the University of Michigan libraries provided information regarding speech activities of the literary societies, speaking at class exhibitions, speaking at Commencement, rhetorical exercises, and curricular work in speech. The investigation contributes to the history of the speech education at the University of Michigan by describing the nature and extent of public speaking activity prior to the arrival of Thomas Clarkson Trueblood in November, 1884.

(1) The literary societies were among the most important and most popular extra-curricular activities at the University of Michigan from 1841-70.

There were three major literary societies within the Literary College of the University: the Phi Phi Alpha, the Literary Adelphi, and the Alpha Nu. The Phi Phi Alpha society originated on campus in 1842, and the Alpha Nu came into existence the following year. Up until the 1850's, all members of the Literary College were members of one of the two

societies. In 1857 the third major literary society, the Literary Adelphi, was founded.

The most active period for the organizations came immediately following the Civil War. In 1865-66, the Alpha Nu had 113 members, and the Literary Adelphi seventy-three. The Michigan University Magazine frequently attested to the prosperous condition of the organizations from 1867-69.

As early as 1870 the interest in the literary societies began to wane, and the next fourteen years shows a gradual decline in the popularity of the groups. The decline of the organizations may be due to several factors: the increased enrollment in the University, making it impossible for all students to belong to the major literary societies; the rise of fraternities and sororities; the increasing student interest in other extra-curricular activities; and the internal bickering and political maneuvering within the organizations themselves.

(2) The literary societies at the University engaged in extensive public speaking activity of a wide variety, but there was no faculty supervision of the speaking programs of the organizations.

The literary societies held weekly meetings. The minutes of the organizations show that at each session a debate was held, an original oration was scheduled, and essays from the societies' student "publications" were read. Debating formed the most significant activity of the organizations. At the conclusion of most debates a student critic judge rendered

a decision and an evaluation. In addition to the debates one student was assigned the task of presenting an original oration. These speeches, however, proved to be rather unpopular within the group. The literary societies also had student "publications" which were read at the weekly meetings. The writings that appeared in the "publications" were usually average or below average in quality and probably offered little effective training in either written or oral communication for the members of the groups.

In addition to the regular meetings of the literary societies, several open meetings for the University community and townspeople were held each year. In the early years the open meetings were similar to the regular sessions. In the 1860's special programs including joint debates and prize contests were inaugurated. In the 1870's the groups tried to stimulate greater student interest in the activities of the societies by presenting many such exhibitions.

With the exception of 1843, the faculty of the Literary College was in no way connected with the activities of the literary societies. In some measure at least the failure to have faculty sponsorship had a bearing upon the speaking programs which were often of questionable value to the students.

(3) <u>The debating activity of the literary societies at the University of Michigan from 1841-64 was similar in many respects to that found in inter-collegiate forensics today.</u>

The forms of debate used in the organizations varied greatly throughout the period and within each organization.

It is therefore difficult to establish any definite pattern. However, as early as 1842 the Phi Phi Alpha Society had two-man teams, with the affirmative generally presenting the last summary. By the late 1870's the Literary Adelphi constitution revealed that two-man teams were to be used at their weekly debate-forum. In this type of debate each speaker was given ten minutes for his presentation and five minutes for his closing speech. After the formal debate presentations an open forum or parliamentary session was generally held. The Literary Adelphis also frequently used a format similar to the modern legislative assembly wherein debates were held based upon the procedures of the United States Senate.

The political subjects appeared to be the more popular topics for debating within the literary societies. During the period of national crisis before the Civil War the topics reflected the growing concern over the issues of slavery and national unity. There are many cases in which the students debated issues which still face inter-collegiate participants in debate. These included subjects such as "That the Electoral College be Discontinued and the People Vote Direct for the President and Vice-President," debated in 1870; and "That a Congress of Nations Be Instituted for the Purpose of Adjusting All National Difficulties," debated in 1849.

The type of decision rendered in the debates varied as greatly as did the forms of debate used. Judgments were often given both on the merits of question and on the merits of the debating. The societies utilized several methods of

judging still in use today: the single critic judge, the three-judge system, the audience vote on the merits of the question, and the audience vote on the merits of the debating.

(4) The students at the University of Michigan participated in co-curricular activities in the class exhibition, Commencement, and Class Day performances.

The students prepared for class exhibitions and Commencement week performances by participating in rhetorical exercises throughout the year. In this respect, therefore, public appearances of students were clearly co-curricular in nature. The junior class held speaking exhibitions from 1844-71, the sophomores in 1843 and from 1868-70, and the freshmen in 1869 and 1870 only. The seniors climaxed their rhetorical training by appearing as speakers at Commencement or in the Class Day speaking program.

There appear to be several major reasons for the holding of class exhibitions programs: to provide a reward to the students selected, to give an opportunity for the students to develop skill in composition and speech delivery, to offer creative activity for the student, and to provide a social occasion for the University community. The Commencement speaking appears to have developed from the prevailing college tradition that each student should present himself at graduation.

The Class Day program was held during Commencement week and apparently was started by the senior class of 1861. It featured both formal and informal presentations, including

a class oration, a poem, a class history, and a prophecy.

(5) The method of selecting the speakers who were to appear at the class exhibitions and Commencement Day programs was a point of continual conflict from 1861 until the discontinuance of the speaking programs.

From 1845-61 all junior students presented speeches at the annual Junior Exhibition, while the graduating seniors performed at the time of graduation. However, as the enrollment at the University increased the classes became so large that it was impossible to afford each junior and senior an opportunity to speak at the programs. In 1861 the faculty therefore inaugurated the policy of selecting the speakers who were to appear on particular programs. The fact that the faculty had no announced criteria for selecting the student speakers caused a great deal of ill will in the respective junior and senior classes.

The students vigorously protested against the faculty system of speaker selection and made their views known in the newspapers of the time. The junior students joined with others in preparing mock class exhibition programs. The general dissatisfaction over the method of selecting the speakers apparently was a major cause for the discontinuance of these speaking programs. The last class exhibition was held in 1871, while the last student speakers appeared at Commencement in 1877. The Class Day speakers were selected by their colleagues and thus did not suffer the same misfortunes as the other programs.

(6) The topics presented by the students at the exhibitions and at the Commencement programs were usually of the commonplace type or were topics which developed historical or biographical themes.

In reviewing the programs of the Junior and Sophomore Exhibitions and the Commencement speeches, it can be seen that commonplace subjects (speeches on general concepts such as truth, sympathy, evil) and biographies and histories were by far the most popular with the students. The reviews presented by the newspapers of the times frequently criticized this emphasis, but the students apparently did not heed the criticism.

One of the continuing problems of the speeches was the lack of originality by speakers both in regard to the topics chosen and the content of the speeches. The students themselves frequently noted that speeches were sometimes much the same from year to year. Furthermore, numerous articles appearing in The Chronicle during the 1870's referred to virtual plagiarism or near-plagiarism on the part of some of the speakers.

The freshmen students in the few years during which they presented programs used declamations rather than original orations. They therefore did not have the same problems as the upper classmen who presented original speeches.

(7) Students who spoke at the class exhibitions and the Commencement programs revealed by their manner on the platform that they had received little training in delivery.

Although the appearance and manner on the platform of the students in class exhibitions and Commencement exercises was not at all consistent, the evaluations of the newspaper reviewers of the day were often of a general laudatory nature. Nevertheless, writers did note several recurring faults of delivery which seem to point to the lack of adequate training in speech presentation. The most frequent adverse comment of the newspapers decried the patterns of false emphasis which the students revealed. The speakers apparently were often not successful in achieving what is called today the "conversational quality." Rather, they seemed to be compensating for the over-worked subjects and for the somewhat inattentive audience. A related problem, likewise concerning speech delivery, was the tendency toward excessive formality.

There appear to be at least two contributing factors which had a bearing upon weaknesses in speech delivery: (1) The student speeches at the exhibitions and at graduation were generally memorized, and thus the student was frequently "working for words" rather than communicating ideas; and (2) The occasions and the halls where the exhibitions and Commencements were held were not conducive to a natural delivery. Some of the students may have felt that an exaggerated style of delivery was required to stimulate inattentive audiences. Other speakers often went to the opposite extreme. These speakers were not only dull and uninteresting in their presentation but they lacked adequate voice projection for the size of the auditorium.

The contemporary comments concerning the presentations at the class exhibitions and at the Commencement programs include references to inadequate training in speech delivery. At times writers openly stated that the University of Michigan should institute specialized and intensive training in elocution for students.

(8) Training was given in public speaking within the University in all the years from 1841-64, but the quality and the extent of the training varied greatly throughout the period.

The early training in public speaking within the University was given by professors who combined the subjects of logic, rhetoric, history, and philosophy. Students from 1841-77 had at least formal work in rhetoric and logic and the related area of English language. They received their actual training in rhetorical exercises in addition to their formal course work.

The period from 1841-52 is characterized by an emphasis upon the traditional rhetorics and classical works in the formal curriculum. In the 1850's a trend was begun away from the oral aspects of rhetoric. In 1861 when only a few of the junior and senior students were expected to appear at the exhibition and Commencement programs, the rhetorical exercises began to lose their meaning and purpose.

During the 1870's the rhetorical exercises were dropped from the curriculum. Whatever training in public speaking which remained was given in the freshmen courses in

the English Language and Literature Department.

The amount of training and the quality of the work being done appears directly related to the interest shown by the professor in charge of the area. Those of special note include Professors Erastus O. Haven, who was the first professor to teach a course entitled "Elocution" at the University and who later contributed a significant text to the field; Andrew D. White, who used speech techniques extensively in his history recitations and who along with Datus Brooks conducted the rhetorical exercises during the 1860's; Professor Moses Coit Tyler, who was very successful in his early days at the University from 1867-70 in elocutionary training; and Professors Demmon, Hutchins, and Burt who taught courses in extemporaneous speaking during the 1870's and 1880's.

(9) <u>There was a gradual shift toward English literature and the written aspects of rhetoric within the curriculum from 1854-84, although there were specific exceptions when courses in public speaking and debate were taught.</u>

In 1854 the heading "Rhetoric and English Literature" was first used in naming that department in the Literary College. This development marked the beginning of the trend toward the written aspects of communication and language. In the late 1850's and 1860's there was a gradual shift toward emphasis in English language and literature as indicated in the course descriptions of the catalogue.

Professor Moses Coit Tyler apparently influenced the trend more than any other person at Michigan. When Professor

Tyler came in the late 1860's his interest seemed to be balanced between the written and oral aspects of the English language. However, by the early 1870's, Professor Tyler began to delve into literature more extensively at the expense of elocutionary training. Consequently, during the late years of Tyler's chairmanship of the Department of English Language and Literature there was little emphasis given public speaking within the department.

Even though there was a definite trend away from public speaking training from 1854-84, there were several unique courses taught during the time which were in direct contrast to the general trend. Professor Haven taught a course in "Elocution" in 1854, while in the 1860's a course using Bautain's Art of Extempore Speaking was conducted. In the 1870's and early 1880's, a course closely paralleling modern argumentation and debate courses was taught.

The textbooks used in the courses pertaining to public speaking reflect the nature of the training at a given time. Those used in the early years included the three standard sources of Blair, Campbell, and Whately, with Whately as the popular text. Most of the other texts used in the University's curriculum in rhetoric and English emphasized written rather than oral English. In terms of texts, however, there were three major exceptions: Bautain's Art of Extempore Speaking, Haven's Rhetoric, and Shoemaker's Practical Elocution.

(10) There was considerable student and faculty opinion favoring a professorship in elocution during the 1870's

and 1880's.

Articles and editorials in the student newspapers decried the lack of adequate training provided for students in public speaking during the 1870's and early 1880's. The editorials pointed out that the training being offered at other institutions such as Harvard and even in smaller colleges was more extensive than that given at the University of Michigan. On occasion writers "humbly asked for a chair of elocution."

Professor Tyler also recognized the need for more speech training, and so indicated in his annual reports to the president. In addition he sent a special letter to the president petitioning for such action on at least one occasion in 1879. During the early 1880's, Professors Adams, Demmon, and Burt, along with President Angell, were interested in extending the training given in public speaking at the University.

In November, 1884, Thomas Clarkson Trueblood came to the University as an itinerant elocutionist, and stayed on to teach courses in elocution and oratory.

(11) The one deterrant to an adequate speech program at the University of Michigan prior to 1884 apparently was the lack of continuing leadership.

In the early years the oral and written aspects of rhetorical training were both emphasized. The trend toward English language and literature which developed nationally beginning in the 1850's and 1860's also had its effect on the Michigan curriculum. Leaders did emerge among the faculty

who championed the cause of public speaking, yet their support was short-lived because of other interests: Erastus O. Haven, because of his responsibility as president after the Tappan crisis, and Moses Coit Tyler, because of his subsequent primary interest in English literature. Thus, although the speech training and activities at the University of Michigan were extensive throughout the forty-four years from 1841 to 1884, the real leadership did not develop until November, 1884.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

PRIZE DEBATE SPEECH OF THE LITERARY ADELPHI SOCIETY, 1868[1]

The following is the text of the Junior Prize Debate speech by William J. Darby of Princeton, Kentucky. It was presented as the first affirmative speech on "Resolved: That the Plan of Cumulative Voting, as Proposed by Senator Buckalew, Should Be Incorporated in Our Present System," at the public prize debate exhibition of the Literary Adelphi on February 15, 1868. It is the only known manuscript of a literary society debate speech of the 1841-84 period which is available.

