A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF SELECTED PUBLIC SPEECHES OF JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

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Arvin LeRoy Workman

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THESIS

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ABSTRACT

A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF SELECTED PUBLIC SPEECHES OF JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

by Arvin LeRoy Workman

A Literary History of the United States pictured James Russell Lowell, along with Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and Oliver Wendell Holmes, as a "New England Triumvirate," with all three writers "as sure of their audience as a minister composing his Sunday sermon." Of the three, Lowell was the most versatile and would not "willingly accept any limitation, any discipline, or routine whatever." It was with this same versatility that he entered into speaking. He spoke for literary societies, public lecture audiences, commemoration and dedication audiences, college student bodies, congressional committees, political caucuses, and reform groups; and he gained a considerable reputation as an after-dinner speaker.

An important and vital figure in his time, he consequently has become the object of many doctoral studies. His contemporaneous reputation, his criticism, his Americanism, and his religious ideas have been explored. Studies have been made of his New England rustic pronunciation; his reviews of American belles-lettres; the classical influences on his writing; his appraisal of American life

and thought; his literary theory and political ideas; and his social attitudes and convictions. Yet none of the studies has dealt directly with his speaking in spite of the impact it had on his life and career. This study of James Russell Lowell's speaking attempts to fill this gap in Lowell scholarship.

Lowell's speaking was highly regarded by the American people, as evidenced by the New York Commercial Advertiser's article which stated: "If Englishmen are ever to acquire again their lost art of speaking it will be by the study of such consummate masters of that art as was Mr. James Russell Lowell." Aside from the reputation he gained, the significance of speaking as an influence in Lowell's life can be in part measured by the extent to which it contributed to his total literary output. Approximately one-fifth of Lowell's total published works and about three-fourths of that published after 1880 are lectures and public addresses. When one considers that Lowell had been publishing for almost sixteen years before he began lecturing, the impact of speaking on his literary output looms even larger.

The study is organized in the following manner:

Chapter I, the introduction, consists of a brief description of his first speaking experience, a statement of purpose, a listing of goals to be accomplished by the dissertation, a discussion of the significance of the study, the available materials, the limitations of the study, and the method of study.

Chapter II is a biographical consideration of Lowell, the man, with special emphasis on the factors which pertain to his speaking development. His ancestry and education are touched upon briefly, followed by the events of his life particularly pertinent to his speaking.

Chapter III involves a study of Lowell, the speaker; in this context attention is centered on his contemporaneous reputation, the speaking situation, his preparation, his delivery, and the responses to his speaking.

Chapter IV discusses textual problems, corrects several current bibliographical discrepancies, and presents the criteria for selecting the four representative texts which were analyzed.

One chapter is devoted to analysis of each of the following speeches: "The Old Ballads," the fourth lecture in the Lowell Institute Lectures of 1855; a speech delivered before a congressional sub-committee on copyright in 1886; the "Harvard Address," delivered in 1886; and an after-dinner speech delivered in England in 1888 before the Incorporated Society of Authors. Included in the textual analysis is a discussion of the availability of materials and the collation of the texts. The rhetorical analysis includes an examination of ethical, logical, and emotional proofs, arrangement, and style.

The final chapter outlines the findings of the study, the ten most important of which are as follows:

1. The study has shown that speaking played a major part in Lowell's total literary output, even though Lowell was reluctant to publish his speeches.

2. It has cast doubt on the belief that he was involved in anti-slavery speaking.

3. It has reconstructed Lowell's Western Tour from three published letters and one unpublished letter.

4. It has provided insights into Lowell's dislike for speaking and his "shyness" toward the platform. It also examines his difficulty with speech preparation.

5. It has found that Lowell's chief accomplishment as a public speaker lay in the reputation he attained as an after-dinner speaker in England.

6. It has found Lowell's speaking reputation to depend more heavily upon his reading audience than upon his listening public.

7. It has listed previously unlisted speech texts and has corrected several current errors in bibliographies of his speeches.

8. It has found that Lowell's use of humor was a strong factor in his logical and ethical proofs. His logical proof was also enhanced by reasoning through example and analogy, and by his use of example, literary allusion, and quotation as evidence.

9. It has discovered that Lowell's most frequently used rhetorical device was the similitude.

10. It was concluded that Lowell's style was an important factor in his effectiveness as a speaker; however, he displayed some tendencies that detracted from the clarity and flow of his speeches: (a) his parenthetical expressions, especially in his extemporaneous speeches; (b) his vague literary allusions which may have mystified his listeners; and (c) his occasional long, involved sentences in his written speeches. These were minor faults, causing only momentary vagueness or confusion in his generally clear, forceful, and entertaining style.

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By

Arvin LeRoy Workman

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In January and February of 1855 at the Lowell Institute Lectures in Boston a young author attracted an overflow crowd for his first lecture series. In the audience were such notable figures as Charles Sumner and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Longfellow, who was Smith Professor of Modern Languages at Harvard College, was astonished at the powerful lecturing of the thirty-six-year-old poet and immediately set about making arrangements for James Russell Lowell to be his replacement, since he had made plans to resign his professorship at the end of the 1855 school year. Six men had already made application for the position, but upon Longfellow's request the Corporation of Harvard College added James Russell Lowell's name to the list of candidates; and he was offered the professorship without seeking the position.[1]

Lowell accepted and changed the course of his life. He passed from the insecure freedom of freelance writing to the secure classroom. His selection over the other candidates was certainly influenced by his local reputation,

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[1]Horace E. Scudder, James Russell Lowell: A Biography (Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1901), I, 372-77.

his good name, and his former accomplishments as a poet, critic, essayist, editor and humorist, but the primary reason his name was added to the list of candidates for the professorship was the impression his speaking had made on Longfellow and other influential men of Cambridge. For eighteen years, with ascending prominence, Lowell had gained fame as a writer. He considerably influenced public opinion against slavery with his periodical writing and against imperialism in the Mexican War with his first series of Biglow Papers. He had also critically considered the merits of his contemporary writers and himself in A Fable for Critics and had ventured criticism on his poetical forerunners in Conversations on Some of the Old Poets.

At the time he gave his first series of lectures he was thirty-six years old and was exactly half way through his life span. He was also six years past his most successful publishing year of 1848, and there is sufficient indication in his letters of the early 1850's to indicate that he was beginning to suspect that his creative powers were on the decline. In a letter to Briggs he wrote, "Authors ought . . . to be as sensible as shopkeepers . . . that if the public does not want their wares, it will not buy them any the sooner for being called fool and blockhead."[1] His answer for public rejection was to "close up the shop; and

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[1]James Russell Lowell, Letters of James Russell Lowell, ed. Charles E. Norton (New York: Harper & Bros., 1894), p. 201.

go westward."[1] Speaking provided Lowell an escape and what he called a "west" from the uncertainty he felt in his flagging creative powers and from a public who was currently rejecting his poetry. He wrote:

> My 'West' is to be found in a course of lectures, which I have already been paid for, and which I am to deliver before the Lowell Institute next winter. I dare say they will be all the better for my having some of my conceit knocked out of me, and I can revenge myself on the dead poets for the injuries received by one whom the public won't allow among the living.[2]

With a few years of lecturing, editing, and criticism, Lowell was able to regain the spotlight and to finish his years in a blaze of public adulation.

A Literary History of the United States pictures Lowell, along with Longfellow and Oliver Wendell Holmes, as a "New England Triumvirate," with all three writers "as sure of their audience as a minister composing his Sunday sermon."[3] Of the three, Lowell was the most versatile and would not "willingly accept any limitation, any discipline, or routine whatever."[4] It was with this same versatility and popularity that he entered into speaking. He spoke for literary societies, public lecture audiences, college

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Robert E. Spiller et al. (eds.), Literary History of the United States (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1959), p. 588.

[4] Ibid., p. 601.

student bodies, commemoration and dedication ceremonies, congressional committees, political caucuses, and reform groups; and he gained a considerable reputation as an after-dinner speaker.[1]

An important and vital figure in his time, he consequently has become the object of many scholarly studies. His contemporaneous reputation,[2] his criticism, his Americanism, and his religious ideas have been explored. Studies have been made of his New England rustic pronunciation; his reviews of American belles-lettres; the classical influences on his writing; his appraisal of American life and thought; his literary theory and political ideas; and his social attitudes and convictions.[3] Yet none of the studies has dealt directly with his speaking, in spite of the impact it had on his life and career. For this reason, a study of the speaking of James Russell Lowell will be unique and will serve to fill a gap in Lowell scholarship.

The purposes of this study will be to examine James Russell Lowell's theories of speech making and his practices as a speaker in terms of his public addresses and lectures. It is anticipated that the following will be accomplished:

1. Lowell's speech theory will be gathered from

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[1]A. Lawrence Lowell, "Memoir of James Russell Lowell" (reprinted from the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, June, 1896), p. 99.

[2]Infra, p. 6, n. 3.

[3]Infra, bibliography, pp. 214-15.

his letters and addresses and presented.

2. A bibliographical listing of available speech texts and their locations will be included. (This listing will be unique since present bibliographies have been found to be incomplete and inaccurate.)

3. An analysis of historical facts will be made to determine what factors contributed to Lowell's renown as a speaker.

4. By analysis, interpretation, and evaluation of available historical information, answers to the following questions will be sought:

a. What was the intellectual and social climate in which the analyzed speeches took place?

b. What persons constituted his immediate audiences and why was he talking to them?

c. To whom, besides his immediate audiences, were his speeches directed? Who was able to read and hear his speeches?

d. What were characteristics of his delivery?

e. What effect did his speeches have?

5. By collation, analysis, interpretation, and evaluation of four speech texts in the representative sample, answers to the following questions will be sought:

a. How reliable is each text?

b. What are the ideas in his speeches?

c. What lines of argument did he pursue?

d. What ethical, logical, and emotional proofs did he use?

e. What type of arrangement did he use?

f. What were the characteristics of his style?

Significance of the Study

James Russell Lowell, in the more than fifty years that elapsed between his first publication in 1839 and his death in 1891, contributed greatly to the shaping of public opinion and the general climate of thought of his time as a poet, essayist, critic, satirist, humorist, editor, professor, scholar, man of letters, and diplomat. Walter Fuller Taylor, in A History of American Letters, summed up Lowell's accomplishments in this way: "Lowell was a Jack-of-all-trades, and contrary to the old maxim, he was good at all. But [he goes on to qualify] supreme at none."[1] While Taylor was, in part, using the test of time--and by this scale Lowell's accomplishments are not supreme--certainly during his lifetime, in the setting of his speeches, his reputation was supreme.[2] For example, after publication of the Biglow Papers, First Series in England, he was acknowledged by English critics to be America's foremost humorist,[3] and referring to his speaking during the 1880's, James Bryce, later England's Minister to America, stated that as an after-

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[1]Walter Fuller Taylor, A History of American Letters (Boston: American Book Co., 1936), pp. 205-206.

[2]Infra, chap. ii, p. 54.

[3]Alvan R. McFadyen, "The Contemporaneous Reputation of James Russell Lowell" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of Literature, Florida University, 1954-55), p. 8.

dinner speaker, he had no equal.[1]

Lowell's unsurpassed speaking reputation was a great satisfaction to the American people. In a scrapbook among Lowell's papers in the Houghton Library is a clipping from an unidentified newspaper. It represents an example of Lowell's reputation and indicates the nation's pride in him:

> "Who listens to an Englishman's speech?" This is the clever way the New York Commercial Advertiser pays back an old score for "Who reads an American book?" and it adds, "If Englishmen are ever to acquire again their lost art of speaking it will be by the study of such consummate masters of that art as was Mr. James Russell Lowell."[2]

Aside from the reputation he gained, the significance of speaking as an influence in Lowell's life can be in part measured by the extent to which it affected his total literary output. Approximately one-fifth of Lowell's total published works and about three-fourths of that published after 1880 are lectures and public addresses. When one considers that Lowell had been publishing for almost sixteen years before he began lecturing, the influence of speaking on his literary output and on his life looms even larger.

This dissertation will add to the knowledge of nineteenth century public speaking; and, as it was noted earlier,

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[1]James Bryce, University and Historical Addresses (New York: Macmillan Co., 1913), pp. 270-71.

[2]Houghton Library, James Russell Lowell Scrapbook Vol. I, Harvard University, AC85, L9515, Y891s, p. 53.

it will fill an existing gap in Lowell scholarship. It will further add to the general knowledge of the speaking of literary men and will serve as a companion study to dissertations written on Ralph Waldo Emerson, Mark Twain, Oliver Wendell Holmes, William Cullen Bryant, and Walt Whitman.

Materials Available

Because of Lowell's early fame and continued success through a long and varied life several collections of primary source material have been accumulated. The largest of these is located in the Houghton Library Treasure Room at Harvard University, where it was placed after the death of Charles E. Norton, Lowell's literary executor. Most of Lowell's correspondence, many early poems, drafts of essays and lectures, commonplace books, journals, notebooks, miscellaneous papers, and scrapbooks are in this collection. During the past sixty years the Houghton Library has acquired from members of the Lowell family four additional collections: the James B. Lowell and the Rantoul in 1944, the Cunningham in 1948, and the Burnett in 1962.

In addition to the Norton and the family collections, the Horace E. Scudder papers are also available in the Treasure Room. They contain Scudder's notes and correspondence, several copies of speeches and addresses made by Lowell, and State Papers from Madrid and London, which Scudder collected for the Lowell biography.

Besides the Lowell material found in the Treasure Room, the Houghton Library contains school records,

publications, college catalogs, and other background material for the years when Lowell attended the school.

There are approximately 150 letters written by Lowell in the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, California. These include the Field Collection of sixty-five letters and approximately eighty-five miscellaneous letters to English and American friends. Several rare copies of Lowell's addresses, toasts, after-dinner speeches, lectures, and readings are also located in the Huntington Rare Book Room.

In addition to these primary source materials, Charles Eliot Norton collected, edited, and published two volumes of Lowell's letters shortly after the poet's death.[1] Later M. A. DeWolfe Howe edited and published an additional volume of unpublished letters.[2] In 1936 Hope Jillson Vernon published the poems of Maria Lowell and included several formerly unpublished letters of Lowell's and a biographical sketch of his courtship and marriage.[3]

The Michigan State University Library provides an excellent collection of nineteenth century periodicals, facsimile copies of Lowell's Pioneer, microfilms of the New York Times, and, through inter-library loan, microfilms of the London Times, research studies on Lowell, and copies

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[1]Norton, Letters.

[2]M. A. DeWolfe Howe (ed.), New Letters of James Russell Lowell (New York: Harper & Bros., 1932).

[3]Hope Jillson Vernon, The Poems of Maria Lowell with Unpublished Letters and a Biography (Providence: Brown University, 1936).

of several addresses. Also in the Michigan State University Library are Lowell's complete works, which include three volumes of addresses and lectures.

Texts of thirty-six addresses have been located, along with twenty literary lectures and several fragments of Lowell's college lectures. Printed proceedings of various organizations to which Lowell spoke and newspaper accounts of his speaking are available. In addition, Lowell's letters add many of his own comments to his speech experiences.

