AN ANALYSIS OF THE SPEECHES OF LUCINDA HINSDALE STONE

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE SPEECHES OF LUCINDA HINSDALE STONE

by

BERNICE CLELAND DONOVAN

AN ABSTRACT

Submitted to the College of Communication Arts of Michigan State University of Agriculture and Applied Science in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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Approved by Frederick S. Allen

Stone. Together they devoted the next twenty years of their lives to Kalamazoo College, he as president and she as principal of the female department of the college. Both Dr. and Mrs. Stone were firm believers in co-education and were able to put their theories into practice. The efforts they put forth in regard to co-education were rewarded in 1867 when the Legislature granted school suffrage to Michigan women.

The title of "Mother of Clubs" was awarded to Mrs. Stone for her work with Michigan Women's Clubs. The years of interest and effort on the part of Mrs. Stone were climaxed when she called to order the first meeting of the State Federation in 1895.

A quest for knowledge was evident throughout Lucinda's life. Her efforts in portraying knowledge to others is exemplified in her many years as a teacher, her work in co-education and her efforts to promote a higher education for women through club work.

The standard of judgment outlined by Thonssen and Baird in their book Speech Criticism is used in the analysis of three of her speeches. The case study method is used and the speeches are analyzed as to Invention and Structure of the Oral Discourse.

In conclusion we find Lucinda Hinsdale Stone was not remembered as a great orator. Neither are her writings upheld as masterful essays. She is, however, remembered as being a strong influence for the Woman's Rights movement of the

nineteenth century. The fact that she was given the title of "Mother of Clubs" and the honorary degree that she received, would support this contention. In examining her life's work it seems reasonable to conclude that she was aided in her efforts by a good command of these communicative skills. She reached many through her pen and her speaking engagements. Her influence was felt, recognized, and rewarded through the admittance of women to the University of Michigan and the establishment of women's clubs throughout Michigan.

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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE OF STUDY

The Woman's Rights movement has been one of the longest range movements in history. It has affected the entire population and has been recognized and active for centuries. As early as the fourteenth century we find evidence of the recognition of the subjection of women. Christine of Piza, wrote essays at this time and was able to support her family from her efforts. Margaret of Angoutime, the brilliant Queen of Navarre, was a voluminous writer, and the paper of M. Henri Baudrillart, upon the Emancipation of Women showed that people were conscious of the slavery of women. Many works on woman's rights came out of the sixteenth century. Cornelius Agrippa The Superiority of Women, Anthony Gibson A Woman's Worth Defended Against All the Men in the World, and Lucrezia Marinellus The Nobleness and Excellence of Women were characteristic of some of the thinking of the time.[1]

It was during the reign of Elizabeth and the great religious reformation that important strides were made. For centuries the rules and regulations of the church had subjected women to a place inferior to men. It was thought to

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[1]Emil Reich, Woman Through the Ages (New York: E. P. Dulton and Company, 1909), pp. 257-272.

be the "divine will and authority" to consider women, only as the chattel of some man.

With the reformation came the great revolution in religious thought. Queen Elizabeth was able to hold the church as well as the state in her firm hand and thus influence the clergy. The church reformation and the intellectual awaking had its effect upon the women of England. They began to demand better educational advantages. Public discussions were held in England during the last part of the eighteenth century under the Female Parliament; women asked for the right to vote, and the right to send members from their sex to Parliament.[1]

It was natural for the new thinking of the people in Europe to be carried over to the exuberant young America. The American Revolution was an example of a political rebellion based on the inherent rights of the individual.

The last half of the nineteenth century was the period in American history when women first began to have an active part in the public scene. The place and duties of women had been defined by St. Paul's Decree and had in the most part been religiously followed. The Puritan influence had instilled an anti-religious connotation to woman suffrage and as a result there were no laws to protect the rights of women. Before the suffrage movement the American woman was

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[1]Eugene A. Hecker, A Short History of Women's Rights (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1910), pp. 120-145.

not seen on the public platform, her voice and opinions were not heard in the realm of politics. The colleges were closed to her and as a result her work and interests were confined to the home.[1]

The leaders in the Woman's Rights movement had many obstacles to overcome. They were confronted by opposition from the church, prejudice because of their sex, and rejection of the issue they stood for.

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze the speeches of a Michigan leader in this movement. An attempt will be made to evaluate the speaking of Lucinda Hinsdale Stone in regard to her work for co-education and her efforts in behalf of Women's Clubs in Michigan. Attention will be given to the nature and strength of her influence through the medium of expression in furthering these social reforms. The thesis will present the principles and premises that Mrs. Stone upheld in the field of education. Examining her as a prominent Michigan educator, world traveler, lecturer, and writer, it is hoped that this analysis of her communicative skills will reveal something of value for the teacher of speech.

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[1] Victory How Women Won It. The National American Woman Suffrage Association A Centennial Symposium--1840-1940 (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1940), p. 1.

Partition of Thesis

This thesis has been divided into five chapters in order to present the findings of the study in a readily comprehensible form.

Following the introductory chapter, Chapter II, Life of Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, will include biographical material. By examining her family background and educational history we are able to better evaluate her contributions in the field of education. Lucinda Hinsdale Stone played an important role in the educational system of Michigan. She was a teacher for twenty years at Kalamazoo College. It was during this period of the college history that men and women were first educated in the same classroom. She has often been given credit for helping to open the doors of the University of Michigan to women students. For these efforts she was the second woman to receive an honorary degree from the University of Michigan.

She spent many years of her life in an effort to organize and federate the Woman's Clubs of Michigan. She has been given the credit for establishing the first such club and received the title of "Mother of Michigan Clubs".

Chapter III will include samplings of her speeches and writings in an attempt to explore her speech and journalistic premises and principles. An attempt will be made to examine her thinking, and reasons for such thinking, in

the fields of her interest. We are aided in this examination by the comments and observations of those who knew her personally.

Chapter IV, Speech Analysis, will present an analysis of three of her speeches. The speeches were chosen because (1) they were given at different periods in her life, (2) they appear typical of other speeches that she gave, and (3) they each give a message concerned with education which was her prime concern throughout her life. The standards of judgment used in this thesis will be those outlined by Thonssen and Baird in their book Speech Criticism. The speeches will be analyzed in regard to Invention and Structure of the Oral Discourse.

Chapter V, Summary and Recommendations, will present a recapitulation of the more important findings of this study and will suggest possibilities for further study.

CHAPTER II

LIFE OF LUCINDA HINSDALE STONE

Family Background

Lucinda Hinsdale Stone was born September 30, 1814 in the village of Hinesburg, Chittenden County, Vermont. She was the youngest of twelve children born to Aaron and Lucinda (Mitchell) Hinsdale.[1]

Aaron Hinsdale was born in Canaan, Connecticut, on the twenty-third day of March, 1764. He was a descendent, in the fourth generation, of Robert Hinsdale, who came to Dedham, Massachusetts, from Ipswich, England. The Hinsdale family is undoubtedly descended from the House de Hinnisdal, France, whose records go back to 1170. The Hinsdale Coat of Arms is described in the French records of nobility in the Astor Library. It is also recorded that the House de Hinnisdal takes the first rank among the most noble and ancient families of France.[2]

Aaron Hinsdale owned woolen mills long before the days of steam, when the great water wheel was turned by a fast

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[1]The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, XIII, (New York: J. T. White and Company, 1937), p. 193.

[2]Belle M. Perry, Lucinda Hinsdale Stone (Detroit: Blinn Publishing House, 1902), p. 1.

flowing stream. The family was prosperous and had material goods that their neighbors did not have.[1] Mrs. Stone tells us something of the character of her father in her autobiography.

> My father was very kind to the poor. He adopted several orphan children. I have heard many stories about his kind care of animals. He was a very humane man and would not keep in his employ any man who would strike a horse. I think he must have been an intellectual man by what I have heard of him, a man who had his own mind about things. The first books that I ever remember were some small volumes of Thomas Paine's works that were shut up in my father's desk. These books were, I recollect, "The Age of Reason", "The Rights of Man", "Common Sense". They were a kind of forbidden reading in our house, but I could not help tumbling them over, because they were forbidden.[2]

His family were members of the Orthodox Congregational Church. When Aaron and Lucinda were married and settled in Hinesburg they found that the same church was the popular religious influence. It was the largest and most popular church in the town and hired nothing but college bred ministers. Mrs. Stone's brothers and sisters were members of the church, and one of the brothers was a deacon. Mr. Hinsdale did not join any church as he could not accept the doctrines. He was thought by the neighbors to be a wicked man as he did not believe that a heavenly father could be more harsh than an earthly father. The doctrine of eternal punishment was horrible to him and he could not go to hear it preached.[3]

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[1]Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, autobiography in the Kalamazoo Telegraph, January 22, 1898.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Perry, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

Lucinda Mitchell (Hinsdale), Mrs. Stone's mother, was born in Arlington, Vermont, on the fourth day of September, 1770. Like her husband, there were people among her ancestors who had made names for themselves. Among these was Ann Hutchinson, of early Puritan days. Mrs. Hinsdale was a descendant of Elihu Burritt, the learned blacksmith, and a relative of Maria Mitchell, the great astronomer, and of Emma Hart Willard, founder of the girls' school in Troy, New York. Another ancestor was among the founders of Harvard College. Little is known about her today except in the records that Mrs. Stone has left.[1]

Mrs. Hinsdale's mother died when Lucinda was a small child which placed upon her shoulder's responsibilities beyond her years. Although her mother had few opportunities she shared with others those she did have. She was a devoted member of the Congregational church and had her children baptized in that faith.[2] Mrs. Stone tells us of the character of her mother.

> My mother had very few advantages while she was young, being obliged to have much care of her own invalid brother and of her stepmother's children. I have seen her cry oftener of regret for lack of early advantages than for anything else in the world, and she was willing to make any sacrifice for the sake of the education of her own children.[3]

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[1]Myra Jordan, A Tribute to Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, University of Michigan Collection. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1915), p. 2.

[2]Perry, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

[3]Ibid.

Childhood Years

As the youngest of twelve children Lucinda Hinsdale grew up very much by herself. Her mother although kind and thoughtful had little time for special attention as she had too much to do. The other children were already paired off and resented taking care of a younger child. With little family life and few close playmates, reading books was about the only thing left for her to do. She learned to love books and to live with them. The characters in the books became alive and real, as living as real friends. The Hinsdale family was rather ahead of their neighbors as far as books and newspapers were concerned. When Lucinda was less than five years old she was sent to get the weekly newspaper from the carrier, which he handed down from his saddlebag. The family read every word of the paper and then sent it to one neighbor and then another after they were through with it. Mrs. Stone gives a reason for her love of books in her autobiography.

> I am sure that my tastes as to books, love of books, values of libraries, etc., were very much moulded by the situation of our little town almost mid-way between the two colleges. We almost always had college bred ministers and, though I can recollect some very hard things in the Puritan Orthodoxy of those times, I can recollect ministers and school masters to whom I owe a vast deal.[1]

The Hinsdale family lived close to the little district school, and Lucinda used to wander over to the school building

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[1]Stone, op. cit.

to watch the boys and girls when she was only three years old. She watched them learning their letters and felt that if one could only read there would be nothing of importance left in the world to know. She attended this district school later with her brothers and sisters. They walked to the schoolhouse each morning even when the snow was well above their knees. The building was made of logs and heated, often inadequately, by an iron stove in the back of the room. The children all sat on hard benches and learned their letters from the current minister of the nearby church.[1]

The first book that she read was Pilgrim's Progress and although she did not understand all the story it was fascinating reading for her. She read the Children of Abbey when she was nine and has this to say about it.

> I read the Children of Abbey when I was nine years old. One day my brother came into the house and asked my mother if Lucinda couldn't go and watch the gap in the fence, so that the cattle in the next field wouldn't get in the orchard while they were drawing grain out of the field. I went slyly to the bookcase cupboard and took that book with me. Sitting on the sunny side of the great straw stack that early autumn day. I read the Children of Abbey marking the places that I thought very beautiful and learning them by heart, and crying over some of the pathetic scenes.[2]

Lucinda Hinsdale Stone was always a great reader, and examples of the extent of her reading are found in her speeches and newspaper articles of later life. She collected

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[1]Perry, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

[2]Ibid.

many valuable books during her lifetime and once told her class at Kalamazoo College that she would rather they scratch the faces of her children than to deface her books, for the former would heal again, while the latter were irretrievably ruined.[1]

Education

Lucinda Hinsdale's formal education began when she entered Hinsburg Academy located near her home. Few schools at that time were co-educational, but the young men and women of the academy sat in the same class rooms and were instructed by the same teachers. She mentioned the effect of such a school system in her autobiography.

> I was less than thirteen years of age when I entered the academy. Here I received my bias in favor of co-education.[2]

The school was operated by the Orthodox Congregational Church and was governed by strict religious rules. Prayer meetings were held each morning and evening, and class periods were devoted to the teaching of religious dogma. The school was always headed by a man. A lady principal taught manners to the young ladies. After Lucinda finished her regular

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[1]Lucia Eames Blount, Some Reminiscences of Mrs. Stone (Letter found in Kalamazoo Library in the collection made by Lucinda Stone Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution).

[2]Stone, op. cit.

course at the school she was encouraged by the local minister to continue her education.

> He knew I would enjoy those studies as well as anything I should get from a ladies school. He advised me to go right into the classes with the young men fitting for college, and pursue the same studies that they did. "Greek and Latin", he said were as good for me as for them.[1]

Lucinda Stone graduated among the top members of her class, but she found the doors of colleges closed to her and her sex. In talking it over with a companion she just spoke out what she felt.

> 'Oh, I wish I could go to College.' But I had gone a step too far. My remark was repeated and ridiculed. Our post master took it up and talked and gossiped it with people who came into our village post office. I doubt if I ever cried so much over any other faux pas that I ever made, or felt so hurt by the innocent expression of any wish. But this remembrance was a strong incentive in working to make Kalamazoo college co-educational and in seeking to pry open the doors of the University of Michigan to women students.[2]

She taught in a little district school for a year while living with her sister. She was still lonely and distressed by the fact that she was not allowed to attend college as the boys were. After teaching one year, she enrolled in a Ladies' Seminary in Hinsburg.[3]

She tells us something about the school in a speech given later in Michigan:

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Perry, op. cit., p. 32.

[3] George N. Fuller, editor, Michigan History Magazine (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1923), Vol. 7, pp. 219-220.

> I had been better and more broadly taught in the academy than I was in the seminary where all the pupils were girls, and where we were closely secluded from all society of gentlemen as we would have been in a convent, guarded from a call from one as though it was a deadly sin. We were forbidden to bow to one in the street, though it might have been a student from our own town. But notwithstanding this there was a greater evasion of the rules about meeting gentlemen, more deceitful planning to meet them during our morning walks, greater contrivance to convey notes to the college boys, than I had seen in all the years of going to our academy.[1]

After a year at the Seminary she taught at Burlington Female Seminary and Middlebury Female Seminary in Natchez, Massachusetts. During this period of her life she resolved to work for intellectual freedom of her sex.[2]

The next step in Lucinda Hinsdale's education was entirely different. She was given the position of tutor in the home of a wealthy Mississippi plantation owner. The family owned slaves, thus giving Lucinda her first glimpse of slavery. She was not prepared for the scenes she was to witness and many of the cruelties she saw were shocking to one having a New England background. She used her experiences in Mississippi as examples in the many speeches she gave and articles she wrote in later life.

She made this observation of slavery many years later:

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[1]Lucinda Hinsdale Stone,"The Merits of Co-Education", Detroit Tribune (Speech delivered before Woman's League, Ann Arbor, Michigan), August 16, 1891.

[2]The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, Vol. XIII, 198.

> Slavery is an evil that comes back upon the doers of the wrong. To me there can be no greater proof of the doctrine of evolution and the "Ascent of Man" than to contrast the impressions produced then upon me, by such scenes as I was compelled to witness, with the effect they would have upon me at the present time.

While in Mississippi she had charge of the education of the plantation owner's four girls and one boy, She enjoyed this part of her work, the children liked and respected her, but she left the plantation after her year was up. A friend of the children's was to be one day the wife of Jefferson Davis. Lucinda Hinsdale often had the care of this child and later in life was her guest in New York following the Civil War.[1]

Early Life in Michigan

From Mississippi, Lucinda Hinsdale went to Grand Rapids, Michigan to visit her sister. It was here that she married Dr. James Andrus Blinn Stone. He was born October 28, 1810 in Peirmont, New Hampshire. He attended the district school and graduated from Middleburg College in 1834. He was made principal in the Hinsburg Academy, a position which he held for two years. While teaching at the Academy he met Lucinda Hinsdale. Little is known about their courtship as no letters were saved. We do know that Dr. Stone's ideas concerning education were similar to those of Lucinda Hinsdale. They

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[1]Perry, op. cit., pp. 36-38.

were considered far ahead of the current thinking of their day. He was an abolitionist, and believed women were entitled to equal suffrage and education. While teaching in the academy, he was greatly admired by the students.[1]

> He was a natural teacher, and in teaching, lost sight of every other thing in promoting the best interest and progress of his pupils. No one under his instruction ever forgot him or the benefit they received. Dr. Stone possessed the remarkable faculty of kindling in his pupils a desire to know, an enthusiasm for study. There were few dullards in a school of which he was teacher. He knew personally every pupil in his school and everyone knew him. He contrived to find out something about each student and thus awaken a love of study in the dullest. His influence in this respect will never be forgotten while one remains who came in personal contact with him.[2]

After their marriage, Dr. Stone received an appointment to Andover to take the place of Dr. Horatio B. Hackett who had gone abroad to study for three years. At the end of this time he was called to fill the pulpit of the First Baptist Church in Kalamazoo. As head minister of the church he was in charge of the Baptist Institute. This small school was open to young men preparing for the ministry.[3]

The University of Michigan established a branch school in Kalamazoo in 1843. Dr. Stone was named to take charge. There were eight of these branch schools in Michigan at this

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[1] George N. Fuller, editor, Michigan History Magazine (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1923), Vol. 7, pp. 219-220.

[2] Perry, op. cit., pp. 77-78.

[3] Ibid., p. 78.

time. They were set up as feeders for the University. Everyone thought they would be permanent schools designed as preparatory schools for the university. It was not long until the Michigan legislature curtailed funds, and many of the branch schools were forced to close.[1]

The Kalamazoo branch remained open and the Baptist Convention discontinued the old Institute. The school was officially known as the "Kalamazoo Branch of the University of Michigan". When the Stones moved to Kalamazoo they had one infant son and Mrs. Stone had no intention of teaching. It was not long before she was drawn back to her profession and worked beside her husband as principal of the school for the next twenty years. Although Kalamazoo boasted a population of about one thousand fifteen hundred at this time it was hard to raise the money to keep the school operating. The legislature had cut their annual appropriations, and most of the funds had to come from private donations.

The Stones lived in an old two story house which is now the site of Stockbridge Hall. Dr. Stone's mother made her home with them and took charge of the household affairs, while Mrs. Stone devoted her time to teaching.[2]

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[1]George N. Fuller, editor, Michigan History Magazine (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1923), Vol. 7, pp. 219-220.

[2]Charles Goodsell, Willis Dunbar, Centennial History of Kalamazoo College (Kalamazoo: Kalamazoo College Press, 1933), pp. 42-43.

Work at Kalamazoo College

Dr. and Mrs. Stone came to the Kalamazoo Branch of the University of Michigan upon the resignation of President Dulton. There had been a great deal of criticism of the management of the Branch before this time and Branch schools themselves were criticized because the tuition was too high and because the Regents of the University had control over the entire course of study and daily routine. This was a new experience for the people of Kalamazoo who had operated successfully their own school up to this time. The regents as a body were changed because no ministers were among their group and as the school in Kalamazoo had been administered by the Baptist Convention the people in Kalamazoo were especially critical.

Dr. Stone's appointment solved, at least some of the problems of the Kalamazoo Branch as he was to act as pastor of the Baptist Church and Principal of the school. The Stones took charge at the beginning of the fall term in 1843. Dr. Stone was thirty-three and she was twenty-nine at this time. They brought the full vigor of youth to their jobs, and it was to prove to be a successful effort.

> Under the Principalship of Dr. Stone the Kalamazoo school grew in numbers, the attendance for 1843-4 being 86, and necessitated the employment of two assistants besides Mrs. Stone. In 1844-5 the attendance increased to 92, while in 1845-6 there were 90 students of whom 42 were women. From 1843 to 1846, Dr. Stone received from the Regents an annual stipend of $200 per year, which was

> supplemented by the small tuition fees paid by the students and whatever salary he received as pastor of the Baptist Church. It is not probable that he received anything from the Trustees of the old school. Mrs. Stone received little or nothing for her services, outside tuition fees. From this income it was necessary to pay the salaries of assistants and incidental cost of operation.[1]

Dr. and Mrs. Stone were both firm believers in co-education and the Kalamazoo school gave them a chance to see the theory put into practice. The founders of the branch schools had inserted into the regulations that each school should make provision for a female department. The funds were so insufficient that it was impossible to provide separate rooms and teachers for both boys and girls. The educators of the day were opposed to co-education and the fact that the Kalamazoo Branch was really co-educational in fact and not in theory must have amused the Stones. They did not approve even the fiction of separate institutions, but they had to cater to polite form in the matter.

> When Dr. and Mrs. Stone assumed charge, most of the classes for boys were held on the first floor, while Mrs. Stone instructed the girls on the second floor. There was much going back and forth, however, and Dr. Stone had girls in some of his classes, while Mrs. Stone instructed both boys and girls in certain classes. Mrs. Stone had charge of the female department but for example, taught French to mixed classes.[2]

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[1] Goodsell, op. cit., p. 43.

[2] B. A. D. P. Van Buren, "My School and My School Masters," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Selections (Lansing: Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, 1889), Vol. 14, p. 287.

Although no complete course of study is available a program of exercises at the close of the middle term has been preserved.

> Examinations for men included grammar, (two classes), arithmetic (two classes), algebra, geometry, natural philosophy, and chemistry on Thursday; on Friday, three classes each in Greek and Latin were examined. The female department announced examinations in geography, grammar (two classes), arithmetic (two classes), algebra, astronomy, history and French (two classes). The exercises also included speaking exhibitions for both sexes, "prize reading" for ladies, and a "colloquial discussion", evidently of a humorous nature, by the men. Absence of instruction in the physical, natural and social sciences is to be noted, save for the lone classes in chemistry, history, and astronomy. The subjects of the speeches by the men display an interest in current problems and affairs, however. Among them are "Personal Exertion", "The Oregon Question", "Peace", "Growing Importance of the West", "The Influence of Gambling", and "The French Revolution". The young ladies, scorning such practical subject matter, wrote their themes and speeches on such subjects as "Retirement", "The Autobiography of a Pin", the "Cultivation of Flowers", the "Pleasures of Romance", and, in contrast, "The Evils of Romance". The characters participating in the colloquial discussion were Doctor Slop, Squire Sprigg, Horace Platus, Virgil Rainbow, General Massacre, Peter Strategm, and Jonathan Slick. The affair could not have been entirely a dull occasion.[1]

As the college grew in reputation and size, the need became apparent to Dr. and Mrs. Stone for a Theological Seminary. He worked with the Baptist Convention and with the backing of local citizens, permission was finally given to start such a program in connection with the branch. Money was raised and a building erected. Dr. Stone was given the

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[1]Goodsell, op. cit., p. 44.

position of Professor of Biblical Literature and Theology at an annual salary of $500.00. He resigned as the local Baptist minister at this time to give his full attention to the two schools. In 1848, there were eleven students enrolled in the seminary. The course required six years of study. Two years of college preparatory subjects; two years of selected classical courses; with Latin and some mathematics and Hebrew. The final two years were devoted to theological courses. With the completion of the new building the entire men's section of the Kalamazoo Branch moved to the new quarters which left the old Branch building exclusively for the work of Mrs. Stone. The teachers were still used interchangeably.[1]

Many of the schools throughout the State were trying to receive charters from the State Legislature so they could grant degrees. Dr. and Mrs. Stone worked for this goal and were rewarded for their efforts on February 9, 1855 when their school was given the first charter. The name was officially changed to Kalamazoo College which it has remained to the present day. This Baptist College was the first in Michigan to grant academic degrees to women.[2]

Mrs. Stone was continually building up the "Female Department". The attendance had increased and the school had an excellent reputation throughout the state. A new

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[1] Ibid.