Cumulative Voting

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: We are aware of the difficulties with which the advocates of important reforms have always to contend. The measure which we advocate this evening is one that is by no means new, though its discussion in this country commenced at a comparatively recent date. Notwithstanding this, some of its warmest friends and most enthusiastic advocates are found among the ablest men and wisest politicians of both parties in our nation. When men of such diverse political feelings as Horace Greeley and Senator Buckalew unite in praising this scheme, we may entertain no small hopes of its success. Let us regard the electoral system in general as a patient who has for many years been afflicted with a chronic disease, which has now reached such an alarming extent that a consultation is being held concerning it. In conducting our portion of this consultation, we shall in the first place say something in regard to the nature of this disease, and prescribe our remedy. In the second place we shall give some reasons why this remedy should be duly administered as prescribed. And thirdly we shall notice some objections which might be urged against it.

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[1] Printed in The Michigan University Magazine, March, 1868.

We have but to look around us and observe the workings of the present system to be convinced that it is wholly unjust. Since our government has been in existence there has always been a large portion of voters, consisting of the aggregate of the minorities in all the contested districts, together with a large number who have declined to vote, considering it of no avail, who have been as effectually unrepresented as if they had been legally disfranchised. In the Fortieth Congress the five States, Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Michigan, were represented by unanimous Republican delegations. The vote stood in these States 370,000 Republican to 226,000 Democratic. Had there been no voters in these States except those of the majority, they would have been entitled to only sixteen representatives, whereas they had twenty-seven. Here we see not only 226,000 men absolutely disfranchised, but we see the eleven representatives to which they were entitled actually going to swell the ranks of the majority. We admit that the majority of the people through their representatives can always prevail over the minority through their representatives, but does it follow from this that the minority should not be represented at all, or only to a limited extent? Is any one so blind to justice as to say that because a certain body of men cannot make the views and principles which they maintain prevail, that therefore they should be denied by law the right to make them heard? But under the present system the majority deprives the minority of its just share of representation, thereby increasing its own and applying it to the furtherance of its own designs. We are as ready as those of the opposition to affirm that the majority should rule; but it is with the manner of constituting this majority that we have to do at present, and in this we find that there exists an evil which is growing more and more every day, and which strikes directly at the foundations of our cherished institutions. Since this evil exists, what is the remedy we propose? It is that which is commonly denominated "Cumulative Voting." That is, in every State let each elector have as many votes as there are representatives, legislators, or presidential electors, as the case may be, to be chosen; and let him distribute these votes equally among them all, or let him cumulate them upon any number less than the whole number to be chosen, as he may prefer. For instance, in Kentucky, where there are nine representatives, each man will be entitled to nine votes, and he may bestow them equally upon the whole, or he may bestow them upon six, or three, or even one, as it shall seem to him best. This we regard as perfectly simple and as beyond the comprehension of no elector in the country who will bestow upon it a single thought. It may be found necessary, on trial, to make some minor specifications or changes, but this is the case with all reforms.

We will now give some reasons why this plan should be adopted. In the first place, it is one of justice. This must be recognised by all, even by its most strenuous opponents. It will deal even-handed justice to every elector in

the country, whether he be of the minority or of the majority. He must be a purblind lover of liberty who says that a measure which secures to thousands of voters a representation, who are now without it, is not one to be desired.

Of all modes of voting, this would be most likely to secure the highest intellectual character in our representative assemblies. It is a fact which we are reluctant to admit, but which nevertheless is true, that our Houses of Representatives do not generally contain that ability and talent which they should. They should be the places where we could resort for sound political principles and superior legislative qualities. But how different! And why is this so? It is because under the present system it is impossible for a man's friends to retain him in office a sufficient length of time for him by experience to become acquainted with the wants of our government and the best mode of supplying them, before he is superseded, in many cases, by some one who can be made a more efficient party-tool, or who runs astride of some local hobby to secure an election. A man of ability in any particular district, who has devoted his lifetime to preparing himself for these duties, cannot by any possibility secure his return to Congress, when the party to which he has allied himself in that district shall become unable to elect him. Whereas if any elector in the State, who might prefer to vote for him, could do so, notwithstanding the fact that his party was in the minority in his own district, he would be elected. It is a well authenticated fact that from many States, yes, from almost every State, there are men sent to Congress, far inferior to others of the same party in different districts, who cannot be elected because in their locality their party is in the minority. As an example we refer you to Horace Greeley. No one is so incredulous as to doubt that this eminent politician would be sent to Congress were it not for the fact that in his district the Republican party is in the minority. Each of your minds can now recur to instances in your own States exactly similar to this. By abolishing districts, as we propose, this evil would be eradicated. Hence we see that under the proposed plan the foremost minds of the country would always be kept in positions of public trust. Again, the greater portion of our people belong either to one great party or the other; but there is always a small portion of men who are so unprincipled and corrupt that they will vote for the man from whom they can secure the greatest personal advantage. In closely contested districts these men, though a contemptible fraction in point of numbers, control the action of conventions and dictate the choice of officers. Were the officers elected by States, there would be no necessity of yielding to them, their influence would be checked, their power overthrown. In these districts the temptations to corruption are so great, that when one candidate finds his opponent availing himself of it, he feels justified in adopting the same measures, and thus the evil is continually multiplied, and as our country increases in population and wealth, it must increase. Let

each candidate announce himself as such to the entire State, and then there will no longer rise up petty local interests to induce, or private gain to persuade, these vacillating men to turn the scale in any one's favor. Then the pernicious and selfish interests of a State will not take advantage of the machinery of our electoral system for poisoning the sources of political power, because there will not be sufficient motive. Then each party will know how many men it can elect, and it will elect them in spite of the whole world, and there will be nothing to tempt corruption. Since by this system the minorities would be more adequately represented, and the assemblies could not be made up so exclusively of one class, there would be generated a spirit of antagonism by which alone can a government be secured from degeneracy and decay. The nearer the minority representation approaches an equality with that of the majority, so much the more observant is the latter of all its actions; so much the more careful is it that it may do nothing flagrantly unjust, or in violation of the principles of right, whereby it may lose some of its supporters, and thus be deprived of the ascendancy. Had the minority been represented in proportion to its numbers in the Congress which passed the reconstruction bills, every inch of their progress would have been contested, and by the time the first one had passed, so nearly would it have been perfected that further legislation would have been unnecessary, and the sagacious Attorney General would have been relieved from the necessity of delivering his precocious opinions. In the next place, we claim that under our present system, those whom we call representatives are not in reality such. How can we say that a certain man represents such a district, when we know that his political opinions embody the feelings of only a little more than one half of the electors in his district. Instead of his representing those of different opinion from himself, he will do everything in his power to oppose their designs, and to thwart their projects. Even if, under the proposed system, he should be elected by the very same men by whom he is elected under the present system, still the minority in his locality combined with that of some other locality, will be able to secure a man who will represent their interests, and guard against their being encroached upon.

We will now give some <u>statistics</u> showing the injustice of the present system. These statistics are taken from the elections of '66--which, of course, will answer the same purpose, while they are more accurate than those we could obtain from the last elections. In Indiana the vote stood 170,000 Rep. to 156,000 Dem., a simple majority of 14,000. Notwithstanding this inconsiderable majority, the represntation in the State Legislature was 81 to 49, and in the House of Representatives eight to three. Had the two parties been represented in proportion to their numbers, as they would have been under the proposed plan, it would have stood in the Legislature 68

Republicans to 62 Democrats, and in the House, six Republicans to five Democrats. In the Legislature of Maine there were 169 Republicans and 13 Democrats, when the proportionate representation would have been 112 to 70, as the majority was only 20,000. This State sent a unanimous Republican delegation to the House of Representatives, when it should have sent three Republicans, and two Democrats. These are examples where the present system of voting has favored the party, now in power; but lest this should be regarded as a partisan measure, we will give a few where it has favored the opposite party. Maryland sent to the House of Representatives four Democrats and one Republican, when she should have sent three Democrats and two Republicans. Kentucky sent a unanimous Democratic delegation of nine, when she should have sent six Democrats and three Republicans. We might go on and mention almost every State in the Union. For in the last Congress there was not a single State which elected more than two representatives, with the exception of New Jersey, where the two parties were represented in proportion to their numbers. This scheme applies with still greater force to the choosing of electors for President and Vice-President. We cannot dwell upon this point, and will simply call your attention to the injustice of the present system, which far exceeds that of the manner of electing Congressmen, by citing a single example. In Pennsylvania each party numbers about 300,000, so that there can be but a small majority either way. In this State, whichever party succeeds, even though it be by only 1000, will secure the entire delegation of 26. If the election were conducted in the manner we propose, each party would have 13. The injustice is evident, inasmuch as a simple majority in a State elects the entire delegation.

We now proceed to notice some objections which may be urged against the adoption of this measure. The one that meets us on the threshold is, that it would destroy the local character of the representation. We agree perfectly with the objectors in saying that it is important that each locality, as far as possible, should have a representation to look after its interests; we furthermore affirm that under this reform such would always be the case. No man can be so well fitted to guard an interest as he who feels it. Who is there who will not consult his feelings and interests, local as well as general, when he is about to perform this sacred trust. In every locality large enough to send a representation, there must always be a majority one way or the other, and will it not be perfectly natural for this majority to seek some one within its own bounds for its representative? The minority, which under the present system could in no way be represented, would combine with those of its own political complexion in some other locality, and thus obtain a representation. It may be said that this plan is not sufficiently comprehensive to compensate for the change. It applies to the election of the members of our House of Representatives, it applies to the election of the members of our State Legislatures, it applies

to the choosing of electors for President and Vice-President, the highest offices in the gift of the people; it applies also to many minor offices which we need not mention. Then, with such a catalogue of offices to be filled, how can we grow weary in devising a plan by which it shall be done with equal justice to all. Another objection which our opponents attempt to establish is, that it is not practicable. A single example will illustrate its perfect simplicity, and the manner in which it shall operate. In Vermont there are 60,000 voters, 40,000 of whom constitute the majority, the remaining 20,000 the minority. Since by apportionment of law this State has three representatives, it is evident that the majority should have two and the minority one. In order to insure their success, it will be necessary for the minority to combine upon one man, giving him 60,000 votes. The majority combining upon two, would give them each 60,000. It would be impossible for them to obtain more than two, for then they could give them only 40,000 each, while the third already has 60,000. In like manner, should the minority attempt to elect two, they would have a surplus of only 20,000 for the second. So that each party would prove a check upon the other, and it would be a moral impossibility for either to obtain more than its just share of representation. But, say they, the majority will rule at any rate, so why need the minority be represented? As we have already said, we admit that the majority will rule, and we confess that it is proper it should, even though it be a majority of one, <u>when it is rightly constituted</u>. We have already shown how every man the minority loses, to which its number entitles it, is one added to the majority to which it is not entitled. And now, after this unreasonable procedure, when the majority thus constituted is divided upon any issue, it often happens that really a minority of the whole people rules. This we regard as abundant evidence why the minority should be represented to its fullest extent. Again, we are informed that although a party is left without a representation in one part of the country, those of the same party may be successful in another, so that in the end an equilibrium is produced. But when they make this assertion, they are employing a weapon against themselves. Because an act of injustice is perpetrated in Kentucky, is that a reason why the same act should be committed in Michigan? But we deny that any such equilibrium is produced. In the North-western States, in the elections of 1866, there were 2,000,000 Republican and 1,6000,000 Democratic votes. The former sent to Congress 143 members, while the latter sent only 26. The number of votes cast by each party was as 20 to 16; but, instead of the representation being as 20 to 16, it was as 143 to 26. Such is the equilibrium of which they boast. But is a man who is defeated in one part of the country to console himself because his political friend in another is victorious? Is this the genius of our political institutions? Was it for such a principle as this that our forefathers declared that all men were entitled to equal rights and privileges, that there should

be no taxation without representation? Do we wish for men in our legislative halls who will seek alone to advance the interests of their particular party, who will devote their time and energies to partisan purposes? No! We look beyond parties! We care for something else besides partisan interests! Our constitution was not framed for the benefit of parties, but of citizens. We demand that the interests and feelings held by a sufficient number of men to entitle them to a representation, should be represented; and that every man in our country can have the assurance that his opinions are represented as effectually as they would be if he were there in person. When such is the case, then and then alone can we say that the true idea of a free government is attained.