Limitations of the Study

At the time of the Lowell Institute Lectures in 1855 Lowell wrote to W. J. Stillman, the owner-editor of the Crayon, that the series constituted his first public appearance as a lecturer.[1] His letters[2] reveal, however, that he had spoken on two earlier occasions. Since in these two cases source material is limited to Lowell's letters with no texts available, this dissertation will not include Lowell's speaking prior to 1855.

Lowell's college lectures as Smith Professor will not be considered as representative public speeches. These lectures, without doubt, affected his style and furnished him with almost twenty years of speaking experience; but the fragments that remain carry no dates, are incomplete,

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[1]Norton, op. cit., p. 220.

[2]Ibid., pp. 36-37; see also pp. 68-69.

and give no hint of other than student attendance. The college lectures, therefore, will be used for reference only, and will not be included in the representative sampling to be used for analysis.

It is common for speech studies to include detailed biographies when no sufficient biography exists. In the case of Lowell, however, several good biographies are available, and for this reason, only those events which the writer feels influenced his speaking development will be presented.

Four representative speeches will be selected for detailed analysis. Selection will be partially by a process of elimination, those addresses and lectures which offer reliable texts and sufficient setting and audience information being given primary consideration.

Method of Study and Organization

This study will be organized in the following fashion:

Chapter I, the introduction, consists of a brief description of his first speaking experience, a statement of purpose, a listing of items to be accomplished by the dissertation, a discussion of the significance of the study, the available materials, the limitations of the study, the method of study, and the type of organization.

Chapter II is a biographical consideration of Lowell, the man, with special emphasis on the factors which pertain to his speaking development. His ancestry and education are touched upon briefly, followed by the events of his life particularly pertinent to his speaking.

Chapter III involves a study of Lowell, the speaker; in this context attention will be paid to his contemporaneous reputation, the speaking situation, his preparation, his delivery, and the responses to his speaking.

Chapter IV lists the available texts of Lowell's speeches and discusses textual problems. It will correct several current bibliographical discrepancies and will present the criteria for selection of the representative texts to be analyzed.

One chapter is devoted to each of the four speeches selected in Chapter IV. Included in the textual analyses will be a discussion of available materials and the collation of the texts. The rhetorical analysis will include ethical, logical, and emotional proofs, arrangement, and style.

A final chapter will consist of conclusions and recommendations for further studies.

CHAPTER II

LOWELL: THE MAN

By the time James Russell Lowell was born, on February 22, 1819, a blueprint for the "good" life was well established in New England. Cambridge men were "built" according to specifications drawn by patriarchs already four generations dead. The blueprint specified that young men from better families would be taught to read early in their own homes, be sent to dame and Latin Schools, take the Harvard entrance examination between the ages of fourteen and seventeen, receive Bachelor of Arts degrees in a standard four year course, travel in Europe for two years, settle on a profession in the ministry, medicine, law, or business; then marry someone from a good family and settle down to raise the next generation to follow the same blueprint.[1]

Early Educational Influences

James Russell Lowell's early education followed the plan to the last detail. He learned to read early and attended four private schools before he was eight years old.

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[1]The "blueprint" concept is a generalization of the writer, gained from researching the Lowell family records and from noting the educational patterns of other families of the same period.

In the fourth school, Fay House, he began to study Latin and gained "a pretty thorough knowledge of French."[1] At William Wells' school, which was praised for its Latin scholarship, he studied Greek and Latin for the next six years. At fourteen, Lowell spent a year at Mr. Ingraham's highly successful classical school in Boston; and he entered Harvard in 1834.[2]

Lowell fancied himself a poet from his early college days and demonstrated his ability as Secretary of the Hasty Pudding Club, where the minutes were kept in verse, and in Harvardiana, the school periodical, which he edited during his senior year. His election as Class Poet in his senior year won him the only crown for which he had really strived through college. As his writing prowess became better known and as he pursued his extra-curricular writing and reading, his studies fell off, and what his father had recognized as a brilliant mind turned away from scholastic attainment and manifested itself in immature but promising poetry. Since even the most successful writers of the period had difficulty supporting themselves with their pens, Lowell's inclination in this direction could only be interpreted by his father as folly. Perturbed as the Reverend Charles

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[1]Ethel Golann, "A Lowell Autobiography," The New England Quarterly, VII (June, 1934), 357.

[2]Ibid., p. 360. See also Scudder, op. cit., I, 22-27; Leon Howard, Victorian Knight-Errant (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952), pp. 9-10.

Lowell was with his "impractical" son, the elder Lowell's broken health[1] did not allow him to supervise his youngest son as he would have liked. With some misgivings, the Reverend Charles Lowell left James in the charge of an older brother, Charles, promised him two hundred dollars if he graduated first or second scholar,[2] and sailed for Europe with Mrs. Lowell and his daughter, Rebecca.

James Russell Lowell developed a high absence rate from lectures and recitation in his first three years at Harvard, but he kept his grades high. The senior year was different; the absence rate remained high, but his recitation marks did not, and his poor showing resulted in a rustication to Concord at the request of his family.[3] The enforced punishment came as a cruel blow. He lost his summer vacation, and he was prohibited from returning to Cambridge, preventing him from performing as Class Poet on Class Day.[4] He failed to see the rustication as the result of his actions and bitterly headed for his confinement in Concord "damning everybody" but himself. Despite his poor scholastic output during his senior year, he was graduated

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[1]Dr. Lowell was the senior minister at West Church, Boston, for fifty-six years. In 1837, after thirty-one consecutive years, he suffered a minor breakdown, a junior minister was installed, and Dr. Lowell was given three years' leave to recover his health.

[2]Howard, op. cit., p. 1.

[3]Ibid., p. 368.

[4]Ibid., p. 16.

thirty-fourth in a class of sixty-three.[1]

The Harvard curriculum during his stay was not much different from the curriculum in the preparatory schools which Lowell had attended.

> There were lessons to learn and recite; the textbook was the rule, and the fixed curriculum suggested no break from the ordinary course of formal instruction. Except in the senior year, there was a steady attention to Greek, Latin, and Mathematics. In the first year Tytler's History was studied; in the second year English grammar and modern languages were added; in the third year, besides Greek and Latin and modern languages, Paley's Evidences, Butler's Analogy, and chemistry appeared on the list, and themes and forensics were introduced. In the senior year the ancient languages were dropped, and natural philosophy, intellectual philosophy, astronomy, and political economy took their place, with lectures on rhetoric, criticism, theology, Story on the Constitution of the United States, mineralogy, and anatomy--a somewhat confused jumble on paper in the catalogue of the time, which it is to be hoped was reduced to some sort of order, though it looks as if the senior were suddenly released from too monotonous a course and bidden take a rapid survey of a wide range of intellectual pursuits.[2]

Howard found that Lowell got little from his studies at Harvard generally, but that the ancient and modern languages "were, by all odds, the most valuable of his acquisitions from college."[3] Howard contends that the formal rhetoric of Richard Whately which Lowell studied in the Elements of Rhetoric was ignored in Lowell's early writings[4] while

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[1]George P. Clark, "Classical Influences and Background in the Writings of James Russell Lowell" (unpublished dissertation, Yale University, 1948), p. 223.

[2]Scudder, op. cit., I, 29.

[3]Howard, op. cit., p. 12.

[4]Ibid.

George P. Clark deduced that Lowell did not have a specialist's knowledge of Greek and Latin in spite of the many who thought he did have.[1]

Lowell's classical allusion and use of quotation are two of the most commented upon aspects of his writing and speaking. Clark found that "allusions and quotations served three main purposes: to ornament his style, to develop his meaning, and to provide humor."[2]

Clark's investigations showed that Lowell had read Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, Plutarch, and Whately. He also showed that Harvard entrance requirements for 1834 required Lowell to have read "the whole of Virgil, selected orations of Cicero, and Sallust . . . and the four Gospels of the Greek Testament."[3]

Study of Law

Graduation from Harvard brought about Lowell's first deviation from the accepted blueprint for the good life. His father refused to finance the grand tour, and, deprived of the traditional European excursion, Lowell faced the selection of a profession at the age of nineteen without the seasoning effect that Europe might have provided. He was in the quandary of needing a profession to provide a livelihood and disliking all the acceptable alternatives.

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[1]George P. Clark, op. cit., p. 226.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., p. 222.

Under duress from his father, he entered law school with the attitude that he had nothing better to do. In this unsettled state of mind he wrote his friend Loring, "I shall never be on speaking terms with it [law]. I have been thinking seriously of the ministry, but then--I have also thought of medicine, but then--still worse!"[1]

Law proved an "on again, off again" answer to his uncertain future, but it was still the least unsavory to him. Reading the law, however, did not dampen his desire to go to Europe, and his mind continued to search for some means to obtain this goal. His first plan was to procure a position as a foreign representative for an American company, and he went to Boston in search of such a position.[2] There he heard Daniel Webster try a case in the United States Court, and Webster so impressed him that he wrote to Loring on November 8, 1838, "I had not been there an hour before I determined to continue in my profession and study as well as I could."[3] Within three months, however, Webster's influence had worn off and he had "quitted the law forever."[4] Seeking independence, he focused his thoughts on lecturing as a means of livelihood. In the same letter that announced the end of his law career, he told of plans to go to Concord

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[1]Norton, Letters, I, 33.

[2]Scudder, op. cit., I, 66.

[3]Norton, Letters, I, 33.

[4]Ibid., p. 36.

to lecture during the first week of March, but by the ninth of March he was disillusioned again; he had received only four dollars in Concord.[1] And because lecturing did not offer the financial independence for which he had hoped, he despaired, "What to do with myself I don't know. I'm afraid people will think me a fool if I change again."[2] With nothing better to do he returned to the study of law.

His distressed state of mind was further complicated by the abrupt conclusion of an early love affair,[3] and years later Lowell remembered holding a cocked pistol to his head and not having had the courage to pull the trigger.[4] Sensitive, immature, and loathing his lot as a law student, he vacillated in his study until an unfortunate accident gave him a third chance to escape. His brother, Robert, who was employed by a Boston counting house, injured his hand. Until he could recover from the wound, he made arrangements for his younger brother to replace him. James Russell Lowell spent most of the winter of 1839 as a counting house employee. When Robert reclaimed his job, young James, disenchanted

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[1] Ibid., pp. 36-37.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Lowell fell in love with Hannah Jackson, a sister of his oldest brother's wife. He apparently wanted to marry her and had a violent argument with his brother, who was acting as his guardian at the time. Leon Howard, op. cit., pp. 33-38 passim. Howard obtained use of "half the family papers" (from Dixon Wecter) which contained materials not available to this writer.

[4] Norton, Letters, I, 375.

with the business world, quickly wrote it off his list of future employment possibilities.

He renewed his resolve to study law and began to apply some diligence to his preparation. In the next year, 1840, he took a law degree and a Master's degree, after which he continued to attend lectures while he worked in the Loring Law Office. With little apparent effort he passed his bar examination in 1842. By this time he had published enough poetry to encourage him to choose writing as a profession, and he never practiced law.

Lowell's Attitude towards Himself

Lowell's attitude through these early years was one of apparent overconfidence followed by a period of soul searching and despair. During his undergraduate years at Harvard he displayed an air of flamboyancy. He had cultivated a reputation for revolting against authority and apparently took considerable pride in his wayward accomplishments.

His autobiography in the 1838 Classbook shows his attitude and the image he wanted his college friends to have of him, and perhaps the image he had of himself. He was prone to excessive use of allusion in referring to books he had read, and the autobiography begins:

> After carefully consulting Tacitus's life of Agricola [sic], Fox's booke of Martyrs [sic], Johnson's lives of the Poets [sic], his own life by Bozzy, and Lockhart's Scott, I have come to the conclusion that there is a radical defect in the

whole system of biographies.[1]

His desire to appear incorrigible is seen in the emphasis he places on his numerous chastisements. His early education concluded with a "drawer full of rewards of merit" and a "disagreeable nervousness" in his rear caused by a school mistress "who swayed the birch" over that part of him. Of his third school he wrote, "I did not do much here except that I made a good deal of proficiency in deviltry of all descriptions."[2] And while he remained there he "did not experience a tithe of the castigations" he deserved.[3] Of his years at Harvard he wrote:

> During the Freshman year, I did nothing, during the Sophomore year I did nothing, during the Junior year I did nothing, and during the Senior year I have thus far done nothing in the way of college studies. I have undergone with the patience of a martyr "privates" and "publics" without number, and three threats of dismissal.[4]

The projected image is of a wayward genius, who without studying gets passing grades, who copiously reads books not required of him, who flaunts authority and glories in the punishment and threats of punishment his acts bring about. He successfully projected his image to the extent that George F. Hoar wrote that he believed that James Russell Lowell was the Lord High Admiral of his class, a dubious

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[1]Golann, op. cit., p. 357.

[2]Ibid., p. 358.

[3]Ibid., p. 360.

[4]Ibid., pp. 360-61.

honor that was bestowed on the worst scholar, and one who had been rusticated at least twice if possible.[1] Lowell, with his middle of the class standing, was not the Lord High Admiral but boasted an "honorary" membership, which probably means that his conduct qualified him for membership but that his scholarship did not.

The important aspect of the image cast during these college years is the part he retained and used in his speaking. His allusion to books and use of quotation in his speeches he continued throughout his life.

The revolt against authority in college was easily transferred to a revolt against the wrongs of society. The disdain he held for authority easily shielded him against adverse public opinion. As the editor of his own publication, The Pioneer, his revolution was against "namby-pamby, thrice-diluted" literature, while later, as a teacher, he revolted against pedantry in the classroom; still later his revolutionary spirit fought against the party system and corruption in politics. He used his influence against anti-Americanism in England, unfair tariffs, and unfair American copyright practices.

His writing and speaking, when examined in the light of the Clark and Foerster outline of his life, show an interesting development.[2] They designate his writing from

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[1] Ibid., p. 362, n. 21.

[2] Harry H. Clark and Norman Foerster, James Russell Lowell (New York: American Book Company, 1947), pp. xv-c

its beginning until 1850 as his "humanitarian" period, when he focused on abolitionism, using poetry, essays, literary criticism, and satire as his chief modes of expression. His "nationalist" period, from 1850 to 1867, elevated his allegiance from abolitionism to a "preservation of the union" theme. The "nationalist" period included less poetry and more essay and editorial expression; and his literary criticism shifted from written to oral presentation with the Lowell Institute Lectures of 1855, his Western Tour, and his college lecturing. During his "natural aristocrat" period, from 1867 until his death, his poetry writing was minimal, the subject matter of his college lectures was re-written in essay form, and the greatest part of his expression was in the form of lectures and addresses. During this period, or more accurately, for the last eleven years of it, the occasional address was the dominant form of platform expression used by him.

Americanism, Ancestry, and Family Influence

Through all three periods of his life--as a reformer, as a nationalist, and as a natural aristocrat--he was guided by a predominant theme of avid "Americanism," which was the result of his pioneer ancestry. He wrote to Leslie Stephens, an Englishman, in 1846:

> They [the English] seem to forget that more than

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passim. The outline and dates are Clark's and Foerster's; the modes of expression are supplied by the writer from examination of Lowell's entire works.