[2] F. Clever Bald, Michigan in Four Centuries (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), p. 264.

building was needed and built by contributions from citizens of the community. The building was called Kalamazoo Hall and remained until it was replaced by the current Bowen Hall.[1]

The extent of Mrs. Stone's work can be judged by an article in the Kalamazoo Gazette.

> The Female Department has a total of ten teachers with total salaries of $2,730. Mrs. Stone is principal and teacher of moral and intellectual philosophy and English literature. Two instructors are engaged in teaching music and art. Mlle. S. Lellane teaches French while J. Adams Allen, M. D., is "Lecturer on Physiology". The rest of the personnel teach the usual academic subjects. Two hundred and ten young ladies are enrolled.

In writing of her work in Kalamazoo she tells us of her enjoyment in the teaching profession. She was a great teacher and loved her work.

> My love of teaching grew with every day of my work. I think few teachers have loved their work as I have. To watch the development of a young intellect has been with me an enjoyment akin, I think, to that which the artist feels in seeing his work grow under his hand and I wish to insist here that the life of a true teacher may be full of noble enjoyment.[2]

Mrs. Stone was admired and respected by the members of her teaching staff. She never expected them to do more than she herself would undertake. She insisted thorough preparation be made for every class and that understanding and encouragement be meted out with discipline.

> I could never be content that my teachers should vegetate, any more than I could be satisfied to do so myself. A teacher's life, of all lives

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[1]Goodsell, op. cit., p. 54.

[2]Perry, op. cit., pp. 48-49.

> should be a growing one. I required of my teachers a preparation for their class recitations. I also encouraged my teachers to be always pursuing some study outside of and beyond what they were teaching, a language, some branch of science, art, or literature, or to read some work in a foreign language. Teachers, generally persons of more than ordinary mental endowments and culture, usually live much secluded from society, with little inflow from superior minds. The waters of the fountain within them stagnate, or they die of a kind of inanity, emptiness. In this way pupils are often defrauded of the services of inspiring teachers. In studies which I encourage my teachers to pursue, as I could, I studied with them. I am sure my teachers will remember these little reading circles with pleasure. They were not teachers meetings, which are generally considered something to be dreaded. These home or school readings, which soon came to include persons outside the school, finally grew into delightful Saturday evening reunions, which I maintained for several years and which filled my parlors.[1]

The records of the faculty meetings during these years reveal the fact that the instructors regarded themselves as sovereign in the institution. Problems of discipline, no matter how petty, were considered in Faculty meetings. At the opening of the term, the assignment of rooms, the arrangement of schedule, and other routine matters of similar nature were worked out by the Faculty in meetings together. Any student who presented a problem case was the subject of full and free discussion in these meetings. The faculty considered all matters relating to the welfare of the institution. For example, on August 22, 1855, the faculty appointed three professors to have charge of the dormitory. At the same meeting

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[1] Ibid.

they voted to employ a janitor and wood splitter and set his wages. It is evident that such instructors as were needed during the year to supplement the work of the regular professors were employed and their wages set by the faculty and not the president.[1]

There are records to show that visiting lecturers were guests at the school as well as in the Stone home. Such people as Emerson, Alcott, Wendell Phillips, Frederick Douglas, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Mary Livermore. Emerson visited the college literature class of Mrs. Stone and listened while the students discussed his explanation of Plato.[2]

The Stones resigned from their posts at the college in 1863. There had been some criticism of Dr. Stone's handling of college money. He had spent more for equipment than was allotted. In later years, Mrs. Stone had also been criticized for some of her advanced methods of teaching. Severe criticisms were made of her work that would now be considered absurd. It was complained that she read such undersirable current literature as the Atlantic Monthly, that she had her students commit to memory certain stanzas of the poetry of Byron, and that she encouraged them to read such novels as "Ivanhoe". It was said that she was a realist because she read the works of certain German philosophers,

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[1]Goodsell, op. cit., p. 45.

[2]The National Encyclopedia of American Biography, Vol. XIII, 198.

and that her moral influence was bad because she read certain French authors.

The Stones resigned and started the next phase in their careers.[1]

Work for Co-Education

The bill for equal suffrage for Michigan women came to the State Legislature in 1859. The movement had been started many years before and the very fact that it appeared on the legislative docket was a minor success in itself. The bill was defeated and little was done in the next ten years to reverse the decision. The women of Michigan who were interested in equal educational opportunities were very busy during this period and were gradually enlisting supporters to their cause. There was, however, as much disfavor for this phase of the suffrage movement as there was for the political movement.

Two of the leaders in the State of Michigan in this movement were Dr. and Mrs. James Stone of Kalamazoo College. They could point with pride to the success of their own college with its female department. They had given only lip service to the idea that the two departments in the school be separated. The young men and women had sat in the same class rooms and listened to the same instructors.

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[1]Goodsell, op. cit., p. 70.

Mrs. Stone wrote letters and gave speeches and used her influence through the Women's Clubs of the state to stimulate the thinking of the day to an acceptance of co-education.

> Dr. and Mrs. Stone were among the very earliest advocates of the measure, and their efforts did much to hasten the result. So deeply in earnest were they in giving young women equal opportunities with young men, that the young women's department of Kalamazoo College was maintained at their own expense for a number of years. Kalamazoo College in those days prior to the Civil War was really a larger institution than the University itself. Doctor Stone pleaded with President Tappan of the University, and spoke for the measure before the State legislature.[1]

By 1867, the movement had gained many friends in the legislature and the woman's suffrage bill was again brought before the House of Representatives. The franchise section of the bill was defeated 34 to 31 but the school section of the bill had many more friends.[2]

In 1867 the Legislature granted school suffrage to the women of the State who were taxpayers.[3]

It took the Board of Regents of the University of Michigan three years to pass the resolution admitting women to the University; but on January 5, 1870, the resolution, accompanied by much debate, was put into effect.[4]

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[1]Perry, op. cit., p. 111.

[2]George N. Fuller, editor, Michigan History Magazine (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1926), Vol. 11, p. 534.

[3]Constitution of Michigan, 1867, Article 13, Section 145.

[4]Perry, op. cit., p. 113.

Miss Madelon Louisa Stockwell was the first woman to make application after the decree of the Board of Regents. She had been trained by Mrs. Stone at Kalamazoo College. She graduated from the University of Michigan with the degree of A. B. in 1872, taking the highest honors of her class. She was the only woman in attendance for the first year. There had been much discussion before her admittance concerning the decline of scholarship and the corruption of morals. The Acting President made the following statement in his report for 1869-70:

> While it is yet too early to speak of results certainly nothing has occurred to give rise to any misgiving in regard to the ultimate success of the new movement; even those Professors who were at first opposed and doubtful, no longer express any regret on account of the innovation, or any apprehension in regard to its effect, either upon the internal condition of the University or its reputation abroad.[1]

The work for a more equal education among men and women had not ended for Mrs. Stone. The next step was to see that women had a chance to become members of the teaching faculty of the University.

> For years Mrs. Stone threw the strong force of her personal influence and effort to the work of making a public opinion for this next step in co-education. In daily and weekly newspapers, before women's clubs and various organizations, by personal letters, calls upon thoughtful people and people of wealth and influence, she presented her cause and steadily won

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[1]Burke A. Hinsdale, History of the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1906), p. 132.

> friends for it. Only those who personally knew Mrs. Stone can understand the earnestness and devotion which she brought to this work.[1]

The Board of Regents passed a resolution on June 25, 1894 making it possible for women to apply for and receive faculty appointments.

After this was accomplished, Mrs. Stone, with the backing of Regent Levi Barbour started the movement to raise funds to provide a Woman's Building on the Campus.

> She was anxious that many should give, rather than to have the sum raised by a few large gifts. The personal gift means personal interest, and Mrs. Stone wanted Michigan women to feel a personal interest and pride in a fine and well equipped building for women students in the State University; and so hundreds of women became small givers to the Women's Building through the personal efforts of Mrs. Stone.[2]

The work she did for the Woman's Building concluded her work for co-education in Michigan. For her efforts the University of Michigan conferred upon her an Honorary Doctor of Philosophy Degree in 1894.[3]

Club Work

A few years before 1850, while Dr. Stone was still head of Kalamazoo College and Mrs. Stone was still in charge of the female department, they were both engaged in a new

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[1] Perry, op. cit., p. 127.

[2] Hinsdale, op. cit., p. 133.

[3] Ibid.

venture. Every Saturday evening they invited guests to their home. These meetings were called reunions and were devoted to intellectual and literary inspiration. The guests were students who took this opportunity to talk with their teachers outside the routine of class room subjects.

> This began as an evening with their teachers but it came to include many outside friends, and their parlors were always well filled on Saturday evening. Here new books were reviewed and discussed as they appeared.[1]

From this informal gathering grew the Kalamazoo Ladies' Library Association. It was well established by 1852 and the monthly board meetings were spent studying art, history, literature and lecture courses which stimulated an intelligent interest in the best current literature. This was the first such ladies' club ever started in Michigan and was the inspiration for women in other towns to start their own clubs. The Ladies' Library Association of Battle Creek was organized in 1864; the Grand Rapids Literary Club, in 1869; the Detroit Woman's Club, in 1872; the Lansing Woman's Club, in 1874; the Jackson Woman's Club and the Ladies' Library Association of Schoolcraft, in 1879.[2]

The women of New England had already organized Sorosis, and the New England Woman's Club.

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[1]George N. Fuller, editor, Michigan History Magazine (Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission, 1926), Vol. 10, p. 71.

[2]Bald, op. cit., p. 308.

> The year following the organization of Sorosis and New England Woman's Club, Mrs. Stone spent the greater part of the winter in Boston, where she attended regularly the Saturday Club and the New England Woman's Club. She observed the details of their management with the thought in mind of shaping the meetings of her home organization, the Ladies' Library Association, after the best she was able to discover in their ideas and methods. She copied the constitution of the New England Woman's Club, brought it home with her, told her people the story of her observations in Boston and presented her plans. These met the approval of the board and were passed without a dissenting vote. That was in 1873. From this time forward, there were weekly club meetings in connection with the Library and the club movement in Michigan may be said to have been thus inaugurated.[1]

In 1889, the Sorosis Club of New England celebrated its twenty-first birthday and at this time invited representatives from every known organized Woman's Club to an assembly in Madison Square Theater, New York City. This was the first attempt at bringing together club women on a national scale. The clubs were by this time scattered in the larger towns and cities throughout the United States.[2]

> Reports from individual clubs represented in this convention showed great similarity. Starting almost invariably with the small band of congenial women who came together for self-culture and intellectual improvement, the exercise of these pursuits had stimulated a thirst for knowledge among broader lines and had turned the thoughts of members from the old meaningless routine of social life into a wider and more stimulating interest and participation in educational and civic affairs.[3]

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[1] Bald, op. cit., p. 308.

[2] Irma Jones, History of the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs, January 1926, p. 60.

[3] Ibid., p. 61.

The first meeting in New York was a challenging affair. Sixty-one of the ninety-seven clubs invited were present, and the movement for united activities among women had begun. At the first meeting plans were laid for a second meeting, and a constitutional committee was appointed.

The next meeting was held in Chicago in 1892. Interest had increased a great deal since the first meeting. It was decided that the largest club of each state could appoint a State Chairman of Correspondence. This person was to assume the responsibility of encouraging and keeping the clubs within the state working with the national organization. As the Grand Rapids club was the largest in Michigan, they chose Mrs. Lucinda Stone for Chairman of State Correspondence.

> The first afternoon of the biannual meeting was given to reports of State Chairman of Correspondence. Among the latter was our own Lucinda Stone of revered memory, giving and receiving enthusiasm for the worth of Club life as a factor in the progress of women. The subjects discussed at that time indicated how preparatory were most of the club activities in those days; for example, "Comparison and value of club Methods; literary standards, in club work, originality, extempore speaking; parliamentary law and business methods.[1]

After the National meeting there was a great deal of interest among Michigan women to form their own State Federation. Mrs. Stone devoted her time to this goal. She wrote letters, gave speeches, and counseled the women in an effort to draw them together in complete unanimity. Nothing was sent out to the clubs throughout the state without her approval. At last, the first state meeting was held in Lansing

[1] Ibid., p. 61.

on March 20, 1895. Mrs. Stone called the meeting to order and in her short address expressed most earnestly her desire that great good would result from the bringing together of women for cooperation in all that can up-lift and educate Michigan womanhood.[1]

With the organization completed, Mrs. Stone saw her wish come true. She continued to take an active part in the national federation and was unanimously elected to the office of State Correspondent for years. She continued as an active leader of the state federation and was honorary president until her death in 1900.

Mrs. Belle M. Perry tells us something of Mrs. Stone's influence in her book.

> There is no club in the State which does not owe its very existence in a way and to an extent which members have rarely comprehended to those earlier years of interest and effort on the part of Mrs. Stone. That influence, beginning with the Saturday Evenings and the Ladies Library Association in Kalamazoo, has come down the years through as many channels as there were people who came under the direct and indirect influence of Mrs. Stone, in Kalamazoo and in the various towns and cities outside, and through her printed "Club Talks". More than this, the influence has extended to very city and town in other states where her pupils have gone and where Michigan club women have gone.[2]

The following comments are a composite of replies received by Mrs. Perry in answer to her questions concerning Mrs. Stone's influence in the club movement in Michigan.

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

[2] Perry, op. cit., p. 173.

GRAND RAPIDS LADIES' LITERARY CLUB: Our club had its beginning in a history class conducted by Mrs. Stone. Her influence has been felt all through the history of our club, and it has not ceased with her life, for her memory is still an inspiration.

DETROIT WOMAN'S CLUB: In the fall of 1880, the club engaged Mrs. Stone to direct its literary work. Under her superior leadership the club studied Spain, its history, literature, and art; the development of American authors; Egypt, and Shakespeare. Mrs. Stone gave a series of art talks before the club. Much of the success of the Detroit Woman's Club has been due to the large-souled, progressive ideas of Mrs. Stone.

LANSING WOMAN'S CLUB: Mrs. Stone was the indirect cause of the organization of our club. When Mr. Bagley was governor, his wife spent much time here during the sessions of the legislature. Through Mrs. Stone's influence in Detroit, Mrs. Bagley had become infused with the club spirit, and under her direction our club was formed. Mrs. Stone's influence was very great in this club for many years. She was an honorary member, and gave several courses of lectures before the club on historical subjects.

YPSILANTI LITERARY CLUB: Mrs. Stone's influence induced Mrs. Daniel Putnam to organize the first club in Ypsilanti. "Study Club" is an outgrowth from that.

BATTLE CREEK WOMAN'S CLUB: In 1868, four years after the foundation of the Ladies Library, Mrs. Stone founded a history class in connection with it and thus became the foster mother of one of the oldest clubs in the State of Michigan.

DOWAGIAC NINETEENTH CENTURY CLUB: Mrs. Stone organized and named our club which grew from a course of lectures which she delivered at Dowagiac. She attended our annual meetings and presided. We shall probably hold the name "Nineteenth Century Club" forever, in her honor.

VICKSBURG WOMAN'S CLUB: Mrs. Stone helped to organize an Isabella Club here in 1891. Two years later this was merged into the Woman's Club. Mrs. Stone came to see us again and again, and was always interested and ready with an illuminating word.

LAPEER THURSDAY CLUB: The Thursday Club of this city was organized in 1878 as a result of an article in the Detroit Post and Tribune written by Mrs. Stone in which she urged ladies to band themselves together in reading circles, which could not fail to be of great benefit. After reading this article, I called together five or six of our young ladies and we commenced to read Guizot's History of France. It took us two years to finish the work. This was the beginning of our club.

EAST TAWAS LADIES' LITERARY CLUB: It was Mrs. Stone who inspired our first president to establish the East Tawas Ladies Literary Club, and much good has resulted from it.

SCHOOLCRAFT LADIES' LIBRARY ASSOCIATION: Our club is indirectly indebted to Mrs. Stone. We borrowed our idea, our name and our first constitution, from the Kalamazoo association.

LESLIE END OF THE CENTURY CLUB: For many years Mrs. Stone had been an inspiration and a force in our club life. It was due directly to her that we became charter members of the State Federation. Her name is a household word with us.

LAWTON WOMAN'S CLUB: We received valuable advice from Mrs. Stone in organizing our club in 1892. She addressed our club twice. We have the same constitution as the Kalamazoo club.

BAY CITY WOMAN'S CLUB: On the afternoon of December 1, 1892 Mrs. Stone addressed a large audience in the Episcopal chapel here, upon the history and development of women's clubs. This lecture inspired an energetic and successful organization of one hundred members.

PAW PAW COTERIE CLUB: Mrs. Stone's last message to us, "Do all the good you can", has been adopted as our club motto.

JACKSON MOSAIC CLUB: In the winter of 1889-90, Mrs. Stone gave a course of five lectures on art before the Mosaic Club. She also gave many useful suggestions for the program of the following year.

COLDWATER COLUMBIAN CLUB: Mrs. Stone undoubtedly had an indirect influence upon the creation of the Columbian Club, as about thirty years ago she conducted a history class here, and from that time to

to the present there have been literary organizations in this place. Her instructions fell upon well-prepared ground, and the influence has continued to the present time.

SAGINAW READING CLUB: One of the charter members of our club brought the club idea from Lansing and the first club there was inspired by Mrs. Stone.

MENDON WOMAN'S CLUB: Mrs. Stone's influence has always been felt among us since our organization. She met with us on several occasions, and talked to us on various subjects. She was an honorary member for a number of years.

LEXINGTON ATHENEUM: The last few years of Mrs. Stone's life were a great benefit to us. Her words of cheer and her soul-inspiring example have done us infinite good.

DETROIT TWENTIETH CENTURY CLUB: Mrs. Stone had classes in Detroit years ago, and formed and conducted classes for European travel. Many of the members of our club were members of those classes. Mrs. Stone's influence has had much to do in promoting a desire for study and improvement among Detroit women. She was the one honorary member of our club.

ROCHESTER WOMAN'S CLUB: During a winter in Lansing I first met Mrs. Stone. Through her influence I came home with the determination to interest the women of Rochester in organizing a club.

BENTON HARBOR OSSOLI CLUB: Indirectly we owe our origin to Mrs. Stone, for it was owing to the good work accomplished by other clubs that our club was formed.

PORTLAND WOMAN'S CLUB: The club movement instituted by Mrs. Stone was felt in Portland, and the result was the formation of the club now known as the Ladies' Literary Club.

ST. JOHNS LADIES' LITERARY CLUB: Our club was organized after learning from other clubs, so we are indirectly indebted to Mrs. Stone.

MUSKEGON WOMAN'S CLUB: On October 26, 1896, Mrs. Stone gave us her address on "Prophecies of Literature and Art". It was a memorable day to us.[1]

Somerville School

In 1880 Dr. and Mrs. Stone were asked to come to St. Clair, Michigan, to help in the organization of the Somerville School for young ladies. The school was founded by Mrs. Caroline Frand Ballentine, and its purpose was to give young women an opportunity to pursue higher learning in an atmosphere of a carefully developed nome life. The Stones were there for two years. Dr. Stone conducted the classes in Greek and Roman, while Mrs. Stone had classes in literature and art.

> Her teaching and personality shed a rare luster over the school's first years, and contributed greatly to its rapidly gained reputation as a thorough and cultured home school for women. The Somerville School of twenty-one years was a pioneer in our state in the endeavor to carry out, on a large scale, the combination of practical with advanced literary training.[2]

The school finally had to close its doors because some of the departments did not live up to the high standards that originally had been set up. Methods used were far advanced for that day and age. The Stones were greatly disappointed to hear of the school closing as they had expected it to be a permanent establishment and to become widely known as a college for

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[1]Perry, op. cit., pp. 166-171.

[2]Caroline Frand Ballentine, (Letter found in Kalamazoo Library Collection).

women on the banks of the St. Clair river. Although the Stones had been back in Kalamazoo for many years when the school finally closed they shared the disappointment of the students and friends who loved "Somerville" when its name no longer stood for that upon which so many hopes had been built.[1]

Mrs. Stone had opened up her home by this time to young ladies who wanted to continue with their education. She and an assistant were busily engaged in conducting classes in art, literature, history, and languages. No credit was given that could be transferred to other colleges, no degrees were given, but many young ladies benefited from the experience that could not have done so otherwise.

Travel Classes

The fire that destroyed the Stone home in 1866 did not destroy the enthusiasm for teaching that Mrs. Stone possessed. She embarked upon a new endeavor, the first of its kind in the field of education. Many of the young ladies who had been going to her school were still anxious to continue their education under her guidance. She conceived the idea of organizing study groups and traveling abroad. She had been to Europe once before with Dr. Stone and felt that the value of visiting the homes of the great writers and the places read about in history were invaluable in enriching her own life.

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[1]Perry, op. cit., pp. 62-63.

> The idea of a traveling school or class was thus inaugurated in 1867, and fortunate indeed was the young woman who had the privilege of a year or more in one of those classes. Mrs. Stone's long experience as a teacher of history, art, literature, as well as of modern languages, had well prepared her for planning and carrying out a most interesting and valuable itinerary of travel.

There were eight of these trips organized and directed by Mrs. Stone. English literature would be studied, while in England, visiting homes of Scott, Burns, Wordsworth, and Sha Shakespeare; art while in Italy, fashions while in Paris and so on as the tour progressed. Some of the trips went as far as Egypt and Turkey. They studied conditions and the history of the different countries.[1]

In summary of the life of Lucinda Hinsdale Stone we see that even as a young child a quest for knowledge was evident. This characteristic continued throughout her life. Her efforts in portraying knowledge to others is exemplified in her many years as a teacher, her work in regard to co-education, and her efforts to promote a higher education for women through club work. Her writings and her speeches and her life, as she lived it, show that she did not work for money or fame but for the higher education of mankind.

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[1]Perry, op. cit., p. 67.

CHAPTER III

PRINCIPLES AND PREMISES DRAWN FROM WRITING AND SPEECHES

Lucinda Hinsdale Stone spent her adult life working for other women. Her belief that women everywhere should have a more equal opportunity with men, was the driving force that characterized her whole life. Her convictions are revealed in her speeches and writings.

Her main speeches can be divided into two categories: (1) speeches concerning themselves with her theories of co-education; and (2) speeches devoted to woman's club work. In her twenty years as a classroom teacher she gave many lectures concerned with art and literature. A sampling of these will be included in the Appendix of this thesis.

Her writings can be categorized as follows: (1) writings dealing with co-education; (2) writings concerned with her work for women's clubs; and (3) writings from abroad during the period of her life when she traveled with her students.

Views on Co-education

Mrs. Stone gave many speeches during her lifetime to influence current thinking about the role of women in education. The first preserved speech was given as early as 1855.

This address was given at Fireman Hall in Kalamazoo. It was recorded in the Kalamazoo Gazette on February 16, 1855. This was one of a series of speeches given at a public meeting to arouse support for the suffrage movement. Her speech deals only with suffrage of education. The following excerpts give us some insight into her feeling about co-education.