Sir: This is an age of reform. All ideas which tend toward the oppression of the common people are gradually melting away before the steadily increasing warmth of a more liberal justice and a more enlightened civilization. The restrictions which have limited their privileges are fast being removed, and their rights are becoming recognised. Important reforms in this respect have been continually going on ever since we were able to exclaim, "We are a nation." The last and crowning victory over injustice and barbarism has just been achieved. And now, after the joyous tidings have been sounded from shore to shore, that the bonds are broken, the shackles are unloosed, and four millions of slaves are free, while the universal cry is being raised that they shall enjoy the privileges of freemen, while thousands from other lands are adopting ours as their own, while our country is entering upon a new epoch in its history, now is the time to regulate our electoral system in such a manner that the voice of every man shall be heard; so that, as our noble bark, which has bravely weathered the storm, is entering port, all may have an equal share in deciding which harbor it shall enter.

APPENDIX B

CLASS DAY ORATION, 1871[1]

The following is the text of the Class Day Oration, "The Logic of Nations," presented by Harry Burns Hutchins in 1871. It may be of special interest not only because of the nature of the subject matter but also because of the student who presented it. It is one of the few Class Day oration texts available.

The Logic of Nations

It is wisely said, that the proper study for mankind is man. But this study in its entirety comprises, of course, more than the individual. The study of man, surely, may imply something beyond the sounding of one's own self. Individually regarded, man is a mere speck in the world, a small part of that great total which we call humanity; yet the individual is worthy the study. "Know thyself." Isolate the human being, shut him out from all commerce with his fellows, and you make of him the feeble, chattering idiot, if you do not destroy the vital spark itself. Cloistered for a life time to commune only with its own, the intellect becomes as dull and senseless as the stones which confine it; left free to develop, as it will, amid the society of a world, to set bounds to its influence may come within range of the impossibilities. Society, of a truth, is the element of man; it is his natural element. The individual, the family, the community, and the nation are divisions which necessarily result from society being man's natural element. To study man is to consider him in his individual capacity or in his various associated conditions.

But would we engage ourselves upon that part of this very proper study, especially bountiful in its returns to the

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[1]Printed in The Chronicle, June 10, 1871. Harry Burns Hutchins was Assistant Professor of Rhetoric and History from 1873 to 1877, and later served as President of the University from 1909-20.

patient investigator, we shall have to do with nations. The governmental institutions of a people are surely significant. The study of nations, however, will never of necessity imply an endeavor to acquire merely a perfect knowledge of facts. History for us of to-day is more than a vast picture-gallery wherein are hung the paintings of the world's great battles. We recognize in it something more valuable than a ponderous volume in which is recorded the progress of memorable national changes. The mind of the modern sees a philosophy in history. The events of the past, together with those of the present, form data for speculation which the faithful student does not neglect. In deducing future events from causes now at hand, man bursts the would-be fettering bonds of a present, and leaping forward in the power of his well-nigh illimitable intelligence, studies his fellow in institutions yet to be created, in history yet to be made.

The individual and the nation,--the former a component part of the latter, the latter in its entirety posessing many of the characteristic features of the former! And to discover the resemblance between the individual and the state, we have neither to resort to the philosophic thought of the learned nor, indeed, to bury ourselves in the annals of the past. It is written on the surface, and flashes alike upon the mind of the peasant at his toil and the student among his books. Every one speaks of the national heart, the national disposition, the national mind; and all refer to these as common to every nation, as to every individual. Like individuals, nations have points to gain; they, too, have points to lose; they must have their logic.

But let not this almost dazzling blaze of the similarity in the general make-up of the individual and the state blind us to the fact that at times, under similar circumstances, there must be a radical difference in the action of the two, in their logic--a difference which grows out of a difference in accountability. There is a higher power to which the individual is amenable, to which he owes complete allegiance; and in answer to his appeal in case of wrong suffered, he has a right to expect protection and support therefrom. But do we reduce governments to a like level? Where can we find the government of governments? To what power can we point which presumes to set up complete authority over, and guarantee protection to, the nationalities of the world? We have international law, to be sure, but it is of a different nature from that law which governs the individual. It makes legitimate in the nation a course of action which civil government would not sustain in the individual. If the dignity of the nation be insulted, if grievance arise, its appeal <u>may</u> be to its own strength; and its strength consists in its army, its navy, and the patriotic readiness of its people. The individual certainly cannot thus legitmately take matters into his own hands. This is as the case stands; whether necessarily or not in the development of a plan for the advancement of the

race, we hope to discover hereafter.

Looking up and down the pages of history, we find a record here and a note there which show us that, in its variety, international logic is, at times, in the form of the fair and candid discussion between individuals, that the council-room has sometimes been the battle-field. Often, however, the results of the contest have been far from decisive. Indeed, the eloquence of the most brilliant historic record can give to this species of logic but a feeble and sickly being when compared with those other kinds of reasoning which have occupied nations. Its existence justifies a mention; the nature of its existence necessitates a hasty leave-taking. Would that it were the only logic!--we may say. But what avails such a wish? If we endeavor to quarrel with facts, we have to recognize in them stubborn combatants. We do not wish to quarrel; we propose to represent facts and argue from them.

The frequency with which another kind of logic has been called into use by states, has given it a prominent place on the historian's page, and it cannot be passed in silence or with but a word. In considering it we have not to do with a feeble existence.

"Put forth thy hand; reach at the glorious gold."

It needs not poetic diction to fire the soul with a consuming desire for the precious metal of earth's yielding. If such a desire is not born in man, it early takes up its abode in his being.

"How quickly nature falls into revolt
When gold becomes her object."

And to turn the mind of humanity for any considerable time from an inordinate longing for

"The canker'd heaps of strange-achieved gold,"

has never been the pleasure of the divine, the poet, or the philosopher. Indeed, no one has done it; no one can do it. Surely gold is of wonderful power, and the ends it serves could scarcely be enumerated. Its influence on the human understanding is no secret yet to be discovered. Furnish arguments from the mint, and you convince an antagonist sooner than when you draw them from pure reason and philosophy. Say to your man, do this for there's money in it, and he consents; beg of him most earnestly to make the move for the interests of the community, and he'll consider it he guesses. As the morning mist vanishes before the rising summer's sun, so the doubts and scruples of poor, weak humanity melt into thin air before the terribly dissipating influence of gold. Would you quiet the loud? would you convert the obstinate? Speak of reward. But this influence extends beyond the individual. Communities are susceptible; and even nations have

supple knee-joints to be bended under the weight of lucre. We read that Philip of Macedon "refuted all the wisdom of Athens, confounded their statesmen, struck their orators dumb, and at length argued them out of all their liberties." And how? Gold answers. Louis XIV., to prosecute more successfully his aggressive wars on the liberties of Europe, tossed Englandward the snug sum of two hundred thousand pounds; and it was taken,--taken by the wearer of the English crown, and he became a pensioner to France, though without feeling his disgrace, poor fellow. English gold helped to throttle and bind the first Napoleon as much as England's Wellington. Surely,

"Gold were as good as twenty orators,"

be the contest with an individual or a nation. It dispels the fogs of the human understanding, reaches, storms, takes, the inner man. It revolutionizes in toto the very foundations of what were supposed to be thoroughly established opinions. It not only converts the commoner, but even the king yields a willing consent when beneath its persuasive eloquence.

This is not all. To argue forever from the mint, would be to bankrupt the individual; to dive into the national vaults for every convincing shaft, would be to drain the exchequer. With his fertile ingenuity man has ever shown himself equal to his situation. He has not been baffled.

Away back in the eleventh century, before England had felt the iron heel of Norman aristocracy, when the Saxon and the Dane were fast throwing aside their long cherished resentment, and were beginning to know each other as brothers in a common family, Harold of England was thrown upon the coasts of France, the bearer of dispatches from his good King Edward to the Duke of Normandy. Business over, the duke, whom the Confessor had styled a "crafty fellow," begs of Harold not to hasten his return. Made happy by the consent of his guest to tarry, the duke surrounds him with all the pleasure of his cities. The luxuries of a splendid court are at the disposal of the English visitor; and through the courtesy and almost unprecedented cunning of his planning host an English earl avows himself a slave to Norman cupidity. He swears upon the most sacred relics to use his influence--nay, he swears to give over to a foreigner the throne of England. But what do we describe? Logic. The reasoning of individuals is frequently naught but fawning. Such we find to be at times the logic of states. But this mode of conducting an argument is by no means confined to the darkness and superstition of those far-off centuries. Modern diplomats are susceptible. To sit in the coveted seat of high official position, is not to throw off all the weaknesses of the race. To be the connecting link, as it were, between two nations, is to be tempted to do otherwise than listen to the dictates of a man's best

judgment. Indeed, it is frequently to be sold--to be sold even for the charming smiles and generous acknowledgments of ladies of rank. Where is the European court which has not lavished its favors upon unsuspecting envoys; John Bull doesn't hesitate to recognize the fact that a nation has a stomach, as well as the individual, and that a convenient if not always a successful, way of feeding it is through a diplomatic nozsle. Americans can testify to this; and the history of our own national reasoning, especially for the last few months, shows that we even are not strangers to this species of logic. To satisfy the demands of an insulted nation with money, may be beyond the reach of a state; to heal the wound by gentle handling may be attempted by the most humble.

To another forum. And we enter, not the commissioners' council-room, not the arena where the chinking metal turns the balance, nor, indeed, that dangerous circle wherein fawning courtiers, high-stationed women, and intriguing politicians may be casting the future of states by the most consummate art of dissimulating, but we step within an arena canopied by the heavens, with the earth the floor for a contest. The orbits of two heros are to cross. The lion in man's nature is to have full sway. A tempest is gathering, which is to snap the life-cords of a host. A tempest is gathering, and to usher it in sweet music floats upon the morning breeze. A tempest is gathering, courted, greeted by hearts beating warmly with love of native land and national honor; courted, greeted by souls panting for military fame and world-wide glory. Bayonets glisten; pennons wave. Beautiful in their regalia the armies stand forth,--beautiful to look upon; yet the heart grows sick at the thought of what is to come. The heart sickens, but the man within us, conscious of the sacrifices necessary to imperishable blessings, rejoices in the hope that right will triumph in the final result. In splendid order the contest begins. Volley after volley thins the ranks which unconquered bravery willingly closes. The order of battle is only at the first. Chaos soon reigns. The paraphernalia of the morning become the gory fragments of the noon. Grim fury is rampant; life has no value; death has no terror. There is a tide in battle. Successful generalship takes it at its flood. "Forward" is the cry. In the distance a panic-stricken, broken, floating, self-destroying multitude of maddened men; and victory claims its own. But enough! What is all this? A magnificent debate. A duel if you please to call it such, yet, a debate; a debate with a hundred thousand disputants on a side, marshalled under the leadership of combatants terribly in earnest; a debate in which the God of battles is arbiter. Such reasoning has been legitimate for nations from the first; and

"War, war is still the cry; war even to the knife."

We have now before us some of the modes, indeed the principal modes of procedure adopted by nations, as opportunities offer, for the settlement of international questions.

They are pictures of a general character, to be sure, which we have held to view; yet even from these an intelligent idea can be had.

As we go back over the dim distance of retreating ages, and examine these succeeding pictures which represent the reasoning of states as the historic canvas displays them, we are impressed with the fact that the war power--the ratio ultima regum--has played a prominent part, indeed that it has been the favorite logic of all times. What have been its results? Surely something besides the terrible slaughters, tremendous indebtedness, and immediate sorrows which it has called forth. Wars have been for the advancement of humanity. But what have we gained by war? Let the political freedom of America answer, and the comparative liberty of Europe add testimony; let the religious and the intellectual freedom of the day, of the hour, make a reply; let the mingling of nationalities and the consequent quickening of business activity contribute its word; let the stirring up and the revivifying of thought, conspicuous among the general results of war, put forward claims for recognition. Of a verity, the war power has been most prolific of the means at hand for bringing the race to the present stage of development. This will become, perhaps, more especially apparent after a brief look at the disposition of mankind.

It has been a position with certain thinkers that man's natural condition is a state of warfare. However much this be denied, all must recognize the fact, that the history of the race shows the heart of man to have been copiously supplied with warlike propensities, even from a date closely approximating his advent, to the present. Indeed, the record of events, in itself, is little more than the record of continual war, individual and national. War for conquest has been the life of Caesars and Napoleons. The spirit for fighting is in the breast of man. Did you insult the barbarian in his native wilds, your life was in jeopardy. Did you violently intrude upon the personal rights of the cultivated gentleman of any past era, you very reasonably expected in him an open enemy; perhaps your destroyer, at all events an avenger in some form. And in the boasted civilization and advancement of the nineteenth century this disposition of a certainty lurks. To be sure your enemy no longer, after the manner of savages, assails you with bludgeons; he no longer, perhaps, seeks to strike you down in public places, that his bravery may be seen of men. In short, the open private warfare of the old time has passed away. It has ceased to be protected by law. It never advanced civilization. All will admit this. And that the race might work itself up to a higher level, laws were necessarily made to protect the individual from his neighbor. But private warfare remains, though illegal. This shows the disposition of mankind. The midnight mantle still conceals a dagger; the swift-winged messenger taps at your heart's door, while the prompter of the summons is safe in the distance. The ingenuity of to-day makes murder easy. War! It's in man. Provoke the individual, provoke the nation, provoke any nation, and see it manifested.