> half the people in the North have roots, as I have, that run down more than two hundred years deep into this new-world soil--that we have not a thought nor hope that is not American. . . . [The English] may make up their minds that it is not what Mr. Disraeli calls a "territorial democracy," but democracy itself, that makes us strong.[1]

His two-hundred-year roots dated back to his paternal ancestor, Percival "Lowle," who arrived in Boston in 1639, and a maternal ancestor, Robert Cutt, who arrived prior to 1646. Old Percival Lowle was sixty-eight years old when he settled in Newberry in the Territory of Massachusetts with his sixteen children and grandchildren, and he lived to the advanced age of ninety-three.[2] His son, John, was a freeman and his grandson, John, was a cooper. Grandson John inherited some of the older man's constitution and outlived three wives, contributing nineteen children to the new world population. His fifteenth child, Ebenezer, carried the family name through the fourth generation with his son John being the first of the Lowells to enter Harvard University. Matriculating at thirteen, he stayed seven years and graduated with an M.A. degree. He settled down to the ministry, and to the confusion of some biographers, Minister John Lowell named his son John, making him the

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[1]Norton, Letters, I, 360-61.

[2]This information concerning Lowell's ancestry is compiled from a number of sources. Ferris Greenslet, The Lowells and Their Seven Worlds (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1946). Scudder, op. cit., Appendix, pp. 409-418. The Critic, October 10, 1891, pp. 189-90; September 26, 1891, p. 157; September 19, 1891, p. 144. The Lowell papers in the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

fourth John Lowell in six generations. John chose law as his profession and represented the second generation of Lowells to attend Harvard. After graduation he became active in Massachusetts politics as a jurist and legislator, he became known as the "Old Judge," and he was reputed to be the author of the anti-slavery clause in the Massachusetts Constitution. This is a dubious honor, since "free and equal" clauses had appeared earlier in the Virginia and Pennsylvania Declarations, but regardless of the originality of the action, the family took pride in it.

The Old Judge holds the key to understanding the Lowell family tree, because his three marriages divided the family into three distinct lines. His first wife, Sarah Higginson, gave birth to a son, John, who later married Rebecca Amory and became the head of the Higginson-Amory line. His second wife, Susan Cabot, gave birth to a son, Francis Cabot, who later married Hannah Jackson, and became the head of the Jackson-Cabot line. The Old Judge's third wife, Rebecca Russell Tyng, gave birth to a son, Charles, James Russell Lowell's father, who married Harriet Spence, and became the head of the Russell-Spence line. Including the Old Judge, there are no less than eleven members of these lines listed in the Dictionary of American Biography.

Though the Russell-Spence line never accumulated the fortunes that the other two lines did, James Russell Lowell shared a common name with them, and in Boston, at

least, it made him one of the foremost citizens by association. His early reputation as a writer was certainly important to his platform success, but in Boston, where he began his lecturing career, it was also greatly in his favor that he carried a socially-prominent name.

Charles Lowell, James Russell Lowell's father, had been guided towards law, but after a year in an older brother's law office, he was allowed to go to Edinburgh to study for the ministry. Upon his return to America in 1806, he married Harriet Bracket Spence and was ordained as a minister at West Church, Boston, where he remained the senior minister until 1861.

The Reverend Charles Lowell was considered an eloquent speaker, but not an elocutionist, and according to Ralph Waldo Emerson, "the best extemporaneous speaker he had ever heard."[1] He was an "undeniably serious and solemn man,"[2] but he had a great tendency for humor when he felt some good could be accomplished by using it.[3]

Evidence indicates that James Russell Lowell and his father were alike in many aspects of their speaking,

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[1]James Russell Lowell, "Address of James Russell Lowell," Commemoration Services at West Church Boston 1737-1887 (Boston: Damrell and Upham, 1887), p. 58.

[2]Cyrus A. Bartol, "Address on January 24, 1861," Proceedings in the West Church on the Occasion of the Decease of Charles Lowell D.D., Its Senior Pastor (Boston: Walker, Wise, and Company, 1861), p. 24.

[3]Ibid.

but it is doubtful that his father's speaking affected his style or delivery. James Russell Lowell was sent to boarding school at eight years of age and by his own admission never returned to his father's congregation and apparently seldom heard his father preach.[1]

Perhaps the most important gifts that Dr. Lowell passed along to his son were his love for books, a large and well-stocked library, conservative Christian convictions,[2]

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[1]James Russell Lowell, Commemoration Services at West Church, p. 61. "My immediate connection with the church ceased more than sixty years ago, when I was sent to boarding school."

[2]Lowell's father did not go along with the transcendental movement that took place in Boston during his ministry. Emerson, Parker, and Channing were all involved, and there was a great deal of pressure for Dr. Lowell to change his Christian views, which he resolutely refused to do. Bartol, op. cit., pp. 20-21. Scudder says Dr. Lowell hated slavery in the abstract, but shrank back when it became a question of meddling with it. Scudder, op. cit., I, 9. To his orderly nature abolitionism was harsh, dogmatic, uncharitable, and unChristian. Ibid.

At first glance it would appear that the radical young James Russell Lowell was the opposite of his father, with his strong abolitionist views and supposed transcendental leanings. His abolitionism was not in opposition to, as much as it was more practical than his father's. In a sense, Lowell retained the same views as his father, but where his father disliked and ignored abolitionism and transcendentalism, James disliked and condemned them. In his class poem Lowell scorned the transcendentalism of Emerson's Divinity School Address:

> Invite a man their Christian Zeal to crown
> By preaching earnestly the gospel-down.
> Applaud him when he calls of earthly make
> That One who spake as never man has spake,
> And tamely hear the annointed Son of God
> Made like themselves an animated clod!
> Scudder, op. cit., I, 58.

Six years later he dedicated his Conversations on Some of the Old Poets to his father, and in one of the conversations

and a good name.

His mother was a woman of great force of character. Her physician is said to have remarked, "Had it pleased the Lord to drop her spirit into the pantaloon, she would have been a great general."[1] Her American ancestry dated back to 1636 through her maternal side, and her paternal ancestors emigrated from the Orkney Islands. From her Orkney ancestry she was said to have gained mystical qualities which she transmitted to her son. She supposedly contributed to Lowell's poetic nature by singing ballads and excited his imagination by vaguely tracing her forebears back to the legendary Sir Patrick Spens.

At least one of her contributions, whether real or imagined, haunted Lowell throughout his life. According to family gossip, Harriet Spence Lowell's mystical

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he wrote: "The Church needs reforming now as much as in Luther's time, and sells her indulgences as readily." Scudder, op. cit., I, 144. This was not a move on Lowell's part to flaunt transcendental ideas in his father's face, but rather to show his agreement with his father. "The devil might listen to some preaching I have heard without getting his appetite spoiled. There is a great deal of money expended to make men believe that this one or that one will be damned, and to scare or wheedle them into good Calvinists or Episcopalians; but very little pain is taken to make them good Christians." Scudder, op. cit., I, 142. "Religion has come to be esteemed synonymous with the Church; there are few minds clear enough to separate it from the building erected for its convenience and shelter. It is this which has made our Christianity external, a task-ceremony to be gone through and not a principle of life itself." Scudder, op. cit., I, 143. "The church has corrupted Christianity." Ibid.

[1]The Critic, August 29, 1891, p. 109.

quality made her slow to react to everyday situations.[1] This was referred to in family circles as the "Spence negligence." When James Russell Lowell failed to apply himself or to put forth the effort that his elders felt he should, his indolence was blamed on his "Spence negligence." After his rustication to Concord in his senior year, he received the following letter from his sister-in-law, Anna Cabot Jackson Lowell:

> Aunt S. was here last evening and depicted in a lively manner the grief of Scates for your idle courses. She says he went to you with tears in his eyes to implore you to persevere, and that he told his friends in faltering accents that you had but one fault in the world. . . . I asked her what the fault was. She said "indolence for sure; indolence and the Spence Negligence. . . ." My opinion of the case is that it proceeds more from negligence than indolence, and more from a blind confidence in your powers and your destiny than either.[2]

This admonition from Anna Lowell provoked him to write, "Damn everybody, because everybody damns me."[3] The effect, probably from much reminding, was that Lowell in later years often referred to his own indolence. Even when he was under heavy editing and teaching burdens, he sometimes felt that he was indolent if he was unable to write a requested article or poem or to find time to prepare an address.

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[1] In later years, Mrs. Lowell became mentally ill and was confined to a rest home for a time. An account of her condition is contained in a letter from her physician to Horace E. Scudder, located in the Scudder papers in the Houghton Library.

[2] Scudder, op. cit., I, 52.

[3] Ibid.

His pride in ancestry showed itself in still another way. He regretted that he had not been named Percival after the first Lowell to come to America. The name had been considered for him, but since it was not chosen, he adopted it as his pen name and wrote much of his early poetry as Hugh Perceval.

Literary Reputation

During these years of literary striving his income was small, and he sometimes considered lecturing as a means of support, but he never actually contracted for a series until 1853.[1] This was a period when his revolt against authority in college redirected itself into a radicalism against the wrongs of mankind, and he quickly became a writer to be reckoned with in the anti-slavery ranks. "Whittier said, 'the world-wide laugh' caused by Hosea Biglow was alone enough to 'have shaken half the walls of Slavery down.'"[2] This writer believes that Lowell's ultimate speaking success was in part based on this early literary reputation which he gained during the period from 1839 to 1855. His reform writing was fused in such a way with his early reputation that these two aspects of his early development would be difficult, if not impossible, to separate. Some historians believe that his reform writing and early reputation led to speaking engagements in

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[1]Howard, op. cit., pp. 165, 176, 318.

[2]Clark and Foerster, op. cit., p. xxxii.

the anti-slavery cause. Clark and Foerster[1] and Vernon Parrington[2] wrote that he supported the anti-slavery cause with his speaking, as well as with his writing, but no evidence is offered by these historians to support their claim related to his speaking. Horace Scudder[3] and Samuel Mays, on the other hand, contend that Lowell never did any anti-slavery speaking. In compiling the Lowell biography, Scudder consulted many of Lowell's friends concerning his activities, which makes his statement more reliable than those of Clark, Foerster, and Parrington, who were of a different generation and had to rely for the most part on historical evidence. Samuel Mays, an abolitionist, wrote in 1869, "James Russell Lowell was never, I believe, a member of the Anti-Slavery Society. He was seldom seen at our meetings. But his muse rendered us essential services."[4] In addition, other factors support the assumption that he was not an anti-slavery speaker. Lowell's letters, which furnish chronicles of his speaking activities during and after 1855, are strangely silent concerning speaking before this period. His notebooks, journals, and manuscripts are also void of any evidence such as outlines, notes, or speech texts for this period, and, if further substantiation is

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[1] Ibid., p. xvii.

[2] Vernon L. Parrington, Main Currents of American Thought (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1927), II, 457.

[3] Scudder, op. cit., II, 212.

[4] Samuel J. Mays, Some Recollections of Our Anti-Slavery Conflict (Boston: Fields, Osgood, and Co., 1869), p. 262.

necessary, a letter from Lowell to W. Stillman in 1854 stated that the Lowell Institute Lectures were his first attempt at public speaking.[1]

Beginning with his first writing efforts, his material was readily acceptable to editors; but, unfortunately, literature in his day paid more in fame than in cash. Determined to earn his livelihood by writing and to make a name for himself, and subject to visions in which he saw himself with "the world in his hand like an orange,"[2] he began to see the dream come true with publication of poems in the Boston Post and the Knickerbocker Magazine in 1838. During the next year twelve poems were published in the Southern Literary Messenger, and his publication steadily increased until 1841, when he published his first book, A Year's Life.

This first volume was largely autobiographical love poetry and was greatly lauded by his critic friends, leading N. P. Willis to observe that James Russell Lowell was the "best launched poet of his day."[3] Lowell had fallen in love with Maria White, the sister of a Harvard classmate, and the poetry was written to her. She is reputed to have greatly influenced his life and to have directed him toward active abolition and temperance reforms. Different biographers

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[1]Norton, Letters, I, 220.

[2]Scudder, op. cit., I, 15.

[3]Howard, op. cit., p. 103.

and scholars attribute varying amounts of influence to her, ranging from complete responsibility for his participation in the reform movements to almost none. Alfred H. Grommon, who studied Lowell's writing on liberty, abolition and public affairs, presented a strong argument for limited influence on her part. He pointed out that Lowell was in sympathy with abolition before he met Maria White and stopped writing for the movement three years before she died.[1]

Whatever her influence actually was on his reform writing, it was never negative. Even when she became apprehensive concerning his reform of periodical literature, she made no effort to dissuade him. He and Robert Carter founded The Pioneer, which promised relief from "thrice-diluted trash in the form of namby-pamby love tales and sketches" and promised to produce articles in the form of "healthy and manly periodical literature."[2] It was to be a magazine dedicated to reform of all types.

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[1]Alfred H. Grommon, "James Russell Lowell's Writing on Liberty, Abolition and Public Affairs, 1836-1861" (unpublished dissertation, Cornell University, 1944), p. 284. After carefully examining Lowell's writings and life, Grommon concluded that "for almost four years before he met Maria White he had been demonstrating an interest in securing liberty for mankind." Howard, op. cit., feels that Maria White had a stronger influence. He writes, "After his engagement to Maria White, however, Lowell's interest in reform movements became less casual." (p. 183.) Howard asserts that Lowell never really became actively involved in the anti-slavery cause until 1844 when he finally broke his silence to speak out against the annexation of Texas. Howard, op. cit., p. 183.

[2]James Russell Lowell (ed.), The Pioneer (New York: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1947), inside flyleaf of January issue.

Lowell proved an excellent editor but a poor publisher. As Howard pointed out, "His contract provided that he should do all the work, take all the risk, and still publish their periodical without any likelihood of profit."[1] Shortly after the second issue was published, Lowell developed eye trouble and had to go to New York for treatment. Alone, Carter was not able to handle the many aspects of publishing and editing, and The Pioneer died after its third issue, leaving Lowell approximately 1,800 dollars in debt.[2]

In 1844 he published Poems, in which some of his abolitionist poetry appeared. He had begun some criticism on the Old English Poets in The Pioneer and had transferred the series to the Boston Miscellany after his own periodical failed. When the Miscellany failed, he was left with the series partially unpublished. He combined these articles and "a series of lectures he was writing to deliver in Philadelphia" to publish Conversations on Some of the Old Poets.[3] The book was completed shortly before he was married to Maria White in December of 1844.

Determined to be independent, they set out for Philadelphia, where, soon after his arrival, he became a corresponding editor for the Pennsylvania Freeman. He continued in this capacity even after his return to Cambridge

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[1]Howard, op. cit., p. 123.

[2]George E. Woodberry, "Lowell's Letters to Poe," Scribner's Magazine, August, 1894, p. 171.

[3]Howard, op. cit., pp. 165-168.

in the summer of 1845. By the end of the next year he had contributed to many of the widely distributed periodicals and had formed a connection with the National Anti-Slavery Standard in New York, becoming the corresponding editor in 1848.