> It is woman's right to do whatever she can do well. It is only the usage of the community where she is placed that ordains for her, her "sphere". All history shows this, as well as accounts of the various nations.
>
> But public opinion is not yet sufficiently enlightened, in reference to the "sphere" allotted to woman. She is yet shut out from the colleges, and all the highest institutes of learning. The complaint ends not as regards her . . . it is an injury to her race. Who of us on the face of God's earth, can stand up today, and say that he or she is as fair and noble a specimen of our creator's power and goodness as he might have been, had the hand which moulded his childhood been a wise one. Ah, there is no sadder phrase than, "might have been". Therefore, woman is not alone sunk in the scale of humanity, but man is sunken with her.
>
> Let shackles of unwholesome restraint of public opinion, now surrounding woman be broken. Our brother arrives at the period dividing youth from manhood, and looking about, inquires what he can do in life's drama; and according to his heaven given abilities answers his own query. Every intelligent soul feels a yearning to work out for itself a destiny; the sister no less than the brother. But she may not, like him, answer her own questionings.
>
> Some of the daughters of affluence, pampered in luxury tell us that they have all the rights and privileges they want; if they had more they would not know what to do with them. In our womanly souls we know they do not speak the truth. A girl closing her school career, expresses regret saying she should now have nothing to do. "Why", said her companion, "can't you stay home and make pretty

things to wear?" We do not believe that God has made us to spend our time with no higher aim than bedecking these clay temples of ours. We feel the undying voice within us crying for knowledge. The stars glitter over our head and we long for that ennobling science, which, with mathematical precision, can predict their coming, and reveal to us their names. The earth, the rocks, the trees, which are spread around us, and we long to learn the motives which actuate the laws which bind them. But upon knocking at the college door, for which our property is taxed no less than our brothers, while he is admitted, it is coolly shut in our face, and we are told 'women and niggers needn't go to college'.

Woman's "sphere" should, like that of a man's be limited only by capacity and qualifications. Now, if she teach equally well an equal number of pupils the same length of time, she receives one-third as much pay. If she doesn't like teaching let her be a seamstress. This is the next best thing. If she doesn't like this let her go into the kitchens for one dollar a week. This is about the limit of her sphere.

In conclusion, let women first get knowledge for this is power. To this end let them wear last years bonnets if need be, and unfashionable clothing, to buy books which will instruct; and having knowledge, get money . . . not to be like the man with the muck rake, who could never look up, and knew no brighter pleasure than that of getting . . . not to hoard it, but of its uses. It is the golden key which Emerson calls it, admitting to picture galleries, academics of art and sciences, home and foreign travel; and will buy positions, and a nome with all the furnishings as your own.[1]

This speech in its entirety was published without editorial comment. She was forty-one years of age when it was given. She had been teaching in Kalamazoo for many years at this time. Her fearless attack shows that her ideas about equal education for women had not changed since the days of her own bitter disappointment when barred from a college education.

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[1] Kalamazoo Gazette, February 16, 1885.

Mrs. Stone worked many years for co-education. We find she always kept the same beliefs concerning the benefits to be derived by all mankind from educating young women along with men. At the age of seventy-seven she was asked to deliver an address before the Woman's League in Ann Arbor.

> It was my experience in New England academy that led me to believe in co-education. When I went from there for a time to a ladies' seminary, esteemed as good as any in the state, I felt that I knew things in a different way from that in which the seminary girls knew them. I had been better, more thoroughly and broadly taught in our academy with young men and young women in the same classes. Here there was a man at the head of the school and nearly always there was a lady principal whose recommendation for the place, however, in those days was more her manners than her superior attainments in scholarship. I had been better taught in the academy than I was in the seminary where all the pupils were girls, and where we were closely secluded from all society of gentlemen as we would have been in a convent, guarded from a call from one as though it was a deadly sin. We were forbidden to bow to one in the street, though it might have been a student from our own town.
>
> The school was governed by very strict religious rules. We had prayer meetings without number in the school buildings. We had a great deal of religious instruction at morning prayers at school. But notwithstanding this there was greater evasion of rules about meeting gentlemen, more deceitful planning to meet them during our morning walks, greater contrivance to convey notes to the college boys, drop them upon the walk, out of the seminary windows, etc., than I had seen in all the years of going to our academy. Hence, my experience taught me that it was folly to try to contravene the laws of nature. The stricter the laws against all association of young men and young women the stronger the inclination to break them. Young men and young women will seek each other out in some way. As a teacher it became a study for me how best to direct their association during those years when both are pursuing an education. Plans for doing this have been my study during years of my

life, and I have visited many schools to see the working of various systems.

We are coming upon new times; the era for woman's education has just been opened; new ideas about it are going to make a new workd for us. It is toward the building up of such a humanity that we expect great contributions for Michigan University.

We feel and hope that Michigan University will contribute some of these women worthy of the school's high reputation and of the great state that was wise enough to found such a university and just enough to admit all its children, without distinction of sex, to its advantages.

So verily, my friends, we are come upon new times. Let us at least walk with our faces toward the light and live in the truth, for so only can we know if "life is worth living".[1]

After the first woman was allowed to enter the University of Michigan the next step in Mrs. Stone's speaking career, concerned with co-education, was to urge the University to hire qualified women to teach, without discrimination, classes that the young women and men were taking. From Belle Perry's book Lucinda Hinsdale Stone we are able to judge the extent of her work and the strong feelings she had concerning this issue.

So for years Mrs. Stone threw the strong force of her personal influence and effort to the work of making a public opinion for this next step in co-education. In daily and weekly newspapers, before women's clubs and various organizations, by personal letters, calls upon thoughtful people of wealth and influence, she presented her cause, and steadily won friends for it. Only those who personally knew

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[1]Detroit Tribune, August 16, 1891.

> Mrs. Stone can understand the earnestness and devotion which she brought to this work. It was the spirit of Mary Lyon and Dorothea Dix over again.[1]

Mrs. Perry tells us Lucinda Stone traveled around the state to different Women's Clubs; that she spoke before the State Federation of Women's Clubs and other organizations in an attempt to arouse public interest in securing women on the teaching staff of the University.

The extent of her interest and belief for the principles she was working for can be judged by the schedule of work she undertook to do. The following news article was published in the Traverse City News.

> Mrs. L. H. Stone of Kalamazoo is expected at Traverse City, on Saturday, and will meet the Woman's Club on Monday, at their rooms . . .
>
> Mrs. Stone is a woman whom all women, and especially all Michigan women, delight to know. For eighty years she has lived a beautiful life and much of it has been as a noted teacher of young women. She has written voluminously, and of later years addressed many large and appreciative audiences. We owe her a debt of gratitude, arising from the fact that largely through her efforts the doors of the University of Michigan were opened to women. Her chief concern now is in the matter of getting women on the faculty of the college. In a letter just received from her she says: "I shall go to Muskegon on Friday, to meet the Woman's Club there, will come to Traverse City, on Saturday, meet your club on Monday, and go back on Tuesday, as I have an Emerson class, Wednesday, in Kalamazoo, which I I must not miss."[2]

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[1] Belle Perry, Lucinda Hinsdale Stone (Detroit: Blinn Publishing House, 1902), p. 124.

[2] Traverse City News - 1885, (This was found as a clipping in a scrapbook in the Kalamazoo Public Library.)

We find in Belle Perry's book a short excerpt from one of her talks on this subject.

> We can never have a true civilization until morality is measured by the thing done and the motive in doing it, rather than by the person who does it, man or woman.[1]

Mrs. Stone was busy not only with the medium of public speaking but also with her pen in forwarding the movement for equal teaching opportunities for men and women. The Kalamazoo Daily Telegraph stated in an article entitled "Life Left Impress on Her Generation" that her writings would fill volumes and reached hundreds of thousands of readers. Social and moral issues were freely discussed in the columns of the newspapers by Mrs. Stone. She wrote for the Kalamazoo Daily Telegraph, Kalamazoo Gazette, Kalamazoo Daily News, Detroit Tribune, and the Woman's Journal. Mrs. Stone was honorary president of the Michigan Woman's Press Association. Her literary work continued almost to the close of her life.[2]

Her views on co-education and other aspects of education can be obtained from the following two articles. She continues to maintain that women have equal right to educational opportunity. In the second article she examines our educational systems and compares them with the schools of Europe. Although she finds our system lacking in certain

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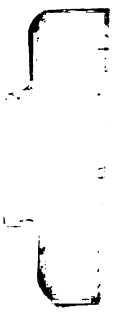
[1]Perry, op. cit., pp. 127-128.

[2]Kalamazoo Daily Telegraph, March 14, 1900.



respects the comparison only strengthens her belief that co-education is an advanced step in educational theory.

The first article is called "Girls and Schools" and was published in the Kalamazoo Daily News. In this article she tells of receiving a letter from a friend asking to publish her views concerning co-education. She elaborates by writing of the objections that are often made to the system.

> There are many objections to our co-educational colleges, Michigan University for example, as things are now. But whatever these objections are, they are just as great in regard to sending young men there as to sending young women, for these objections lie in the line of manners and morality, and I think we are receiving a lesson now as impressive as was ever given in our country in regard to the effects of having one standard of morality for men and another for women. . . . We can never have a true civilization until morality is measured by the thing done and the motive in doing it, rather than by the person who does it, man or woman. Immorality in woman is immorality in man and vice versa.[1]

She continues the article by giving reasons why she feels women are better educated in co-educational schools.

> From what I have observed, I must think that young women are more thoroughly educated in our co-educational colleges than they are in seminaries, or colleges for girls only. I believe that the standard for thorough, accurate knowledge and attainment is higher in institutions of the former class, than those of the latter. The appliances for instruction, and libraries and the helps of original investigation helps in the apparatus and laboratories to proving what is true by actual experiment, are better furnished and are of a higher order where men have been

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[1]Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, "Girls and Schools", Kalamazoo Daily News, April 8, 1894.

> considered than they are in colleges where girls have been taken into account. Colleges like Bryn Mawr, Vassar, Smith's College and Wellesley, are advancing wonderfully in this respect, and the contrast between these and the ladies seminaries of olden times, where the object in the education of young ladies was as Mrs. Barbauld said, "to fit them to be agreeable and pleasing companions for men", is immeasurable; but these institutions are so much younger than our colleges for men, that they have not had time to secure many of the advantages of libraries, apparatus, etc. that equal those in older institutions. So that I believe the real, solid (so-called) education of girls, graduating from co-educational colleges, is better than that acquired in girls' schools and colleges.[1]

She writes next of the environment at Michigan University and how it could be bettered by the appointment of women teachers on the staff.

> If I could make the environment for the young women in Michigan University, for example, I would greatly prefer sending a daughter there, or a son either, than to any exclusively female or male college. But Michigan University which may be taken for as high an example of co-education as any that exists, never will, or can be the best place to educate girls until there are earnest, noble, highly and broadly educated women in the faculty. There should be women in all departments to which women are admitted, women from the foundation up, women on the board of regents, women who will see what women need, as men never can see it. Noble, high-minded women who have had all the advantages that the world can give them, working with just as noble high-minded, broadly educated men side by side.[2]

The next section of the article is concerned with a description of what she feels should be the character of the women staff members.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

> There should be women teachers of gracious manners as well as broad education, to whom the young men will look up with respect for their knowledge, their acquirements and their character just as truly as they look up to their honored male professors . . . why should not the influence of an educated woman be just as necessary in the higher education of these sons and daughters as it is in the family home?[1]

She stresses the point that out of the three thousand students at the university six hundred of them are women. Two hundred professors and instructors are provided by state appropriations. She feels that the state has an obligation to its daughters as well as to its sons, and that this obligation is not being met under the present system. She elaborates on this by stating that according to the proportion of women students at least one-fifth of the teaching force should be women. The question of where these women are to come from is next considered.

> There are many that could be found, and there are many more who would be incited to fit themselves for these positions, if they knew such positions would be open to them. . . . If for instance, such women of gracious manners, high thought, and broad culture as Julie Ward Howe, or Frances Willard or scores of women, whom I could mention had an honored place in our University, I must believe that a great change would be seen in the manners and character, the social ethics of many of the students who are going out to make the world and society what they shall prove themselves to be.[2]

The article is concluded by the following thought:

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

> I can but believe that a fair proportion of pure, noble, high-minded, and highly educated women among the teachers and professors in all our co-educational institutions would greatly elevate the tone of manners and morals among the students there. I am persuaded that the time is coming; the whole trend of things is toward it.[1]

In a second article appearing in the Detroit Post and Tribune she compares the schools of our country with those in Europe. This gives us an insight into her theories of educational principles. She gives a history of the establishment of the "free schools" of England and Scotland. She relates how they grew from old "hospital" which were parochial schools for boys. They were first supported by gifts and the instruction prescribed by the bequests that founded these hospitals or schools. She compares this with a history of our own schools.

> When our government was organized under the federal constitution the southern and southwestern states and territories embraced more than half the area and population of the entire Union. With the advantages of climate and soil in their favor they naturally expected to be the dominant portion of the country. But the north had this advantage; they believed in the education of the whole people; they founded common schools everywhere, and taxed themselves to support them liberally. But the aristocrats of the south educated their own children as best they could, and left the masses without any means of education. Now we read the results of these two systems in the census figures of 1870. The balance of power and population and wealth is now completely changed. In 1870 the population of the northern states was 24,543,578 and that of the southern states only 14,009,315. Of this population there were 1,991,045 persons in the northern and western

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[1] Ibid.

> states, of ten years or over who could not read and write, and these were mostly of foreign birth; while in the south there were 5,573,646 of this class, nearly all native born, and more than half of them whites. Then it is also true as might be expected, that the relative wealth of the two sections corresponds with the intelligence. The property estimate of the former states was $24,493,971,830.00 and that of the latter was $5,559,524,092.00. From this we may see what great disadvantage all these countries of Europe labor under where there have been no public or common schools and education has been confined to the rich and the few more favored ones in the large cities.[1]

She describes the common schools that she visited in Europe as comparable to the remote schools of New England fifty years ago. She relates that the books, paper, maps, and all apparatus are inferior to those in America. She observed that a strictness of attention was required and given on the part of the pupils, from which American children might profit. After comparing the physical setup of the two schools she is concerned with the academic. Here she found the schools in Europe superior to ours. She mentions that writing and drawing received more attention than it is given here. The children had a better grasp of mathematics, and languages were taught in a practical manner. In commenting upon the course of study she concludes that American children would break down under such a regime of study.

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[1]Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, "Our Common Schools Compared with Similer Schools in Europe," Detroit Post and Tribune, January 15, 1881.

Women's Clubs

Lucinda Hinsdale Stone is called the "Mother of Michigan Clubs". From the Saturday night meetings in her home grew the Women's Club movement in Michigan. The meetings in her home started with fifteen members and in a few years had grown to two hundred. She was the leader of this group and gave the class lectures on art, history, and literature. This group was known as the Ladies' Library Association. Mrs. Stone told the Lansing Woman's Club in March 1883 something of the history of her work in relation to the Women's Club movement.

> No one can estimate the influence of the Library Association and woman's club for improving the society and promoting the culture of the people of Kalamazoo. I think it is not extravagant to say that it has done more to this end than all the schools, the college, and the Female Seminary, together in the town. They have been the mother of many other similar institutions in the state. The library, managed by its board of women, with its pleasant parlors, fine pictures and casts, was for many years the most attractive place of which the beautiful town could boast. Ladies from away visiting Kalamazoo were sure to drop into the Ladies Library rooms and its history classes or clubs if they were in session. Such visits were the suggestions for the establishment of similar classes in many of the cities and villages of the state. In fifteen at least of its larger towns I have been solicited to organize and conduct classes similar to those connected with the Ladies' Library Association of Kalamazoo. These classes have in most instances grown into permanent clubs.
>
> Now a word about this Post-graduate education that is going on all over the country, especially in our own state. The day is past when learning is to be considered as the exclusive privilege or appropriate adornment of one sex only. A quarter

of a century ago, Tennyson evidently threw out tentatively upon the world his story of the "Princess". He wanted to see how the world would receive it. It was a story of "sweet girl graduates", written partly as a satire of their aspirations to learn all that men are taught in colleges for men, and partly as a seer's or poet's prophecy of a future of which he saw the dawn. Shorn of the extravaganzas of the satire, the prophecies have already been fulfilled. Then, Vassar College in our country did not exist. Since then, that and Smith's College, and Wellesley, and many others having nearly the same course of study, have sprung up. Cornell University, the University of Michigan, and almost or quite all Western colleges, have been opened to women on the same terms as to men. Harvard has granted her ungracious and satirizing "Annex" at which true prophets smile, knowing Harvard will not long withstand the influence of examples like those of Cambridge and Oxford, and London University.

But in the meantime, while the world has been discussing this question of where women may properly be educated, if in universities with men, or in colleges whose curriculum has been patterned after that of colleges for men, or in ladies' seminaries and boarding schools of more conservative tendencies than either, women themselves, through the desire for knowledge, the feeling of the need of it, or for the sake of the enjoyment it gives, have, by the thousands, and tens of thousands in our country, laid out for themselves elective, or what we have termed post-graduate courses of study which they are pursuing in associations which they call clubs, and which more than Vassar, and Smith, and Wellesley colleges, are the real institutions at present educating American women. Through the education thus gained by the mother, these clubs are no less forming the tastes of their children for reading, selecting the books that shall come into their families and into the town, village, and district school libraries all over the country. These clubs are established in almost every neighborhood, and they are preparing, as we venture to prophesy, for generations close upon our own, such a civilization as the world has never seen before, truly a new renaissance of which it may be said, "dux femina fact".[1]

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[1] Detroit Post and Tribune, April 5, 1883.

It is well to remember that when this speech was given to the Lansing Woman's Club Mrs. Stone was busily engaged in her work to see that women should be admitted to the faculty of the University of Michigan. Although she explained the worth of women's clubs she was still using her position to further establish her idea that colleges would never be truly of equal opportunity until women were allowed on the staff.

Mrs. Stone's lectures on history, literature, and art, were given at club meetings all over the State. The following article was found in the Detroit Post and Tribune of 1885, under the title "How the Ladies of Detroit Seek to Improve Their Minds":

> The Detroit Woman's Club was organized in 1873 and is now one of the most flourishing literary societies in the west. For a number of years Mrs. J. Bagley occupied the chair as president. The studies are now under the direction of Mrs. L. H. Stone with whom the literati of Detroit and numberous other cities are well acquainted, who in seasons passed has successfully led her students throughout England, her history and literature; Spain and France during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Florentine history; Rome, her history, mythology, and literature; and is today unwinding the intricate thread of Greek history, art, literature, and mythology, with a general history of art and drama. The first lecture of the month is devoted to the art of Greece. Mrs. Stone will illustrate by photographs and graphic descriptions of the scenes of her travel.

Examples of her lectures will be found in the Appendix of this thesis.

Mrs. Stone tells us something about the conflicts she confronted in establishing the Library Association of Kalamazoo.

This is part of an article she published in the Woman's Journal. This gives us a clear picture of the manner which she thought and what she believed.

> In the early days of our Library Association, I contrived to get two or three volumes of Emerson accepted, but our good librarian, a most excellent woman, was distrustful of the influence of these works. Emerson was said to be an unbeliever in Christianity, and she always kept these volumes well out of sight so that they would not be called for. Persons have told me that when they wished to draw a volume of Emerson's works, she was accustomed to say to them: "My dear, you do not want to read that book" (though she had never read it herself), and she would persuade them to take something else instead. It was sometime in the sixties that I gave a copy of the three volumes of Mrs. Child's Progress of Religious Ideas to the library. They were for a long time kept on a high shelf well out of sight, lest someone might be tempted to read them and it was a long time under consideration by the board whether some of Channings works, and Swedenborg's offered as gifts to the library, should be accepted or not. Truly the world does more, along other lines even than those of woman suffrage.[1]

The writings of Mrs. Stone during this period of her work for Women's Clubs were varied and numerous. Portions from three articles that appeared in different newspapers, over a period of four years, give us some understanding of the influence she had in the guidance and establishment of the State Federation. Her last message to club women was: the more favored women, the women of gifts, have an opportunity which is a duty in club work. Not, "What can I get out of

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[1] Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, Woman's Journal. (This appeared as a clipping, without date, in a scrapbook at the Kalamazoo Public Library.)

club life?" so much as "What can I give to it?" "What have I to share?" is the spirit which Mrs. Stone taught.

The first article was a report that she made to the Kalamazoo Daily News. She had just returned from the constitutional meeting which had been held in Lansing. She tells us that the meeting was not all that she had hoped it would be.

> Not all was accomplished that could have been expected. This meeting might have been better directed to the noble end for which women's clubs were first established among us, and thus saved disagreement and unprofitable wrangling over things that accomplished nothing in the end, but consumed much precious time that might have been spent in each others opinions about best ways of making these clubs subserve the highest purpose for which they exist; that is the true education of women.[1]

The rest of the article is devoted to explaining to her readers the reason for the problems that arose. She concludes with a warning:

> Personalities must be kept out of conventions, people must not go there as one woman said, she had come, "with her fighting clothes on," but to devise the best means for promoting the highest good of woman and humanity.[2]

The second article appeared four years later in the same newspaper. This was a report of the meeting of the third annual state Federation of Women's Clubs. She appears to be much encouraged by the progress of the federation.

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[1] Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, "The New Federation," Kalamazoo Daily News, March 27, 1893.

[2] Ibid.

> This federation is worthy of women of Michigan. The improvement was more noticeable in the delegates and representatives from the smaller and before almost unknown towns, than ever before. . . . Many of the best and most earnest and feeling speeches were from women who had scarcely been heard of before the federation and one of the most interesting things to me was the entire forgetfulness of self and the interest that the speaker often suddenly called out, manifested in the cause in which she was engaged.[1]

Later in the article she describes one of the speeches given at the meeting.

> One of the most interesting papers with discussion upon it, was "Relation of Women's Clubs", what a club might do for the town which they represented. This was discussed with great earnestness, and so many times I heard the expression, "wasn't that an inspiring paper and discussion?" Many times it was remarked, "that woman is not talking for talk's sake; she feels what she is saying; it talks itself.[2]

This gives us some idea about her interest and enthusiasm for the club movement. The third example is taken from an article published in The Detroit Free Press. This article was written concerning the fourth annual meeting of the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs.

> A significance attaches to this convention that will be interesting to all educated persons; not because it will be a large gathering of women, but because it is a convincing and proud exponent of the progress and ambition of Michigan women toward mental growth. The sun has long since set on the day when the opinions of women on matters of weight can be lightly set aside as frivolous or unintelligent. In years gone by women had not much chance for educational

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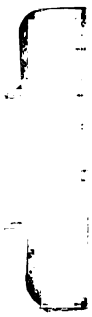
[1]Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, "The Women's Clubs", Kalamazoo Daily Telegraph, November 19, 1897.

[2]Ibid.



> advancement, but they have it now; and one of the chief modes of aiding themselves is through the various study clubs that are dotted over all the United States. There is scarcely a town in Michigan where a literary club of some sort is not established, and these are serious in purpose and result.[1]

One thought remains in the foreground in summarizing the ideas of Lucinda Hinsdale Stone. Her speeches and writings are all characterized by her firm belief that a higher enlightenment of mankind can be achieved through education. Her life's work, for more equal educational opportunities for women, was devoted to this goal.

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[1]Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, "Women's Clubs in Michigan", The Detroit Free Press, October 16, 1898.

CHAPTER IV

SPEECH ANALYSIS

The following chapter will be concerned with the analysis of three speeches given by Lucinda Hinsdale Stone. The standards of judgment will be those found in the book Speech Criticism by Thonssen and Baird. Each speech will be evaluated as to invention and the structure of the oral discourse. The complete text of each of these speeches will be found in the Appendix of this thesis. The use of excerpts from her speeches and writings and the observations made by people closely associated with her will be the media for the evaluation of her abilities as a speech maker.