Whether it was born in man originally, or whether it be the result of a fallen condition, matters not. It has a place in the heart. It was there yesterday. History says so. It is there to-day. Cast your eyes across the water and read the proof. And it will be in the heart to-morrow. Do not regard as an abnormal condition that which is genuine flesh and blood. Recognize evidence. Blind not the eye to what may be deemed ungodly in man, in your terrible eagerness to establish in him nothing but the godly principle.

This war spirit, when breaking forth in those seeking the destruction of civilization, in the barbarous element, or when manifesting itself in the would-be universal despot with his army, could be met and conquered only by a warlike element. Reason teaches this. And to find this element, we had but to look to civilization itself. In the great final results, the ambitious worshipers of the war god have been conquered, have been overcome by those in whom the warlike spirit has been roused in the cause of justice and humanity. Indeed, he will blind his eyes who does not see that the sword has cut many a path for the onward march of the race, and that an appeal to its power may become the necessity of the present as it has been that of the past.

When we contemplate the disposition of the race, we cannot imagine the existence of any other international regime to have been possible than that which history pictures to us, and which we follow to-day with slight modifications. It seems necessary, in the necessity which we recognize at times of an appeal to arms for pushing forward civilization, and in the necessity which we also recognize of taking from the individual the right of private warfare for a similar purpose, that the government and the individual should be so situated that the former can legitimately exercise war logic, while the latter is permitted to gratify his disposition only by referring questions to the civil tribunal.

But there are those who gravely and earnestly question the right of recognizing what we have been pleased to term war logic as a legitimate means for the settlement of international claims. When we have an unmistakable sign that the old war disposition still lurks, when what may have been but a faint flickering in the human breast is fanned to a flame, a class of orators far from the scene of conflict begin the cry of peace always, under all circumstances, peace at all hazards: pamphleteers, with more useless verbiage than practical common sense, urge the utter letting alone of destructive weapons. Now we do not wish to be put down as advocates for the war power when right, when justice can prevail without. Our position is that the war power has existed as a necessity; that it exists to-day as such; and that good has, does, and will come therefrom. Wars have their evils, and the majority of them, when considered separately, may be pronounced to have been wrong. But why condemn the logic when the result in its

entirety is so convincingly favorable? Why forget that the condition of humanity is such that we must pay for our blessings? Because wars have been at times unjustifiably waged and are full of suffering, why say, having the great final results of this logic in mind, that the war power as a whole cannot be reconciled with a true civilization. An individual army may be despotic, and military service may at times become a bondage; but the man who unqualifiedly asserts on the public platform that "an army is a despotism; military service is bondage" should remember to what power we owe our existence as a nation, and to what strong arm he is indebted for his individual liberty. Agonizingly enthusiastic indeed are some men for peace. Oblivious of any difference between the individual acting under the command of government and the individual in his private capacity, "murderer" is their stamp for soldier as well as midnight assassin. "Had Christians done their duty and refused to fight," writes a distinguished member of a well-known peace society, "Europe might many centuries since have been in peace." In peace! Does he remember that the peace of Europe many centuries since would have been the slavery of Europe? Is peace so sweet that slavery is its price? Peace! 'Tis a glorious state; yet peace must have its limits. It has its perils as well as war. To be in an eternal state of peace, would be but to exist in an eternal state of corruption. Granted that the man in whom a continued quiet would develop only the better qualities can be described on paper, or pictured in the mind of the philosopher, but in this discussion let it be remembered, we depart so far from the usual mode of procedure as to take the man <u>exactly as he is</u>.

Let us for a moment follow the instinctive desire of humanity, and endeavor to cast in the mental horoscope events yet to come. Whither are we tending, is a pertinent question.

That there is to be a radical change in the logic of nations in future, such a change as shall almost totally annihilate the characteristics of the present method of procedure, we do not believe. It is vain to attempt to predicate such a change upon an historic foundation, or upon the events of the hour, if we keep carefully in mind the real disposition of the race. The proposed plan for a congress of nations, that plan of Utopian dreamers, which is an attempt at such predication, is doomed to a most inglorious failure. "Interest alone governs nations," said President Madison; and he has not left us a more truthful utterance. Chimerical, indeed, is it to suppose that, living in obedience to a rule which places interest first, they would enter into a compact which might subject any one of them to sacrifices for the general good, which might compel the most powerful to humble itself for the aggrandizement of the weak. Granted, however, for argument's sake that the congress exists, and even then our difficulties are not solved. It has no power. It exists as a judge with no means of enforcing a decision. If nations

were as saints, we would admit that no enforcing power would be necessary; but we have yet to learn their saint-like character. To give to the congress the power of enforcing decrees, you must transfer to its hands a vast military organization. Do that, and you license it to engage in that which it was created to prevent. Without an authoritative head which not only can make, but also enforce decrees, a congress of powers would be but a vast confederation, and like every confederation in history would ultimately fail; with a head adequate to the making and enforcing of decrees, it would be an universal oligarchy. To this, with his anything but peaceful disposition, would man long submit? To affirm that he would, is to disregard his disposition; it is to confine all ambition to the past. To affirm that he would, is to push aside the teachings of history, and to refuse to listen to the voice of reason.

If content to leave Utopia in the distance, washed by the enchanting waves which no boat prow has yet cut, and into which mortal man will never dip his oar, and to regard this matter from the stand-point which the well educated judgment points out, we shall look upon an international logic in the future which bears close resemblance to that of the past. Indeed we cannot conceive the disposition of man to become so radically changed as not to permit of a resort to any species of logic described. Yet that the future is to be less a battle ground than the past, may be expected. Pure reason, will undoubtedly in the ages yet to come take the place of much war. To suppose, however, that reason will always triumph, or, indeed, that such logic will always be resorted to, is to suppose the earth peopled by another and totally different race of beings. If you enjoy universal tranquility, if the peace of the dreamer be realized, you must look out upon nations of men devoid of human imperfections. Can we expect such under human government? History with its clear, defiant, convincing voice says, no. The candid conclusion of reason must deny such a possibility. There's a limit to human perfection, else you could find the perfection of God among men. Warfare is to be legitimate. The tocsin of armed strife cannot be a stranger to the ear of the future nation. Indeed, it is only when human governments shall be things of the past, when a divine power shall be set up here below, that we can hope for an universal peace.

And this is not an overdrawn picture; nor is it a picture overpoweringly sad for humanity. It guarantees to us all we can reasonably expect. It represents what accords with the disposition of the race. The noblest of men are those who labor for humanity; but to labor for humanity means something more than pointing to a dreamland of peace and asserting that it will soon be enjoyed as a reality. It means to meet facts and get justice out of them. "Peace if possible, justice at all hazards," says America's greatest orator. Such a sentiment inspires all true laborers for the race. When right

prevails, hail with gladness the closing of the war god's temple; when justice to humanity demands, fling open the massive gates, and drown the soft voice of peace amid the harsh clangors of war.

APPENDIX C

TITLES OF CLASS EXHIBITIONS SPEECHES, 1843-71

The following lists of titles of Freshman, Sophomore, and Junior Exhibition speeches are taken from the printed programs deposited in the Michigan Historical Collections and in the University of Michigan Collection, General Library. They are presented as they appear on the printed programs.

Freshman Exhibitions

May 25, 1869

Prologue--Original	William A. Mainer
Latin Oration--Vota Academica--Original	George P. Voorheis
Freedom's Herald--Anonymous	Evart H. Scott
Pleading Extraordinary--L. P. Partington, Esq.	Hector Nemhoff
Greek Oration--Speech of Pericles in Thucydides	Simeon S. Haines
Character of Napoleon--Charles Phillips	Edward P. Ayer
Barbau Frietchie--John G. Whittier	Robert S. Woodward
The Doomed Monarch--Anonymous	Milo Ward
French Oration--La Guerre Inevitable--translated from Patrick Henry, by Laboulaye	Charles K. Turner
Last Words of a Martyr--Rev. E. P. Lovejoy	Austin Baker
Impeachment of Warren Hastings--Macaulay	Frederick L. Geddes
Hosea Biglow to the Recruiting Sergeant--Lowell	Walter A. Brooks
Storm At Sea--Carrington	John J. Mapel
King of Denmark's Ride--Mrs. Norton	Edgar A. Cooley
New Year's Calls--Orpheus C. Kerr	William H. McKee
Poem--An Indian Legend--Original	Benjamin G. Rice

Liberty of the Press--Col. Barker	Solomon H. Bethea
Wolsey's Soliloquy--Shakespeare	Alexander M. Campau, Jr.

May 31, 1870

Speech of Icilius--Lord Macaulay	Frank C. Hayman
The Last Days of Herculaneum--Athelstone	Charles A. Warren
The Instigators of Treason--William Whit	Sherwood R. Peabody
Ho-Ho of the Golden Bell-John G. Saxe	Samuel T. Douglass
Eulogy on Webster--Rufus Choate	Charles L. King
The Double Transformation--Alice Goldsmith	Aaron C. Taylor
Banks of the Tennessee--Anonymous	Addison Millard
The Ghost of Richard Warren--Anonymous	Alfred H. Nelson
Woman's Rights--Wendell Phillips	Frank H. Puthill
French Speech--On George Stevenson--Original	John H. Flagg
Speech in Union Square, 1861--Col. Barker	Ethel B. Clingman
Opera Music--Josh Billings	Wilbur Buzzell
Catiline's Reply--Croly	Wayne Hayman
The Polish Boy--Stevens	George M. Tindall
Shamus O'Brien--Samuel Lover	James R. Goffe
Toussaint L'Ouverture--Wendell Phillips	George H. Hopkins
The Seventeenth Amendment--Nation	Harry Russell
The Spanish Jew's Tale--Longfellow	Sidney C. Eastman

Sophomore Exhibitions

August 10, 1843

Oration--Peculiarity of the American Republic	L. D. Norris
Essay--Eloquence	Charles T. Southworth
Essay--Instability of Governments	M. H. Goodrich
Dissertation--Nature and Art	Thomas B. Cuming
Dissertation--American Indians	J. D. Collins
Essay--Virtue on the Basis of Liberty	Edwin Lawrence
Oration--Responsibility of Superior Talent	Charles A. Clarke
Dissertation--Choice of Pursuit in Life	George W. Pray
Essay--Change	George E. Farmelee
Poem--"Blessed Are the Pure..."	Edmund Fish

Dissertation--Party Spirit	A. P. Campau
Oration--Influence of Intellectual Culture on Morals	Fletcher Marsh
Oration--Influence of the Fine Arts	P. W. H. Rawles

First Program, March 4, 1868

The Path of Success	John Albert Baldwin
Hero-Worship	Francis Wyland Jones
American History from 1800-90	Peter Voorheis
Joan of Arc	Clark Olds
Motors	Harlow Palmer Davock
The Glory of the Farm	Washington Hyde
The Enterprising Man	George Williams Bates
Imagination	Thomas Harper Bush
The Oppressed	Charles Simeon Carter
A Needed Reform	Charles Ballenger
The Capitalist	George Throop Campau
The Laboring Man	Edward Everett Darrow
The Delusion of the Age	Charles Keene Dodge
The Duty of the Age	Bernard Moses
Faith in the People	Edwin Fleming

Second Program (Not Available)

First Program, April 23, 1869

Practical Men	Charles Edward Conley
Life's Work	Richard Hudson, Jr.
Hope	Curtis Culross Smith
Centralization	Penbrook Reeve Flitcraft
Adaptation	Alexander White Hamilton
Retrenchment	Johnson Earl Knight
Catholicism Incompatible with a Republic	Watson Birchard Millerd
Catholicism Not Incompatible with a Republic	Henry Watson Montrose
The Growth of Liberty	Henry Luke Gleasen
A Tale of the Sea--A Poem	Rollin John Wells
(A Greek Oration)	Henry Chapen Granger
Motive Power	Charles Kellogg Laham
The State	Reifus Emerson Phinney
A People in Distress	Charles Eugene Socton
Be a Power	George Otis McCrtee
The Political Situation	Harry Burns Hutchins

Second Program, May 14, 1869

Latin Oration--Mois Ciceronis	Fredrick H. Bacon
Remedial	George E. Cochran
Our Prison System	Charles J. Willett
Shall We Study	John A. Fulton
Chivalry	James A. S. Warden
The Unpopularity of Farm Life	Charles M. McLaren
The Spirit of the Age	Edward B. Skinner
An Undeveloped Talent	Jonathan L. Bissell
Crete	Charles A. Cook
The Spanish Revolution	Arthur G. Otis
Rome For Italians	Robert M. Wright
The Araucanians	Robert M. Wright
German Oration--Die Deutsche in Amerika	Harry C. Wilcox
The Lecture System	Giles Hobrook
Our Ideal Nature	Byron A. Finney
State Rights	Preston C. Hudson
Three Periods of Irish History	Joseph McGrath
New Ideas	Gideon W. Seavey
The Good Templars	Elroy Mc.K. Avery
Reserved Power	Perry A. Randall