Lowell's first child, Blanche, died in March of 1847 at the age of fifteen months, and his sorrow over her death resulted in the best known of his shorter poems, "The First Snowfall," "The Changeling," and "She Came and Went." Mabel, the only Lowell child to survive infancy, was born the following September. Rose was born in 1849 and died at the age of six months, and Walter was born in December of 1850 and died in April of 1852.

In spite of his grief over the death of his first-born, 1848 proved to be his most prolific year for book publishing. His Poems in two volumes, A Fable for Critics, Biglow Papers, First Series, and Vision of Sir Launfal were products of 1848.

The year of the Great Compromise, 1850, brought the death of his mother and daughter Rose, a further deterioration of his wife's health, and a second cut in salary from the National Anti-Slavery Standard. Lowell must have been further discouraged when, after his own ten-year fight against slavery, he read Webster's speech of compromise. He poured out his discouragement in an article on Webster in the Standard: "Shall not the Recording Angel write Ichabod after the name of this man in the Great Book of

Doom?"[1] Besides feeling that Webster had "sold out" to slavery forces, he had become increasingly dissatisfied with abolitionist disunion and non-voting theories which had disturbed the Executive Committee of the Standard. The abolitionists wanted immediate action, while Lowell felt the "world better healed by degrees."[2] He wanted to "work in his own way"; and when he tried to work as the Committee would have him, he found that he "had failed to work in either."[3] In 1850 he resigned as corresponding editor with the comment to Sidney Gay, editor of the Standard: "The farther I can get from 'American' slavery the better I shall feel. Such enormities as the Slave Law weigh me down without rebound, make me unhappy, and too restless to work well in my own special vineyard."[4] Lowell was caught in the middle. He disliked slavery, but he could not go along with the methods of the abolitionists. With the action of Webster and the passage of the Slave Law, he felt that the government had gone over to the slave powers. Partly to escape from his wretchedness of spirit over the slavery issue, and partly because of Maria's health, the Lowells made plans to visit Europe. Maria had inherited some land, and they put it up for sale to finance the trip.

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[1]Howard, op. cit., p. 220.

[2]Scudder, op. cit., I, 233.

[3]Norton, Letters, I, 156.

[4]Ibid., p. 188.

First Journey to Europe

The 1851 excursion proved ill-fated, for shortly after their arrival in Italy, they received word that Lowell's father had suffered a stroke. This news was soon followed by the death of their infant son, Walter. The loss of three children in five years broke Maria's health and spirit completely, and she died in 1853, a year after their return to America. Her death, added to the others, dealt Lowell a devastating blow, and left him at Elmwood with a six-year-old daughter to raise, an invalid father, and a mentally-ill older sister.

Beginning of Speaking Career

Just three months before his wife's death in 1853, he was commissioned to give a series of lectures for the Lowell Institute in Boston. As previously stated, the delivery of the lectures in January and February of 1855 proved the turning point in his life by leading to his election to a Harvard professorship as Smith Professor of French and Spanish Languages and Literatures, and Professor of Belles Lettres. He accepted the position with the proviso that he be allowed to spend the next year in language preparation. He chose Germany for his study and spent the last half of 1855 and the first half of 1856 in Dresden. Upon his return in the fall of 1856, he assumed his teaching duties.

Teaching

For sixteen years teaching became Lowell's primary occupation, but not his only one. He edited the Atlantic Monthly,[1] and later shared the editorship of the North American Review with Charles Norton for ten years, thus keeping in contact with American writers and having a great deal to do with the shaping and direction of American literature.[2] It can be seen that even during his teaching years his influence in literature was not confined to the classroom.

The labor he expended editing, coupled with his college lecturing, often worked him fifteen hours a day and forced him sometimes "to sit up till the birds sang."[3]

Though his ideas of teaching did not necessarily conform to the teaching ideas of the day, they were apparently effective. A former student of his, Barrett Wendell, noted that he cared little for grammar, grading, testing, and other mundane duties of the classroom, but instead devoted himself to the literature, preferring to teach ideas

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[1]Jeanette Beveridge, "James Russell Lowell's Editorship of the Atlantic Monthly" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Literature, Michigan State University, 1937). Lowell became the first editor of the Atlantic Monthly, and, along with his teaching duties, editing occupied most of his time until 1861, when, with the death of the publisher and the sale of the magazine, he was replaced as editor. He continued to write articles for the Atlantic Monthly until he became joint editor of the North American Review in association with Charles Eliot Norton in 1863.

[2]Fred L. Pattee, The Development of the American Short Story (New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1935), p. 168.

[3]Scudder, op. cit., I, 444.

and literary appreciation rather than the details and mechanics.[1]

One of the basic tenets of his teaching philosophy included his belief in the merit of a basic education in the classics.[2] To Lowell the study of Greek and Latin was vital to proper scholarly development, and there was great virtue in digging at the "sanskrit roots." He believed translation to English from other languages made one learn English better, and to read about the Greeks and to understand the simplicity of their culture helped one to live life better with higher aims and a better attitude. Lowell held the Greek and Roman cultures up as examples merely to show the right direction, for he urged, "We should not blindly follow the lead of Greece and Rome, surrendering what is genuine in us to what was genuine in them."[3]

Lowell was not free from criticism as a teacher. He felt that the classroom work dried him out and sapped his creative powers,[4] and Barrett Wendell suggested that this attitude was transmitted to his students. "His pupils sometimes complained that he came into the recitation room

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[1]Barrett Wendell, Stelligeri and Other Essays (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893), pp. 206-207.

[2]For a more detailed idea of Lowell's teaching philosophy, see "250th Anniversary of Harvard Address," "Modern Language Ass'n Address," and a lecture on Dr. Wales, located in Scudder, op. cit., II, 403-406.

[3]James Russell Lowell, The Writings of James Russell Lowell (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1890-92), p. 177.

[4]Norton, Letters, I, 278.

yawning and their parents complained that he put a little cynicism into his interpretation of the great historic legends."[1]

Lowell may have been bored with recitation and probably showed it, but he certainly did not give half-measure to his duties. By permitting his students to read with him in his study,[2] he brought an intimacy to his teaching that had a lasting effect on several of his pupils. Henry Adams, who did not speak in a very complimentary way about his Harvard education, reserved a kind word for reading in the Elmwood study and his talks with Lowell, noting that they provided the only thing of value that he gained at Harvard.[3] Barrett Wendell and Julian Hawthorne were also among former students who attested to the value of reading in Lowell's study.[4] "When the classes were small, and whenever his pipes would go around, . . . he would summon the boys to him at Elmwood and begin the task of the day only after the smoke began to curl."[5] In his larger classes he would sound their shallows--"which did not take long. Then he would begin and roll out the cantos in a rich round tone . . .

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[1] The Critic, August 22, 1891, p. 94.

[2] James Herbert Morse, The Critic, February 23, 1889, p. 88.

[3] Henry Adams, The Education of Henry Adams (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1918), pp. 61-63.

[4] Julian Hawthorne, "Lowell in a Chatty Mood," New York World, October 24, 1886.

[5] Morse, loc. cit.

accompanying the reading with the happiest stories and comments."[1]

A fusion of impressions of Lowell, the teacher, reveals him as somewhat distant in his classroom relationship with most of his students, non-academic in his actions and attitude, and a bit eccentric, possibly accounting for the shock registered by some of the Harvard students when he was appointed Minister to England.

Elbert Hubbard wrote, "Yet I remember when the papers announced that our plain Harvard professor had been appointed Minister to England. We boys thought of that shaggy dog that tagged him through the streets, of the briar-wood pipe, and the dusty suit of gray, and we were struck dumb with amazement."[2] Perhaps Col. Higginson's statement that "Lowell was at home--even in his own country"[3] did not include the Harvard campus, where undergraduates probably judged him by his outward appearance.

His unorthodox teaching methods and his plain dress were noted by most of his students who wrote about him as a teacher, but each in turn was awed by Lowell's wealth of knowledge, and he left a lasting impression. As one

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[1] Ibid.

[2] E. Hubbard, Little Journeys to the Homes of American Authors (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1896).

[3] Brander Matthews, Speech, Commemoration of the Centenary of the Birth of James Russell Lowell (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919), p. 25. Held in February, 19-22, 1919, under the auspices of the American Academy of Arts and Letters.

student put it, "His lectures smelled of the lamp, but he read them admirably; some of them stay with me after near half a hundred years."[1]

Lowell's interest in students and Harvard did not end in the classroom. When he was in Europe, he spent hundreds of dollars of his own money purchasing rare books to fill out the Harvard Library collection.[2]

> During his term of service in the Smith Professorship, the late Professor James Russell Lowell made a large collection of books in the Romance Languages, mainly in Old French and Spanish. From this collection, such books as were not already to be found on the shelves of the Harvard College Library were left to it by Professor Lowell's will; but the greater part of the collection remained in the hands of his heirs. This part consists of seven hundred volumes more or less. It contains many books of the highest value to the scholars of the Romance Languages, and many also now difficult to procure. The value of these books is increased by the fact that a large proportion of them contain notes of Professor Lowell's which illustrate his wide reading and thorough scholarship.[3]

Besides allowing Harvard to have the pick of his collection and to take any book that he owned that the Library did not possess, he gave 688 volumes and 113 pamphlets that he had gathered in Madrid to the Library in 1885.[4]

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[1]Nathaniel Southgate Shaler, The Autobiography of Nathaniel Southgate Shaler, with a Supplementary Memoir by His Wife (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1909), pp. 111-112.

[2]Norton, Letters, II, 212, 215.

[3]Frances M. Rogers, "The Libraries for Romance Languages and Literature," Harvard Library Bulletin, IV, No. 2 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Library, Spring, 1950), 272. These books are now in the Harvard Library.

[4]Ibid.

Besides this inestimable contribution to the Romance Language Library, he showed a genuine interest in other aspects of the college. In a letter to Judge Hoar he discussed at great length the campus architecture, summing up his ideas with this thought: "A building outlasts many generations of Professors, and gives its silent lecture on aesthetics to class after class of students. Consider what you spend in ornament as the endowment of a perpetual lecturer on the principles of good taste."[1]

He wrote to Samuel Eliot, an overseer of the college, about the deficiencies of the Harvard Library, and he exhibited a knowledge of the Boston Public Library, where he sometimes gathered material to prepare his lectures.[2]

In another letter he mentioned to Judge Hoar a recommendation that Charles W. Eliot be considered for a higher college position,[3] showing his perpetual concern for the welfare of the school. The varied interest which he continued to display in Harvard College--its library, its architecture, its administration--emphasizes the kind of man Lowell was and thus sheds light on him as a teacher.

The year 1857 proved eventful. He married Frances Dunlap, the governess of his remaining child, and, after seven years of teaching and editing, he published Fireside

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[1]Howe, New Letters, pp. 107-111.

[2]Ibid., pp. 117-119.

[3]Ibid., pp. 112-113.

Travels, marking his first book publication since 1849, an interval of fourteen years.

Political Writing

During the Civil War years and after, from 1861 to 1866, Lowell became more actively engaged in politics, with many articles and poems appearing in the Atlantic Monthly and the North American Review.[1] With the end of the war in 1865, Lowell was asked to deliver a poem commemorating the living and dead soldiers of Harvard. The occasion held strong implication for Lowell since he had lost three nephews in the conflict. His emotional involvement made it a difficult poem to write, and he completed it only by working the entire night prior to the ceremony. The "Commemoration Ode" rates among his best works, though the delivery of it was greatly overshadowed on the day it was given by Phillips Brooks' prayer. Although "his usually cold delivery"[2] displayed emotion and was reported to have drawn tears,[3] it was not until its publication that it received due credit for its excellence. Before publishing the ode, Lowell added the Lincoln strophe, which became the first acknowledgment of the President's greatness by a major writer.

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[1]These essays were collected into a volume and published as Political Essays in 1888.

[2]A. Lawrence Lowell, op. cit., p. 86.

[3]Ibid. See also Scudder, op. cit., II, 64.

When his surge of political writing diminished after 1866, he briefly returned to poetry as a form of expression with beauty as his theme. In 1869 he published Under the Willows and in 1870, The Cathedral. Literary criticism reappeared later in the year with a volume of essays entitled Among My Books. Teaching literature, no doubt, inspired My Study Windows in 1871 and Among My Books, Second Series, in 1876. Three Memorial Poems was also published in 1876, while his next volume of poetry, Heartease and Rue, trailed twelve years later in 1888, becoming the last volume published during his lifetime.

Lowell journeyed to Europe a third time in 1872, resigning his positions as editor and professor to make a two-year tour of Ireland, England, and the Continent. The sale of some property and investment of the money provided him with an income large enough to allow him to give up his professorship. He rented his home, concluded his teaching duties,[1] and journeyed to Europe, from whence he wrote:

> Ring, ring school bell, ring.
> I am in Paris having my fling.[2]

The "fling" was short lived, or at least shorter than Lowell had planned it to be. His investments did not prove as

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[1]Harvard refused Lowell's resignation; later, in 1873, he learned that Charles Norton was being considered as his replacement, so he resigned a second time in order that he would not stand in Norton's way; his resignation was refused a second time. See Howe, New Letters, pp. 201, 205.

[2]Ibid., p. 171.

sound as he had hoped, and he was forced to return to his Harvard professorship, cutting his planned retirement at age sixty-three to just two years.

While Lowell was in Europe during this period, Oxford University expressed a desire to bestow the degree of D.C.L. upon him.[1] Lowell accepted, travelled from France to England, and the ceremonies were performed on June 19, 1873. The following spring Cambridge University conferred a second doctorate on him before his return to America in 1874.[2]

New Political Activity and Resumption of Teaching

In the fall of 1874 Lowell resumed his teaching duties at Harvard, and while continuing there for the next three years, he renewed his interest in politics. He was appalled by the corruption in the post-Civil War administration of President Grant; and immediately upon his return to the United States, he responded with two scathingly satirical poems, "The World's Fair" and "Tempora Mutantur." He took considerable abuse from the press in some quarters, but to many who were also disturbed by the corruption, his resolute stand became a rallying point, and in 1876 he was

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[1] Howe, New Letters, p. 195.

[2] Quinquenial Catalogue of Harvard University for 1895, p. 145. Lowell received a total of six honorary degrees: Doctor of Civil Laws, 1873, from Oxford; LLD's from Harvard, 1884; Cambridge, 1874; Saint Andrews, 1884; Edinburgh, 1884; and Bologna University in 1888.

approached by a group of Cambridge men who were interested in reforming the Republican Party. Lowell helped to organize the group of about forty men, and they were successful in gaining control in the Cambridge area and defeating the Blaine forces. As a result of their victory, Lowell was elected a delegate to the national convention in Cincinnati, where he and the anti-Blaine faction were again successful in blocking Blaine's nomination as the Republican candidate.[1]

Lowell's reputation, coupled with his political activity, led many to suggest that he should run for Congress; but, despite a great deal of urging, he steadfastly refused.[2] He wrote to C. E. Norton:

> I received a deputation this evening to persuade me to reconsider my refusal to stand for Congress. They tell me I am the only candidate with whom the Republicans can carry the district, that they have thoroughly canvassed it and are sure that I should be elected without the need of any effort, that no one else could get the nomination . . . but that I should have it by acclamation.[3]

And in a later letter to Miss Norton he mentioned that he had again been urged to stand for Congress, comparing himself to Caesar and Cromwell "and the other historical examples, who only put aside the offered crown thrice, and

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[1] Republican Party National Conventions, Proceedings 1st-11th, 1856-1896 (microfilm, Michigan State University Library). Lowell represented District 8 from Massachusetts, but, according to the record, he never spoke from the floor. Of the 26 delegates from Massachusetts only Dr. Loring, George Hoar, John Forbes, and Richard Henry Dana spoke.