Thonssen and Baird tell us that invention in a speech can be judged by the following method: determination (1) of the intellectual resources of the speaker, (2) the severity and strictness of the argumentative development, and (3) of the "truth" of the idea in functional existence. A short investigation into the intellectual resources of Lucinda Stone will precede the case studies of the three speeches. The structure of the speech will then be studied in terms of the over-all organization or plan, as well as in terms of the nature of the several parts of the speech.

This chapter will not be concerned with the delivery of these speeches, but an article on this subject by Lucinda Stone can be found in the Appendix. This article will give the reader some insight into her ideas concerning the delivery of a speech.

Intellectual Resources

To obtain a clear picture of Lucinda Stone as a speaker we can examine her background to determine what kind of person was speaking. Thonssen and Baird tell us that the preparation and background that the speaker brings to the process of logical invention figures strongly in the determination of argumentative soundness and integrity.[1]

The scope of her knowledge can be judged by the observations of people who knew her and associated with her. Jenkin Lloyd Jones in the foreword of the book Lucinda Hinsdale Stone has this to say about her:

> Mrs. Stone was in the first place a woman of broad culture, one who in her youth traveled the road which, at that time at least, was supposed to be possible only to men. This preparation of her youth was enlarged by long years of teaching, reaching from the Southern governess in the times of slavery to a college professorship alongside her husband, who for twenty years was president of Kalamazoo College. And Mrs. Stone was a reformer in the best sense of the word, a woman who made the elevation of her kind her first business, who espoused the cause of the poor, the

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[1] Lester Thonssen, A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), p. 335.

> neglected, the ignorant and the corrupted. Her travel was extensive; her reading was comprehensive. Wherever she went, and whatever she read, she detected the ethical import and she added the ethical emphasis. Hers was one of the few spirits that deserve the word "liberal". She was a devotee without superstition, a rationalist who had escaped the blight of schism. Her liberal religion was never identical with a negative propaganda. In welcoming the new thought she cherished the old.[1]

We are able to determine the reading habits of Lucinda Stone by an article written by Charlotte I. Anderson.

> Perhaps the most accurate index to Mrs. Stone's mental temperament and range of studies is her library. In addition to the immortal classics of every land and age there is scarcely a book of real importance that had appeared in the last sixty years that is not, or has not been, upon its shelves; first editions of all the American authors as they appeared from time to time as Emerson, Longfellow, Holmes, etc.; scientific works--Darwin, Huxley, Tyndall; in philosophy--Spencer, Fisk, Wayland, James; works of every phase of the religious problem, both conservative and liberal. She was a profound student of Egyptology and ancient civilizations, and on the other hand intensely interested in all our modern social problems. In addition to this she was a student of art of every land and age.
>
> Hers was one of those rare intellects in which the analytic and intuitional faculties were equally balanced. Independent in her thinking and true to her convictions to the uttermost, she would not profess to believe anything which did not appeal to her best judgment and sense of right. She was eminently an investigator, and sought for truth in every new development of modern thought.[2]

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[1] Jenkin Lloyd Jones, "Foreword", Lucinda Hinsdale Stone (Detroit: Blinn Publishing House, 1902).

[2] Charlotte L. Anderson, "Library and Literary Tastes", Kalamazoo Morning Gazette, March 17, 1900.

We can ascertain by the life work of Lucinda Stone and by the commentary of the people who were her colleagues that her judgment was sound. Her broad educational background was certainly an asset in the formulation of ideas. Her devotion to truth concerning all subjects was a driving force that was recognized by those around her. Irma T. Jones tells us that "to speak only truth, to live with truth, to be truth in heart, life and purpose was her constant aim."[1]

We are able to discover more about her quest for knowledge from a newspaper article by Lucinda Stone.

> If I wanted to read for the story or book's sake I would read in its original German or French, and not through a translation. I would read even if I did not understand every word, and could not take time to consult dictionary or grammar. The understanding of a previous page will come in a succeeding one; and in a very short time one will become entirely forgetful of the medium, and a French or German book will be as readily taken to while away time on the cars, or on a steamer, as one in a native language.[2]

Lucinda Stone had great regard for Lowell, Browning, Whittier, and Emerson. She entertained Emerson in her home on several occasions and describes him in this manner.

> We were openly anti-slavery in thought and acknowledged woman suffragists, as were the majority of those who filled the lecture platform of those days, and toward the private hotel on the hill (her home)

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[1] Irma T. Jones, "Memorial Tributes", Kalamazoo Morning Gazette, March 15, 1900.

[2] Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, If I Were a Girl Again. (Published in the Kalamazoo Post and Tribune, March 15, 1885.)

> people of this kind drifted. The first of these visitors, of whom I am sure we entertained hundreds, I say first because he seems to me almost the first among men, is Ralph Waldo Emerson. The impression that Emerson made upon me, and everytimg I saw him the impression deepened, was that he was the most sincere man that I ever saw.[1]

She quoted him often in her speeches and writings, as she did her other favorite authors. We find a typical example in her speech, "Views on the New Education".

> To illustrate how a poet and an artist sees the unity of all the powers of art to produce a great and beautiful result, I wish each one of you would read Brosnings' descriptions of this in his great poem, "Apt Vogler", when he sees his beautiful palace with its rampired walls of gold, transparent glass, rise before him, called up by musical sound. This is a fact that science is now demonstrating, that musical sounds do call fortn both forms and color. "Ah, one and all how they helped", exclaims the poet; "would dispart now, and now combine. J Jealous to hasten the work, heighten the master his praise." Thus this great poet sees and describes every musical sound as of equal use in building this great palace, just as our workers among the poor, see each one of these little despised ones, if redeemed and set in his or her place, of as much importance, as much use as the "four hundred" of New York; or more use indeed, than the useless and idle rich.[2]

She continues the speech with an excerpt from one of Lowell's poems to further establish her thought.

> Lowell's wonderful poem of "Sir Launfal's Vision" was written fifty years ago, and the idea it seems to me of just what is now becoming real and true in this new educational work among the poor. Beautifully, wonderfully does this great

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[1] Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, "Remembrance of Emerson", Kalamazoo Sunday Morning Times, February 6, 1890.

[2] Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, Views On the New Education. (Speech delivered before the Kalamazoo Ladies' Library Club, 1883.)

poet describe the good effect of a real communion between the noble knight, Sir Launfal, who caged his young life up in gilded mail, and went through all lands searching for the "Holy Grail" the material cup out of which Christ drank with his disciples, which real communion cup was found only when he shared his curst of coarse, brown bread and water out of a wooden bowl with the leper to whom he had at first tossed a piece of gold in scorn, learning at last that:

> "The Holy Supper is kept, indeed,
> In what so we share with another's needs".[1]

From the above examples and illustrations taken from her own speeches and writings, and from observations of those closely associated with her, we can be assured that her knowledge was inclusive and her experience broad.

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[1] Ibid.

Woman's Sphere

The speech entitled "Woman's Sphere" was chosen for evaluation in this thesis for two reasons: (1) it is the first available recorded speech given by Mrs. Stone, and (2) it is concerned with equal educational opportunities for women which was her life-long endeavor.

The speech was delivered on February 15, 1855 at Fireman's Hall in Kalamazoo. This building seated about one hundred people. The speech was printed without editorial comment in the Kalamazoo Gazette on February 16. The only reference made to the occasion in the newspaper was the fact that it was one speech in a series of speeches pertaining to the suffrage movement. We are not told of the other speakers in the series but evidence is readily available to substantiate that such individuals as Wendell Phillips, Frederick Douglas, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Mary Livermore, Julie Ward Howe and Ralph Waldo Emerson spoke from the same platform. With this in mind we can assume that it was not unusual for this public meeting place to house gatherings of this nature.

At the time this speech was given Lucinda Hinsdale was forty-one years of age. She was in charge of the female department of Kalamazoo College. Her husband was president of the College. The school was not co-educational in principle, but as early as this time men and women were being educated in the same classrooms. Lack of funds, the lack of necessary

equipment, and an inadequate teaching staff made in necessary to combine the classes. It was during this period of the college history that Dr. and Mrs. Stone were maintaining the instruction of the female department at their own expense. It was not until 1859 that the trustees made any appropriation for the support of this section of the college. We do not know the exact enrollment of young women, but Mrs. Stone makes reference to the more than one hundred and thirty young women students she met in chapel exercises each morning. We are told that the total enrollment sometimes numbered four hundred and fifty students.[1]

Dr. Stone agreed with Mrs. Stone in her beliefs concerning the education of women. He spoke before the State Legislature and pleaded with President Tappan of the University of Michigan.

> Doctor Stone was a believer in co-education and did more than any other man in the State to secure the admission of women to the University of Michigan. He thought they had a right to all its privileges and it was for them to decide what they wanted to study.[2]

In summary we can say that the speech was delivered in a public meeting house, and the period was early in the suffrage movement. Lucinda Stone was a respected teacher in the town's college. She was supported by her husband in her views.

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[1] Belle Perry, Lucinda Hinsdale Stone (Detroit: Blinn Publishing House, 1902), p. 49.

[3] Ibid., p. 83.

To test Lucinda Stone as a speech maker we must analyze the invention in her speech as to the severity and strictness of the argumentative development. Thonssen and Baird state that this can be done by (1) examining the evidence, and (2) appraising the arguments.

In examining the evidence used in the Woman's Sphere speech we find that she used evidence of illustrative examples. These examples are used in such a manner as to make them pathetic proof. There are four distinct examples used in this first speech.

In the first instance Lucinda Stone makes the statement that, "Woman's Sphere is ordained by the usage of the community where she is placed". She used five illustrations to prove that this is so:

1. All history shows this, as well as accounts of the various nations. An early records tells us that Deborah was judge in Israel forty years with satisfaction to the nation.

2. Every man gentleman accompanies his wife, sister or mother to church, and is not ashamed, for it is customary. But in heathenden it would be considered scandalous.

3. The missionary who walks arm and arm with his wife, is told that a man who will do that, can have no religion which they wish to learn.

4. Here father and mother sit at table together, surrounded by their boys and girls, while among the Turks this is unallowable.

5. Once it was thought preposterous for a woman to lift her voice in public, and the first woman who did it, out of the Friends Society, was hissed and derided to her grave.

The second example is used to prove that humanity would be better if the sphere of women was different.

> When Cornelia, the mother of Gracchie was asked for her jewels, she brought her sons, exclaiming, 'These are my jewels'. Were any mother, today, to present her sons, in answer to a request for her jewels, it is doubtful whether they would be those of much purer ray than simply tobacoo chewing, tobacco smoking, wine bibbing, God profaning ones. Can water rise higher than its fountain? Let the shackles of unwholesome restraint of public opinion, now surrounding women be broken.

The third example is used in the speech to prove that in our country women have unequal advantages.

> A certain daughter of Massachusetts, was gifted with the art of sculpture. From her earliest girlhood it was showing itself. By and by she chiseled the bust of a gentleman well known there, and placed it in a store, hoping it would attract the attention of some amateur who would offer to her encouragement. Finally it was noticed by an artist who recognized it at once; and, examining it minutely, turning it round and round pronounced it excellent. He inquired who executed it; and being told, exclaimed, 'Pity she's not a man'. Had the Almighty made a mistake, in either not making her a man or in making her a sculpter?

She used the following to illustrate how some women do not admit to themselves their lack of opportunity.

> Some of the daughters of influence, pampered in luxury tell us that they have all the rights and privileges they want; if they had more they wouldn't know what to do with them. A girl closing her school career, expressed regret saying she should now, have nothing to do. 'Why,' said her companion, 'can't you stay at home and make pretty things to wear?'

To judge this pathetic proof we turn to Thonssen and Baird who state that we must determine how fully the speaker took audience characteristics into account in the preparation and presentation of the speech. As we have no written record

of the audience we must attempt to judge the current thinking of the times, and what we already know about Lucinda Stone. We are aided by knowing that Fireman's Hall was often the scene of lecture meetings.

As Lucinda Stone had been teaching at Kalamazoo College for many years we can be fairly certain that her former students would be represented in the audience. The group would be composed of people who were of voting age or above as the lecture series dealt with suffrage. The intellectual and informational status of the audience probably would be above average as it would be composed of former students and townspeople interested in the current problems of the day. As Mrs. Stone had been a successful teacher in the community and her husband the president of the college, the attitude toward her would be favorable. It seems logical to assume that the people in the audience would be inclined to favor a more equal educational opportunity for women. The fact that Kalamazoo College was at that time operating a co-educational school in practice, if not in principle, proves that antagonism must not have been too severe. As this was a public meeting house we can be certain that both sexes would be represented. The fact that the newspaper published this speech in its entirety would lead us to believe that there must have been widespread community interest in the movement.

With these assumptions before us we can now judge the pathetic proof of her speech to determine if Lucinda Stone took into account the audience characteristics. The four pieces of evidence she used would certainly be suited to the age group represented. The five examples drawn from history and her reference to Cornelia, the mother of Gracchie would be understood and appreciated by any audience with some knowledge of history, and literature. As Mr. Stone was forward in her speaking, leaving little doubt as to what her ideas were concerning the "sphere of women", we can judge that the audience held favorable predispositions toward the question. The force and directness of the speech shows that she had evaluated the temper and tone of the occasion as being in accord with the suffrage movement.

In conclusion we can observe that the evidence used in this speech was of an emotional nature. We can judge from what we know of the current thinking of the times that the suffrage movement had just begun. We know that the speech was given in a series of speeches concerned with the movement. We have been assured that Mrs. Stone was a respected teacher of the town with broad experience and knowledge. In examining the evidence she used on the basis of these known facts it appears that it meets the test of pathetic proof.

The second step in analyzing the invention in her speech as to the severity and strictness of the argumentative development is to appraise the arguments. We again turn to

Thonssen and Baird who tell us this can be done by "examining the appeal that the language of the speech makes to the rational and the emotional nature of man". In the four specimens of emotional proof that were used in this speech we find that she was appealing to social responsibility and fair play. She also appeals to the sentiments of the audience in the example she gave of the young sculpter.

To illustrate the appeal to social responsibility we find that in the beginning of the speech she gave historical facts to show how the "sphere of women is governed by the usage of the community". She surrounds these examples in emotional language by the connotation of the words.

> But who, here, would be willing to submit his case to a female judge?
>
> And is not ashamed, for it is customary.
>
> Was hissed and derided to her grave.
>
> Some 'old fogy', who ought to have been drowned before the flood.

She then appeals to the fact that public opinion is still not enlightened in the present day. The fact that women are still shut out from the colleges is as ridiculous as the examples taken from heathendom and history.

The same approach is found in the next section of the speech. After telling the audience of Cornelia calling her sons her jewels she makes the second appeal to social responsibility.

> Were any mother, today, to present her sons, in answer to a request for her jewels, it is doubtful whether they would be those of much purer ray than simply tobacco chewing, tobacco smoking, wine bibbing, God profaning ones. Can water rise higher than its fountain? Let the shackles of unwholesome restraint of public opinion, now surrounding women be broken.

The third example is used to arouse pity in the audience. She tells of the talented young girl denied the privileges of fame.

> Ah, had the Almighty made a mistake, in either not making her a man or in making her a sculpter? But, forsooth, because she was a woman, she must quiet all the glorious aspirations which swelled in her heart.

The last appeal in the speech is to a sense of fair play. She first states that women should, like men be limited only by capacity and qualifications. She then outlines for the audience how this is not the case at the present time.

> Now, if she teach equally well an equal number of pupils the same length of time, she receives one third as much pay.
>
> When she has made vests and trousers, which when offered in market should bring an equal amount let her receive one third as much pay.
>
> Nobody sells provisions or clothing to her any cheaper than to a man, no conductor carries her any cheaper over the railroads.

The arguments throughout the speech are consistent in one regard. Each begins with a portion of a known fact. She then wraps each in language with emotional significance to make her appeal for equal opportunities for women.

In analyzing the speech for craftsmanship we can readily see that it is a speech meant to persuade. The theme is concerned throughout with one idea, that being more equal educational opportunities for women. The arrangement of the speech is referred to by Thonssen and Baird as the "logical method" of arrangement. She first states the problem and then gives the cause of the controversy.

> It is woman's right to do whatever she can do well. It is only the usage of the community where she is placed that orgains for her, her sphere.

She refers to the history of woman's sphere in other situations and then establishes the main issue which deals with public opinion. This issue is developed with proof and argument. The rhetorical order of the discourse can be established in this order; statement of the case, proof, and conclusion. This speech contains no introduction in the rhetorical sense. This is typical of her other speeches and also of her writings. She states her cause and then immediately starts her arguments.

Judged by rhetorical standards exclusive of the effect on the audience, the speech would hold little significance. If we judge by the standards of the times in which it was given, a new light is thrown on the speech and the speechmaker. It is important to keep in mind in making a true evaluation that this speech was given over one hundred years ago. Women did not have suffrage, they were not allowed to enroll in Michigan Colleges, and women on the public platform were the

exception not the rule of the times. In judging the success of the ideas under consideration in this speech, and the contributions made by Lucinda Stone in this work for educational principles, we must conclude that the success of the speech must be interwoven with the success of the whole movement.

The Merits of Co-Education

"The Merits of Co-Education" speech was delivered before the Woman's League in Ann Arbor. It was published in the Detroit Tribune on August 16, 1891. This was the last recorded speech of Lucinda Stone. It was no doubt the last she ever gave. She was seventy-seven years of age when the speech was made. The reforms that she had been associated with during her lifetime had already been put into practice. Women had long since been admitted to Michigan colleges and the women's clubs were already a strong force in Michigan society. In the year previous to the date of this speech the University of Michigan had conferred upon Mrs. Stone an honorary Doctor of Philosophy Degree, the second to be granted by the University to a woman. During her lifetime she had sat in council with the leaders of the suffragettes. Three great leaders of this movement express in letters their regard for her influence on the pressing problems of their day. These letters are preserved in a scrapbook in the Kalamazoo Public Library. The following is a part of a letter written by Julia Ward Howe.

> I would congratulate, not my friend only, but the world in view of the prolongation of so noble and useful a life. An example of the womanly graces, uplifted by energy of belief in all good things and by energy of purpose in all good deeds, may she still be spared to fill the place which she has won in the gratitude and appreciation of the community and especially in those of her fellow workers.

The second letter is written by Mary A. Livermore. It further expresses the esteem with which Mrs. Stone was held by the leaders of the national suffrage movement.

> You have been a power in the educational world, and thousands are today nobler and better men and women because of the right direction you have given their lives. You have been a wonderful leader of women, and have had the courage and insight to utter the right word at the critical moments. Born through struggle and suffering into the broad faith that the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man are the Christianity taught by Christ, you have not hesitated to announce your belief when ostracism was the penalty of such devotion to principles, and then you have made converts to the divineness of your religion by your life of beautiful import.

There has also been preserved a letter from Susan B. Anthony. The letter comes from Rochester, New York and was written for the eightieth birthday celebration.

> Please tender to Mrs. Stone my loving and honoring appreciation of her great work for women; not only Michigan women, but the women of the nation and the world owe her very much for her persistent efforts to secure the perfect equalities of educational opportunities for girls. And what a revolution she has witnessed, we all have witnessed.

By the time this speech was given the contributions she had made had already been recognized, and she had been honored by the institution she was speaking before. With these facts in mind we can be assured that the women of the League would be eager to listen and accept the ideas that Lucinda Stone might present. We are not told if the meeting at the League building was composed of students or alumnae of the university. From the tone of the speech it sounds as though it would be the latter group.

This speech was chosen for analysis because it (1) is the last of her recorded speeches, and (2) is concerned with the problems of co-education.

In evaluating the evidence used in this speech we find that she used three different types. The first comprises the greater part of the speech and is an account of her own personal experience.

> It was my experience in a New England academy that led me to believe in co-education. When I went from there for a time to a ladies' seminary, esteemed as good as any in the state, I felt that I knew things in a different way from that in which the seminary girls knew them. I had been better, more thoroughly and broadly taught in our academy with young men and young women in the same classes. Here there was a man at the head of the school and nearly always there was a lady principal whose recommendation for the place, however, in those days was more her manners than her superior attainments in scholarship. I had been better taught in the academy than I was in the seminary where all the pupils were girls, and where we were closely secluded from all society of gentlemen as we would have been in a convent, guarded from a call from one as though it was a deadly sin. We were forbidden to bow to one in the street, though it might have been a student from our own town.
>
> The school was governed by very strict religious rules. We had prayer meetings without number in the school buildings. We had a great deal of religious instruction at morning prayers at school. But notwithstanding this, there was a greater evasion of rules about meeting gentlemen, more deceitful planning to meet them during our morning walks, greater contrivance to convey notes to the college boys, drop them upon the walk, out of the seminary windows, etc. than I have seen in all the years of going to our academy.

The next section of the speech is used to give testimonial evidence by Mrs. Stanton, a fellow suffragette, from an article appearing in the Arena .

> The true words and deeds of successive generations will yet build up this glorified humanity, fairer than any Parian marble, grander than any colossal sculpture of the East, more exalted than spire or dome, boundless in capacity; in aspiration, limitless as space.

Mrs. Stone continues to build her case with a reference from the Bible. In exploring her speeches and writings we find that taking verses from the Holy Scriptures as illustrations, was a common practice.

> "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers; for thereby some have entertained angels unawares".

To test the foregoing evidence we must judge as to whether it was suited to the audience. In giving evidence from her own personal experience Lucinda Stone chose wisely. Whether the women of the audience were then students of the University or alumnae, nothing would be more interesting to them than to hear of the advantages of co-education from the woman who had done so much to see that they were allowed to enroll at the University. The reference to the article by Mr. Stanton would be appealing to these young women who were some of the first to take advantage of co-education at the University of Michigan. No one but Mrs. Stone could be more qualified to speak of her experiences to this audience.

It is interesting to see how she used this evidence to build her case. She was not only interested in praising the present system and the University; she was still working for a more equal system. As the biographical material in Chapter II relates she was using her influence at this time

to see that more women be admitted to the staff of the college. This speech is actually more concerned with this idea than with the merits of co-education.

She uses her own experiences as an introduction to the main theme of the speech. With Mrs. Stanton as a reference she begins her arguments. She implies that the building of a more perfect humanity can be done by allowing young women of superior ability to be given teaching positions in co-educational systems.

> It is toward the building up of such a humanity that we expect great contributions from Michigan University. We hope that Michigan University will show a hospitality toward some of these women worthy of its high reputation and of the great state that was wise enough to found such a university and just enough to admit all its children, without distinction of sex, to its advantage.

She further builds her case by the quotation from the Bible. She calls it a good scripture to preach from occasionally.

> It grows better in proportion as we ourselves enter into the higher meaning, in which it is not an enjoining of hospitability toward strangers according to the flesh merely, but hospitability towards thoughts, ideas, that may have been heretofore strangers to us; for what is a man or a woman without his or her thought or ideas? If the fleshly visitant might prove angels, those of the mind and soul may turn out to be archangels that we have entertained unawares.

In analyzing the speech for craftsmanship we find that it is first of all a speech to persuade. Her main theme is devoted to the idea that true co-education is not possible without women teachers. The material is given in logical

order. The arrangement is (1) introduction, (2) body, and (3) conclusion. The language of the speech could be easily understood by the audience. We find in this speech that Lucinda Stone used long sentence structure which is characteristic of a writing style rather than a speaking style. The arguments flow easily from step to step, with instant intelligibility. In studying this speech as well as the others analyzed in this thesis we find that she uses a rhetorical question just before making a main point. As this appears it many of her writings we can assume that it is characteristic of her speaking and writing style.

In summary we must take into account that Mrs. Stone was seventy-seven years old when this speech was given. She was speaking at an institution which had recently honored her. She was speaking before young women who were allowed to continue their education because of Mrs. Stone's efforts. The occasion must have been most gratifying.