April 29, 1870

Our Weak Points	William T. Underwood
Growth of Liberty in Europe	Dwight C. Rexford
The Equality Movement	Charlemagne Clark
Our New Slavery	Herbert H. Lyons
England	George P. Voorheis
Prison Reform	Charles E. Miller
Call Off the Dogs	Milo W. Ward
Our Mother Tongue	William H. McKee
The Dead of 1869	Fredrick L. Geddes
Father Hyacinth	Charles K. Turner
American Colleges	John W. Morton
American Seaman	Archer H. Brown
The Uses of Satire	Alexander H. Campau
Liberalism	Will J. Herdman
Puritans of Vermont and Fops of Ann Arbor	Willis Ball
Health	Walter A. Brooks
Action of the Law of Life	Hiram E. Swartz

Junior Exhibitions

August 14, 1844

Oration--Advent of Peace	P. W. H. Rawles
Oration--Responsibility of the American Citizen	H. H. Goodrich
Oration--Christianity, the Basis of Political Liberty	C. A. Clark
Dissertation--Knowledge is Power	Edwin Lawrence
Dissertation--Distinction Between Decision and Obstinacy	George W. Pray
Colloquy--Fourierism in the year 2000	J. P. Collins P. W. H. Rawles
Oration--Circumstances Inauspicious to American Republicanism	George E. Parmelee
Oration--American Literature	Edmund Fish
Oration--Limit of Human Understanding	Fletcher Marsh

April 16, 1845

De Literarum Romanarum Origine	Savillon S. Shoff
Enlightened Mind the Agent of Reform	George L. Becker
Development of the Mind	James S. Mitchell
Origin of Language	Adonyah S. Welch
Local Attachment	Charles W. Noble
National Character of the Romans	Henry D. Goodrich
Political Idolatry	George P. Androus
(A Greek Oration)	William W. Perry
Chivalry	Charles J. Hunt
Danger to American Literature	Philander J. Buchanan
Certainty of Punishment, the Best Preventative of Crime	Anthony Mosher
Character of Roger Williams	Edwin S. Dunham
La Litterature Americaine	Homer F. Shoff
Causes of the Decay of Political Liberty	James O. Whittemore

Present System of College Education	Winfred Smith
Influence of Literary Institutions	Nathaniel West

April 15, 1846

De Horatii ingenio	S. Shalor Hall
Advancement of Society	E. P. Christian
War and Peace Contrasted	C. D. Y. Alexander
Influence of Greek Religion	Eno Freeman
The Prevailing Form of Government in the Future	D. Bishop Brown
The Doctrine and Character of Plato	J. Keith
Obligations of Young Men to Their Country	S. Ewer
Greek Oration	Eno Freeman
Revolutions	F. B. Collins
Religion, Natural and Revealed	S. Shalor Hall
Spirit of the Age	T. Romeya Palmer
Responsibility of the American Scholar	F. Leonidas Parker
Achievements of Intellect	J. Stoughton Newberry

April 20, 1847

Influence of the Fine Arts Upon Society	S. D. Miller
Mind in Ruins	Edward Termy
Literature	William Garwood
Mission of the American Student	James K. Landreth
North	James Aristo Duncan
Fate of False Principles	Wells R. Marsh
Waste of Intellect	Horatio N. Shaw
"The Almighty Dollar"	David M. Cooper
Mohammedanism, The Auiliary of Christ	W. P. C. Whiting
"Unwritten History"	B. F. Parks
Mental Friction	William Howard Wait
Still Music	A. DuBois
Smoke	Wyllys C. Ransom
Grecian Mythology	John C. Norton
Superstition	P. E. Latimer
Secret Sway of Europe	James B. Witherell

April 19, 1848

All Possible Good Finally Realized	C. Beckwith
Political Fanaticism	G. B. Alcott
Arabian Literature	W. G. Goodwin
"Act Well Your Part"	D. E. James

The Anglo-Saxon the Language of the World	R. T. Chase
Italy and Pius IX	George P. Kellogg
The Student Vision--A Poem	D. D. Van Antwerp
Man the Arbiter of His Own Destiny	G. A. Hinsdell
The March of Mind	P. S. Donclsen
Disunion of Our Republic	C. P. Felch (excused)
Mental Affinities	T. S. Blackman
The Military Spirit	B. Gray
Rumorology	E. Andrews
Christianity the True Philosophy	D. Wilkins, Jr.
Nature's Teachings	H. A. Johnson
The Time--A Poem	H. Chase
Life and Death of Nations	L. Cochrane
"It Can Be Done"	D. May
Eulogy on John Quincy Adams	S. Tillson
Moral Power of Missions	H. Hamilton
"Away with Your Larnin'"	E. S. Kingsley
The Scholar's Home Mission	G. P. Tindall

April 18, 1849

The Past Prophetic of the Future	Lewis R. Fisk
The Way of Eminence	William Cathcart, Jr.
"Our Age"	William H. Moore
"Hope On"	George E. Lee
Southern Conquests	Edward Bacon
"Watchman! What of the Night?"	Charles R. Pattison
"The Time is Out of Joint"	John W. McMath
The Northmen--A Poem	Henry H. Powers
The Statesmen of America	G. Morse Barber
The Irish Patriot	Samuel Harper
"Light"	Charles J. Wood
Historic Recollections	Orlando M. Barnes

April (?), 1850

Deliberate, Decide, Act	J. W. Bancroft
Tyranny of Enthusiasm	Alex A. Brook
Education	C. M. Cady
Prove all Things	C. R. Gardner
American Character	T. H. Hartwell
In Knowledge Power	Josiah Kellogg
"As a Man Thinketh, So He Is"	J. R. Knight
Struggles for Nationality	P. McKernas
The Moral Power of History	H. E. Nichols
"Life is Earnest"	B. E. Northrop
The Italian Patriots	A. J. Poppleton
The Harp of A Thousand Strings	O. H. Seymour

April 16, 1851

Duty the Watchword--Not Fame	W. Lindsley Bean
Ta Paronta	C. S. Armstrong
Eloquence	Seth M. Barber
"We Are Such Stuff as Dreams Are Made Of"	Sid A. Bean
The Aristocracy of Learning	Sam J. Agnew
"I Can, and I Will"	Joseph E. Bigelow
Wealth--Worship--A Poem	Henry D. Dunning
The Three Temples	Justin D. Fulton
Mind and Its Wanderings	Alfred G. Otis
Danton versus Lamartine	Henry A. Reeves
Superstition and Revelation	B. Roberts
Influences from the Belief in a Future State	Edwin W. Shaw
Mental Sublimity	Sylvenus A. Taft
The Spiritual Superior to Sensual	Tillman C. Trowbridge
Men of "Isms"	DeGarmo J. Whiting

April 21, 1852

Truth's Mission	Henry Martyn Cheever
Man, His Sphere and Destiny	O. Jackson Chapel
Aspirations for Immortality	William E. Cheever
The Classics--Their Study	T. Spencer Ogden
Memory's Influence	John F. Becker
Emulation	Jared Patcher
Truth, the Spirit of Thought	George M. Lane
The Spirit of the Unknown	Uzziel Putnam, Jr.

March 30, 1853

Salutatory Address	Harrison Ward Bassett
The Necessities of Effort	Lewis Bowden
Principles	France Chandler
Forgotten Heroes	William Chandler
The Suicide--A Sketch	Charles Guidley Clark
The Character of Henry Clay	James Robinson Cook
The Logic of the Heart	Richard Cordley
Will, Under the Dominion of Right	Samuel Pearce Duffield
Witherward?	Edward Pasen Evans
John Smith--An Eulogy	John Gomer Evans
"A Man's a Man for A'That"	Robert Cooper Grier
"Our Feelings and Our Thoughts Tend Ever On"	Daniel Leonard Wood
The Law Within	Roswell Davenport Parker
Napoleon--French	Nat Pitcher
A Eulogy on "Wilkins Micawber, Esq."	Lyman Richardson
The Party Politican	James Quick
"The El-e-phant"	Julius Steding Morten

March 29, 1854

Crusades of Thought	Andrew J. Bigelow
Seeming and Being	Edward Payson Clark
Self Respect	Charles Dunlap
The Great Question	James B. Eldredge
The Ties of Interest	Mathew A. Gates
National Sympathy	G. C. Gibbs
Relation of Woman to Reforms	Matthsas Harter
Hero-Worship	Charles Hewitt
Workers of Earth	Mareus Lane
"Westward the Star of Empire Takes its Way	August Marsh
Fanaticism	Alex Martin
Public Opinion	Emanuel Schmid
Probable Destiny of "The American Eagle"	J. M. Shanklin
Pitch Thy Projects High	Charles Toll
Why Have We So Few Illustrious Men?	Edwin Willits

March 29, 1855

The American Prometheas	Lemon Barnes
One Idea Man	Datus C. Brooks
Real Character the True Guide of Thought	Van B. Chase
Popular Sentiment	O. N. Chaffee
Characteristics	H. C. Champion
Calhoun	F. R. Williams
Yankee Soap	A. S. Miggins
Brothers! What is Truest Manhood?	M. A. O. Packard
Ambition	Frank Power
"Isms"	Mason Gibbs
Sphere of Literary Men	J. Q. A. Sessions
How Is It Now?	D. D. Stebbins
The Ideal and the True	William W. Wheeler
The Practical and the Real	Milton W. Reynolds

March 26, 1856

Statesmanship	Henry W. Beeson
Oratory	Henry Allen Berck
The Old Charter Oak	Lorenzo M. Gates
William Wilberforce	James A. Griffes
Philosophy of Romance	William M. Hill
Utilitarianism	W. G. Howe
Notoriety	L. H. Irwin
Napoleon as a Civilan	Lewis W. James
American Taste	George M. Landon
Old Spirits vs. New Reform	Gilbert F. R. Lyon
	Theodore Marsh

The "Greek God of Eloquence"	Hobart Miller
"Life is Real"	Irvin Palmer
March of Civilization	D. H. Taylor
Philosophy of Poetry	Edward G. Thurber
"The Old Oaken Bucket Arose From the Well"	G. W. Waldron
Modern Aristocracy	Edwin B. Weight
Thought	L. D. Williams

First Program--February 13, 1857

The Modern Aztecs	George M. Chester
Modern Greece	G. S. Comstock
The Practical Man	George M. Danforth
American Pecularities	Hamilton J. Dennis
The Poetic Principle	Foster Ely
The Past	Thomas G. Gavin
Favoritism	John Graves
Love of Conquest	W. A. Green
Unser Abenland	David Klosz
Conquests of Mind	A. Judson Loomis
Ancient Greece	Henry F. Lyster
Lasting Monuments	Lewis McLoath
The Significane of Woman's Social Rank	Charles R. Miller
Our Popular Songs	R. S. Moore
Conflict	A. K. Spence
Lewis Carr	James W. Stark

Second Program--March 25, 1857

Change	E. B. Chandler
Now-a-days	James A. Trumbull
The Astronomer	R. M. Johnson
The Battle of Life	John Horner
The Main Spring of Human Action	M. E. N. Howell
Who Would Not Work?	L. M. Mott
Dr. Elisha Kent Kane	J. T. Snoddy
Decline of Poetry	G. W. Wall
Poet's Vision	L. E. Holden
Physical Science--A Path to Fame	G. A. Mark
Life is What We Make It	H. B. Burgess
Science	Luther Beckwith
Lafayette	H. A. Humphrey
Drive On	C. S. Patterson
The Ocean Cemetery	J. W. Paine
Words and the Hammer	B. F. Prentis

First Program--February 12, 1856

The Mission of the Past	J. R. Carey
Beauty	J. M. Edmunds

Andrew Jackson	R. E. Frazer
The American Scholar	C. B. Grant
Legends of Crimes	B. F. Rich
The Past and the Present	J. C. Lowell
The Future of America	R. J. Hathaway
British Empire	C. B. Hankinses
The French Philosophers, and the First Revolution	G. A. Flanders
The Jesuits	A. A. Chapin
Enduring Fame	F. Hard
The Moors of Spain	C. B. Lamborn
Triumphs of Fanaticism	E. W. McGraw
Voices From the Sea	A. T. Wilcox
National Literature	George E. Dunning

Second Program (Not Available)

First Program Copy (Not Available)

Second Program, March 29, 1859

Novels and Novelists	Louis F. Booth
The Sovereignty of Politics	A. Edwards Welch
De Vita Coriolani Oratio Latina	A. A. Chapman
The Language of Music	E. D. Fiske
American Monument	E. M. Mason
The Burial of the Patriot	M. L. Mendenhall
The Progress of Free Principles	William N. Laskie
Ossian's Poems	E. A. Spence
Modern Chivalry	C. B. Thomas
De Vita T. Gracchi Oratio Latina	S. Wright Dunning
Intelligent Agitation Necessary to True Freedom	Charles A. Thompson
Inner Life--Its Conflicts	J. C. Wortley