[2] Norton, Letters, II, 160-61, 169-178, 180-81. See also Howe, New Letters, p. 221.

[3] Norton, Letters, II, 180-181.

this is my half-dozenth self-denial."[1] Lowell's refusal to run for Congress did not completely remove him from politics, for he became a presidential elector and cast his vote for Hayes.

An aftermath of the political campaign was Lowell's being considered for a Cabinet post,[2] but a prominent cabinet member was sure he would not accept, and as a reward for his support he was offered a choice of several ambassadorships instead. Not feeling competent with the languages, he refused Berlin, Vienna, and Russia, but he let it be known that he was interested in Spain. As a result, the man who had been selected for Spain agreed to take the Austrian post, and Lowell was assigned to Spain. As his earlier literary speaking had opened the door to a Harvard professorship in 1855, his political activity and speaking opened the diplomatic door in 1877.

Spanish Mission

The Spanish Mission provided Lowell with a comprehension of protocol and administrative duties but offered little speaking experience. He proved his mettle as a diplomat and after two and one-half years was ordered to England as Minister to the Court of Saint James.

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[1] Ibid., p. 181.

[2] Rollo Ogden, Life and Letters of Edwin Lawrence Godkin (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1907), pp. 1, 29.

English Mission

Lowell proved an immediate success with the English people,[1] and shortly after his arrival he found that he was in great demand as a speaker.

Although Horwill did not discount the part speaking played in the process, he declared Lowell to be popular for a second reason: he saw Lowell as a prophet and felt that the English people recognized this aspect of his writing through exposure in the English press by a devoted journalist, W. T. Stead. Stead often quoted him in his "six-a-week" articles and gave Lowell wide publicity by publishing his poetry in cheap reprints, Penny Poets for School and Home, which sold for a modest price and had a large volume of sales. Public exposure caused Lowell's name to be mentioned from the English pulpit, where his poetry was often quoted by the clergy.[2]

A third reason for his success is suggested by this writer. Lowell's anti-imperialistic writing of 1848 was pertinent in England in 1882 because of her imperialism in Egypt. What had been timely in America thirty years earlier was now vital and current in England. Through a quirk of historical fate, the times had come around to fit Lowell's writing, whereas thirty years earlier the poetry

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[1]Encyclopedia Americana, XVII (New York: Encyclopedia Americana Corporation, 1954), 665.

[2]Herbert W. Horwill, New England Magazine, October, 1902, pp. 321-324.

and essays had been written to fit the times.

Lowell found it difficult to understand his popularity, but he recognized and joked about it. "As for me I continue to be the greatest orator in England (next to Mr. Gladstone) and might speak almost every day in the week if I were fool enough,"[1] reads a letter to his daughter on the first of January, 1882.

That he had become the American lion of English society is attested to by Smalley's estimate that Lowell "had seen the inside of more country houses in England than any other American who ever lived."[2]

Actually, Lowell's acceptance in England was not as sudden as it might at first appear. It should be noted that Oxford and Cambridge Universities had conferred honorary doctorates on him a full decade before Harvard gave him an LL.D. in June of 1884. Even the University of Edinburgh preceded Harvard by a month in bestowing a third doctorate on him in May of 1884, giving him three English university recognitions before his first in America.[3]

Besides the doctorates an offer of the Merton Professorship at Oxford University[4] and his election to the

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[1]Howe, New Letters, p. 263.

[2]Scudder, op. cit., II, 262.

[3]Norton, Letters, II, 278. Supra, chap. iii, p. 46. In the Harvard Quinquintenial Catalogue of 1895 a fourth English doctorate is listed for Lowell from St. Andrews in 1884, but since no mention of this degree is made in any other source, it is not known if it preceded the Harvard degree.

[4]Scudder, op. cit., II, 318.

Rectorship at Saint Andrews are tributes to the esteem in which the British held Lowell's scholarship and to his popularity. His nomination and election to the Saint Andrews Rectorship provided a humorous incident to Lowell's stay in England, as well as illustrating his popularity and appeal to the English people:

> It is a time-honored custom at the ancient and sturdy little University of St. Andrews for the student body to elect once a year a Lord Rector of the University whose duties are limited to a single address. There is a tacit understanding that politics shall not enter into the election, and that the choice shall be the students' own, without interference from the officers of the faculty.[1]

In 1883 Lowell was nominated for this position, but a protest was lodged on the ground that he was an alien. Scudder wrote:

> The whole business created a lively discussion in and out of print. . . . The excitement ran high, and Lowell was elected by a considerable majority. But his opponents pushed the matter further, and demonstrated that he was ineligible by reason of his extra-territoriality. As Lowell put it in writing to Professor Child: "My extra-territoriality will, perhaps, prevent my being Rector of St. Andrews, because it puts me beyond the reach of the Scottish Courts in case of malversation in office.[2]

Lowell settled the humorous crisis by resigning his elected office.[3]

Although no major conflicts in the diplomatic field took place, Lowell ran headlong into the Irish problem which

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[1] Ibid., pp. 299-300.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

resulted from an insurrection of the Irish against the English. Irish-Americans, after becoming United States citizens, were going back to their homeland to fight the English. When incarcerated by the English for their rebellious actions, they declared their American citizenship and demanded release. Lowell was caught in the middle. The English wanted to prosecute the Irish-Americans but could not risk straining relations with the United States. The American press supported the "Americans imprisoned in English jails," and Lowell was in a dilemma; if he had supported the English viewpoint, he would have incurred the wrath of his countrymen; if he had opposed the English in their right to prosecute Irish-American agitators, his stand would have encouraged more agitation and would have strained English-American relations. In spite of the newspaper pressure Lowell handled the situation admirably, stating that they could not be "Irishmen and American at the same time, as they seem to suppose," and that they were subject to the laws of the country in which they chose to live.[1]

It should be remembered that in earlier years Lowell's Americanism had manifested itself in a hatred of the English for their condescending manner[2] and later for their support of the South during the Civil War. During his residency as Minister to England, he developed a

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[1]Richmond Croom Beatty, James Russell Lowell (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1942), p. 263.

[2]Scudder, op. cit., I, 328-329.

theme of conciliation. He felt that the bitterness that existed between the two countries had lasted too long and that it was time to bring about a feeling of mutual respect. In adapting this theme to his English audience, Lowell claimed that he was as much an Englishman as they were, and indeed, he could trace his maternal and paternal ancestry back to the British Isles. Yet, in claiming his British ancestry, he never once slighted his irrepressible Americanism, and the English never dared to joke about the United States or to make derogatory remarks in his presence for he took immediate offense to any such remark.[1]

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[1]Robert Charles Leclair, "Three American Travelers in England: James Russell Lowell, Henry Adams, Henry James" (unpublished dissertation, Pennsylvania University, 1944), pp. 3-57. The first section of this dissertation deals historically with Lowell's contact with the English people and examines his early hostile attitude toward them with his later attitude of conciliation. Leclair concluded that "both as a public official and as a private citizen, James Russell Lowell looked at England as a protagonist of the American people. For this reason the English loved him; for the English people like Americans to be American, and they felt that Lowell, in this respect, belonged to that group of American writers who were most popular in England because of their Americanism: Hawthorne, Emerson, Longfellow, Holmes, Dana, Mark Twain and Walt Whitman. Thus, Lowell's impressions of England are the reactions of a man who approached the British Isles deeply rooted, in thought and feeling, to his own country; and at the end of his life, after many trips abroad over a period of nearly four decades, he retained his staunch Americanism while enriched by the infinite number of contacts he had made with England and the English people." See also George W. Smalley, Anglo-American Memories (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, 1911), pp. 206-7. Smalley notes a characteristic saying of an English host as Lowell drove away from his door: "I need not tell you how much I like Lowell and how delighted I am to have him here as often as he will come. But from the moment he enters my house till he is gone I am in a panic." The panic into which the genial host fell was due to Lowell's fighting spirit; not the spirit of a diplomatist.

When the Cleveland administration took office in 1885, Lowell's ministry was terminated, and he returned to America.

During the next six years, until his death on August 12, 1891, he enjoyed a position of supreme popularity and contemporary eminence. During his lifetime, in his assaults against unfairness, corruptions, and political sham, he used his influence, his pen, and his speaking in efforts to defeat slavery, imperialism, disunion, post Civil War corruption, pedantry, literary incompetence, anti-Americanism, inefficiency in civil service, unfair tariffs, and unfairness in copyright.

As so often happens, historical perspective vindicated Lowell's youthful radicalism and elevated him in 1889 to a position of national adulation. He had become "the foremost citizen of the Republic,"[1] and along with General Sherman, Lowell was said to be one of the six most interesting men alive.[2] He was pictured as a man of great versatility "whose speech at a public dinner" was "a beacon of hope in the sight of one political party and a brand of destruction in that of another."[3] He was also a man who could "turn aside from the burning question of the day to

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[1] The Critic, February 23, 1889, p. 85.

[2] The Critic, February 21, 1891, pp. 98-99.

[3] The Critic, February 18, 1888, p. 75.

publish a poem such as 'Endymion,'" in the Atlantic.[1]

By recognizing Lowell as a prominent figure of his time and by listing his accomplishments in many fields, the writer has attempted to depict Lowell, the man, emphasizing major influences that helped to shape his life, and to demonstrate that speaking was a major force which gave considerable direction to the course of his life.

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[1] Ibid.

CHAPTER III

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, THE SPEAKER

Introduction

Although James Russell Lowell attained some reputation as a speaker during his lifetime, he differed from most literary speakers of the day. While the others--Emerson, Twain, Whittier--relied on speaking as a major source of income and toured the circuit regularly, Lowell's speaking remained a secondary pursuit; and his dislike for the circuit became so pronounced during his first tour that he vowed never again to subject himself to it. This had the effect of further suppressing his speaking reputation, since it resulted in his speeches being heard by fewer people. It was common for speakers on tour to have a small repertoire of addresses, one of which was repeated at each stop.[1] Walt Whitman, for instance, was known to have given his Lincoln address several times each year over a period of thirteen years,[2] while Lowell, speaking only for specific

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[1]William Norwood Brigance, History and Criticism of American Public Address (New York: Russell and Russell, 1960), I, 124-25. See also Spiller et al., op. cit., p. 801.

[2]Henry Seidel Canby, Walt Whitman, an American (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1943), p. 291.

occasions, in all probability never exceeded two or three readings of any of his public lectures, excepting, of course, during his Western Tour and in his college classes.

Possibly another deterrent to the growth of Lowell's reputation was the size of his audiences. He preferred speaking to small groups, and most of his audiences probably did not exceed two hundred persons. Therefore, while speakers like John B. Gough could estimate a lifetime audience of nine million persons in forty-four years,[1] Lowell, by the most optimistic estimate, might have spoken to eighty or a hundred thousand in his thirty-four years of speaking.[2]

Although his lifetime audience was small (by comparison with other literary speakers of his day), he presumably had a reading audience which far exceeded his listening audience, since many of his addresses were given

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[1]Brigance, loc. cit.

[2]Based on existing audience accounts in newspapers, the size of the rooms in which he spoke, and the occasions at which he spoke, Lowell's lifetime audience has been estimated by the writer. (His college classes were estimated as one audience for the whole term rather than a different audience each time the class met.) Using this general estimate of his listening audience and comparing it with his reading audience, one is able to see that his reading public, most of whom never heard him, was an important factor in the reputation Lowell gained as a speaker. Couple the 40,000 who read the Atlantic Monthly in which his Harvard Address was published, with the circulation of the Critic, which boasted world-wide circulation, and also carried the address; add the fact that it was published in Democracy and Other Addresses, and the reading audience of this one speech probably exceeded the number of persons who heard him deliver all of his other lectures and addresses during his lifetime.

widespread publication.[1] Inasmuch as his speeches were more widely circulated through the medium of the press than from the platform, it can be assumed that his reputation as a speaker was more dependent upon his reading audience than on his listening audience.

Speaking Occasions

Early Speaking

Lowell Institute Lectures, 1855

One of the surest signs of the opening of the cultural season in Boston during the mid-eighteen hundreds was the Symphony Concert, quickly followed by the Lowell Institute Lectures. The lectures were not what one would call distinctly fashionable, but they were regarded as a main feature of the Boston winter. The course was free for those who would stand in line at the Cadet Armory on the Saturday preceding its opening.[2] Only one ticket was allotted to each person, and this entitled him to a seat during the entire course, provided that he reached the hall before 7:43 p.m. After 7:43 p.m. all unoccupied seats were opened to those who held admission tickets, which were

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[1] Public Opinion, V (Washington and New York, April 21, 1888), 25, 26. This weekly magazine printed an abstract of one of Lowell's speeches, along with press comments about it from eight newspapers throughout the country.

[2] Scudder, op. cit., pp. 371-378. Additional information concerning the Lowell Lectures was obtained from The Critic, November 12, 1887, p. 249.

distributed after reserve-seat tickets had been exhausted. Lowell faced this audience on January 9, 1855, for his first public appearance, beginning a series of twelve lectures on the English Poets. Ticket distribution had been brisk, and the January 8 edition of the Boston Advertiser announced that only one person in five was able to obtain a reserved seat. To handle the overflow, the series was expanded to two sessions with each lecture being repeated on the afternoon following the regularly scheduled lecture.[1] It was certainly a popular success, and according to Charles Eliot Norton, it was a first-rate literary performance.[2]

Newspaper publicity immediately helped to boost his lecturing reputation. The Lowell Lecture series was fully covered by two local newspapers, and excerpts from the lectures were carried in a third.[3] This three-paper coverage did not meet the demand for copies of the lectures, however; and the Boston Daily Advertiser reprinted the first lecture on February 24, 1855, eight days after the close of the Institute, and announced that the newspaper could again furnish full sets of the lectures to a limited number of people.[4]

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[1] Boston Advertiser, January 8, 1855, p. 2.

[2] Charles Eliot Norton, "Prefatory Note to Humor, Wit, Fun, and Satire," Century, XLVII (November, 1893), 124.

[3] Boston Traveller, Boston Daily Advertiser and the Boston Evening Transcript.

[4] Boston Daily Advertiser, February 24, 1855, p. 1.