Views on the New Education

The third speech to be analyzed was given before the Ladies' Library Club of Kalamazoo in 1883. This club grew from the Saturday evening reunions at Mrs. Stone's home to become known as the first organized woman's club in Michigan. The club held its meetings at the Kalamazoo Public Library. It was organized with fifteen members and grew to more than two hundred in the course of a few years.

> Mrs. Stone was made the first leader, which place she held until she began traveling classes abroad. She was commissioned to buy, during her travels, the many fine pictures and cast owned by the club. Ladies from away visiting Kalamazoo were sure to drop into the Ladies Library rooms and its history classes or club if they were in session. Such visits were the suggestions for the establishment of similar classes in many of the cities and villages of the state. She was solicited to organize and conduct classes similar to those connected with the Ladies' Library Association of Kalamazoo in towns throughout the state.[1]

The work she did for this club and for the clubs throughout the state earned her the title of "Mother of Michigan Clubs". The members of the club movement studied art, music, literature, public speaking, parliamentary law, and current events. Mrs. Stone tells us something of the value of this work in one of her "Club Talks".

> And now a word about this post-graduate education that is going on all over the country, especially in our own state. The day is past when learning

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[1] "An Impress on History", Kalamazoo Morning Gazette, March 15, 1900.

is to be considered as the exclusive privilege or appropriate adornment of one sex only.[1]

It was the direct influence of Mrs. Stone that caused the formation of the Michigan State Federation of Women's Clubs. She was honorary president of this organization until her death in 1900. She was also one of the promoters of the General Federation and was one of the three honorary vice-presidents. The other two being Julie Ward Howe and Mrs. J. C. Croly (Jennie June).[2]

This speech was chosen to be analyzed for two reasons: (1) it appears to be a typical speech in the club work phase of her life, and (2) it is concerned with education which was always one of her main interests.

At the time this speech was given Mrs. Stone was sixty-nine years old. She had retired from active teaching in the Kalamazoo College many years before. She had devoted interim years to work with women's clubs and in an effort to have women admitted to the University of Michigan. This speech was published in the Kalamazoo newspaper as were many of her lectures. They were printed under the heading of "Club Talks" and a sampling of these articles is represented in the Appendix of this thesis.

Examining this speech we find that she used evidence of a testimonial nature. This is also true of most of the

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[1] Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, Detroit Post and Tribune, April 5, 1883.

[2] Perry, op. cit., p. 171.

speeches she gave. In the speech to be analyzed she incorporated this evidence into the speech in four different places and used four different sources as authorities: (1) lecturers at a six weeks' summer session school of applied ethics at Plymouth, Massachusetts, (2) Miss Jane Adams of Hull House in Chicago, (3) Mazzini, the Italian reformer, and (4) the president of Bowdoin College in an address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Harvard University. The following excerps from that speech are the testimonial evidence to be analyzed.

> Two years ago in the summer "School of Applied Ethics" a week was given to the consideration of economics in education and social progress, and distinguished lecturers from various parts of our country and from England were called to speak on this subject. By economics in education I suppose is meant, the economy of using all the means and forces at hand to educate a whole people, just as nature calls all her forces into making this beautiful and harmonious world what it is. And in thus pressing into use all her forces, nature regards nothing as great or small.

The following testimonial evidence is given as a quotation from a lecture of Miss Jane Adams of Hull House.

> Hull House as a type of these College settlements endeavors to make a social intercourse with people whom we are wont to call "of the lower grade, the great unwashed, the masses". To make social intercourse with these, expresses the growing sense of the economic unity of society, that is, that we are all parts of the same whole, as the different members of our body are parts of the same human being and that no part is to be cast aside or undervalued.

The third example of evidence is taken from a speech given by the Italian reformer Mazzini whom Lucinda Stone

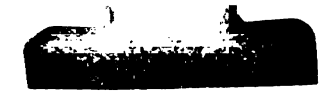
introduces in her speech as the greatest and truest democrat of our day.

> Education is not merely a necessity of true life, by which the individual renews his vital forces of humanity. It is a holy communion with generations dead and living, by which he fecundated all his faculties.

The president of Bowdoin College is quoted at the conclusion of her speech.

> The old idea of working for men is being modified by the larger principle of identification with them. The college settlement will not supersede the mission, but it will put beside it the broader conception of social unity. It will make service mean, not what we are able to do for others, but what we are willing to share with others.

In testing this evidence for consistency we look again to the measure established by Thonssen and Baird. (1) Is the testimony or evidence consistent with itself and with the known laws of logical argument? There appear to be no inconsistencies in the evidence used in this speech. All of the testimony deals with education and all express the same premise that unity must exist in the scheme of educational pursuits. (2) Is the particular authority whose testimony is used to support a contention reliable? In the light of history Miss Adams and the Italian reformer Mazzini must be considered reliable witnesses. As we are not told who the lecturers at the school of applied ethics are, the name of the president of "Bowdoin College". We must make our judgment from what Lucinda Stone tells about them. The lecturers she proclaims as distinguished men from England



and various parts of our country. The president of Bowdoin College had been a guest speaker at the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Harvard University. These facts would lead us to believe that all of the witnesses could be considered reliable. (3) Has the authority had an opportunity to examine and observe the data from which he speaks? Each person giving testimony is connected in one phase or another with the field of education. As they are only attempting to make observations about educational principles we must conclude that they have had ample opportunity to examine and observe the data from which they speak. (4) Does he entertain any prejudices which might influence his judgment on the matter at issue? The testimony given is from individuals who have made no judgment or action disregarding the rights and privileges of others. (5) Is he generally recognized as able and competent in the given field? History again shows that Miss Adams and Guiseppe Mazzini were capable and competent in their field. Miss Jane Adams was the founder of Hull House and Mazzini a patriot leader in the unification of Italy. The other two authorities can be judged as competent in their fields by the fact that Lucinda Stone, a recognized leader in education, used them to illustrate her premise. We can judge also by the fact that they were guest speakers at very substantial institutions and gatherings. (6) Are the facts in the testimony causually related one to the other? The testimony of the authorities bears witness to the fact that

they were all democratic in their thinking. Their cause was that of better educational opportunities for the masses, and by doing so create a more perfect unity and brotherhood among men. (7) Is the source citation or the authority specific? Lucinda Stone was not completely specific in the speech in question or in her other speeches or writings. She never dated her testimony or placed it. Examples such as: "Miss Adams told me the other day", or "Emerson said while visiting in my home", and "Authorities in Education tell us", are common introductions to her evidence. (8) Does other evidence corroborate what is introduced? As Lucinda Stone's life work was dedicated to reform, the testimonial evidence must of necessity come from a select group of individuals. As the reforms she and her colleagues advocated are now common practice we can assume that other evidence corroborates what was introduced. (9) Is the evidence recent? The authorities used in the speech in question were individuals working in the same era and for fundamentally the same goals. To further test the evidence used in this speech it must be determined if Lucinda Stone used proofs that satisfied her listeners. We can judge the composition of the audience by observing the characteristics of present day Women's Clubs. As the meetings are open to all women we can be sure that there would be a great range in age level. As Mrs. Stone had originally organized the club before which she was speaking she would be held in high regard by her listeners. The club

had been organized to further educate its members so they would be receptive to the information she had to give. A great deal of evidence has been given in this thesis to support the fact that Lucinda Stone was loved and esteemed by Michigan Club Women. As this speech was delivered at her own club after traveling extensively abroad the occasion would be one of extreme interest to the ladies present. The proofs used are of such simplicity that they would be readily understood and appreciated by any gathering. Miss Jane Adams was already respected by American women for her work at Hull House. Her use of Giuseppe Mazzini would hold interest as he had died only the year before after being imprisoned for his democratic beliefs. With the knowledge we have of the thinking of the times and the regard with which Mrs. Stone was held, no speaker could have asked for a more sympathetic or receptive audience.

To analyze the arguments used in this speech we must determine (1) the message she was trying to give her audience, and (2) the manner in which she used the evidence to strengthen her main premise. The main theme of the speech is concerned with the value of the college settlements in relation to a new era of education and social life. The evidence used is in support of this theme.

The first evidence of testimony is given from lecturers at the summer "School of Applied Ethics". This evidence supports the main premise by establishing that economics

in education is the economy of using all the means and forces at hand to educate a whole people. She illustrates from nature in its use of all her forces in making a beautiful and harmonious world. She further explains nature's use of the smallest earthworm to harrow and enrich the earth for man's higher uses. She then argues that the men and women who founded the college settlements have used these teachings from nature in establishing the work they are doing among the poor. She ties the point into the whole theme in this manner:

> These founders are thoroughly educated men and women. They have gone beyond a college education and are seeking to carry out the teachings of science and nature.

The second proof is taken from a lecture by Miss Jane Adams. She relates that to make social intercourse with the great masses is to express the growing sense of economic unity of society.

> We are all parts of the same whole, as the different parts of our body are parts of the same human being and that no part is to be case aside or under-valued.

Mrs. Stone uses this to deduce that the college settlements add to the social function in democracy.

> The settlement is an expression of a desire to make the entire social organism democratic, to extent democracy beyond its political expression.

With this established she uses a type of negative argument. Mrs. Stone quotes Thomas Jefferson's words. "I hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal with a right to life, liberty and the pursuit of

happiness." She then elaborates on the fact that he owned scores of slaves at the time he uttered these words. She then compares Jefferson with Mazzini whom she calls the truest democrat of the day. The use of a section of one of his speeches further emphasizes her point.

> Education is not merely a necessity of true life, by which the individual renews his vital forces of humanity. It is a holy communion with generations dead and living, by which he fecundates all his faculties.

She further builds her case that the college settlement is a form of true democracy by again quoting Miss Jane Adams.

> Would you expect the tower of this building to stand firm in midair without this massive structure beneath to support it? No more my friends, can you expect what we call the upper class of society to exist without the support of the masses beneath. I tell you they can do without us better than we can do without them.

She recognized the unity in nature in the poetry of Browning and Lowell. Mrs. Stone's writings and speeches are filled with such examples, and she uses them quite effectively. She concludes the speech with the fourth example of testimonial evidence. It is taken from an address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society delivered by the president of Bowdoin College.

> The college settlement will not supersede the mission, but it will put beside it the broader conception of social unity. It will make service mean, not what we are able to do for others, but what we are willing to share with others.

In appraising the arguments of this speech we can see that Mrs. Stone built her case steadily throughout the speech b. the use of examples and testimony. The arguments are instantly understood, and they are not too numerous or too long to overwhelm the listener. They fit sensibly into the context of the speech and are not given meanings that the authorities had not intended. The authorities are varied and further exemplify the points she was trying to establish.

In analyzing the speech for craftmanship we see that it is a speech meant to persuade. Her main premise is stated in the beginning of the speech.

> College settlements are forerunners of a new era of education and social life.

This is developed by the use of testimonial evidence and examples. The arrangement of the speech is (1) statement of the case, (2) proof, (3) conclusion. There is no introduction section in this speech. The style and invention in the speech is similar to that found in her other speeches. We find that she uses long sentences. This is true of her writings and other speeches. The case she builds runs smoothly and is easily understood, and shows some artistry in composition.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

In summarizing the information presented in this thesis we must first look at the life of Lucinda Stone. Her parents and her up-bringing were such as to make her aware of books and ideas. Her own disappointment in not being allowed to enter college along with her male classmates appears to have had an effect on her adult thinking. Speeches and writings of later life show that her experiences as a governess in the slavery states of the South influenced her ideas about democracy and individual freedoms. Her marriage to Dr. Stone, a man of courage and sympathetic ideals, was certainly an inspiration throughout her life's work. Her experiment with co-education at Kalamazoo College during her teaching years proved to only strengthen her ideas. All of these factors must have had their effect in promoting the stand she took concerning co-education at the University of Michigan. Her work for the organization of Women's Clubs in Michigan was a natural growth of sincere belief that society could be improved by a higher education for women. The fact that she read broadly and traveled extensively illustrates that her mind was keen and her interests diversified throughout

her life. Her biography would lead the reader to believe that her efforts were dedicated to others.

In summarizing her speech and journalistic premises and principles we can conclude that they were nurtured by her childhood and early teaching experiences. The fact that both the first and last recorded speeches that she gave were concerned with the same topic show that her concepts varied little.

When evaluating Lucinda Hinsdale Stone as a speaker we find that she is not remembered as a great orator. Neither are her writings upheld as masterful essays. She is however, remembered as being a strong influence for the Woman's Rights movement of the nineteenth century. The fact that she was given the title of "Mother of Clubs", and the honorary degree that she received, would support this contention. In examining her life's work it seems reasonable to conclude that she was aided in her efforts by a good command of these communicative skills. She reached many through her pen and her speaking engagements. Her influence was felt, recognized, and rewarded through the admittance of women to the University of Michigan and the establishment of women's clubs throughout Michigan.

Recommendations

In doing the investigation for this thesis it became obvious that a great deal of information is yet to be gathered concerning the Woman's Rights movement. Such names as Anna Howard Shaw, Irma T. Jones, Lucia Eames Blount, and Madelon L. Stockwell often appeared in relation to Mrs. Stone's Work. Perhaps these people made contributions to the movement, and perhaps their speaking ability was an asset. Kalamazoo entertained many speakers during the late nineteenth century. An investigation of these speakers might prove valuable to the teacher of speech.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

A Sampling of Speeches Delivered by Lucinda Hinsdale Stone

Woman's Sphere[1]

It is woman's right to do whatever she can do well. It is only the usage of the community where she is placed that ordains for her, her sphere. All history shows this, as well as accounts of the various nations. An early record tells us that Deborah was judge in Israel forty years with satisfaction to the nation. But who, here, would be willing to submit his case to a female judge? Simply because it is not the usage here. But here every man gentleman accompanies his wife, sister or mother to church, and is not ashamed for it is customary. But in heathendon it would be considered scandalous. But the missionary who there walks arm and arm with his wife, is told that a man who will do that, can have no religion which they wish to learn. Here father and mother sit at the table together, surrounded by their boys and girls--while among the Turks this is unallowable. Once it was thought preposterous for a woman to lift her voice in public and the first woman who did it, out of the Friends Society, was hissed and derided to her grave. Now, no one questions woman's right to do so, unless it be some "old fogy", who ought to have been drowned before the flood.

But public opinion is not yet sufficiently enlightened in reference to the "sphere" allotted to woman. She is yet

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[1]Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, "Woman's Sphere", Kalamazoo Gazette, February 16, 1855. (Address delivered at Fireman's Hall).

shut out from the colleges, and all the highest institutes of learning. And the complaint ends not as regards her but it is an injury to her race. Who of us on the face of God's earth, can stand up today, and say that he or she is as fair and noble a specimen of our creator's power and goodness as he might have been, had the hand which moulded his childhood been a wise one. Ah, there is no sadder phrase than, "might have been". Therefore, woman is not alone sunk in the scale of humanity, but man is sunken with her.

When Cornelia, the mother of Gracchie was asked for her jewels, she brought her sons, exclaiming--"These are my jewels". Were any mother, today, to present her sons, in answer to a request for her jewels, it is doubtful whether they would be those of much purer ray than simply tobacco chewing, tobacco-smoking, wine bibbing, God-profaning ones. Can water rise higher than its fountain? Let the shackles of unwholesome restraint of public opinion, now surrounding women be broken.-- Our brother arrives at the period dividing youth from manhood, and looking about, inquires what he can do in life's drama; and according to his heaven given instincts, answers his own query. Every intelligent soul feels a yearning to work out for itself a destiny, the sister no less than the brother. But she may not like him to answer her own questionings.

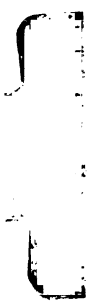
A certain daughter of Massachusetts, was gifted with the art of sculpture. From her earliest girlhood it was

showing itself. By and by she chiseled the busy of a gentleman well known there, and placed it in a store, hoping it would attract the attention of some amateur who would offer to her encouragement. Finally it was noticed by an artist who recognized it at once; and, examining it minutely, turning it round and round, pronounced it excellent. He inquired who executed it: and being told, exclaimed--"Pity she's not a man". Ah, had the Almighty made a mistake, in either not making her a man or in making her a sculpter? But, forsooth, aspiration which swelled her heart.-- Upon standing in the Crystal Palace, beside the finished production of this art the "Greek Slave" in her beauty and power chained so helplessly, (emblematic of the social position of woman); the "Fisher Boy", with the shell at his ear, listening for the far-off echoes of the sea he loved; "Graces", and the "Apostles", I watched the rough and careless man enchained with admiration before them, seeming to grow gentler and better with the sight: The thought would rise of that poor girl, who for the bigatry of public opinion, might have wrought out and placed there just as beautiful statues of blest mankind.

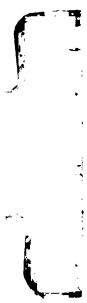
Some of the daughters of affluence, pampered in luxury tell us that they have all the rights and privileges they want; if they had more they wouldn't know what to do with them. In our womanly souls we know they do not speak the truth. A girl closing her school career, expresses regret, saying she should now have nothing to do. "Why," said

her companion, "can't you stay at home and make pretty things to wear?" We do not believe that God had made us to spend our time with no higher aim than bedecking these clay temples of ours. We have felt the undying voice within us crying for knowledge. The stars glitter over our head and we long for the ennobling science, which, with mathematical precision, can predict their coming, and reveal to us their names. The earth, the rocks, the trees, are spread around us, and we long to learn the motives which acluate, and the laws which bind them. But upon knocking at the college door, for which our prosperity is taxed no less than our brothers, while he is admitted, it is coolly shut in our face, and we are told "women and niggers needn't go to college".

Woman's "sphere" should, like that of a man's be limited only by capacity and qualifications. Now, if she doesn't like teaching let her be a seamstress. This is the next best thing. And when she has made vests and trousers, which when offered in market should bring an equal amount let her receive one third as much pay. If she doesn't like this let her go into the kitchens for one dollar a week. This is about the limit of her sphere unless she marries, perhaps for the sake of a home, one she does not love. Why is she so poorly paid? Nobody sells provisions or clothing to her any cheaper than to a man no conductor carries her any cheaper over the railroads.



In conclusion, let the woman first get knowledge for this is power. To this end let them wear last years bonnets if need be, and unfashionable clothing, to buy books, good books which will instruct; and having got knowledge, get money--not to be like the man with the muck rake, who could never look up, and knew no brighter pleasure than that of getting--not to hoard it, but for its uses. It is the golden key which Emerson calls it, admitting to picture galleries, academics of arts and sciences, home and foreign travel--and will buy positions, and a home with all the furnishing as your own.



The Merits of Co-Education[1]

It was my experience in a New England academy that led me to believe in co-education. When I went from there for a time to a ladies' seminary, esteemed as good as any in the state, I felt that I knew things in a different way from that in which the seminary girls knew them. I had been better, more thoroughly and broadly taught in our academy with yount men and young women in the same classes. Here there was a man at the head of the school and nearly always there was a lady principal whose recommendation for the place, however, in those days was more her manners than her superior attainments in scholarship. I had been better taught in the academy than I was in the seminary where all the pupils were girls, and where we were closely secluded from all society of gentlemen as we would have been in a convent, guarded from a call from one as though it was a deadly sin. We were forbidden to bow to one in the street, though it might have been a student from our own town.

The school was governed by a very strict religious rule. We had prayer meetings without number in the school buildings. We had a great deal of religious instruction at morning prayers at school. But notwithstanding this, there was greater evasion of rules about meeting gentlemen, more

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[1]Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, "The Merits of Co-Education", Detroit Tribune, August 16, 1891. (Speech delivered before Woman's League, Ann Arbor.)

deceitful planning to meet them during our morning walks, greater contrivance to convey notes to the college boys, drop them upon the walk, out of the seminary windows, etc. than I have seen in all the years of going to our academy. Hence, my experience taught me that it was folly to try to controvene the laws of nature. The stricter the laws against all association of young men and young women will seek each other out in some way. As a teacher it became a study for me how best to direct their association during those years when both are pursuing an education. Plans for doing this have been my study during years of my life, and I have visited many schools to see the working of various systems.

We are coming upon new times: the era for woman's education has just been opened; new ideas about it are going to make a new world for us. As Mrs. Stanton says in her grand article in the last Arena: "The true words and deeds of successive generations will yet build up this glorified humanity, fairer than any Parian marble, grander than any colossal sculpture of the East, more exalted than spire of dome, boundless in capacity, in aspiration, limitless as space." It is toward the building up of such a humanity that we expect great contributions from Michigan University. "But where are you going to get the woman to fill these places? was asked me the other day by a man of the old school, who just because he had never thought of the subject was very incredulous as to the possibilities of woman to make themselves fit for any such place.

We feel and hope that Michigan University will contribute some of these women worthy of the school's high reputation and of the great state that was wise enough to found such a university and just enough to admit all its children, without distinction of sex, to its advantages.

"Be not forgetful to entertain strangers; for thereby some had entertained angels unawares" is a good scripture to preach from occasionally in these times, and it has grown better in proportion as we ourselves enter into its higher meaning, in which it is not an adjoining of hospitality towards thoughts, ideas, that may have been here, are strangers to us; for what is a man or a woman without his or her thoughts or ideas? If the fleshly visitants might prove "angels", those of the mind and soul may turn out to be archanagels that we have entertained unawares. Verily, my friends, we are come upon new times. Let us at least walk with out faces toward the light and live in the truth, for so only can we know if "life is worth living".

Views on the New Education[1]

This subject has been one of great interest and much study and reading to me for a long time. These college settlements seem like forerunners of a new era of education and social life--little deposits, like the leaven which the woman hid in three measures of meal, I believe they are destined to leaven and change society, in a way that none of us yet begin to comprehend. They are among the instrumentalities to save us lest we perish as a nation.

Two years ago in the summer "School of Applied Ethics", which meets during six weeks of the summer at Plymouth, Mass., a week was given to the consideration of economics in education and social progress, and distinguished lecturers from various parts of our country and from England were called to speak on this subject. By economics in education I suppose is meant, the economy of using all the means and forces at hand to educate a whole people, just as nature calls all her forces into use to make this beautiful and harmonious world what it is. And in thus pressing into use all her forces, nature regards nothing as great or small. As it seems her finest work is expended on the smallest things; the most insignificant things, as they seem to us, are forced to produce great results. There is a great lesson in the blossom

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[1]Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, "Views on the New Education", Kalamazoo Gazette. (Speech delivered before Kalamazoo Ladies' Library Club.)

of the beautiful white lily above black and fetid mud. Nature has known how to change those repulsive elements into a thing of sweet odor, and of a beauty that is a joy forever.

So with the earthworm, the lowest of the animal creation it would seem, a creature without eyes or ears or hands, nature has ordained it as her great agriculturist. These wriggling worms plow and harrow the earth as no farmer's machine can do and enrich it for man's higher uses. They by no means live in the rain.

Wise men and women who have founded these settlements in the slums of our great cities, like Hull House in Chicago, Andover House in Boston, Rivington Street Settlement in New York and similar settlements in other large cities, have seized upon these teachings of nature and are seeking to supply them in their work among men--human beings.

These founders are thoroughly educated as men and women. They have gone beyond a college education and are seeking to carry out the teachings of science and nature.

Miss Addams in her lecture upon economics in education, says that Hull House as a type of these College settlements endeavors to make a social intercourse (with people whom we are want to call "of the lower grade", "the great unwashed", "the masses", etc.) to make social intercourse with these, express the growing sense of the economic unity of society--that is, that we are all parts of the same whole, as the different members of our body are parts of the same

human being and that no part is to be cast aside or undervalued.

It is the effort in this new mode of education through college settlements among these so called "lower classes", to add the social function in democracy. The settlement is an expression of a desire to make the entire social organism democratic, to extend democracy beyond its political expression. Men go among these people to get their votes, are often very familiar with them, descend to the lowest demagogism for this object. The idea is can't we associate with them for something better than this? Cannot we give them of our very best and just as freely receiving from them what they have to give us.