First Program, February 14, 1860

Unseen Causes	Orville S. Abbott
The Elizabethan Age	Charles K. Adams
Veneration for the Great	William H. Beadle
The Truth and Cant of Progress	Benjamin F. Blair
The Missing Tribes	Charles D. Gregory
Thinkers and Actors	James Hagerman
The Waldenses	John Kelland
Posthumous Influence	Walter McCollum
The Drama	Samuel H. McWilliams
The Ancient Classics	Jonas H. McGowan
The Gift of Athens	Charles W. Meserve
Dictator Magnus Oratio Latina	E. Darwin Nichols
American Literature	James A. Post

Homer and the Homeric Age	Moses K. Rosebrugh
Pharisees (Poem)	H. Munson Utley

Second Program, March 27, 1860

Sir Walter Scott	S. P. Brockway
The Balance of Power	William H. Coyl
Battle of Solferino (Poem)	B. M. Cutcheon
Fanaticism	W. V. Dedrick
Conservatism	C. H. Denison
The Great Orator (Greek)	Edward Dickinson
Colloquy--Cleon of Athens --Mr. Smith of Smithville	I. H. Elliot E. G. Hall
The Florida War	J. C. Johnson
Lessons from Chivalry	E. L. Little
Schiller--als Frecheilsdicter German Oration	Fred Arn
Aerial Navigation	C. E. McAlester
Ireland	S. G. Morse
Theory of Political Relations	H. C. Newcomb
The People	W. S. Perry
Other Worlds	Hoyt Post
Poetry of the Highlands of Scotland	T. B. Weir

First Program, February 15, 1861

Garibaldi the Type of the Age	Albert J. Chapman
"Active Doer, Noble Liver, Strong to Labor, Sure to Conquer"	H. Austin Burt
Compensation	Oliver L. F. Browne
Mohammed a Messenger of Evil	William E. Armbruster
Mohammed a Messenger of Good	T. Marshall Baxter
Heart Heroism	W. Eugene Nelson
God in History	Albert Nye
Authorship as a Profession	Charles T. Parks
Demosthenes the Type of an Orator	William V. Richards
The Radical and the Conservative	Edwin F. Uhl

Second Program, March 26, 1861

Gunpowder Civilization	Roswell Parsons Carpenter
Never Despair	John Ephrian Colby
Earnest Men	Martin Luther D'Ooze
The Calas Tragedy and Voltaire	Edward Allen Fay
Little Things versus Great Things	Marvin A. Gaylord

Civil Liberty	Samuel Howard
Terebrae Societatis	Theodore H. Hurd
Heart Heroism	W. Eugene Nelson
Think, Resolve, Act	Jonathan W. Newman
Odinism	James Irvin VanKeuren
Then, and Now	Charles L. Watrous

First Program, March 7, 1862

Is Our Republic A Failure	Theodore B. Smith
Character in Emergencies	Clark Gray
The Philosophy of War	Edward R. Slawson
The Discipline of War	N. W. Cheever
The English versus the Classics	William Mendenhall
The Classics versus the English	Stephen Powers
Sympathy (A Poem)	David Boyd
The True	J. H. McClure
After the War	J. E. Ambrose
Hero Worship	Conway W. Noble
Our Country's Needs	L. A. Fraser

Second Program, March 26, 1862

The True Builders of States	Levi L. Barbour
Growth in Men	Henry M. Hurd
The Mission of Educated Men in the West	John M. Bowers
The True Idea of Historical Study	Lincoln T. Farr
Ancestral Pride	Frank Hendricks
The Scholar of Today	Marden Sabin
The Power of Intellect	E. Denison Lay, Jr.
Bull Run and Fort Donelson	N. H. Michell
Character and Culture	Levi J. Brown
The Main Reliance of States	Henry S. Cheever
Nonconformity	Delos Phillips

March 25, 1863

Life	Shubal F. White
The Real and the Ideal	William A. King
Vestigia Nulla Retrorsum	William S. Brewster
The Conflict of Opinions	Schuyler Grant
The Power of Verse to Perpetuate	Henry D. Smith
Circumstances and Character	Charles L. Fraser
Misdirected Enthusiasm	Joseph C. Hart
The Ideal	Albert F. Drury
France and the Rebellion	Zina P. King
The Man in the Moon--A Poem	Scovel C. Stacey
The Work Lives, Though the Workman Dies	Edward D. Kinne

March 29, 1864

The Future of American Literature	James D. H. Cornelius
The Age of Queen Anne	Abram J. Aldrich
True Manhood the Want of the Age	John Thomson
Life is What We Make It	George Y. Wisner
Sic itur ad astra	J. Barnes Root
Janus et Leo	Charles A. Dudley
Islam	Charles A. Sanford
Now and Hereafter	Sanford B. Ladd
Supremacy of Principle	William J. Maynard
When Would We Die? (A Poem)	Arthur H. Snow
Moral Chronology	William Henry Fifield
Moral Contests	Edward C. Page

March 28, 1865

Thought and Language	Henry W. Hubbard
Heart-Worth	Sidney Beckwith
Individual Influence	Edgar Rexford
Painters and Grinders	James M. Scott
Monarchy on the American Continent	John E. McKeighan
Our Present Civilization	J. V. Quarles
The Cost of Culture	S. T. Chapin
Osculumundus (A Poem)	James K. Blish
Political Intemperance	E. L. Grant
Three Days in Ottoman History	H. W. Lewis
The Republic	J. A. Van Cleve
Posthumous Fame	Henry Smith
The Meccas of the World	O. P. Dickinson
Adversity	Alfred E. Mudge
The Character and Death of Socrates	Eleazer Darrow
American Scenery (A Poem)	E. D. Kelly

March 27, 1866

Our National Cemetery	John C. Andrews
Amor Patriae	George Emery Church
Unwritten Music	Henry P. Chruchill
Charles Sumner	Isaac N. Elwood
The American Celt	William J. English
Radicalism	Henry W. French
The Augustan Age	Lester O. Goddard, Jr.
Our National Fortifications	Milton Jackson
Heroines	Roselle N. Jenne
Unwritten Epitaphs	Lewis P. Judson
The Mirage of Life	Edward E. Kane
The Present Age	P. Baldy Lightner

Death of Nations	Isaac N. Otis
Men for the Times	John Adans Rollins (excused)
Stars Gem the Night (A Poem)	David B. Taylor
Popular Amusements	Edward O. Wetmore

March 26, 1867

The Reform Agitation	Oliver H. Dean
The Golden Crown	William K. Anderson
Enthusiasm	Calusha Pennell
City-Ward	Joseph B. Steere
Eloquence and Ingenuity	Frank H. Lyman
The Cretan Revolution	Albert H. Pattengill
Trial by Combat	Frank A. Blackburn
Enduring Monuments	John J. Davis
Intolerance	Wickliffe W. Belville
The West and Its Future	Edward C. Lovell
Faex Urbis, Lex Orbis	Charles Quarles
Purity in Politics	Edward L. Walter
Stamina of Character	George S. Hickey
"Honesty is the Best Policy"	John C. Magill

March 24, 1868

Where?	Colman Bancroft
The Uses of Wit	Henry Allen Chaney
It Might Have Been	William Johnson Darby
Individuality	Joseph Mills Gelston
The People Without a History	Nathan Lewsi Guthrie
Critics and Criticism	Francis Marion Hamilton
Expatriation	Samuel Hayes, Jr.
Public Opinion	John Eugene Hinman
The Natural Novel	William Corwin Jones
Men and Coats	Marmaduke Burnell Kellogg
Three Famous State Papers	Theodore F. Kerr
The Engineering Profession	Albert Alonzo Robinson
The Coming Elections	Horace Greely Snover

March 30, 1869

Latin Oration--Sententiarum Formatio	Wooster Woodruff Beman
Truth Will Triumph	William Freeman Mathews
Doctrina	Henry Hoyt Barlow
Eulogy Abused	Reefas Hill Thayer
Conversation	Walter Barlow Stevens
The Mania for City Life	Charles Simeon Carter
The Nation's Parricides	Thomas Charles Christy
The Practical Tendency	Thomas Harper Bush
(A Greek Oration)	Frank Bradley
Good Templars	Charles Keene Dodge

What America Demands of Her Scholars	Washington Hyde
The Pacific Empire	Charles Manley Wells
Light--Physical and Mental	Otis Erastus Haven
To-Morrow	Charles Rudolphus Whitman
Schuyler Colfax	Charles Ballenger
Scotland	John Scott Maltman
German Oration--Morgenstand Lat Gold in Mand	Marcus Baker
The Need of the University	George Throop Campau
The New Era	Edwin Fleming
Antagonism as a Developing Force	S. Robertson Winchell

March 29, 1870

The Era of Peace	Watson B. Millerd
The Lobby	Charles J. Willett
The South American Republics	Henry W. Montrose
Per Asperia ad Astra	Gideon W. Seavey
American Aristocracy	Edward M. Adams
Our Democratic Deities	Earle J. Knight
An Open Library on Sundays	Henry G. Prout
Oratory in the United States	Henry C. Granger
A Dishonored Name	Percy A. Randall
The Paney--A Poem	Curtis C. Smith
Cardinal Richelieu	Henry B. Hutchins

Debate

Resolved That Relgious Exercises in Our Public Schools Should Be Prohibited.

Affirmative	Richard Hudson
Negative	Horace Phillips
Affirmative	Charles Chandler
Negative	Edward L. Mark

The Enchanted Isle--A Poem	Benjamin G. Rice
Shams	Joseph McGrath, Jr.
The Decline of England	Robert M. Wright

March 28, 1871

The Seventh Decade	James H. Maquire
Concentration	Charles S. Burton
Italian Unity	George P. Voorheis
Compulsory Education	Theodore B. Wilson
Mania for College Building	Charles C. Worthington
True Manhood	Lester McLeon
The Religious Principle	John F. Dutton
Christiantiy and the Constitution	Edgar A. Cooley
Napoleon's Prophecy	James H. Kirkpatrick

Literary Honesty	Henry F. Burton
Die Amerikanische Presse	Archer H. Brown
Our Duty to Politics	John J. Mopel
Shakespeare's Coriolanus	Charles K. Turner
Popular Ideas	William T. Underwood
Mediocrity	Walter A. Brooks
Modern Criticism	John W. Morton
Our Foreign Element	Charles G. Bennett

APPENDIX D

TITLES OF COMMENCEMENT SPEECHES, 1845-77

The following list of titles of Commencement speeches are taken from the printed programs deposited in the Michigan Historical Collections and the University of Michigan Collection, General Library (except for 1873, when they are taken from The Chronicle, June 28, 1873). Except for 1873 they are presented as they appear on the printed programs.

1845

Salutory Address	Edmand Fish
Romance	Edwin Lawrence
The Power and Province of Rational Philosophy	Judson D. Collins
The Ideal	Thomas B. Cuming
Intellectual Sovereignty	Merchant H. Goodrich
Perfection of Philosophy	P. W. H. Rawls
Claims of Agriculture on Science	George W. Pray
Lamech--A Fragment	J. D. Collins
Lambert,	J. D. Collins
Jarah,	C. A. Clark
Naphel,	P. W. H. Rawls
Sons of Lamech,	T. B. Cuming E. Lawrence
The Hire of Intellect	Edmund Fish
Greek Poem	Thomas B. Cuming
The Proper Direction of Intellecutal Effort	George E. Parnelee
Physics and Metaphysics--Their Laws Equally Determinable	John MacKay
Poem--The Nazarine	P. W. H. Rawls
Connection Between Faith and Knowledge	Charles A. Clark
Influence of the Crusades	Fletcher O. Marsh

1846

The Student	Charles W. Noble

The Age of Freedom	W. W. Perry
The Influence of Moral Causes on National Character	Ja's S. Mitchell
Imperfection of Ancient Philosophy	Winfield Smith
"Westward the Star of Empire Takes Its Way"	W. W. Phelps
Philosophy and Poetry	M. Anthony Mosher
Perfectibility of Human Nature	Savillon S. Schoff
Influence of Christianity on Literature	Edwin S. Dunham
Metaphysics and Religion	James M. Walker
Monody Prof. Houghton	Homer Schoff
"Coming Events Cast Their Shadows Before"	N. West
Enlightened Mind the True Ascendent	A. S. Welch
Cant--Political, Sentimental, and Literary	J. O. Whittemore
The Last Page of History	C. J. Hunt
Science versus Revelation	Philander G. Buchanan
The Origin of Error and Its Destiny	George L. Becker
The Crescent and the Cross	G. Pomeroy Androus