News of the successful series spread, and a letter from Francis Child in New York urged Lowell to repeat the lectures there, noting that they were eagerly read by his friends whenever copies could be obtained.[1]

It was an enviable success for a first venture, and Lowell could not help being impressed by the acclaim, but he was hardly overcome by it. He wrote to his close friend Briggs on February 9, 1855:

> My lectures have succeeded quite beyond my expectation. One or two have been pretty good, but I have felt sad in writing them, and somehow feel as if I had not got myself into them very much. However, folks are pleased.[2]

One of those who was "pleased" was Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, as indicated by the following entries in his diary:

> January 9. Mr. Richard Grant White of New York, author of Shakespeare's Scholar, came to tea. He drove in with us to hear Lowell's first lecture: an admirable performance, and a crowded audience.
>
> January 20. Lowell's lecture, on the old English ballads, one of the best of the course.
>
> January 31. Lowell is to be my successor! Dr. Walker talked with me about it this morning, and I have been to see Lowell about the preliminaries, and the matter is as good as settled. I am sorry for some of my friends who want the place. But for lectures, I think Lowell the best of the candidates. He has won his spurs and will give the

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[1]M. A. DeWolfe Howe, "The Scholar-Friends: Francis James Child and James Russell Lowell," Harvard Library Bulletin, V, No. 2 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Library, Spring, 1951), 142.

[2]Scudder, op. cit., I, 377.

college just what it needs.[1]

Evidence of a subsequent series, 1855

With the first undertaking successfully completed, other lecturing occasions appeared. That Lowell went on a Western Tour during March and April of that same year was well known.[2] Whether or not the contract for the Western Tour was a result of the Lowell Institute series is not definitely stated by Lowell's biographer, though it seems plausible, since a letter written to Miss Loring just five days before the Institute began, indicated that the Western Tour was not in his plans at that time:

> By April 1, I shall be free--I shall have done making a fool of myself and shall make April fools of other people with immense relish.[3]

Had he already contracted to make the Tour, he would not have been "free" until May, since the engagements began in mid-March and concluded in early May.

Another inference can be drawn from his statement that he would be free April 1: that he had been engaged by someone to give several lectures after the Lowell Institute series closed; otherwise, he would have been free in February, the series ending February 16.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 373-376.

[2] Norton, Letters, I, 223-228. Howe, New Letters, p. 57. Beatty, op. cit., pp. 129, 30.

[3] Norton, Letters, I, 220.

Two unpublished letters to Jane Norton reveal further data which give credence to this assumption. He spoke of preparing a lecture on Dante, one of a series of three or four, and mentioned an art lecture which he sent to her. These letters are dated January 12 (1855 is added to the letter in pencil), and Winter, 1855, indicating that he was working on preparations of Dante and art lectures while simultaneously preparing and delivering the Lowell Institute Lectures on English poetry.

Lowell's interest in Dante has been noted by his major biographers, and it is known that he gave a series of Dante lectures after he became a professor at Harvard.[1] However, the existence of a series on Dante early in 1855 is new material which this writer has gathered from letters and manuscripts, and an effort has been made to substantiate it to add to the knowledge of Lowell's lecturing.

His letter to Jane Norton, "From Purgatory, January 12," gives this information:

> I send this Milton Lecture which is poor enough--but comfort yourself with the thought that the Dante will be worse.
>
> I am just carrying him along the Comic's road on his journey to Paris, and am being eloquent about what I never saw anymore than the Lanissadone.
>
> I am wholly dependent on your description of it. Dante won't have thought the ono O'altrin worse than the pane or the scali--if he had got it by Lyceum lecturing.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 273.

[2] Unpublished letter to Jane Norton, in the Norton Collection (Houghton Library, Harvard University).

The Milton lecture to which he referred was delivered on January 30 in the Lowell Institute series. The fact is clear that Lowell was writing a Dante lecture just three days after the Institute began. It may be assumed with reasonable certainty that he would not have been involved in this preparation at such a time had he not been pressed for time. In other words, he must have been scheduled to deliver the Dante lectures in the near future. Further substantiation of this assumption is apparent in his letter to Stillman on January 25, 1855, in which he lamented that he was only a week ahead, i.e., two lectures, in preparation of his Institute lectures on English poetry. This fact adds emphasis to the improbability that he would have taken time out from preparing the lectures he was currently delivering unless pressed by the imminence of another series.

A second letter to Jane Norton, dated "Winter, 1855," lends further credence to the possibility of a second series:

> I send the two lectures--remember only that the Art Lecture is sketchy and the Dante one of three or four--a preliminary to mark out the ground. I don't know if you will be able to sort them-- if not shuffle them and see how that will do.[1]

In another area evidence was disclosed indicating that shortly after the Institute, Lowell may have delivered at least five lectures, four of which were the Dante series and therefore were given in one place. Among the Lowell Institute original lecture manuscripts for 1855 were found

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[1]Unpublished letter to Jane Norton, Norton Collection, Winter, 1855.

copies of the series on English poetry plus fragments of four Dante manuscripts and one lecture entitled "Art Lecture." It is obvious that these five did not comprise any part of the English poetry lectures; but since Lowell, according to his letters, was preparing them during that series, and since there has been no previous research discovered concerning a subsequent series on Dante or a single lecture on art, it is believed by this writer that the manuscripts represent an unrecorded series of lectures which have been placed with the Lowell Institute series of 1855 because the Dante lectures were repeated the following year, along with the Institute lectures, as part of the Smith Professorship lectures.

Where the Dante lectures and the art lecture were given cannot be definitely determined. Lowell mentioned lyceum lecturing in the first letter to Miss Norton; this may or may not have been a reference to the actual occasion of the delivery. However, the fact that the Dante lectures comprised a series indicates that at least these three or four were supposed to be given in one location.

Two valid conclusions may be drawn from the above research: (1) that Lowell had not contracted for the Western Tour on January 5, 1855, which would indicate that it was an outgrowth of his successful Institute lecture series, and (2) that it is highly probable that a course of lectures on Dante was given soon after the close of the Lowell Institute Lectures.

Western Tour, 1855

On March 12, less than a month after the Lowell Institute Lectures, Lowell began his Western Tour. He kept no records, or if he did, they are not among his papers at Harvard University, but he did write four letters[1] which give some indication of his route, the intensity of the travel, and the kinds of audiences he faced.

His adventures began on the first day out, when he arrived late for the train which was to take him to Buffalo. He described the incident in a letter to his small daughter.

> We did not get to Albany till six o'clock in the afternoon and there we had to cross the Hudson river . . . and so we were too late for the train that ought to have carried Papa to Buffalo. Papa walked across the river on the ice--and was told afterward that he had risked his life by doing so, which he did not believe--but the ice bent under us and the water bubbled up through the holes in it as we walked. Then Papa saw the train start, but his trunk (with all his lectures in it) did not get across in time--so he had to wait at Albany in a horrible hotel till 1/4 past 11 for the next train.

After spending five hours in a "horrible" hotel, he caught the next train for Buffalo, where he was to lecture the following evening. He missed a night's sleep and arrived with a "terrible" headache, having alternately "froze" and "suffocated" aboard the train.

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[1]Norton, Letters, I, 223-228; Howe, New Letters, pp. 56-59; and an unpublished letter to C. E. Norton, Norton Collection, April 9, 1855, from Madison, Wis. All the information for recreating the lecture tour is taken from these letters unless otherwise footnoted.

He delivered his lecture and attended a reception afterward, where he met ex-president Fillmore.[1] At eight o'clock the next morning he was on his way back to Pen Yan, New York, where he delivered a lecture on March 14. His third stop, after four days on the road, was Rochester, New York, about sixty miles north of Pen Yan.

The next six days are unaccounted for; but on Saturday, March 24, Lowell arrived in Utica, New York, with two days free before his next lecture. With an air of amazement, he noted that the snow was higher than the horses' backs. He spent the two days at Trenton Falls relaxing and then began his rigid schedule again. In the next five days he saw Niagara Falls, rode in a railroad superintendent's private car from Detroit to Chicago, saw a man pour molten iron in Rockford, Illinois, and mailed a letter on March 29 from Elgin, Illinois, which he mistakenly called Elgin, Michigan.

The weather was inclement with either rain or snow or both every day for the first fifteen, and Lowell noted that he had "had a hard time of it."

> I hate this business of lecturing. . . . To be received at a bad inn by a solemn committee, in a room with a stove that smokes but not exhilarates, to have three cold fishtails laid in your hand to shake, to be carried to a cold lecture-room, to read a cold lecture to a cold audience, to be

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[1]Neither the Buffalo Morning Express nor the Daily Courier mentioned the lecture, though the Young Men's Ass'n Annual lists a lecture in Buffalo by Lowell on this date.

> carried back to your smoke-side, paid, and the three fish-tails again--well, it is not delightful exactly.[1]

At the end of the first week of snow, train rides, and cold audiences, Lowell was ready to quit and tried to resign, but he could not get a release from his contract. "It has not been half so entertaining as I expected--for the West (so much of it as I have seen) is but the East over again--only dirtier and worse-mannered." [He went on to qualify] "I mean that part of it which one sees at taverns and on railways. In the houses it is the East grown more openhanded."

Lowell rode from Chicago to Rockford, Illinois, with Judge Drummond of the United States Circuit Court. He related the following incident in a letter to Charles Norton:

> The gentleman who sat behind us had both his feet in a particularly dirty pair of boots--the soil is rich here, you know--up over the back of our seat close beside his honor's unconscious head. I looked so hard at the boots and their owner that I at last looked them down to the floor.[2]

A second incident in Dixon, Illinois, made his circuit lecturing even less palatable:

> I arrived at Dixon, Illinois, about nine o'clock at night and owing to a blunder on the part of the Committee,--for I was expected at a private house--went to the Principle [sic] Hotel, the Nachusa House. I entered a small barroom in which about twenty fellow titians were solacing themselves with tobacco, either by chewing or smoking, sometimes both. I

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[1]Norton, Letters, I, 224.

[2]Unpublished letter to C. E. Norton, Norton Collection, April 9, 1855.

went to the bar, entered my professional name and asked a jaunty youth who presided at the solemnity with a cigar in his mouth at least ten inches long, "if I could have a room?"

"No, Sir!"

"Can't have a room?"

"No, Sir! All our rooms are taken. I'll do the best I can for you. I think I can promise you a bed and it shall be with a respectable white person, anyhow!"

"Whew! Can't I have even a bed by myself?"

"No, Sir! Couldn't do it, no how."

"Then I shall have to try the Dixon House."

This was the rival Establishment, and my shot told.

"Well, Sir, I'll try. Perhaps some gentleman will give up his room."

Accordingly, by and by, he came to one with a confidential wink, and told me he had succeeded in getting me a room by myself. It was like the cell of a Cistercian Monk, and there was almost dirt enough for me to have dug my grave in and kept up the parallel. The room opened out of the side of a large one with ten beds in it, each carrying double. It was positively not eight feet square. The sheets had been clean when the Hotel opened, that is, unless the keeper had kept another hotel before his emigration to this. Some former occupant had taken a fancy to smoke in bed and burned holes in the sheet on each side of the pillow. The arrangements for washing were a fragment of caststeel soap and a dirty towel. I suppose gentlemen who did not have beds by themselves, had to go without one or the other of these luxuries. I drew my nightcap over my head, turned up the collar of my cloak, and camped out upon the outside of the bed.[1]

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[1] Ibid.

While waiting for a train in Freeport, Illinois, he had another encounter with "Westerners."

> Finding that I was likely to lose my dinner, I looked round for an eatinghouse. I saw a sign and entered. The staple was pigs' feet, but I remembered the old proverb and asked for some boiled eggs. The landlord--a little old man of seventy, said the woman "had just put some on to bile." Presently he brought a dish full and set them down on the counter with a large-bladed knife by their side. I took up the dish and was walking into the back room where a dirty table was spread, when the venerable man addressed these winged words to me.
>
> "Where in h___ are you goin?"
>
> "Into the back room to eat my eggs."
>
> "Nobody don't go in there, without he pays for a meal of vittles. You don't eat eggs in <u>there</u>. We ain't agoin' to be acleanin' up arter everybody that wants to eat an egg."
>
> "But how am I to eat them?"
>
> (Blandly) "G___ d___ ye! There's the eggs, there's the counter, and there's a knife--what d'ye want more?"
>
> I could hardly help laughing, but putting on a severe countenance, I said, "My good fellow, there is no use in being crass about it. I shall eat my eggs in the back room and pay for a meal of vittles."
>
> This, of course, made things all right.[1]

Lowell added, "I am heartily sick of this part of the world. It is too new for an old fellow like me and something like eating raw meat." Lowell was thirty-six at the time.

On April 4 he lectured on the "Old Ballads" in Madison, Wisconsin,[2] and he stayed in the area through

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[1] <u>Ibid</u>.

[2] This lecture was covered by the local papers and will be referred to later in the chapter.

April 9, during which time he visited the University of Wisconsin by invitation of the Chancellor.[1]

Lowell was in Cincinnati on April 12,[2] and Longfellow's diary places him back in Cambridge on May 3.[3]

Though the Tour was financially successful--Lowell earned six hundred dollars--it left him with an aversion for this type of lecturing. He later agreed to deliver courses of lectures at Rochester, Ithaca, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, but he never again signed a contract to tour the circuit.

College lecturing

He began his duties at Harvard in the fall of 1856 by repeating the Lowell Institute Lectures on English poetry. These were followed by lectures on Dante and German literature.[4] Whether the Dante lectures given in this course

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[1]At the end of this letter he notes that he talked about horses with Bayard Taylor and William White. William White, Lowell's brother-in-law, had been a classmate of his at Harvard. See Scudder, op. cit., I, 76, 87. White wrote an advance notice from Chicago of Lowell's lecture in Madison for the Daily State Journal, April 3, 1855. Lowell's unpublished letter to Norton places White and Bayard Taylor in Madison with Lowell on April 9. White was back in Cambridge with Lowell on May 29, which is a strong indication that White was Lowell's publicity man and that he made the tour with Lowell.

[2]Three Cincinnati newspapers were examined concerning any lecturing Lowell might have done there. Neither the Columbian, Gazette, nor Enquirer contained any information.

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

[4]Norton, Letters, I, 273.

are the same ones he prepared in 1855 cannot be conclusively determined, but presumably they are, while the German lectures probably evolved from his reading and study in Germany.[1]

Although little evidence exists concerning the topics of his college lectures after the first year, Lowell's letters indicate the frequency of his lecturing. A course usually ran thirty-five[2] or thirty-six lectures[3] per term with two to four lectures each week.[4] In addition to his Harvard duties, he served as a visiting lecturer at Cornell in 1869[5] and at Johns Hopkins in 1870[6] and 1877.[7] He gave at least one lecture in New York City in 1857,[8] and he mentioned lecturing in Rochester in 1868.[9] He, no doubt, supplemented

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[1]Lowell spent the last half of 1855 and the first half of 1856 in Dresden, Germany, studying German and Spanish, which he felt was necessary to qualify him for the Harvard professorship.

[2]The Critic, September 19, 1891, p. 145. "I have to deliver thirty-five lectures in a winter at Harvard College. Now it takes just a lifetime to prepare thirty-five lectures. I lecture every other day, and the day on which I do not lecture I spend the time remembering that I have to lecture the next day."