Thomas Jefferson uttered those immortal words: "I hold it as a self evident truth that all men are created equal with a right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness", he builded better than he knew. When he uttered those words he was the owner of scores of slaves. Did he recognize those slaves as human beings, men and women? If he had been asked that question he doubtless would not have said that they were not human beings, but in practice he did not so recognize them as such, and it is said at the very time when our Declaration of Independence was written and at his inspiration, Thomas Jefferson was legislating in the House of Burgesses in Virginia as to the danger of allowing slaves to learn to read, and meditating laws as to the punishment that should

be given a slave who should be found guilty of trying to do this and of the fine that might legally be imposed upon a master who should allow his slaves to read.

What did this great man know of a "right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness?" But Mazzini, to who, thank God, I once had the privilege of listening, Mazzini, who was the greatest and truest democrat of our day, said: "Education is not merely a necessity of true life, by which the individual renews his vital forces of humanity. It is a holy communion with generations dead and living, by which he fecundated all his faculties". Miss Adams said to me, "I don't want anybody to think that it is charity that has prompted me to come to live among these people in the slums of Chicago; they give me far more than I can give them and I am finding everyday that I live among them that we are all very much alike, that we all have the same little envyings and jealousies, and all of us have sparks of the higher good within us." She said in a lecture given at the Auditorium in Chicago: "Would you expect the tower of this building to stand firm in mid air without this massive structure beneath to support it? No more my friends, can you expect what we call the upper class of society to exist without the support of the masses beneath. I tell you they can do without us better than we can do without them.

To illustrate how a poet and an artist sees the unity of all the powers of art to produce a great and beautiful

result, I wish each one of you would read Brownings' descriptions of this in his great poem, "Abt Vogler", when he sees his beautiful palace with its "rampired walls of gold, transparent as glass" rise before him, called up by musical sounds.

This is a fact that science is now demonstrating, that musical sounds do call forth both forms and color. "Ah, one and all how they helped", exclaims the poet; "would dispart now, and now combine. Jealous to hasten the work, heighten the master his praise". Thus this great poet sees and describes every musical sound as of equal use in building this great palace, just as our workers among the poor, see each one of these little despised ones, if redeemed and set in his or her place, of as much importance, as much use as the "four hundred" of New York; or more use indeed, than the useless and idle rich.

Lowell's wonderful poem of "Sir Launfals' Vision" was written fifty years ago, and the idea it seems to me of just what is now becoming real and true in this new educational work among the poor. Beautifully, wonderfully does this great poet describe the good effect of a real communion between the noble knight, Sir Launfal, "who caged his young life up in a gilded mail" and went through all lands searching for the "Holy Grail" the material cup out of which Christ drank with his disciples-which real communion cup was found only when he shared his crust of coarse, brown bread

and water out of a wooden bowl with the leper to whom he had at first tossed a piece of gold in scorn, learning at last that

"The Holy Supper is kept, indeed,
In whatso we share with anothers needs."

Said the recently elected president of Bowdoin College in an address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Harvard last year: "The old idea of working for men is being modified by the larger principle of identification with them. The college settlement will not supersede the mission, but it will put beside it the broader conception of social unity. It will make service mean, not what we are able to do for others, but what we are willing to share with others.

Loving Cup[1]

My dear friends and sisters of the Twentieth Century Club: I suppose you intended this scene as a modest kindly and loving surprise to me, but to be wholly frank with you, our honored vice president, who has shifted the real responsibilities as president from my shoulders to hers, especially during the last club year, knowing my weakness in such occasions as this: yesterday at five o'clock she most kindly came in and gave me a slight hint of coming events in order to steady me a little, and give me a chance to prepare myself to tell the ladies at the supper table something of the history of the "Loving Cup" so kindly and generously presented to us at this time.

I have not been able to trace historically to its first use the "Loving Cup" but can fancy that, like the communion cup of the churches, it was first used at a supper, not unlike this, as an expression and pledge of social equality, amity, and brotherly friendships, and I can imagine it was suggested by the communion or Holy Grail used by our Lord at his last supper with beloved friends and disciples. This takes us back to the most touching and tender scene that I know of in all history: that upper chamber in Jerusalem, a scene most simple and humble in itself, but which has changed the fortunes and character of the whole world and

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[1]Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, "Loving Cup". (Supper meeting of the Twentieth Century Club, Kalamazoo, Michigan.)

have been the inspiration of love and genius through all the ages since that time. That we might better bring that scene before us, I have placed a picture of it in our supper room today, a picture of that scene as delineated by Leonardo Da Vinci, by many considered the greatest painter in the world, and that inspired by a loving woman, whose story I should like to tell you sometime on some club day.

The "Loving Cup" was made at first with three handles, signifying, it seems to me, that love is not confined to a sentiment only to two persons, and, to me, it seems at this time a blessed reminder of the moral law of the "survival of the fittest", for while the ecclesiastical and church interdicts and anathemas and stake-burning of the age on account of heretical opinions, which were nothing but opinions differing from one's own, in most instances, have passed away; the "Loving Cup" of friendship remains to this day a custom not only of churches, but social clubs, whose members can chant in joyous unison our beloved Whittier's hymn:

> That all the good the past hath had
> Remains to make our own time glad
> Our common daily life divine
> And every land a Palestine.

APPENDIX B

A Sampling of Newspaper Articles Written by Lucinda Hinsdale Stone

Reminiscences of Great Orators[1]

I have heard, in the British Parliament, Gladstone, John, Bright and Disraeli. The last, I must confess seemed more keen and sarcastic than really great of eloquence. I recollect his "dudish" dress, particularly his exquisite boots, and his significant gestures with his foot, which impressed me. It was like the French satin chaussure of the 18th century, before men had come to think of manly things instead of the frippery of mere society women.

I heard it whispered that Lady Beaconsfield was present the day I watched Lord Beaconsfield through the lattice that veils the faces of the women in the Parliament houses. (We call it heathenish for Egyptian women to veil their faces, but has not the network veil to hide women in the Parliament houses in London the same genealogy as the veil of Egyptian women?) "That was her carriage at the entrance," whispered one; another adds, "And that was Lord Beaconsfield himself ready to help her descend from it."

These remarks gave rise to a little continuous gossip in our pension, one telling the story of Lord Beaconsfield's mercenary motives in marrying the rich widow; another preferring to believe in their devoted attachment, and that

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[1]Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, "Reminiscences of Great Orators," The Woman's Journal, Dec. 3, 1893.

"he played a most successful game, at any rate, for himself and his race. Think what he had done for them, and in doing it for them he had done it for the cause of freedom, justice, and right in the world."

The speeches of these men were manly, honest, honorable, but in no way remarkable. They did not make me clutch the seat before me to steady myself, as I had done when listening to Wendell Phillips, Garrison, or Charles Sumner. They had not such a great subject in hand. I had heard also Lucy Stone, Mrs. Stanton, Mrs. Livermore, and Lydia Maria Child plead the cause of the really wronged. In comparison with the true eloquence of the latter, that of the former, was not to me greatly moving. "It was pretty thin," as Lucy Stone once whispered to me, when sitting beside me and listening to a rhetorical speech made, as it seemed to me "to be heard of men".

I went to hear these renowned Englishmen make a speech in Parliament; but it is not a speech, however, that the soul craves. It seemed to me like a student's committed oration, compared with the moving eloquence of Mazzini, and I had to listen to it through a network forbidding to women the clear light of day. There was something in Mazzini that was not in them, nor their subject. It is only, as Browning says:

> In that act where my soul was thy servant, O Lord,
> That thy word was my word.

It is only when a human soul is, and feels itself to be, as old Sojourner Truth had caught it, a part of the Infinite, that it can deliver God's message, the message that must be heard. "For is not my word like fire, and like a hammer that breaketh the flinty rock in pieces?" Such seemed the words of Mazzini.

I have heard Castelar, and some of his great compeers. Sagasta, of recent fame, was one, though then I had never heard of him. I heard Castelar somewhat at a loss, because of the language, but his Spanish was as understandable as that of an opera by which we are moved. Castelar has well been called the Wendell Phillips of Spain. There was eloquence in his face, manner, and gestures; indeed, he talked all over," as he is said to have done. Castelar loved and revered his mother, and he cared for his sisters. I saw him at an opera with his sister. He loved little children. I heard Charles Bradlaugh say once, when I entertained him on a lecturing tour, that Castelar had the most tender heart for a little child that he ever knew a man to possess. And yet Castelar was a Spaniard, in whom we can see little good or tenderness. But in regard to a little child he had a heart of a Master. He was a plain and unpretentious republican, and was living with his sister at that time in a very common, simple chamber in which more unpretentious style than custom would allow one of our Senators and his wife to live; but I do believe there is another country in the world where

money weighs so much in the scale of respectability, or does so much to give one place in society, or power to obtain place, whether fitted for it or not, as in our boasted Republic. It is a pity this is true, but I fear it is so.

I was privileged to see and hear Victor Hugo once, one of the great occasions of his life. I learned from the papers that Victor Hugo and Gambetta would both pronounce a eulogy on the wife of Louis Blance, the great French republican. That was something I could not miss. Starting from my pension at 8 A. M. I secured the opportunity of seeing and hearing under circumstances which could not have been better.

Through inquiry and direction, I found the grave which was to receive the body of this remarkable woman. So near was my standing place that I could hear every gesture, and see the play of every feature, which was much, for Victor Hugo's was soul eloquence. I have often asked myself whether, by any effort of my own, any soul's strong desire or power of thought so much talked about in these days, I had brought myself this wondrous privilege.

I was not disappointed in Victor Hugo, anymore than I had been in Mazzini. He surpassed my expectations. His face awed me, and it was because something greater than what he said or what was visible seemed to lie behind his words and gestures. He looked like the archangel Michael on the summit of the Castle of St. Angelo, in Rome, sheathing his

sword to stay the pestilence which was devastating the city. I did not half comprehend him, great as he seemed even then. He was an ideal beyond what I could take in. His reverence for woman, his comprehension of what she might be as a power and a holy influence in the world, of her equality with man as a soul from God, grow upon me every time I recall that occasion. I seemed to enter into the spirit of it. As Emerson says "Forever and ever the influx of this better and universal self, breathed through all great souls, is new and unsearchable. The spark from within, as Jesus did." Thank God, I have heard a few of them and in our own country.

Victor Hugo and Gambetta both lifted the immense floral wreath, which seemed fresh, as if glistening with dew and laid it upon the fresh grave. After telling in the most eloquent terms what she had been to her husband, the inspiration of his ideas of liberty and brotherhood of all men and all races, Victor Hugo said, "The beloved dead surround us, are always present, listen to our talk about them, enjoy our remembrance of them. The thought of the dead is for me a joy, not in the slightest degree a sorrow."

I think I more gratefully recall the privilege of listening to that great man's estimate of what a woman may be, than any other privilege of my life.

The Origin and History of the Fast of Lent and the Feast of Easter[1]

In searching out the origin of many of our fixed customs and church fetes and fasts, we shall find confirmation of Solomon's wisdom and knowledge, when he assures us that "there is nothing new under the sun." I have never sought out the history of any saint's day, any church fete or fast, but I have found its real beginning ante-dating by centuries the period in which such a saint lived, or the occurrence of the event, which is commonly assigned as that which gave rise to the establishment of the fete or fast.

In one of the old Miracle Plays, we find Herod swearing by Mahomed, who lived 700 years after the wrathful Herod had ceased to trouble the world, and promising to make one of his counselors pope, if he will aid him in getting possession of the child Jesus whom he wishes to destroy. In the same play, Noah's wife swears by the Virgin Mary that she will not go into the ark, etc. We, in our enlightened age, laugh at such absurd anachronisms, but in straining our beverage to exclude such gnats of superstition, in accepting unexamined assertions, we may sometimes swallow a camel.

I can see no possible objection to the observance of Lent--an abstainance from meat, or any indulgence, by putting

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[1]Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, "The Origin and History of the Fast of Lent and the Feast of Easter," Kalamazoo Post and Tribune, April 9, 1881.

something better in its place, for a space of forty days, and we should certainly be the losers in the refinements and the arts that embellish life were we to shut down on all our beautiful Easter customs of adorning our church altars and pulpits with Easter flowers and hailing the return of the day with hallelujahs of glorious music; but neither profit, enjoyment, or true religiousness need be in the least abated by accepting the truth about both Lent and Easter, viz., that neither was in its origin a Christian observance, but both by centuries ante-date the birth of Christ. Of these customs, as of individual thoughts and attainments, we must confess that:

> Borrowers and beggars are we all;
> Art, science, thought, grow up from age to age.
> And all are polimpsesus upon time's page.
> Our loftiest pedestals are tombs--the seed
> Sown by the dead and living in us grows;
> And what we are is tinged by what we know.
> As from the air our sustenance we draw,
> So from all thought our private thought we feed;
> Germs strewn from other minds within us breed,
> And no one is his own unaided law."

If we look in our encyclopediaes, we shall be informed of Lent, first, that the origin of the word is uncertain, some deriving its name from the Saxon Leneten, implying spring, or the season when the days begin to lengthen; others from the German leinen, to thaw; we shall be informed also that the object of the fast has been a subject upon which learned writers have not been at all agreed. It has generally been regarded as a preparation for Easter, a time set apart for

repentance of the sins of the past year, while the number, forty, of the days devoted to it is piously commemorative of the Saviour's forty days' fasting in the wilderness, the forty days of the deluge, the forty years' wanderings of the Jews in the wilderness, and several other events marked by a duration of time represented by the number forty.

We shall also learn from our encyclopediaes that while some of the early fathers maintained that it was established by the Apostles, other Christian writers held that it was not established until the second or third century, and certainly was not made obligatory by the church earlier than the year 250 of our era.

But going back of this time, by a little search we shall find this Christian observance of Lent only an appropriation of a pagan custom of a religion that recognized the stars as depositaries or ministers of the Sun God's power, and as such regarded them as objects of worship.

Our ancestors were close and shrewd observers; they studied the heavens and noted the connections of certain positions of the stars, with natural phenomena. They observed the fact that when the sun entered certain clusters or constellations of stars, he began to lose his warmth perhaps; or the skies became clouded, and the rains came, and they reasoned that the Sun God, whom they conceived to be possessed of a personal existence in a physical form, had delegated his powers to the stars, his ministers, to pour out

the rain upon the earth, and they represented this God of the rainy season as a man pouring out from a mighty vase rivers of water. This was the god Aquarius. He was the god who controlled the influences of the stars of this constellation which, on the zodiacal circle, still in use in our astronomies and almanacs, we call Aquarius, and in all art, as among the signs of the zodiac, represent as a river god.

Next, our forefathers reasoned that if the earth was deluged with water by the god who ruled over this month, the god of the next constellation must pass through the water, and consequently, they said, he feeds on fish; and the next deduction was, that humble mortals would best worship, flatter and propitiate that god by imitating him; and they consecrated the month corresponding with the constellation Pisces or the Fishes, to the fish god Dagon, and his worshippers also fed on fishes. This constellation corresponds to our February, which, from the most ancient times, was considered a month ruled by stars of evil omen. It is the month when the fruits of the past year had been consumed, and famine threatened the people. Of the herds that had aministered to the necessities of men, there were scarcely enough left to perpetuate their kind, still less to feed upon; men were driven to the forests for game and more especially to the rivers, at this season abounding in fish. Men therefore fasted from meat and fed from fish. Through fears for the future (for our ancestors had not arrived at a confident belief in the constancy

of nature; they had never been quite sure that summer would follow the winter of the year, harvest follow seed time) they multiplied their prayers and devotions, and thus the season became especially consecrated to fasting and prayer. As biblical scholars have mapped out the life of Christ in books called "Gospel Harmonies", this period corresponds to Christ's fast in the wilderness, in which observance he conformed to an established custom for the initiating of prophets and religious teachers. In it the Great Teacher recognized no harm, saw no reason for a departure from an ancient established custom, an observance founded on the phenomena of Nature. To an old custom he attached a higher meaning, into it infused a new and more spiritual thought, thus exemplifying that of which he assured his disciples--that he came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it. Such is the spirit, the keynote of all his teachings, and it is the same of all great, living, inspiring teachers.

'Tis the small nature dares not to receive,
Having no wealth within from which to give.
The greatest minds the greatest debts may owe,
And by their taking make a thing to live.

Thus some learned men account for the origin of the Lenten fast--that upon which the church engrafted the Lent observed day. In adopting an established observance I cannot suppose that the church fathers meant to abrogate the old or palm off their fast as a new idea, but they meant to Christianize and consecrate to higher uses an old custom and old

ceremonies, and in the course of time the memory of the old was lost or became covered up by new creations.

There are some curious debris of these old signs of evil import associated with the mouth of fishes. In the British Museum among the Scriptures brought from ancient Assyria, from Ninevah and Babylon, may be seen priests resembling a fish, covered with an ornamentation of the scale of fishes, and running off at the bottom of the robe into a fish's tail. The mitre, or headdress, too, of others would seem to be a cimulachre of the head and mouth of a fish, and it is said by some very learned writers on symbolism that the bishop's mitre now in use may be traced to this origin.

Another curious remnant of an old religion may, I fancy, be seen in some of the most obscure hamlets of Switzerland, where the houses, instead of being covered with what we call clapboards, are wholly encased with shingles not more than two inches wide, rounded at the end, and overlapping each other, so as to resemble the scales of a fish. I have myself made much inquiry of the people living in these hamlets, so as to get, if possible, what was the idea or thought of this kind of covering to their houses, and I have been told sometimes that it was only Alterhumlich (according to the customs of their forefathers), and again, that there was an old superstition that such a covering was in some way a protection, that it insured good luck, or kept off evil influences. In

short, to many inquiries made on the subject I have received such answer that I could not fail to see that in these houses, shingled as it were with fish-scales, a strong, inherited superstition of the evil import of the fish signs of the Lenten month, and an endeavor to propitiate the god who ruled over this month, and an endeavor to propitiate the god who ruled over this month, by this imitation of the form in which their ancestors had pictured him.

The feast of Easter that we observe to commemorate the resurrection of Christ from the dead, whatever may be its true origin, is celebrated on the same day as that on which the ancient Romans kept their feast of the vernal equinox, called the Hilaria (whence comes the word hilarity), kept by them in commemoration of the triumph of the Prince of Light over the Prince of Darkness, of Day over Night.

Macrobius, a learned scholar of the fifth century, who wrote a book on Roman mythology and a history of both pagan and Christian festivals, notes the exact concurrence of the festival of the Hilaria with the Christian Paschal feast of Easter (as we have appended it to the Saxon name), and the entire similarity of the ceremonies of the celebration. He describes it as the gayest, most joyous of the Christian festivals--all its songs consecrated to joy. Alleluia is a cry of joy, "and this cry", he says, "is constantly repeated. They chant in it 'Behold the day which the Lord hath made; rejoice; this is the day'", etc. They repeat incessantly the

name of the Lamb, and invite young men and maidens, as did Horace in his poem in honor of Apollo, to sing to the King of Heaven, conqueror of the shades of night, who now enters into his glory. The priests are clothed in white, the color of the God of Light or the Sun. They multiply the lights in the churches, the temples gleam with torches, and all is expressive of the joy of a triumph." "And what", he asks, "is this triumph? It is that of the Hilaria, because at this time the sun assures to the Day the empire over Night. What do they celebrate? The defeat of the Prince of Darkness and of the serpent who introduced evil into the world, and the glory of God who has transported us into the Kingdom of Light."

Dupuis, a very learned French writer of the last century, gives the history of this feast from the earliest times.

He says, "La Paque des Cretiens est fixee necessarement a l'equinox." The Christian Easter is necessarily fixed at the equinox." The reason that caused them to fix it at this time is, that this is the feast of the passage of the sun to the northern regions, and to the six signs that compose the kingdom of Ormond, or the kingdom of Light. He says the word Phase or Paque (our Easter) was always translated by festum transitus, or feast of the passage of the Lord, and that they gave to the sun the epithet of Adonis or Lord, and in the consecration of the seven days of the week to the seven planets,

the day of the sun, or Dies Solis, was called the Lord's Day, or Dies Dominca, while the others retained simply the name of their planet. Lunde, the day of la Lune (exchanged for the Saxon Moon, or Moon's day), and so on, each retaining in English, the name of the Saxon god after which the planet was named.

This feast to celebrate the passage of the sun to the Boreal regions was first fixed at the eighth ante kalend of April, or precisely three months, day for day and hour for hour after the birth of the sun, or Christmas. This date corresponded to the first of the Jewish month Nisan, and the 25th of our March when the sun god was the autumnal equinox. And we find the original of the four ages of man, a favorite subject with the great painters of the fifteenth century; also of Shakespeare's wonderful and oft-quoted picture of the ages which he has only extended to the sacred number seven, the meuling infant, the whining school boy, the sighing lover, the bearded soldier, the justice with eyes serene, the sixth age shifting into the lean and slippered pantaloons, and the last "second childishness, sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything."

Surely there is nothing new under the sun, and Shakespeare was not alone in borrowing or, rather assimilating to his own use what inspired him.

This Easter festival, fixed originally on the 25th of March, has been changed, not taken out of the sign of the

Lamb but put upon the Sunday following the new moon of that equinoctial sign.

During the middle ages Easter was not only regarded as the birthday of Christ, but the day on which the angel Gabriel saluted Mary, announcing to her that she should become the mother of the Saviour of the world, the day also of the universal judgment. It was the day that God finished the work of creation of the heavens, the earth, and in which he let loose the winds of heaven.

There are many most interesting and illuminating facts connected with the history of this day that will help one to understand, and therefore more highly to enjoy, the grand ceremonies of its celebration, not only in great churches like St. Peter's, but in the more simple floral adornments of our churches, and that without at all lessening our reverence for the religious, Christian observance of the day.

Such knowledge wonderfully illuminates allusions in poetry and literature, and many of the symbols of art are dead letters without a knowledge of old religious ideas in which they had their origin. Passages of Scripture through such knowledge are invested with a new meaning. In short, in this, as in everything, knowledge is not only power but wealth--an abiding, intellectual and spiritual treasure.

The Meaning of the Sibyls Alternating with the Scripture Prophets on the Ceiling of the Sistine Chapel[1]

Christmas and New Year's over, occasions that interrupted a Club Talk on the Sistine Chapel called out by some questions asked the writer, I go back to that talk of December 19, to continue the thread then broken, illustrating the meaning of the Sibyls, whose inspiration Michael Angelo has recognized as equal with that of the Scripture prophets, by alternating the former with the latter, confessedly inspired.

And first, a word as to the sibyls themselves, these strange beings of legend and fable--women supposed to be inspired and as important in Greek and Roman mythology as are the Scripture prophets to the Jewish and Christian societies.

According to highly ancient authority there were ten of them, though some writers mention only four, and the etymology of the name sibyl is traced as signifying "will or council of God." Allowing ten of them, they are mentioned in the following order:

The first or oldest, the Persian sibyl; she is mentioned by Nicanor, an historian of Alexander the Great. The second was the Libyan, alluded to by Euripides in one of his plays. The third was the Delphian; the fourth, the Cumean.

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[1]Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, "The Meaning of the Sibyls Alternating with the Scripture Prophets on the Ceiling of the Sistine Chapel," Kalamazoo Post and Tribune, January 9, 1881.

She figures prominently in the sixth book of Virgil'e Eneid, as the conductor of the poet into the realms of shade. The fifth was Erythraen, claimed by Apollodorus as a native of the city of Erythae, though by some she was said to have been born in Babylon, and hence is often called the Babylonian sibyl. She is said to have uttered very important predictions about the Trojan war, which were strictly fulfilled. The sixth was the Samian. The seventh was Cyma, of Acolis, and was called by several names. The eighth was the Hellespontine, born in the Trojan territory. The ninth was Phrygian, who gave oracles at Ancyra. The tenth was the Tiburtine, born at Tibur in Italy. Four of them form the sibylline group, painted by Raphael in the church of Santa Maria della Pace, in Rome, viz., the Cumean, the Persian, the Phrygian and the Tiburtine.