1847

Wants of the West	S. S. Hall
Genius	F. B. Collins
Decline and Fall of Spain	E. P. Christian
Humanity Veiled	C. D. Y. Alexander
The Fate of Poland	Eno Freeman
Massacre of Schenectady	J. B. Myers
The Conflict and the Armor	P. C. Safford
Independent Mind God's Vicegerent	D. Bishop Brown
The Model Politician	T. R. B. Palmer
The Agency of Philosophy	F. Leonidas Parker
The Wave of the Nineteenth Century	S. Ewer
The Eternal Bond of Spiritual Union	J. Slaughton Newberry

1848

The "Commencement" of Nations	J. R. Smith
Truth	J. A. Duncan
The World's Warfare	P. Erskine Latimer
"Alone Amid Ruins"	Wells R. Marsh
Divine Aid in Intellectual Pursuits	D. M. Cooper
"The Crisis of Man's Destiny is Now"	S. D. Miller

The Fate of Reformers	William Garwood
The Freshman's Vision	W. C. Ransom
Poetry of the Bible	H. W. Shaw
The Liberator--A Eulogy	James Landreth
Imagination--A Poem	J. C. Norton
Moral Sensibility	Edward Tenny
Intellectual Enterprise	A. DuBois
The Ascendent Principle	B. F. Parks
Europe, Its Influence	J. B. Witherall
The Beautiful--Its Mission	W. Howard Wait

Morning Session 1849

The Harps of the Soul	E. Andrews
Nature Marks the Boundaries of Nations	E. Baldwin
Knowledge--Not Life	C. Beckwith
Politics, An American Study	J. S. Beckman
Toil--Its Rewards	T. S. Blackmar
"The Pen Mightier Than the Sword"	H. Chase
The Learned Professions of Agriculture and the Mechanics	T. R. Chase
Lights and Shadows of Superstition	L. Cocrane
Analogy, the Telescope of the Mind	J. Dexter
Modern Reviewers	Park S. Donelson
Cromwell	C. P. Felch
Pictures of Memory	D. Gibson
We Know Not What We May Yet Be	W. G. Goodwin

Afternoon Session 1849

Servility to the Past	B. Gray
"It is a Happy World After All"	H. Hamilton
Our Pyramid--A Poem	G. A. Hinsdill
Other Ages Our Instructors	H. A. Johnson
The World's Wants	C. S. Kingsley
The Idea of God the Genesis of Civilization	D. May
Our Civil War	S. Tillson
Mystery, a Proof of Immortality	G. P. Tindall
The True Sphere of Intellect	D. D. VanAntwerp
Our Trust	D. Wilkins, Jr.

1850

The West--Its Resources	G. Morse Barber
Nationality	Orlando MacBarns
The Spirit of Reform	William Cathcart, Jr.
College Education Democratic	Edward Bacon
To Every Thing A Limit	Lewis R. Fisk
John C. Calhoun	Samuel Harper

Truth and the Right Shall Rule	John W. McMath
Hero Worship	William A. Moore
The Hope of Europe	Charles R. Pattison
Conservation and Progress	Henry H. Powers
The Valley of the Mississippi	Charles J. Wood

1851

Connection Between Intellectual and Moral Excellence	George Willis Perry
Utility of Mental Discipline	Chauncey Marvin Cady
Anti-Nonresistance	Charles Russell Gardner
Elevation is Exposure	Thomas Hathaway Hartwell
Opinions Wear Out	Josiah Kellogg
The Middle Ages	Phillip McKernan
Dollars and Sense	Joseph Webb Bancroft
"Excelsior"	Fredrick Bissell Porter
"Be Not O'er Hasty"	Arthur Draper Rich
The Mission of Literary Men	Byron Gray Stout

1852 (Not Available)

1853

Salutatory Address In Latin	O. Jakson Chapel
The Sphere of the Beautiful	Jared Patchin
The Responsibility of Belief	T. S. Ogden
Sentimentalism	William E. Cheever
Tendency towards Unity	Jay A. Hubbell
The Spirit of the Radical	George M. Lane
Political Reformers in Europe	William B. McLeod
Histories and Mysteries	Henry M. Cheever
Is Genius Eccentric?	John F. Becker
Truth, the Enigma of Thought	Uzziel Putnam, Jr.

Morning Session 1854

Salutatory	H. D. Bartholomew
Why Are We Here	L. Bowden
I Had Rather Be Right Than President	H. W. Bassett
American Aristocracy	F. Chandler
Biography	W. Chandler
The Last Indian--A Poem	C. G. Clarke
Characteristics of Modern Society	J. R. Cook
The Useful and the Beautiful	C. C. Wheeler
Law	D. J. Davison
Modern Scepticism	S. P. Duffield
Individualism	E. P. Evans
Radicalism	J. G. Evans

Afternoon Session 1854

The Independent Thinker	D. L. Wood

Onward	R. D. Parker
Corks	N. Pitcher
True Independence	A. Pond
The Indestructability of Mattor	J. Quirk
"In for a Mill, in for a Million"	J. Richardson
A World to Conquer	R. C. Grier
Croakers	R. Cordley

Morning Session 1855

Graduatory Encyclopedias	Andrew J. Bigelow
Still Onward	Edward P. Clark
Intellectual Cultivation Consistent with Labor	Charles Dunlap
Kossuth's Policy	James B. Eldredge
Necessity of Great Men	Charles Toll
Forty Miles an Hour	G. C. Gibbs
The Engineer	George Harter
The Philosophy of Luck and Pluck	Mattias Harter
Dickens	Charles Hewitt

Afternoon Session 1855

The Regeneration of Italy	Marcus Lane
Philosophy of History	Augustus March
Empiricism	Alex Martin
The Exiles	B. B. Northrop
Obligation of American Citizens	Jasper Parker
Idolatry of the Day	Emanuel Schmid
Practicality of Philosophy	Matthew A. Gates
Socialism	Edwin Willits

Morning Session 1856

The Germ and Growth of Our Institutions	Lemon Baines
Characteristics of An American Philosophy	Datus C. Brooks
Individualism	Van B. Case
The Sanity of True Genius	O. Newberry Chaffee
True Scholarship	Henry C. Champion
The Object of Life	Duane Doty
The Under-Current in History	Mason Gibbs
The Philosophy of Tact	Alvin S. Higgins
The Inspiration of the Ideal	George W. Hood
Classical Study Necessary to True Culture	James P. Jones
The Moral Power of Art	M. H. A. Packard
"Eternal Vigilence the Price of Liberty"	Frank Power
Conflicts of Principles	Milton W. Reynolds

Afternoon Session 1856

Thought's Domain Yet Unexplored	Fred Rowe
English and American Literature	J. Q. A. Sessions
The Responsibility of Belief	L. A. Soule
Habits Developed by Principle	Dwight D. Stebbins
Human Knowledges and Human Interests--Their Unity and Mutual Relations	John E. Clarke
The Attainment of Universal Principles--The Student's Aim	W. W. Wheeler
Geological Chronology	Samuel H. White

Morning Session 1857

Germs of Greatness	J. C. Barnard
John Randolph	Henry W. Beeson
Shakespeare's Muse	Anson Brunson
History of Earth	Samuel Chapel
Beauty of Human Nature	W. F. Cashing
The Musician	Cushman K. Davis
Our University	G. W. Waldron
The Enthusiast	J. A. Griffes
Railways	N. W. Starr
Dignity of Manhood	William M. Hill
The Scholar's Mission	L. Thomas Griffin
Mental Creations	L. H. Iriven
What Awaits Our Country	Lewis W. James
Rhionology	George M. Lendon
They Only Have Lived Who Have Labored	G. R. Lyon
March of Mind	Theodore Marsh
True Mission of the Fine Arts	Edward G. Thurber
True Nationality	Ervin Palmer
Midas	John Richards
The Statesman	Samuel T. Scott

Afternoon Session 1857

Unseen Forces	Thomas Sheraid
Triumphs of Time	William U. Snyder
Sir Philip Francis--Junius	Augustus A. Starr
Martin Luther	J. M. Harrison
Spirit of True Scholarship	D. H. Taylor
"Great Duel of Nations"	Hobart Miller
The Engineer	Zelotes Truesdel
Moral Sublimity	S. P. VanDoozer
Empire of Opinion	Lorenzo M. Gates
Poetry of Science	James C. Watson
The Me and The Not Me	Tracy Howe
John Milton	T. C. McNeill
National Decay	James H. Wheeler
The Mystic Arts	Edwin B. Wight
Equality of Professions	W. D. Williams

Morning Session 1858

Edmund Burke	Frank Askew
The Farmer	Luther Beckwith
The Drama	Henry A. Berck
Cosmogony	H. B. Burgess
Baron Steuben	E. B. Chandler
The Mission of the Educated Young Men of Michigan	George M. Danforth
Ann Arbor A Hundred Years Hence	Hamilton J. Dennis
William Tell	J. Q. A. Fritchey
Jeane D'Arc--French Oration	T. G. Gavin
Wallenstein	John Graves
The Decline of Spain	Wesley A. Green
William of Orange	Horace Halbert
Revelation of Ruins	L. E. Holden
Plato's Republic	John Hormer
Moral Excellence--The True Aim of Life	M. E. N. Howell
The Death of Demosthenes--A Greek Oration	H. A. Humphrey
The Need of Liberal Men	R. M. Johnson
The Cost and Worth of a Cultivated Man	Daniel Klosz
The Sufferings and the Hope of Italy	A. Judson Loomis
Individual and National Genius	Henry F. Lyster
Mary Washington	George A. Mark
Cardinal Richelieu	Lewis McLouth
Even Christ was Persecuted	O. H. McOmber
Venice	C. R. Miller
A Voice From the Inquisition	Joel Moodie
The Political Aspirations of the American Scholar	Robert S. Moore
Marshal Ney	Judd M. Mott
Hugh Miller	C. Mykrantz
Areopagitica	A. Neff
The Modern Crusade	L. M. O'Brien

Afternoon Session 1858

The Chivalrous Spirit of the 19th Century	J. W. Paine
The Stranger in Athens	C. S. Patterson
The Patriot's Grave	Brouse J. Prentis
Unbound Volumes	Oscar F. Price
The Choice of An Occupation	J. E. Prutzman
Di Ciceronis Vita, Oratio Latina	W. E. Quimby
Nature's Poet	A. Richard
The Republic of Florence	S. E. Smith
The Progress of American Ideas	J. T. Snoddy
The Massacre of Glencoe	A. K. Spence
Christ the Type of True Manhood	James W. Stark
National Airs	O. P. Stearns

Why Venus is Never Eclipsed	George P. Sweet
The Creator and the Artist	B. M. Thompson
The Siege of Leyden	George W. Wall
Thought and Work	D. B. Webster
Cousin and Electicism	F. R. Williams
The Scenery of the Coal Period	W. S. Woodruff

Morning Session 1859

Man, the Crown of Earthly Existence	William J. Beal
Railways and Civilization	Richard Beardsley
Individualism	James R. Cary
The Attributes of the Scholar	Alfred H. Castle
Worth, not Success, the Measure of Greatness	Augustus A. Chapin
Painting and Sculpture	George E. Cuming
Mark Antony	James M. Edmunds
John Law and the Mississippi Scheme	John Gill Everett
New England	George A. Flanders
Havelock	Robert E. Frazer
Classical Studies	Cladius B. Grant
The Dawn of Swiss Liberty	William H. Haight
Religious Bigotry	Charles B. Hankinson
Nobility	Rodney J. Hathaway
John Milton--A Poem	Fayette Hurd
The American Indian	David M. Johnson
The Athenian Law-Giver--A Greek Oration	Elisha Jones
The Recantation of Galileo	Charles B. Lamborn
The Progress of the Nineteenth Century	Judson C. Lowell
Popular Superstitions	Edward W. McGraw
History and the Historian	Theodore A. McGraw
Washington	William Marshall
The Tertiary Period--Geoglogical Thesis	John D. Parker

Afternoon Session 1859

The Men of Public Spirit	Orrin Parsons
The Redemption of Italy	Augustus H. Pettibone
The Two Inheritances	Aldrich F. Butts
The Age of Gold	Edward P. Pitkin
The Reformer of Geneva	Leonard Proudfit
The March of Empire	Bershrod F. Rice
Balloon Navigation	Richard C. Sabine
The Field of Blood--A Poem	Daniel Satterthwaite
De Republica Romana--Oratio Latina	John C. Smith
The Philosopher's View	James D. Snoddy
Humboldt	John P. Stoddard
The Power of Will	William J. Swift
Art Culture	Stephen A. Webb

Le Caractere Decide--French Oration	Arthur T. Wilcox
True Aristocracy	Albert H. Wilkinson
Our National Holidays	J. Elisha Winder