[3]Norton, Letters, II, 64.

[4]Ibid., p. 48.

[5]Howe, New Letters, pp. 127-28, 134-35. Lowell was to arrive on May 26 to deliver twelve lectures.

[6]Norton, Letters, II, 56.

[7]Ibid., pp. 192-93. This was a four-week series in which Lowell lectured on poetry.

[8]Ibid., I, 277.

[9]Howe, New Letters, p. 127.

his income frequently in this way.

While this quite extensive lecturing career is significant in itself, other factors conducive to Lowell's development as a lecturer should be pointed out. Scudder suggests that his training in the classroom contributed greatly to his success in England as an after-dinner speaker.[1] Certainly his thirty-year involvement with Phi Beta Kappa was also a contributing factor in his success as a speaker.[2] An account from one of the meetings shows Lowell's use of an anecdote to make a point:

> Lowell like Abraham Lincoln was fond of hinting in a pungent anecdote doubts . . . he did not care for the moment to express outright. Thus when the elective system began to be a burning question at Harvard, and extremists were inclined to preach an absolute freedom of choice in undergraduate studies, Lowell was asked, at a Phi Beta Kappa dinner, for his opinion on the question.
>
> "Well," he said, with a twinkle in his eye, "I have been thinking that the Faculty might meet with the same difficulty that an old landlord whom I knew once did. He had a great many original gastronomic theories; and confided to me, once, his conviction that ordinary ducks could be made to attain precisely the same flavor as canvas-backed ducks by feeding them largely on celery-seed. I asked him why he did not try the experiment and he replied mournfully that he had often endeavored to; but, said he, "the trouble is the blamed things won't eat the seed!"[3]

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[1] Scudder, op. cit., II, 264.

[2] Howard, op. cit., p. 1. See also Howe, New Letters, pp. 147-48. He held the office of president of the Harvard Chapter from 1869 to 1871. Lowell's predecessor was Judge Hoar who became a member of Grant's cabinet early in 1869. Ibid., p. 154. Lowell passed the presidency to R. H. Dana in 1871.

[3] The Critic, September, 1891, p. 144.

His own comment concerning his speaking on these occasions suggests that he did little preparation, speaking extemporaneously or impromptu as he did later in England:

> I wonder at my own audacity when I remember how I used to get up as President of the Phi Beta or the Alumni and trust to the spur of the moment. Yet I am alive to tell you so![1]

Miscellaneous speaking

Lowell spent sixteen years in continuous teaching, took part in the extracurricular Phi Beta Kappa and Alumni Club duties, and participated in outside lecturing, thus devoting a third of his life to speaking to small groups. He became a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1855[2] and the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1863.[3] His position as editor of the Atlantic Monthly led him to attend Atlantic Club dinners, which were held during the early years of the magazine's existence. Contributors to the magazine were invited as guests of the publisher, and, as editor, Lowell was called on to do some public speaking and possibly to preside over dinners.[4] He was also a member of the Saturday Club, a group of literary men, which included many of the Atlantic Club members.[5] They met on the last

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[1]Norton, Letters, II, 323.

[2]Scudder, op. cit., I, 446.

[3]Ibid., pp. 446-449.

[4]Francis H. Underwood, The Poet and the Man (Boston: Lee and Shepard Publishers, 1893), pp. 51-55.

[5]Scudder, op. cit., I, 446-449.

Saturday of each month, and here again Lowell probably took part in extemporaneous speaking activities.

Later Speaking

Diplomatic speaking

For the beginning three years of his diplomatic career, Lowell mentioned only one speaking occasion. No doubt, his speaking was curtailed by the language barrier of his Spanish assignment. He was asked to join the Spanish National Academy, and upon his acceptance in November of 1878 he gave a short speech in Spanish.[1]

His transfer to England in 1880 greatly accelerated his speaking activities. His immense popularity put him in great demand as a speaker. As Scudder points out, the politics in England were handled differently from American politics. Whereas the American politician went directly to the press to promulgate an idea, the British politician went to a dinner, cornerstone ceremony, or some other social function and made a speech. The newspapers gave most speeches of this kind wide coverage, and despite the fact that the speech might not fit the occasion and might be poorly delivered, it would, nevertheless, be effective through its press coverage.[2] In a situation of this type Lowell's background almost assured him of success. With

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[1]Howe, New Letters, p. 239.

[2]Scudder, op. cit., II, 246.

no political axes to grind, he could devote himself to the theme of the occasion, and possibly for this reason, he gained a reputation that eluded many politicians, who often bent the occasion to fit their theme.

Of all the speaking he did in England, his famous "Democracy" address as president of the Birmingham and Midland Institute was certainly his best known, and the only political speech that he made in England.[1] His speaking encompassed a great variety of occasions, however. He addressed two literary societies: the Wordsworth Society as president, and the Browning Society as guest speaker. He spoke before several other organizations such as the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution, American Actors in England, the Provincial Newspaper Society, the Workmen's

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[1]On this occasion he defended democracy and gave only positive arguments in respect to it. As he pointed out in his "Independent in Politics" speech: "I felt it incumbent on me to dwell on the good points and favorable aspects of democracy as I had seen them practically illustrated in my native land. I chose rather that my discourse should suffer through inadequacy than run the risk of seeming to forget what Burke calls 'that salutary prejudice called our country,' and that obligation which forbids one to discuss family affairs before strangers." Boston Post, April 14, 1888, p. 1. No texts have been discovered, no comments in letters, and no newspaper accounts relate to any other political speeches in England. The possibility that he spoke on English politics while serving in the capacity of American Ambassador is not likely. It is hardly feasible that he would risk becoming involved in English politics. LeClair, on page fifty of his dissertation, American Men of Letters in England, refers to "Democracy" as the most famous of all the political speeches that he gave in the line of duty. As nearly as this writer could determine, "Democracy" was his only political speech while in office.

Peace Association, and the London Chamber of Commerce. He spoke at Dulwich College and twice at Cambridge University--once for the Emmanuel College Commemoration and again for the opening of a new archeological building. He delivered several commemoration addresses, including those of Longfellow, Gray, Fielding, Coleridge, and Stanley. He addressed his countrymen in England after the death of President Garfield, but he was in greatest demand as an after-dinner speaker.

Lecturing and occasional speaking

After leaving the English Ministry, Lowell continued speaking in America in much the same vein as he had in England, with commemoration, dedication, and after-dinner speeches as his staples. One aspect of his American speaking differed from his diplomatic addresses. He again became involved in political speaking, with copyright, tariff reform, and political independence becoming primary themes. He gave a speech in Concord on literature, dedicated a library in Chelsea, Massachusetts, gave some authors' readings[1] and shared the platform with Oliver Wendell Holmes when Lowell

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[1]Scudder, op. cit., II, 333-34, 361-368. Further material is available in the Huntington Library, where a printed text from one of these readings is located: "Selections for Public Readings, 1886." Call number 89168. Lettered on the cover in ink is "very rare." See also The Critic, August 22, 1891, p. 99. "His presidency of the American Copyright League was by no means an honorary position. He not only spoke and presided at one of the Authors' Readings at Chickering Hall in this city, but visited Washington with other supporters of the movement to appear before a Committee of the Senate."

delivered the "Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding of Harvard Address."[1] He gave another series of lectures for the Lowell Institute in 1887 and continued to speak through the summer of 1889.

He returned to England four times after 1885 and engaged in speaking each time. Illness kept him in America after 1889 and prevented his filling several speaking engagements which he had scheduled in his last years.

Speaking Practice and Theory

Attitude towards Speaking

An interesting disclosure of this study was Lowell's dislike for public speaking. In letter after letter he bemoaned the horror of "finding something to say." Although Hale relates that Lowell enjoyed speaking,[2] nothing could be farther from the truth. His letters from early January, 1855, to January, 1888, confront the reader with constant complaints arising from his difficulty with preparation of speeches.

Lowell on several occasions attributed his dislike for speaking to his shyness:

> I had to preside over our commencement dinner, a service that seems simple enough, but which worries

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[1]This address will be referred to as the "Harvard Address" for the remainder of this dissertation.

[2]Edward Everett Hale, James Russell Lowell and His Friends (New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1905), p. 102.

> a shy man like myself to a degree that would make you laugh.[1]
>
> If I could only so far conquer my shyness as to be able to stand up and let myself run, I would go with pleasure.[2]
>
> Of course I had to make a speech, and of course I made a worse one than I ought, for my shyness about such things has grown to such a passionate repugnance that it won't even let me think calmly of what I am to say.[3]

A few close friends recognized this aspect of his character in his social relations. Theodore Watts, who knew him in London, related an incident of his shyness:

> He used to speak of himself as being an exceedingly shy man by nature. On one occasion I asked him to lunch with me to meet an eminent man of letters whom he had never seen and wanted to see. Noticing that he hesitated, I said--in irony of course--I am afraid that the American Minister who has jostled most of the grandees in Europe feels shy.
>
> He said, "I do, but never with grandees."[4]

A letter from T. W. Higginson to Horace Scudder depicts a slightly different aspect of Lowell's social shyness:

> I remember that Caroline King used to say that Lowell was uneasy in any circle where he was not

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[1]Norton, Letters, II, 143.

[2]Ibid., p. 323.

[3]Howe, New Letters, pp. 318-19. For additional comments by Lowell concerning his dislike for speaking see Norton, Letters, I, 224, 278, 294; II, 290, 318, 319, 322, 352, 372; Howe, New Letters, pp. 135, 151-52, 271, 294, 324; Scudder, op. cit., II, 337, 360, 352-353.

[4]Theodore Watts, London Athenaeum, August 22, 1891. Found in Lowell Scrapbook at Houghton Library, Harvard, page unknown. See also Francis Underwood, The Poet and the Man; Recollections and Appreciations of James Russell Lowell (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1893), p. 267.

> the central figure. He was absorbed with working out his own problem which was doubtless one of hereditary difficulty.[1]

With one exception those who wrote about Lowell's shyness never mentioned that it was noticeable in his speaking or in any way affected his delivery. The exception, a former student, Nathaniel Shaler, found a cleverly hidden self-consciousness about Lowell:

> He appeared to try to hide it even from himself, by contriving a garment of naturalness which he wore cleverly, but it did not hide the self-consciousness which tormented him. As I learned afterward, he had a devouring hunger for praise, which seemed necessary to lift him out of the self-critical humor which possessed him. While I felt this defect in the man in such a measure that at times it made me fairly ache to look at him, his lectures fascinated me; he gave me indeed my first contact with a man of high literary quality, with something of true genius in him.[2]

Lowell's shyness was apparently concealed from his audiences because no mention is ever made of it in the accounts of his speaking, which leads the writer to conclude that his shyness probably affected his preparation and his desire to speak, but after the decision was made to speak, it apparently did not affect his delivery or his ethical appeal.

The shyness never left him, and, indeed, seemed to become more worrisome to him as he grew older.

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[1]An unpublished letter from T. W. Higginson to Horace Scudder, located in the Scudder Papers in the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

[2]Shaler, loc. cit.

Motivation for Speaking

Lowell was motivated to speak by (1) friendship, (2) the many offices and memberships he held, (3) his professorship, (4) the need to supplement his income, and (5) a sense of duty.

Because of the dislike he had for speaking, in many cases only the persistence of his close friends could persuade him to accept speaking engagements.[1]

His offices included the presidencies of Phi Beta Kappa at Harvard, the Wordsworth Society, the Birmingham-Midland Institute, the Copyright League, the American Archaeological Institute, and the Modern Language Association. He was a delegate to the Republican National Convention and a presidential elector. He was honored with six doctorates from the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Harvard, St. Andrews, and Bologna. He was an Overseer of Harvard, A Fellow of the American Academy, The Royal Society of Edinburgh and the Royal Society of Literature (London), a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the French and Spanish Academies. He was Ambassador to Spain and England and a distinguished visiting professor to both Cornell and Johns Hopkins Universities. Most of these memberships, honors, and offices required him to speak.

Although Lowell made a comfortable living from teaching, writing, and editing, he was never wealthy and generally

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[1] *Infra*, p. 94.

had need for money. As was noted before, he often relied on the platform to supplement his income. Despite the fact that his fees reached as high as 250 dollars per lecture in later years,[1] and though he was much in demand as a speaker, most of his speaking was in fulfillment of his various offices and memberships, or through a sense of duty: "I am to speak on politics and somebody ought to tell the truth," was his comment when asked to speak in Chicago on American politics.[2] His sense of duty was probably the inducement for much of his speaking in England. As Ambassador, Lowell began a one-man campaign to promote better relations between the United States and England. This theme appears often in his English addresses and many of his later American addresses.

Physical Appearance

James Russell Lowell's physical appearance changed greatly from his early lecturing period to his more dignified later years. Julian Hawthorne described his early impression of Lowell as follows:

> In those days Mr. Lowell was a broad-shouldered, vigorous man, some five feet nine inches, perhaps in height, and weighing about 160 pounds. His reddish beard was broad and thick, his eyebrows heavy, and his gray eyes were now keen and penetrating, now genial and humorous in their expression. His voice was clear and finely modulated,

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[1]Norton, Letters, II, 331. See also Howe, New Letters, p. 117.

[2]Howe, New Letters, p. 295.

his laugh hearty and contagious.[1]

A Wisconsin newspaper reporter looking at the same man wrote, "Mr. Lowell is a singular appearing man--wears a ferocious moustache and parts his long, straight, black hair in the middle, giving him a strangely uncouth and aboriginal look."[2] A second journalist describes him as "a sort of regal personage, dressed in homespun, revealing a massive frame and powerful, well-turned limbs, and a sly twinkle in his eye, indication that the aforesaid regal personage, looks now and then at the funny side of things."[3]

In 1877, when Francis Child shared a lecture platform with Lowell at Johns Hopkins, he had lost his "aboriginal look." Child wrote in a letter, "J. L.'s good looks and insinuating ways . . . carry off the palm entirely from my genius and learning, but then I am as much fascinated as anybody and don't mind."[4] William Dean Howells gave another picture of Lowell, contrasting his appearance after his return from England with a description of him as he was before:

> I see him in a sack coat and rough suit which he wore on all outdoor occasions, with heavy shoes

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[1]Julian Hawthorne, "Lowell in a Chatty Mood," The World, October 24, 1886, quoted in McFadyen, op. cit., p. 184.

[2]Daily Democrat, Madison, Wisconsin, April 6, 1855, quoted in McFadyen, op. cit., p. 176.

[3]Wisconsin State Journal, "James Russell Lowell" (an editorial), April 7, 1855, quoted in McFadyen, loc. cit.

[4]Scudder, op. cit., II, 214.