Of all of these by far the most celebrated is the Cumean. She it was of whom, according to fable, Apolla became enamored, offered to give her whatever she should ask. The Sibyl demanded to live as many years as she had grains of sand in her hand, but unfortunately forgot to ask for the enjoyment of health and the bloom of beauty, of which she was then in possession. The God granted her request, but she refused to listen to his suit, and the gift of long life, unaccompanied by freshness and beauty, therefore proved a burden rather than a blessing. This story may, I think, be regarded as an endeavor to illustrate a fact well understood in human

experience, that things most eagerly desired often prove a curse instead of a blessing, etc. Of the Cumean sibyl a legend is that she came from the east, appearing in a sort of Melchizedeh fashion before Tarquin, the Proud, offered him some books for sale. The price she asked seemed to the king exorbitant and he refused to buy them. She then went away and after burning three of them returned with the same haughty bearing, demanded the same price for the remaining six as she had demanded for nine. This was again refused, whereupon she destroyed three more, and, once more returning, offered to sell him the three, but without any abatement of the original price. Tarquin, struck by her pertinacity, bought the books, which upon examination were found to contain important advice concerning the religion and policy of the Romans. These were preserved in a subterranean chamber of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline, and were at first entrusted to two officials, the duuimvirs of sacred things, appointed by the senate, who alone had the right to inspect them. The number of these officers, keepers of the sacred books, was afterwards increased to ten, and under the dictatorship of Sulla, to fifteen. The story of these books, as historians and learned scholars have with much study and research unraveled it, is interesting and instructive in the history of the progress of thought and the liberation of the human mind from the impositions of priestcraft, but it does not belong to our subject. Clubs that are interested in studying up the subject can consult encyclopediaes. Something

on the subject will also be found in Dr. Von Dollinger's "Fables About the Popes in the Middle Ages", and a very elaborate article in an old number of Littel's Living Age, the exact date of which I have not the reference at hand at present.

But as to the meaning of the Sibyls, which Michael Angelo has alternated with the prophets on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, for an understanding of which the above may serve as some help, there would probably be as many interpretations as there are those who carefully study them, and, as was said in a former article: "The simplest explanations have the same right as the understanding that fancies that it can comprehend the most profoundly."

Some remarks of Grimm, in his life of Michael Angelo, are worth careful reading and thought. He says:

> There is an epoch in the legends of nations when the union of the human and the divine produced a giant-like generation of Titans, long anterior to our own, and who, dwelling for centuries in deep caverns, are to arise anew at some future day. It is as if Michael Angelo had seen this creation in imagination when he painted the sibyls and prophets. Reading, meditating, or transported to rapture, they sit in their places there, as if thoughts filled them over which they had brooded for ages. One could imagine that these men (the prophets) and women had long ago descended into the hidden clefts of the earth, and, lost in reverie, had, when they had ascended on waking anew, found the earth again pure and untouched and surmised nothing of what had passed in the history of mortals during those ten or twenty thousand years which they had dreamed away.

Michael Angelo knew the Bible. He was also familiar with the ecclesiastical traditions respecting the character

of the sibyls and prophets. Sayings that had been attributed to them and interpreted as prophesies of the coming of Christ, and of the fall of Rome, where so much Christian blood had been shed, were current and believed as genuine in those days. Pagan sibyls were scarcely less at home in the churches than were the prophets and evangelists. Even the pagan gods, Saturn, Jupiter and others, in a church frescoed by Raphael, alternate with the holy prophets of our Scriptures. In one sense, Michael Angelo, like all the artists of his time, painted for his times. In another sense, he saw far beyond his age, and, as Grimm remarks, it would be difficult to perceive in his works how much was borrowed and how much was his own idea.

All twelve figures together, continues Grimm,

> seem to express the human mind lost in biblical mysteries, from the dreamy surmising of things, through every stage of conscious thought up to the beholding of truth itself in an ecstasy of the highest rapture. The idea of representing the degrees of earthly knowledge, accumulating, as it were, in different persons, was not unusual;"

and Michael Angelo was not above receiving hints from others. It is only weak and really inferior minds that fear to receive an idea, catch an inspiration from other minds, or acknowledge their indebtedness to others. As an illustration of this way of accumulating knowledge in different persons, we have seen in numerous instances, in the chapels of churches, the cross vault divided into four triangles. In the center the symbol of the Trinity, sometimes a representation of God

or Christ, was painted, and one of the four evangelists in each triangle. The first, listening to an angel whose words seem to him worth recording; the second appears raising his hand to dip his pen in the ink; the third as he dips it in; the fourth and last as he lays his hand with the pen on the page and begins to write.

Upon such hints as these, for a greater work, Michael Angelo enlarges.

The first of the twelve figures, beginning at the right from the altar, is the prophet Jeremiah. His feet are crossed under him, he is bent forward, supporting the elbow of his left arm against his side, and his hand across his mouth, buried in the beard of his leaning head, the image of the deepest, calmest thought. In the next compartment we see the Persian sibyl, an old woman, holding the book in which she is reading close to her eyes. There is something wonderful in the earnest, weighty intentness expressed in the attitude of this old, old woman. Then comes the prophet Ezekiel. His body is bent forward, his right arm stretched out demonstratively, his left holds an unrolled parchment, his whole manner expresses rapture, exultation. Next to Ezekiel is the prophet Joel, unrolling with both hands a parchment, and "the play of the muscles", says Grimm, "around his beardless mouth, indicate that he is weighing mentally what he has read."

Next is seen sitting in profile, the Erythraean sibyl, a wonderfully beautiful female figure, and the folds

of her dress are in the purest style of classic art. She is bent forward and turning with her right hand the leaves of a book lying before her on a desk. A lamp, hanging by its chains above her, seems being lighted with a torch by a Cupid, or naked boy. Some fancy that the artist meant to represent the boy lighting his torch at her woman's brain, and see in it a delicate, perhaps unconscious, hint of Michael Angelo's indebtedness to and reverence for Victoria Colonna. At the end is Zachariah, entirely absorbed in his book, as if he would never leave off reading. Never was earnestness, intentness so livingly expressed as in these frescoes.

Opposite to the prophet Jeremiah on the other side of the ceiling is the Libyan Sibyl "who," says Grimm, "with a quick motion siezes a book lying behind her, as if she must at once read something in it." Then comes the propnet Daniel, a beautiful youth, and succeeding him the old Cumean sibyl. Like an old person, she places her book far from her, and like the Persian, her attitude expresses an earnestness, an intentness that is patnetic and which fills one with reverence for age. For myself I see in these figures the deep, sad earnestness of the life of the artist, whose pleasure was in work and sacrifice.

Next, and completing the five here introduced by the great artist, is the Delphian sibyl, young and beautiful, with an upturned look of wondering rapture. A gust of wind blows

her hair and disturbs the light drapery that wraps and veils her person.

Last of all is Jonah, almost naked upon the ground. He has just been disgorged from the mouth of a fish, which is dimly outlined behind him.

One may study in photograph these figures and their arrangement for days, and yet find something new in them. Like a work of nature they are ever unfolding something new to one who studies them.

I have drawn some of the foregoing pages and many of the ideas, condensing and abridging as best I could, from Grimm's Life of Michael Angelo.

To me there seems all this and much more expressed in the ceiling of this chapel. To comprehend it, one must comprehend the life of the artist; must feel the troubles which rent his heart while he was pursuing that work. One must also comprehend the spirit of that age. This frescoe is the most wonderful representative of the renaissance that the century produced. There is a livingness, an onward movement, an anchoring to a new life expressed in the figures that startles and fascinates something like the spirit of growth in some of the great cities of our continent. The paintings are not the mere decorations of a great hall or chapel. The figures are living men who have suffered our sorrows, who have experienced life as we have found it. Those old sibyls awaken

one's sympathy, like a life history to which one listens and which moves all the heart and soul within us.

In the ages that have preceded that in which this work was produced it had been thought that man could best serve God by destroying everything that remained of pagan art and ante-Christian civilization; but art had been Michael Angelo's teacher in religion also. He discovered some good in pagan civilization and pagan religion--the same that old legends and myths had grown out of human nature, and therefore they had instructed human souls that no people had been wholly divorced from God; and in his frescoes of the Sistine chapel he says this:

> What earnestness, sincerity, desire for truth, what a search after God is expressed in the attitude and faces of those old sibyls, the Cumean and Persian! The Libyan seems hastening to bring what she has gathered from desert wastes, that the teachings of the sanctuary of the true God might be enriched by truths she can bring.

Says Castellar:

> The humanitarian, conciliatory, and universal spirit of the sixteenth century is seen in these sibyls of paganism, who are raised to the level of the prophets, placed side by side with them, repeating the same sentiments, declaring the same truths, like two separate choirs, whose voices and canticles blend in harmony, and are confounded in the heavens. The same union takes place in the laboratories of the atmosphere, where the vapors exhaled from distant seas are mingled, just as the electric flood leaps from mountain to mountain.

As the books that will enable an individual or a club to get the most nearly possible benefit of sight and a study

of the Sistine chapel itself, I know of nothing better than the description given of the chapel in "Hare's Walks in Rome" to be found in nearly all public libraries at least; "Grimm's Life of Michael Angelo"; some chapters in "Pater's Renaissance"; "Simond's Fine Arts in Italy"; with a study, if possible, of photographs that every club should possess. In this way the subject may be made familiar to persons who have not traveled, and the true culture which an understanding of the times that produced such a work--the great thing to be aimed at--may be gained almost as well in home studies as by travel, and then if the enjoyment of sight is ever added to this there will be a hundred-fold reward for all previous study.

What to See in a Three Month European Trip[1]

A correspondent writes: "If you had three months only to spend abroad, say from the middle of July until the middle of October, where would you spend the time? What countries would you deem it most profitable to see, as you could see them, in that time? What cathedrals in England, besides Westminster and St. Paul's, of course, would you put under the head of must be visited? What on the continent can be put into a three months' trip without trying to take in so much that I shall see nothing well? I am much interested in France and the problems her people are at work upon just now. Should like to see a good deal of that country, but I suppose a good knowledge of French, which means being able to speak and understand the language when spoken, would necessary to make enjoyable and profitable, time in France. I can read French somewhat readily but do not speak it, nor can I understand it when I hear it spoken. But I am much interested in the French people, their industries and their arts, just now, more than any people in Europe, except the poor Irish. Can you suggest a short itinerary for France suited to the time I have at my disposal--give me a few hints in the Post and Tribune that I think might hit others besides myself?"

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[1]Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, "What to See in a Three Month European Trip," Kalamazoo Post and Tribune, June 19, 1881.

To all of which we reply:

By landing at Queenstown you can see so much of Ireland as that port and city will show you, if you take the time to go up to the highest part of the hill and fort that overlooks the grand harbor, and much more, you will get a glimpse of Ireland worth sketching--if no where else--on the tablets of your memory. Then, of course, you will run up to Cork, and thence go to the Blarney Castle and the Irish lakes, all of which can be accomplished in a day and a half or two days. Then if the "poor Irish" are near your heart, as you suggest, you can leave Dublin out of your Ireland itinerary and put in, instead, an excursion up the West coast, reading first Mr. Redpath's letters to the New York Tribune about what he found painfully interesting to see in various places, the geography of which he will give you in his letters, that can, I dare say, be obtained by writing to the Tribune for the papers containing them. Then you can cross over to Giant's Causeway, a most interesting natural wonder, worth seeing; visit Belfast in a single day, see some of the most interesting things about this city--its university, its linen manufactories, bleaching yards, and in a ride in a jaunting car can visit some remarkable Druidical remains two or three miles from the city; and then go from Belfast by steamer to Glasgow, a great, interesting commercial city, whose grand old cathedral, with Scott's "Rob Roy" fresh in mind, do not fail to visit. From Glasgow, or with Glasgow included, one week will give

you a memorable glimpse of the lands of Burns and Scott, of Abbottsford and Dryburgh, of Melrose Abbey and beautiful Edinburgh.

A longer stay in Scotland would be most enjoyable, but Europe is not to be gone over in three months and one must choose that which, for particular reasons, one wants most to see. From Edinburgh you can come to London, taking en route Durham with the old and most interesting cathedrals and a good specimen of the elaborate Norman style of architecture. York, for the true enjoyment of which you want to be read up, as the phrase is, not only the English history, associated with its wonderful Minster, but the older history of the occupation of this city by the Romans under Constantine and his successors. From York you can take in, direct en route to London, Peterborough or Ely cathedrals, whichever you choose, and Cambridge, with the University and a thousand other things of interest, among which will be, I trust, Girton and Newham colleges for women.

Now if you have landed at Queenstown by the middle of July you may have done this pretty well and be in London the first of August, before the great annual exhibitions of art are closed. To be in London while the Royal Academy is open is very desirable, for this is one of the great attractions of this world-in-one city. Ten days will give one some glimpses of London, with a visit to Sydenham, the Crystal Palace, Windsor perhaps, a setting sun-bath in Hyde Park,

before all its glories of fine carriages, with their blazonry of dukes', earls' and lords' coat-of-arms have departed.

From London you can go to Dover, calculating for a few hours at Canterbury on the way, and where, in its wondrous old cathedral, if you have not read Dean Stanley's history of it, you will have lost more than half of what led you to this otherwise uninteresting place to see it.

Crossing from Dover to Ostend, you can take in the old cities of Bruges and Ghent, interesting according to what you know of their history as they are pictured in the pages of Motley, or in the story and drama of "Philip Van Artevelde", when they were among the great commercial emporiums of the world; when in honor of the wonderful prosperity in the woolen trade of Bruges, Philip the Good instituted the Grand Order of the Golden Fleece, the chain of which you will see hung around the neck of many a dead king reposing in an effigy of bronze on old cathedral tombs in many cities of Europe; when Constantinople, Genoa, and Venice sent their precious argosies (perhaps Antonio's was among them) laden with Eastern produce, when Persia sent its silk, England its wool, and India its spices; when, in short, the merchants of Bruges and Ghent had a large share of the business of the world. Today, in the construction of many of the old houses, you can see traces of this wonderful trade that has now been drawn to other ports, leaving these old cities but wrecks of their former greatness, but yet to the student of history, to the artist, to the lover of the picturesque, most interesting wrecks.

The old bell tower of Bruges is a wonderful monument to its riches and its arts, indeed one of the most remarkable monuments of medieval art, and as worthy of a visit as anything of the kind in Europe.

Charles V, emperor of Spain and the Holy Roman Empire, was born in Ghent, and comparing it with Paris, when he had become king and emperor, he was accustomed to say in a play upon its French name, that he could put Paris into his Gant (glove). Erasmus, writing of Ghent at the end of the fifteenth century, said there was no town in all Christendom to be compared to it for size, power, political constitution, or the culture of its inhabitants.

The fantastic gable ends of many of the old houses, rising like steps to a steeple-like point, and ornamented with rich carving and scroll work, impart a fascinating picturesqueness to the stately old dwellings of the Ghent burghers of the fifteenth century. A volume or two of Longfellow's "Poems of Places", in one's satchel, and a recent reading of "Philip Van Artevelde", will prove a remarkable antidote against feet ache and limb weariness in both these cities, which I recommend you to put in on your way from London to Brussels, because I have observed that travelers are less likely to make an excursion to Bruges and Ghent, from Brussels, than they are from Brussels to Antwerp, whose cathedral every traveler thinks, and rightly, is one of the cathedral wonders of

Europe which he must not miss, if he goes on the continent at all.

Leaving Brussels, where there is much to see, besides some Brussels lace to buy, which I would hope would not so occupy you that you would not have, or take time to see the poor makers of Brussels lace at their work and see how diligently and deftly many skilled hands ply the pins and bobbins all day long for the pittance reward of twenty cents, which barely keeps body and soul together a few years and that in face of the slow, but pretty sure approach of blindness.

Leaving Brussels at about 10:00 o'clock in the morning, you can arrive at Cologne at 7:00 in the evening and have two or more hours at Aix in Chapelle--time enough to see the old Byzantine cathedral, and where Charlemagne was crowned, sit down on his old marble throne, if you please, crowd in to see the wonderful relics, if you choose to pay three or four francs for doing this, which I trust you will not choose to do. Step into some of the chapels and marvel at the poor souls who can at the end of this enlightened (?) nineteenth century of ours, come there in the darkness, dampness and dirt to pray before a lighted candle and beside a pile of candle drippings that would hardly seem to have been cleared away since the century began, or since the great Charles was crowned there. Or, by a little indirection, you may take in Dusseldorf instead of Aix in Chapelle, though you will want more time for the paintings of Dusseldorf than for the cathedral of Aix.

From Cologne you can run up by rail for a night at Conn on your way up the Rhine to Bingen, "Dear Bingen on the Rhine", not to be missed, for between Bonn and Bingen you can find the chief attraction that puts "up the Rhine" into all plans for even a ten weeks' trip of European travel. This you may do when you have seen the world-famed cathedral of Cologne, St. Peter's and St. Ursula's churches, and had a glimpse of the relics in the latter, for which Philip II had all his life such a holy desire, that he abridged some years of his well deserved purgatorial sufferings, by, it is said, a monumental commemoration of St. Ursala and her 11,000 holy virgin companions by putting 11,000 windows, a simbol of the light they shed upon the darkness of the world, into the Geronomite monastery of his Juggernaut of the Escorial.

From Bingen to Heidelberg by rail, you may get a few hours for Worms, and Luther's monument there and the old Cathedral, celebrated in the Niebelungen Lied.

To see Heidelberg you will need no hints (they are stereotyped and engraven on all hearts) except perhaps it is, to look in old St. Peter's church, for a monument, very plain though it be, to Olympia Morata, whose name deserves a place among the wisest, best and sweetest of the learned women of Italy, in the age of Victoria Colonaa, the Duchess Renee, Alexandra Scala and others of their kind.

From Heidelberg you may place Schafhausen at the end of the route via Strasbourg and through the Black Forest, from

Prussia into Switzerland--a delightful route and affording any number of most interesting places for a halt of a day if you can look ahead and see four or five days reserved for France.

From Schafhausen you may choose among a dozen routes through Switzerland any one of which, in fine weather, will be delightful but I could suggest, from Schafhausen to Zurich, thence to Zug and Arth up the Rigi on one side and down on the other side, to Lucerne. Thence, by lake to Alpnacht over the Brunig pass through the lovely Lungern valley, to Giessbach, a charming place for a day's rest, whence you may go on to interlaken with as many attachments of excursions as you have time for; to Thun, to Fribourg and its wonderful organ, to Lausanne and many beautiful places along the shore of Lake Leman, not neglecting a night's rest at Villeneuve in the Byron Hotel near enough to Chillon castle to visit it in a row boat. From Chillon bend your course toward Martignay with such stops, at the Gorge of Trient or other places, as time will allow. From Martignay over Tete Noir to Chamouny, around which name clusters suggestions of pleasant mountain excursions which might alone fill the bill of a three months' trip. But from Chamouny you must escape much sooner than it will please you to do, and on to Geneva, which is almost an American colony. From Geneva do not fail to make an excursion to Coppet, after having read Stephen's "Life of Madame de Stael". From Geneva

you may journey on to Paris, having gone hastily but by no means rushingly over the path I have indicated, arriving at the center of the world by the 11th of September, and reserving five weeks of your three months for Paris, France, and to get back for embarkation at Liverpool the 15th of October.

This gives little or no time for untrodden paths or rare sights, but few routes can furnish more that will illuminate general reading, or lay up pleasanter memories than this. As to what may be seen in France in four or five weeks, I will tell you what I know about it in another paper.

Notable Women of the Times of Frances I, Henry VIII, and Charles V[1]

Margaret of Navarre

Marguerite d'Angouleme, and, as she became, Margaret of Navarre, by her marriage to Henry d'Albret, king of Navarre, was not only the especially bright star of the most brilliant court in Europe, that of her brother, Francis I, but she was one of the most remarkable women of her century. As a leader of the new learning of the Renaissance, a friend of religious reform in an age of gross and profane superstition, a humane soul, in the midst of its harshness and severities, and, as far as she could be in a persecuting court and age, a friend and protector, not only of reform but of the reformers, her life is an important study. Neither her writings nor the dignity of her character would place her upon a level with Victoria Colonaa, whose life we have just reviewed; but she was in a remarkable degree a leader of others, a center around which lesser lights revolved; and hence as an exponent of the spirit of her age, of the education of women, and of the character of society as represented in its highest classes, the study of her life is in some respects as important as that of any woman of her time. We see in it the obstacles

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[1]Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, "Notable Women of the Times of Francis I, Henry VIII, and Charles V," Kalamazoo Post and Tribune, Feb. 19, 1881.

to religious and social reforms which even its most powerful and distinguished friends had to encounter; we also get glimpses of the indiscretions and extravagancies of the reformers themselves, which, magnified by the usual misrepresentations of common report, would be apt to deceive those inclined to their doctrines.

A curious allusion to the universal belief in astrology in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is incidentally afforded in Brantome's record of the birth of this princess. He says: "Elle nasquit le 10e degree d'Aquarius, que Saturne se separoit de venus par quatern aspect, le 10 April, 1492, vi dex houres du soir, an chastean d'Angouleme 46." (She was born under the tenth degree of Aquarius just when Saturn is separated from Venus by that quartele aspect, or 3 signs of the zodiac.) And he adds: "The good astrologers will be able thereupon to make some composition, i.e., cast her horoscope or predicate her life."

Again, in recording her death, he says: "This queen took her (last) sickness in looking at a comet which appeared upon the death of Pope Paul III."

This explains why that connected with nearly all the great palaces of the kings of France, at this time, was an astrological tower, for the study of the stars, for casting the horoscope of the royal children, and calculating starry influences upon any enterprise, engaging the attention of the king or pertaining to the interests of the nation. Popes

were as much governed by the calculations of the astrologer of their court, as were the kings and princes of the period, and never called a council or consistory without consulting the stars, hence the exclamation, "My stars".

Margaret was two years older than her brother, and she enjoyed in common with him all the opportunities for liberal culture afforded by her exalted station. Linguistic studies were equally the basis of a liberal education at this time foth men and women and ladies especially took pride in speaking with purity and elegance the idcom of Dante and Petrarch, as illustrated by Victoria Colonna, Olympia Morata, Cassandra Fedela, her friend and cousin Renee, and others. The Princess Margaret eminently shared in this ambition. Her tastes were really for learning itself, while Francis, her brother, loved the fame of culture, and that of being a princely patron of learning, better than he loved learning for its own sake. So as says Baird in his "Rise of the Huguenots":

> While Francis was indulging his passion for the chase, in company with Robert de la March, the boar of Ardennes, Margaret was patiently applying herself to study. It is not always easy to determine how much is to be set down as true, and how much to the category of fiction in the current stories of the scholarly attainments of princely personages. But there is a good reason in the present case to believe that unlike most of the ladies of her age who were reputed prodiges of learning, Margaret of Angouleme did not confine herself to the modern languages, but became proficient in Latin, besides acquiring some notion of Greek and Hebrew. By extensive reading and thorough intercourse with the best living masters of the French language, she made herself a graceful writer. She was, moreover, a poet of no mean pretensions as her various

> verses, often comparing favorably with those of Clement Marot, abundantly testify. It was, however, to the higher walks of philosophical and religious thought that Margaret felt herself most strongly drawn.

Writers of her time speak much of her beauty, but her portraits do not justify their panegyrics. Her face was doubtless remarkable for sweetness and expression and her manners were so attractive that she made the impression of being beautiful. One of her eulogists, Sainte-Marthe, one who owed his escape from martyrdom to her, says that,

> At an early age the sublime truths of Revelation influenced her entire character and that then the spirit of God began to manifest his presence in her eyes, her expression, her walk, her conversation--in a word, in all her actions.