Morning Session 1860

The Spirituality of Art	Almon Lyman Aldrich
The Mound Builders	Edward Eugene Baldwin
Hero Worship	George Beck
The Legends of the North	Lewis Fredrick Booth
The Age of Muscle--A Poem	William Jesse Buchanan
The Individual	Augustus Warren Chapman
The Knights of Malta	George Morell Chester
The Hero of Italy	John Henry Conrad
The True Scholar	Silas Wright Dunning
Washington Irving	Mark Francis Fasquelle
The Perfect--Its Influence and Uses	Edwin Daniel Fiske
Pursuit of the Ideal--An Idyl	Osgood Eaton Fuller
The Responsibility of Belief	Simon Cornelio Guild
The Strife Better than the Victory	Henry H. Hubbard
St. Helena	Godfrey Edwin Knight
The One Hundred and Sixty	William Newton Ladue
God in History	Charles Henry McCreey
The Western Student	Edward Mansfield Mason
The Quakers	Martin Luther Mendenhall
This Age	James Latham Mitchell

Afternoon Session 1860

Agricultural Colleges	Samuel Murphy
Was--Its Uses	Eber Ward Owen
Time and Space	Caleb Parkinson
Geologic Success	George Wourmes Pascal
Hungary	George Hill Seymour
Polypi or Coral Builders	James Franklin Spalding
Hypothetical Origin of the Earth	Edwin Alexander Spence
Scottish Chief--A Poem	Cyrus Backus Thomas
A Plea for the People	Charles Albert Thompson, Jr.
Crusade of Genius	Charles Frederick Trowbridge
Commercial Power	David Hoffman White
Popular Science	George Alexander White
Our Navy	Edgar Nowell Wilcox
Thought-Strength	Jacob Capp Wortley
The Scholar's Duties to Politics	Allen Howard Zacharias

1861

Cost of Civilization	Charles K. Adams
Our Great Loss	Fred Arn
The Downward Wave	William H. Beadle
Noncompliance	Benjamin F. Blair

Hart	Byron M. Cutcheon
Ideas Are Kings	William Wait Dedrick
"It Will Work Itself Out"-- C. H. Denison	Ed. Dickinson
Our Country's Struggle	Isaac H. Elliott
Great Uprisings	Charles D. Gregory
Ellsworth	J. J. Hogeiman
Towers of Babel	John Kelland
Conflict of Truth	Eben L. Little
Hallowed Ground	Walter McCollum
The Spirit of True Enthusiasm	Jonas H. McGowan
Military Greatness	Charles W. Meserve
"Labor is Life--Worship, Rest	Henry O. Newcomb
Thomas Carlyle	James A. Post
Manifest Destiny	Calvin P. Quick
Power of Will	Walter S. Perry
Government Popular	George P. Sanford
Government Stable	William Soule
Our Silent Teachers	Charles H. Stocking
"Columbia"	Robert H. Tripp

1862

Vox Populi vox Der	William E. Ambruster
"Higher Law"	Oliver L. F. Brown
Perpetuity of National Existence	Albert J. Chapman
Tide Waves	John E. Colby
Dominant Men and Ideas	Martin L. D'Ooge
The Judgments of History	Edward A. Fay
The Influence Trifles	H. Dewey Follett
The Noble Uses of Historical Study	Samuel Howard
Minor Tendencies to Barbarism	Theodore H. Hard
William the Silent	J. W. Newman
Idols in Government	Samuel E. Perry
Italy and the Twelfth Century	William V. Richards
National Warnings	Edwin F. Uhl
The Search After Truth	James I. VanKeuren
Positive Men	Aaron A. Watkins
Our Offering	William Eugene Nelson

Morning Session 1863

Our Government a Principle	J. Clement Ambrose
Radicalism and Conservation	Levi L. Barbour
Triumphs of Civilization in the West	John M. Bowers
The Era of Revolution	Levi J. Brown
Germany	William A. Chandler
Washington Irving	Noah W. Cheever
Republicanism and Literature	Orville W. Coolidge
Monarchy and Literature	Lincoln T. Farr

Afternoon Session 1863

Power Unostentatious	Elisha A. Fraser
The Modern Utopia	Henry M. Hurd
Constantine the Great	E. Denison Lay, Jr.
Reveries	Conway W. Noble
Our Honored Dead	George P. Peck
Oration--July 4, 1876	Stephen Powers
Sentiment a Power	Edward R. Slawson

Morning Session 1864

Salutatory Address in Latin
Michigan and Its Future
Responsible Elements of Mind
How Truth Moves
Genius
The Carboniferous Age
Stars Gem the Night
The Drama of Life

Afternoon Session 1864

Faith and Science	William B. Hendryx
England	Edward D. Kinne
Art	Shiebal F. White
Roman and American Women in Times of Calamity	Arthur Everett
The Military Element	Zina P. King
Radicalism	Scovel C. Stacey
(A Greek Oration)	William S. Brewster

1865 (Not Available)

Morning Session 1866

Human Brotherhood	E. D. Kelly
Intellectual Indolence	J. A. VanCleve
Reform in England	M. M. Bigelow
Justice May Sleep, But Never Dies	S. T. Chapin
The World Character	F. W. Becker
Vincit Ominia Verctas	J. A. VanFleet
Social and Intellectual Development	H. A. Wood
What Lies Beyond	E. S. Elmer
Perfect Models	G. B. Remick
Earnestness	G. S. White

Afternoon Session 1866

Edmund Burke	A. E. Mudge
English Policy in Ireland	J. E. McKeighan
Self Consciousness	W. B. Hamilton

True Excellence Will Find Utterance	E. L. Grant
Discretion	J. F. Lawrence
Ocean Graves--A Poem	S. Beckwith
Manners of the Times	O. P. Dickinson
Fenianism	J. K. Blish
Creation, a Sentence: Man, the Verb	J. V. Quarles, Jr.

1867

The Ideal, The Measure of the Attainment	John Oscar Andrews
The Legal Profession	John H. Beadle
Political Integrity	James Bellangee
Different Methods of Finding Longitude	George Henry Benzenberg
Independence in Action	William Mahlon Brown
Civil Liberty	Wellington Carleton
Compensation	George Emery Church
Our Progressive Independence	Henry P. Churchill
Aristotle and His Philosophy	Monroe Darnell
Practical Mining in Michigan	Amos Emerson Dolebar
Philo and His Times	Horton Hamilton Drury
Liberty, Genuine and Counterfeit	Isaac Newton Elwood
Church and State	William John England
Vesta Nulla Restrorsum	George Adebert Foster
Theories of the Will	William Frackelton
The Dread of Singularity	Henry Nathanael French
Indirect Influences	Lester Orestes Goddard, Jr.
Theory of Power Drills	Lowell Alonzo Goodman
True Lessons Only in the Pathway of Duty	Cornelius Albert Gower
Monarchy and Civilization	George Sherwood Hastings
Abelard and Conceptualsim	Albert McKee Henry
Gnosticism	Milton Jackson
A Fountain for the University Grounds	Louis Philander Judson
The Pioneer	Edward Elmore Kane
Ireland and Its Failure	Isaac Kernsey
Socrates and Bacon	Peter Baldy Lightner
Motive-Principles of Action	Dwight Nelson Lowell
Polarity	George Lewis Maris
Principles of the American Struggle	Elbert Leroy Miller
Leibnitz and His Philosophy	Jabez Montgomery
Originality	Thomas Mitchell Potter
Geology as Related to Natural Theology	Joseph Howard Reid
Practical Metallurgy	Willard B. Rising
"To the Unknown God"	Isaac Newton Otis
Ann Arbor--A Poem	Artemas Roberts
Demosthenes	John Adams Rollins

War Unjustifiable	James Sanders
The Cycloidal Arch	James Steel
The Marble Waiteth	David B. Tayler
Theory of the Arch	Alexander Thomson
Progress, True and False	Edward Willard Wetmore
Base Line Apparatus	Eben S. Wheeler
Kant and His Times	Newton Horace Winchell
Life in the Army	Montgomery Schuyler Woodruff

1868

Material and Immaterial	Daniel Webster Crouse
Dr. Wayland	Roselle Nichols Jenne
Innovations	Isaac Newton Demmon
Symetry in Education	Frank Adebert Blackburn
Our National Hymn	Mark Walrod Harrington
The Integrity of the Present	Gulusha Pennell
The Rush for the Professions	Edward Lorraine Walter
Culture at the West	Albert Henderson Pattingill
Original Thought	George Smith Hickey
Should All Schools Be Free?	Edward Coultas Lovell
The Sovereignty of Politics	Wickliffe W. Bellville
The Democracy of Christianity	John Charles Freeman

1869

The World's Sympathy	Marmaduke B. Kellogg
The High and Low	Joseph M. Gelston
The Soldier as a Statesman	Charles E. Otis
The Laboratory of Mind	Franklin S. Dewey
The Civil Service	William C. Johns
Theory and Practice	Thomas O. Perry
Signs of the Times	Francis M. Hamilton
An Imperishable Endowment	William J. Darby
The Mechanical Age	William J. Cocker
The Mechanic, with the Valedictory Address	William J. Gibson

1870

Ex Nihilo Nihil Fit--Latin Oration	Wooster W. Beman
Our Alumni and Alma Mater	Oscar J. Campbell
American Homes	Walter B. Stevens
The Ideal in Thought	Washington Hyde
Comets	Marcus Baker
Liberalism--True and False	Thomas C. Cristy
Our Irredeemable Currency	Burrie L. Swift
The Purification of Our Courts of Justice	William L. Penfield
Influences of the Illustrated Press	George T. Campau
Why Condemn Expediency	Edward Fleming
Government of Our University	Vincent S. Lovell

1871

Rules and Principles	Rufus E. Phinney
How It Looks	Edward L. Mark
Machinery versus Force	R. Hudson
Monopolies	Edward B. Sumner
The Public Services of Alexander Hamilton	Charles E. Gordon
France	Robert M. Wright
The Iconoclasism of To-Day	Harry Burns Hutchins

1872

The Political Problem	Lester McLean
Jeffersen's Work	Barton Smith
The New Nationality	Horatio N. Chute
Educated Pluck	Henry F. Burton
The Decline of Oratory	William T. Underwood
The Manners of Journalism	Archer H. Brown
The Anglo-Saxon	Madelon L. Stockwell
The Science of Crime	Will J. Herdman
Elements of Political Strength	Charles K. Turner
Where Must the Reform Begin	Herbert Maguire
The Modern Preacher	Walter A. Brooks
Conciliation in Statesmanship	Charles G. Bennett

1873

Recuperative Power of France	William Brown Williams
Ancient Terseness and Modern Differences	C. L. Wilson
The Aesthetic Influence of the Natural Sciences	M. K. Rose
The Evils of Over-Government	Mr. VanCleve
The Drama and the Life of Athens	Mr. Jacobs
Mysticism	Mr. Gross
The Triumphs of American Diplomacy	Mrs. Knappent
The Coming Faith	Mr. Spalding
John Stuart Millard Utilitarianism	Mr. Geltson
Jesuit Influence Upon the Politics of Europe	Mr. Keeler

1874

The Republic of Spain	Lyman Decatur Follett
Satire	Charles Henry May
The Self-Regulation of Industries	Frank Clark Hayman
The Drama and the Novel	George Hugh Jameson
The Question of Church and State in Prussia	Den Alonzo Matthews

The Demoralizing Influences of An Irredeemable Currency	Frank Austin Carle
Mathematics in Nature	Mary Downing Sheldon
The Intellectual Activity of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries	Chester Taylor Lane
The Reflex Infuence of the Journalists Profession	Henry Romaine Pattengill
Physics and Metaphysics	Sarah Dix Hamlin
Our Political Antogonisms	Henry Wade Rogers
Culture and Service	Emma Maria Hall
The Old Prometheus and the New	Theodore Hitchcock Johnston
Written and Unwritten Constitutions	Lawrence Maxwell, Jr.
Taine's Philosophy of Criticism	Calvin Thomas

1875

The Educating Influence of Law	Jonathan Willis Parker
Alexander and Aristotle	Jerome Cyril Knowlton
Poem--The Fairy of the Glen	James Benoni McMahon
The Evils of American Journalism	Andrew Josiah McGowan
The Political Service of Thomas Paine	Brownson C. Keeler
A Nation's Language Records A Nation's Thought	Leslie Combs McPherson
The Next Century	San Louie Anderson
Government By Discussion	James Madison Barret

1876

The Unconscious Culture of College Life	Henry Monroe Campbell
Univesitas	Orlaf Varlo
Science and Religion	Bryant Walker
The Conflict of Science and Poetry	Alice Elvin Freeman
Comedy Among the Athenians	Charles A. Blair
George Eliot	Annie Warden Ekin
Chinse Immigration	Clarence Shepard Brown
Our Exhibit at the Centennial	Howard Burnham Smith
The Scholar In Politics	James Keller Ilsey
America In Europe	Willis Shotwell Walker

1877

The Moral Use of the Imagination	George Stephen Bishop
General Butter	Granville Williams Browning
The Genius of Charles Dickens	John Samuel Crambie
The Scientific Utility of the Classes	Frank Clark Ferguson
Civil Liberty in France	Ferris Smith Fitch, Jr.
A Permanent Court of Nations	William John Gray
The Literature of the South	Lawrence Cameron Hull
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