Margaret was married in 1509 to the duke of Alencon, a prince to whose cowardice in the battlefield of Pavia Margaret attributed the defeat, disgrace and capture of the idol of her heart, her brother Francis, for which she in the bitterest terms reproached him, refusing ever to see him again.

The duke made good his escape only to die soon after at Lyons of disease induced by exposure, aggravated by his own bitter mortification. The next two years of her life were spent by Margaret in unremitting efforts to obtain her brother's release. With this object in view, she obtained from the Emperor Charles, who held him prisoner in Madrid, a safe conduct enabling her to visit and console him, and to make personal appeals to the emperor for his release. The emperor admired and complimented her sisterly devotion, but

with his usual duplicity evaded her solicitations for his release. In fact, he issued an order for the seizure of her person the hour that her safe conduct should expire, a peril that she avoided only by forced marches, and then crossing the frontier and making good her escape by one hour before the expiration of the critical time. The motive for this breach of courtesy was doubtless the emperor's belief that Francis had made his sister the bearer of his abdication in favor of the dauphin.

While Margaret had been in Spain, she had, it is said, made use of her opportunities to make the personal acquaintance of Eleanor, the widowed sister of the emperor and prepossess her in favor of her marriage with Francis, who was then a widower, as a means of making peace between the two rival monarchs and enemies. This marriage was accomplished in 1530, in accordance with the first article which was called the "Women's Peace of Cambral".

Margaret was herself married the second time in 1527 with great pomp to Henry d'Albret, king of Navarre, often called the king without a kingdom. In marrying him, Margaret is related to have herself said she had espoused poverty, exile, ruin, over which she had wept a' creuser le caillou (enough, as we should say, to wear a stone). Still, in spite of his poverty and the great disparity of their ages (he was eleven years the younger), the union seems to have been congenial and of great advantage to the king, as the duchess of

Alencon and Berry, of which she was possessed, more than equalled in extent the actual domain of the king of Navarre; for at this time the authority of the so called king of Navarre was acknowledged "only in the mountainous district of which Pau was the capitol, and to which the names of Bearn or French Navarre are indifferently applied."

That the sympathies of Margaret of Navarre were ever with the new religion, as it was called, as well as with the new learning, history affords the fullest proof, and she was hindered in her efforts to protect them by the superstition and cruelty of her mother, during the regency of Louise, while Francis was a prisoner, and by the policy of Francis himself after his restoration. Some of the expressions in her letters to the friends of reform, though very guarded, least she in any cast an aspersion on the character or policy of her beloved brother, are heart-moving.

Margaret had conceived great expectations of Francis, based on the example of illustrious German princes who had been allies of Francis, and Count von Hohenloke, dean of the cathedral of Strasburg, had been encouraged by her to come to Paris to preach his Protestant doctrines; but again and again she is forced to write him that the time has not come when it will be best for him to appear there, and at last she writes: "I cannot tell you all the grief I feel, for I clearly see that your coming cannot be productive of the comfort you would desire. The king would not be glad to see

you." And she gives as a reason that the king is negotiating for the deliverance of his children in captivity, for whom he was exchanged. There must be no disturbance of the all-important question of religion. It would give the very orthodox emperor another plea for detaining the children of the king least their souls and the kingdom be imperiled by poison thus diffused in high places.

Francis died March, 1547, and Margaret survived him less than two years, having lost with the death of that beloved brother apparently all relish for life, though a daughter of great promise, Jeanne d'Albret, and her husband were still spared to her.

Alger, in that charming book, "Friendships of Women", thus speaks of the remarkable friendship that existed between this brother and his sister.

> The beautiful and chivalrous Margaret of Navarre was a pattern of enthusiastic devotion to her brother, Francis I. When Charles V carried him prisoner to Madrid, and he was dying there, she went to him through every peril, and by her nursing restored him. She then formed a friendship with a sister of Charles, and induced her secretly to espouse Francis, thus securing his deliverance by his emperor brother-in-law. The enduring monuments of art with which Francis embellished his kingdom were her inspiration. At a distance from him in his last illness, she went every day and sat down on a stone in the middle of the road, to catch the first glimpse of a messenger afar off. And she said: 'Ah! Whoever shall come to announce the recovery of the king, my brother, though he be tired, jaded, soiled and disheveled, I will kiss him and embrace him as though he were the finest gentlemen in all the kingdom.' Hearing of his death, she soon followed him. It is painful to know that the love of Francis to her was not a tithe of hers to him. He loved her but treated her with a good deal of

feudal tyranny which belonged to the age. She deserved from him boundless tenderness and generosity.

Margaret was the great grand-daughter of the beautiful and good Italian Valentina of Milan, and consequently grand-daughter of the poet, Charles of Orleans, and the talents and tastes of both mother and son seem in a large degree to have descended to grand and great grand-daughter.

She left numerous works, of which the most celebrated but the least worthy of her is the "Heptameron", a collection of tales in the style of Baccaccio's Decameron. She left a devotional treatise entitled "Mirror of the Sinful Soul", also many poems and plays.

Many of her poems are dedicated to her brother; indeed are enthusiastic, partial descriptions of him, an enumeration of good qualities which none but her most partial eyes and that of his mother could see in him. In one she says of him: "On earth he is like the sun in the heavens; bold, valiant, wise and mighty in battle; strong and powerful, who would not fear him? Let no prince, however great he may be, assail him. He is benign, gentle and humble in his sympathy, strong and constant and full of patience, whether in prison, in sadness or misfortune. He has that perfect knowledge of God which a king full of faith, good judgment, and a good conscience must possess."

A sister's very partial picture truly, of this most dissolute king, who broke the heart of his gentle wife, Claude, by his neglect and infidelity, who most unscrupulously defrauded his subjects of their rights and of their possessions to gratify his luxurious tastes or minister to his vicious pleasures.

But such was in general the character of her poems, which, besides, offer a strange mixture of the sacred and profane that was one of the characteristics of the age. And yet she was by contemporary admiration proclaimed the Tenth Muse.

Readers of the sixteenth century were not very exacting of those who supplied to them their literary aliment; therefore, the poets of the time accorded to themselves strange privileges. They often changed the final words of a line to make it rhyme with the ending word of the preceding line, at the risk of entirely changing its meaning. They suppressed or multiplied words, according to their needs or caprice, and modified with still less scruple the not very well defined usages in regard to orthography or grammar. These were common circumstances with the literary debutants of that early period, tolerances by readers which were more and more restricted with the progress of knowledge and the encouragement given to excellence.

Margaret of Navarre was the author of many plays designed for representation on the stage. One of the most noted

of these was a trilogy, in imitation of the old Greek plays, with supplementary part. Thus in four parts or acts, which are but one, in reality, she puts into the form of drama the story of the nativity of Jesus Christ.

In the opening of the play Joseph and Mary appear, applying to several inhuman landlords, avaricious or bent upon their pleasures, for lodging. All refuse to receive them. They are therefore obliged to take refuge in a stable, where the Holy Child is born. God the Father and the angels appear at the birth. Then come the shepherds and shepherdesses to worship him. Satan appears in great agony as he sees in the child, the Saviour of the human race about to escape from his clutches.

Some of the details of the play are very amusing; for example, one of the shepherdesses appears running very obsequiously, saying:

"We will with good heart serve the mother, I believe after all she is a good soul."

There is, however, in the very midst of many vulgar pleasantries, a certain humane kindness which is not destitute of charm. Among the shepherdesses who rival each other in offering gifts to the mother and child, one says:

"I will carry her some cheese in this basket of reeds."

Another, "And I this great pot of milk. Marie will find it good."

To this another adds: "I will give her my beautiful cage and my little bird in it."

"And I these fagots for a fire. It is cold at this season," adds still another.

And this calls forth from yet another the offer of "My flute for her use. The child will love the sound."

With these scenes infinitely prolonged mingle chants by the chorus, succeeded by the "Adoration of the Three Kings," in which figure God and the angels, and divers allegorical personages, such as "Philosophy", "Tribulation", "Inspiration", "Diving Intelligence", etc. This, with many additions, is also infinitely drawn out, when follows what is termed the "Comedy of the Innocents", showing the divine protection against the wiles and tricks of Herod to destroy the child. And lastly comes the "Comedy of the Desert" in which Joseph is represented as searching for provisions for the divine mother and child, when to show how God cares for their wants, the desert is all at once turned into a garden of paradise.

Among her works are many plays similar to this, many, also representing the usual course of earthly love, which never does run smooth in her plays, any more than in its real course. There are also "Debates on Love", "Spiritual Songs", and one poem, in which under "The Portrait of a True Christian", and the "Complaint of a Detained Prisoner", she pictures the unjust imprisonment of her brother.

The Heptameron, which it is to be wished for the sake of her reputation as a woman she had never written, is said to have been suggested to her by Francis to divert her from wasting her thoughts and sympathies upon the reformers, against whom in the latter part of his life he permitted and even encouraged the most cruel and inhuman persecutions, inquisitorial arrests, horrible imprisonments, burnings at the stake, and cruelties not exceeded by the atrocities of Philip II's reign.

During all of her life Margaret suffered from a mortal fear of death and being buried under the ground. She puzzled her head much about the mysterious connection of soul and body, and as to how they were separated at death, and it is said that she once watched with the greatest intensity of observation the dying of one of her waiting maids, to see if she could not perceive the flight of the spirit from the body.

Bramtome says: "She died a good Christian and Catholic, and notwithstanding the opinion of many, I myself affirm it, I being a little boy in her court with my grandmother and my mother, neither of them ever having seen in her anything to contradict this, and having after the death of her brother, retired into a convent and there built for herself beautiful lodgings, she came often to perform herself the service of the abbess, to join in their masses and vespers."

The Story of an Honest Man[1]

One of the most remarkable novels (if it can be called a novel) that has attracted the attention of readers recently, is Edmund About's Roman d'un brave Homme, the translation of which is "The Story of an Honest Man", published by Appleton. It has been reviewed in these columns as in our public journals generally; it is not, therefore, as a review of the book that I refer to it, but to attract attention to some of its lessons which, though adduced by a Frenchman, are quite as well-adapted to our American people. They are lessons in modes and means of education, lessons in politics and political economy, and in the dignity and honourableness of honest labor, which we have exceptional need to study and profit by. In the industrial arts, and in an economy that suffers nothing to run to waste, that knows how to turn to use the last and least scrap of any and everything, to turn ugliness into beauty by finding some place of use into which it fits, the French people excel all others in the world. It is in lessons illustrative of their art in this respect, also that Roman d'un brave Hommes is very rich.

The book is written in the form of an autobiography, telling also the story of the family progenitors of the one

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[1]Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, "The Story of an Honest Man", Kalamazoo Post and Tribune, November 7, 1880.

who seems to tell the story, which is so real in its seeming that the reader feels all the time that the distinguished author is telling us about his own father and mother, grandfather and grandmother, his uncles and his cousins and his aunts.

The "Story of an Honest Man", then, is really the memoirs of the Dumont family, written, the writer tells us, at fifty years of age for sons who have been too well brought up for the idea ever to enter their heads of cutting their ancestors' very plebian name of Dumont in two, like a worm, but more especially for the benefit of future sons-in-law and for grandchildren who may not have been so guarded from the besetting folly of desiring to build their greatness and respectability on a name significant of ancestral honour, from which present possessors may hope to surround themselves with some wrap of glory. Hence, he tells them, and us through them, at the outset, that he is not descended from any known mont in history, and his introductory counsel to his children is that "if any manufacturer of genealogies attracted by the amount of my dollars, should interfere and try to deceive others and yourselves as to your humble origin, reply, while kicking him out, 'We know better than you who we are. The author of our fortune, Pierre Dumont, was the only son of Pierre Dumont, carpenter, called Mes Semblables (which the translator makes, my fellow creatures) and grandson of Pierre Dumont, farmer, in the village of Lanney.'" It is with the history

of these two men, and the story of his own life, that the seeming author weaves some of the richest and most attractive lessons contained in any book that has for a long time attracted our attention. It is a novel and yet not a love story at all in the sense of novels generally. It contains no love story, but has all the fascination of a love story in which marriage is the usual end of the plots that form its interest. Here is a simple story of the labors, the successes and disappointments, the pleasures and griefs of humble life enjoyed or borne with a true, honest heart. The love story is the thread of the union that makes two souls the associates, partners, helpers in the work and care and interests which fill up the life of so great a share of the people of France, of this country or any other country in this century of the world.

In the beginning we are introduced to the grandfather, La France, well named, not only because of his worship, somewhat blind, of his own country, and devotion to it, but because he is a character altogether French. I doubt if any other country has produced just such a character, "one of those homely countrymen, who, possessing hardly anything, could live a hundred years without being in want of bread, and bring up a numerous family in an incredible manner."

"In order to explain," he tells us, "how 120 acres of land, cut up into small plots, could feed five boys and one girl, doing well and respectably provided for, I shall need

to show you my grandparents in that quiet but unceasing and regular activity which so distinguishes the small agriculturist of our country."

Truly there is no country in the world where there is such general activity; such wise, wholesome, and yet not pinching economy as in France. In this the French are a lesson to the whole world. Through such economy they astonished the whole world by the manner in which they paid their late enormous war debt.

There is another photograph of the grandparents that will help to bring many a French country home before me. "The good man had committed some extravagancies; the good woman walked with tiny steps along beaten paths. In him was some of Don Quixote's generous folly, and in her a little of the practical, sneering good sense of Sancho Panza. Perhaps, if he had been absolute master of his person and affairs, he might have made a large fortune, for his mind was open to every wind, and bright ideas did not stand still in his brain." But the grandmother would encourage no ventures; she would allow no experimenting in anything. Some few attempts that La France permitted himself, unknown to her, without money and without moral support at home, did not succeed very well. She triumphed over him and he cherished a slight bitterness in consequence, and they were the cause of endless discussions.

"But even their quarrels were a good example for their children; the most ill bred person in the world would from these disputes have learned how to live. Never had these two old people addressed each other as 'thou', yet they had never frequented the court of Louis XV."

"The Tourainian peasants of their age and neighborhood were polite as themselves, and like them, without having learned grammar, spoke a sweet language as harmonious, limpid and flowing as the waters of the Cher in the park of Chenonceaux."

To understand the force and beauty of this comparison one should have had a glimpse of the country life in this garden of France, and should hold in memory that sweetest, sunniest of pictures, the Cher, flowing beneath the bridge on which is built that loveliest of all French palaces, the chateaus of Chenonceaux. But next to pictures photographed on the memory by sight, and by saunterings through Touraine, are pictures which Longfellow sketched of this garden of Franch fifty years ago, and of which M. D. Conway is at present giving us some sketches in Harper's Weekly.

But the writer of the "Story of an Honest Man" continues his picture of the old people, his grandparents:

"'Father, will you take some more salad?'"

"'Many thanks, mother, keep some for yourself.'

"This was the tone of their conversation when peace reigned in the dwelling. In time of war these the rudest words that I ever had occasion to hear:

"'Father Dumont, I am of opinion that you are totally mistaken!'

"'Do not be afraid, Mother Dumont; I am still aware what I am talking about.'"

At last after many equally terrible quarrels La France and his wife mutually agreed to divide the management of their affairs.

"It was agreed that Mamma Dumont, young at that time and very capable, should have the keys of everything, from cellar to the garret, and that on the other hand, the bringing up of those children who were born, and of those still to be born, should unreservedly belong to the father. An unequal partition, giving to a little woman of twenty-seven finances, agriculture, business matters, all the management, excepting one thing; but women, who are worth as much again as we are, are, above all, our superiors in domestic economy. French thriftiness is their work; it is they who have created our milliards by dint of hiding sous in old stockings."

These are some of the axioms that grandfather Dumont grew up to respect, which they never thought of laughing at. " Dumont does not lie. The Dumonts have never borrowed a sou without repaying it. There is no room in Dumonts' house for other people's goods. A Dumont does not strike one who is weaker than themselves. If you fail in respect towards a woman, you will not be a Dumont. The Dumonts have always served their friends."

The writer remarks that while it was impossible that peasants rudely taught by a village master only, and always engaged in manual labor, should become superior men, he can testify that the children of grandfather La France all performed the most humble duties with dignity, and that not one child forgot the respect due to his name.

Such is the family background of the "Story of an Honest Man", the parentage or the grandparentage of the life whose story furnishes many lessons that will repay the reader to more than read--to study even.

The five sons of Father La France, being neither idle nor incapable, at fourteen had obtained the education that their village master could give them, such as was deemed necessary for the peasants of their province. There was no property to leave them, nor capital to invest for them in any farm; they therefore were permitted to choose the trade or business to which each seemed inclined. One would be a rope-maker, one a cartwright, one a shoemaker, and one had learned the trade of a weaver when he was drawn for conscription, and, after a soldier's life of six years, he was discharged and found work in a silk factory at Lyons, married a pretty, respectable weaver and never came back. The one of the five brothers who earned for himself the sobriquet of mes. sembleables (my fellow creatures) became a carpenter, and it is his life and that of the son reared by him and taught by his good sense--his honesty and his example in living the command,

"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself", that henceforth forms the chief interest and furnishes the lessons of the book.

The father is a carpenter--he is not above his business, aims at nothing beyond being a carpenter, but he aims at the highest excellence in that. The author finds in the trade of a carpenter something educating above almost any other mechanical business. He says: "Carpenters are almost the only workmen whom the division of labor cannot transform into machines. They must be complete, and in an age when not one watchmaker in a thousand is capable of making every portion of a watch, they knew their trade from A to Z."

"When I saw my father with his primitive tools cut up a piece of wood and finish it so correctly that the planer could find nothing more to do to it, and when the same day he adjusted upon the ground before me the innumerable pieces of a frame as complicated as the roof of the new corn market, I felt proud of being his son. I experienced as much admiration as gratitude for the manual labor by which he lived."

Thus respect for labor and contentment in the performance of it was taught. Mes. Semblables was expert is fishing with a line; he was not unsuccessful in shooting, and his son was free to accompany him when for any reason the school was closed for the day, and these expeditions left precious and charming recollections. The labor in which he saw his father always engaged was so cheerfully performed and he so happy in watching it, and picking up the words of instruction which

were dropped, not as lessons, but as if they were words that were a part of what was being done, that he learned to love his father better in his jacket of cloth or cotton than when he saw him on Sundays in his black frock coat and silk hat, or in the brilliant fireman's uniform, which was his mother's pride.

He did not know everything but he knew a little of everything and that little he knew well, having learned and almost discovered it by himself. He made a tour through France that lasted three years, and he had made the most of his time; while working with his hands for his daily bread, he had made use of his eyes and ears. "My secret is very simple," he said, "I never crossed a field without looking at the plants that grew there, the animals that were feeding there, or without exchanging a few words of good fellowship with the men working there. Neither did I ever leave a town, large or small, without having to the best of my ability observed what was manufactured in it. A workman, I have everywhere found workmen who more or less understood their business, and their lessons never cost me more than the shake of the hand."

Thus a hundred industries instructed him, and instructed in them and getting at the best they had to teach by a friendly approach to all, he respected and unconsciously taught his son to respect them all. Above all knowledge that he gained by

reading, and that was much, he prized that which he had gained by observation quite alone.

"When we entered a wood", says the son, "for instance, he imparted a lesson to me at each step, and I never felt as if I were in school. He had the gift of looking at everything from a practical point of view. He carefully distinguished between useful and noxious animals, and the child thus taught learned in good time to respect a mole, a frog, a bat, an adder, insectivorous birds and all our misunderstood friends."

These outdoor practical lessons, gathered from talking with nature as a child talks with its mother, and not communicated at all as lessons, are the charm of many chapters of the book. This honest man's moral principles were founded upon "a high conception of personal dignity and a keen sense of human worth. He did what was right for the sake of right; to have, as he said, the pleasure each morning of shaving an honest man's cheeks."

He obtained his soubriquet of my fellow creatures by greatly endangering his own life to save that of a man and his horse, and when the mayor of the city, before whom he was summoned, indicated that a gold medal, with a diploma signed by the king, would be a suitable reward for such an act, he replied: "The king does not need to know if poor people assist one another; that is their affair." "But," adds the mayor, "you are poor and a few louis would be better for you than any honorary reward."

To this his reply is: "A man wants nothing when he works, as do my companions and I, and we do not receive alms, but give them." The mayor grew warm at the independence of the peasant carpenter and exclaimed: "Very well! You are paid, but it does not do to be more royalist than king", to which the honest man replies: "I am repaid by the happiness of having done good to my fellow creatures." "Your fellow creatures", retorts the mayor, "An! Then Sanbriat's horse is your fellow creature too!"

"Monsieur", said the honest man, "I spoke stupidly, and I had the right to do so for I am a poorly educated peasant; but you, you represent authority, have not the right to make an honest man ridiculous." Both companions and police joined with the mayor in a laugh, and thus the joke of which the Touranians are proverbially fond, fixed upon Pierre Dumont the sobriquet of Mes. Semblebles, or, my fellow creatures.

My fellow-creatures, is no pessimist. He believes that the world is getting better, not worse. Men are growing wiser, not degenerating, and that son is not worthy of his father who does not excel his father. Sometimes he said: "My father knows more than at the beginning. I am certainly no better, but more learned than he, Pierre must surpass me; otherwise it would be reversing the order of things. Son, you must climb above my head, or I shall disown you as my child."

The son's entrance into college is accompanied with some of the most impressive lessons of the book, which we would

like to tempt every young man to read. No Dumont has ever before entered upon what was called a liberal career. The occasion was therefore a solemn one, and the peasant carpenter, learned in so many things that he had himself sought out, led his son to the door of the cabinet of the principal and parted with him with this advice:

"You were first in Father Archon's class; forget it, it is nothing; it is a thing done with, buried, so that you may recommence upon fresh ground. Now, what you have to do is to pass over the 150 little fellows whom you do not know, with whom you have never measured your strength, and who will defend themselves, you may be sure. If you reach the end, you will go into the rhetoric class, and, in course of time, to the Royal College; and there again you must be first, under penalty of missing the polytechnic school; and in the polytechnic school, if you are not first, you will not have the choice of your career. * * * Then be the first wherever you go. Up to the age of twenty-five a boy ought to think of but one thing: 'Be the first.' And now would you know why? It is because the banquet of life is a public table where there is not enough for everybody. The first comers are well served. The last find nothing but the pudding cloth at the bottom of the pot. Then be the first, my dear child, if it be but for the pleasure of giving half your portion to another."

The child was astonished at such remarks. His head sank. They contrasted strangely with his father's philosophy, so gentle, so humane, so disinterested. As he comprehended his father, he was no longer to study, because science is good, to seek truth for its own sake and to do good for the sake of doing good, to love humanhood like a second family, but to run through the crowd, elbowing the way, throwing down this one and crushing that one, so as to arrive at table before others and to eat the best place.

This was a bitter morsel for the child to swallow. Tears came to his eyes, and he would have sobbed out his grief, but there was something in the last words of his father about giving one-half of his portion to another, that suggested to him that he did not comprehend him.

The father guessed his emotion, stopped short, and kissed the child again and again. "Poor little fellow," he said, "forgive me for so soon showing you the dark side of life, and forgetting that you are but twelve years old, and that at your age one sees everything at its brightest. The college which you enter today is the pathway of liberal careers, which are all real fields of battle, so people say. No Dumont has yet trodden them; you will not always have us by your side to guide you; it is necessary that I should open your eyes to the rivalries of the world, in which we gain nothing for which we have not fought and conquered. I do not

preach egotism to you; it is odious; nor pride, which is always coupled with stupidity; but I have it at heart to teach you today that a man must be first in something in order to serve his relations, his friends, his fellow creatures and our great nation of mankind."