> and round hat. I never saw him with a high hat on till he came home after his diplomatic stay in London; then he became rather rigorously correct in his costume, and as conventional as he had formerly been indifferent. In both epochs he was apt to be gloved, and the strong, broad hands, which left the sensation of their vigor for some time after they had clasped yours, were notably white. At the earlier period, he still wore his auburn hair somewhat long; it was darker than his beard, which was branching and full, and more straw-colored than auburn, as were his thick eyebrows; neither hair nor beard was then touched with gray, as I now remember. When he uncovered his straight, wide, white forehead showed itself one of the most beautiful that could be; his eyes were gay with humor and alert with all intelligence. He had an enchanting smile, a laugh that was exquisite music. Everything about him expressed the strenuous physical condition: he would not wear an overcoat in the coldest Cambridge weather; at all times he moved vigorously, and walked with a quick step, lifting his feet well from the ground.[1]

While his manner of dressing changed considerably after his ambassadorship, his energetic physical bearing remained much the same throughout his life.

Creativeness and Preparation

Although he was a noted critic of the writing of others, Lowell was not particularly introspective or analytical about his own. His theory concerning his composition of poetry was rather mystical, feeling that it supernaturally "came" to him.[2] To Thomas Hughes he wrote, "My poems have written themselves and I cannot account for them."[3] Writing

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[1]William Dean Howells, "A Personal Retrospect of James Russell Lowell," Scribner's Monthly, September, 1900, p. 270.

[2]Norton, Letters, II, 10.

[3]Ibid., p. 332.

prose was, as he put it, "Invita Minerva," i.e., without the muse, and he felt as if he were "wasting time and keeping back my message."[1] But of all his different types of writing, addresses and lectures seemed to be the most difficult. To W. J. Stillman he wrote during his 1855 preparation of the Lowell Institute Lectures, "I am not used to being tied to hours or driven. I have always waited upon the good genius--and he will not come for being sent after by express, so I am in a feeze half the time."[2]

Lowell's habit of finishing his speeches at the last moment might seem to indicate that he had difficulty meeting deadlines dictated by speaking situations, but this line of reasoning is hardly credible when one remembers the many years that he met editorial deadlines without complaint, nor does the address form seem a feasible stumbling-block, when, as a poet, he constantly worked within the confines of rhyme and meter. A reasonable explanation might be found in his method of creation. Poetry seems to have formed in his mind when he was inspired by some idea or event, and what he called the "muse" was his subconscious constructing his poetry.[3] A. Lawrence Lowell wrote, "He

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[1]A. Lawrence Lowell, op. cit., p. 99.

[2]Norton, Letters, I, 222.

[3]Brewster Ghifelin, The Creative Process, A Symposium (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1952). This book discusses the creative process in the lives of several creative men, and in each case the subconscious played an important part. Lowell is not mentioned, but the creative process appears to be the same.

carried poems in his head, sometimes for years and only wrote them down when in the mood."[1] James Russell Lowell, writing to Godkin, lamented, "I had some rhymes in my head one day about a man with a 'policy,' which had a hopeful air about 'em, but I lost 'em clean out of my memory while I was hearing my classes mistranslate Italian and mispronounce Spanish."[2]

In the case of prose, he frequently chose his own subject matter and submitted it to editors who were eager to print his work. However, with lectures and addresses, the subject was selected in advance, and, in most cases, dictated by the occasion. Having to create within the limits of a specific topic went against his normal method of creation and made the preparation a painful process of "getting" an idea instead of letting his subconscious mind develop one at leisure. Of course, an explanation of Lowell's creative sluggishness in lecture preparation can be, at best, conjecture, but the perplexity that preparation caused him is not.

His two most painful experiences occurred at the beginning and near the end of his speaking career, indicating that he never overcame the problem. A chronological presentation of excerpts from six letters illustrates Lowell's earliest struggle with preparation.

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[1]A. Lawrence Lowell, op. cit., p. 92.

[2]Norton, Letters, I, 370.

To W. J. Stillman on December 7, 1854:

> I am now so overwhelmed with lectures and Grub Street that I have literally not time to copy the introductory verses.[1]

To Miss Loring on January 4, 1855:

> I have been worked to death, and in wretched spirits about my lectures, which "would not" march as I wished them to, for all I could do. I am beginning now to be able to be carried away a little--so I may get something into them.[2]

To Charles Norton on January 7, 1855:

> This ticket will admit you to . . . the sacrifice of Iphigenia (Iphigenia, by particular request, Mr. J. R. Lowell). It is known that this interesting ceremony was originally performed for the sake of raising the wind, and Mr. L. will communicate a spirit of classic reality to the performance by going through it with the same end in view. . . .
>
> I have just got the flood on, and feel as if I might deliver a course that will not disgrace me.[3]

To W. J. Stillman on January 11, 1855:

> I have been so fearfully busy with my lectures! and so nervous about them, too! I had never spoken in public, there was a great rush for tickets . . . only one in five applicants being supplied and altogether I was taken quite aback.
>
> I have six yet to write, and am consequently very busy and pressed for time.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> As far as the public are concerned, I have succeeded; but the lectures keep me awake and make me lean.[4]

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[1] Norton, Letters, I, 217.

[2] Ibid., p. 219.

[3] Scudder, op. cit., I, 370-71.

[4] Ibid., p. 372. See also Norton, Letters, I, 372.

To W. J. Stillman on January 25, 1855:

> I have delivered five of my lectures now and on Friday shall have half finished my course. Meanwhile I have only a week's start, so that I have to work hard--what with the inevitable interruptions.[1]

To W. J. Stillman, dated February, 1855:

> I shall have done grinding for the Philistines next Saturday, and it will give me, I need not say, the greatest pleasure to see you.[2]

After thirty-one years of lecturing experience the process was as painful in 1886 as it had been in 1855. Four months before the Harvard Address, while he was still in England, he wrote Charles Norton:

> I am distressed with the thought of that abominable address. I have not yet accepted and would decline could I give a better reason that that I have nothing to say. Nobody ever thinks that of any importance. What have I done to have this fly thrust into my pot of ointment which grows more precious every day by diminution like the Sibyl's leaves.[3]

Three months later, on October 6, 1886, he had secluded himself at his daughter's farm to write, but had made no progress.

> I have been mulling over my address and today mean to break into it in earnest by blocking out an Exordium. It doesn't take hold of me and I always feared it wouldn't. It isn't exactly in my line. To fill so large a bowl as a hour I shall have to draw on the cow with the iron tail--and pumping

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[1] Norton, Letters, I, 222.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Norton did not publish this section of the letter, but Scudder printed it; op. cit., II, 337. The original is in the Houghton Library at Harvard University in the Norton Collection.

is exercise that always wearies me beyond most.[1]

A little more than two weeks later, and just eighteen days before the event, he wrote:

> I am in despair about my address. I have written a page only and made some notes. The bayonets must prick me more sharply from behind to get me going. Why did the Lord make us with ten fingers and toes that we might count up to fifties and hundreds and so make ourselves capable of this superstition of anniversaries? Had He curtailed our left foot, for instance of one toe, we should never have missed it except as a gout-trap, and could never have divided any multiple of nine so as to suit our stupid love of symmetry. The Japanese might have done it, but nobody else. There would have been no Cornelius, and Napoleon would have lost his pyramidal allusion, but I see no other harm it would have done.[2]

Five days later, on October 26, he wrote Norton again:

> The address drags like an ox-sled caught away from home by a January thaw. It will not take hold of me, do what I may. I have written a fair share of it, but can't conquer our mutual alienation. My pitcher has gone once too often to the well. If I could scoop up a few drops with a shard of it, I were happy. But the well itself is dry![3]

It is not known when he finally completed the writing of the address, but his letters plainly show the agony of his preparation. However, in order not to give an erroneous impression, it should be explained that Lowell did enjoy some aspects of preparation. Formulating his idea and getting it organized on paper were the distasteful aspects for him, but the reading preparation he often enjoyed. To Miss

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[1]Scudder, op. cit., II, 337.

[2]Norton, Letters, II, 318.

[3]Ibid., p. 319.

Norton he wrote in 1870, "I have been studying old French metrical romances and the like, and have done an immense deal of reading--for which I have a talent, if for nothing else."[1] Often in preparing for his college lectures he would spend his vacation reading on an average of ten to twelve hours a day.[2] Again in 1874, he wrote that he had read Barbour's "Brus" in eight unbroken hours of reading, and went on to say that he had averaged ten hours a day for two months, getting "so absorbed that I turn grudgingly to anything else."[3] He felt that as a professor he should be learned and proceeded to read a great deal, making a systematic study of literature,[4] partially because he enjoyed reading and partially because he felt the need for complete preparation.

> Yesterday I began my lectures and came off better than I expected, for I am always a great coward beforehand. I hate lecturing, for I have discovered (entre nous) that it is almost impossible to learn all about anything.[5]

Lowell may have been apprehensive concerning his preparation, and he may have been inwardly shy concerning large group contact, but it should be pointed out that

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[1] Ibid., p. 64.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] Ibid., p. 130.

[4] A. Lawrence Lowell, op. cit., p. 94.

[5] Norton, Letters, I, 294.

preparation was also his strongest asset. His knowledge of the New England audience was unsurpassed and is well attested to by the success of the Biglow Papers as well as considerable current scholarship.[1] Spiller, in his Literary History of the United States, characterizes Lowell as being as sure of his audience as a minister composing his Sunday sermon.[2] Spiller made this statement in reference to reader acceptance of Lowell's verse; but the audience was the same, for those who read his poetry were the people who came to hear him speak.

Audience

In delivering the Lowell Institute Lectures of 1887, Lowell observed what he must have thought was a primary factor in speaking to a popular audience on a scholarly plane: "It is the business of the lecturer to treat his audience as M. Jourdain wished to be treated in respect to the Latin language--to take it for granted that they know, but talk to them as if they didn't."[3]

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[1]Several scholarly works have been devoted to Lowell's knowledge of the New Englander and to the philological expertness with which he explored it. James Walker Downer, "Features of New England Rustic Pronunciation in James Russell Lowell's Biglow Papers" (unpublished dissertation, University of Michigan, 1957-58). Robert Reinhardt, "James Russell Lowell's Appraisal of American Life and Thought" (unpublished dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1951). Arthur W. M. Voss, "The Biglow Papers of James Russell Lowell" (unpublished dissertation, Yale University, 1941). Russell B. Nye, "Lowell and American Speech," Philological Quarterly, XVIII (1939), 249-256.

[2]Spiller et al., op. cit., p. 588.

[3]Works, VII, 188.

Lowell sometimes became irritated with his audience, as perhaps all lecturers have, and wrote, "I remember one phrase of his [Feltham] that tickled me--the 'spacious ears' of the elephant. It fits another animal, and sometimes when I have been ass-fixiated by an audience I have been tempted to beg them to 'lend me their spacious ears.'"[1] Another time he wrote, "In composing one is confronted with his audience, which he cannot help measuring by the dullest of his fellow-citizens, and this is far from inspiring."[2] This is not, however, indicative of Lowell's general attitude. He realized that the audience's estimate of what they heard was the all-important factor in his success. In 1853 he was in disfavor with his reading public, and their lack of interest caused his poem, "Our Own," to be discontinued in Putnam's Magazine. He wrote:

> Authors ought certainly to be as sensible as shopkeepers, and to know that if the public does not want their wares, it will not buy them any sooner for being called fool and blockhead.[3]

He was also aware that different audiences had different expectations. He found that a centennial audience expected the "pith and marrow of a hundred years" from the speaker.[4] The British audience expected humor, since he

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[1]Scudder, op. cit., II, 360.

[2]Norton, Letters, II, 150.

[3]Ibid., I, 201.

[4]Ibid., II, 150.

was considered by them to be America's foremost humorist. But, curiously enough, Lowell's most frequent observation was of the English "dullness." His sense of humor led him to take advantage of the English flaw. "I often indulge in the rhetorical figure called irony in conversing with the natives of the British Isles because they are so delightfully obtuse to it," he wrote his daughter in 1877.[1] Still later he observed:

> I think the true key to this eagerness for lions [enthusiasm for Buffalo Bill by the British Public]--even of the poodle sort is the dullness of the average English mind. I never come back here without being struck by it. Henry James said it always stupefied him at first when he came back from the Continent. What it craves beyond everything is a sensation, anything that will serve as a Worcestershire sauce to a sluggish palate. We of finer and more touchy fibre get our sensations cheaper, and do not find Wordsworth's emotions over a common flower so very wonderful. People are dull enough on our side of the ocean-stream also, God wot; but here [in England], unless I know my people, I never dare to let my mind gambol. Most of them, if I do, look on like the famous deaf man at the dancers, wondering to what music I am capering. They call us superficial. Let us thank God . . . that our nerves are nearer the surface, not so deeply embedded in fat or muscle that wit must take a pitchfork to us.[2]

Probably Lowell's most crucial "fear" was of boring an audience. He seemed always to gauge his success by the effect he had on a particular audience. During the 1855 Lowell Institute Lectures he wrote, "I delivered my first lecture to a crowded hall . . . and I believe I have succeeded.

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[1]Howe, New Letters, pp. 227-28.

[2]Norton, Letters, II, 377-78.

The lecture was somewhat abstract, but I kept the audience perfectly still for an hour and a quarter."[1] On another occasion, he observed jokingly that a lecture is good if an audience likes it.[2] Audience appreciation alone would hardly be a criterion for value judgments by Lowell, but it indicates that he understood the value of audience acceptance.

In his odes, he set up the rhyme schemes in a manner which would be least likely to bore his audience.[3] When he refused to read a poem at the Phi Beta Kappa meeting in 1849, he again illustrated his sensitivity concerning boredom. He expressed his dislike for a program in which the orator always appeared before the poet and wearied the audience to distraction before the poet had a chance to speak:

> Should not the "Literary Committee" take it into consideration that attentive capacities of an audience are limited? Either so tether the orators that they shall neither graze upon nor trample that share of the common paddock which belongs of right to Pegasus. . . . Do the orators believe that the ears of their audience are so long that a certain amount of wooden talk is needful by way of handle, as it were, in order to make the point of their discourse reach down to the tympanum? Certain it is that, if the hearers had their way, the poet would literally find, on most occasions, a clear stage and no favor. For there is a certain point of time (say quarter past 2 o'clock) at which they become instructively satisfied that their dinner is cooked and cooling, and

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[1] Ibid., I, 220-21.

[2] Howe, New Letters, p. 117.

[3] Scudder, op. cit., II, 65-74.

> after that one might as well recite verses to men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders, and whose ears consequently are in their bellies. . . . This crisis may come a trifle earlier with country members, and later with those from the city, but a series of observations has convinced me that quarter past two is a fair average.
>
> Year after next let the poet come first, and let the selection be honestly made with a special eye to avenging the wrongs of our "oppressed race." Choose some author of "Washington, an Epic," with an eighteen inch bore, some McHenry wont to graduate his verses by the longaeval scale of the Antediluvians, and let him be dined amply beforehand by subscription of poets who have come in to the nutshells and melonrinds of former anniversaries, and then let him turn ad libitum the crank of his pitiless and unweariable barrelwagon.[1]

Lowell's humorous idea of revenge leaves little doubt concerning his feelings about audience fatigue. Often in the opening sentences of his after-dinner speeches he told his audiences that he would be brief. On other occasions he expressed a reticence to speak because he had nothing to say.

> I don't wish to be there on the 27th but will be for your sake--though it be wicked to speak when one has nothing to say. The monkeys our cousins are more conscientious.[2]

Hearing of his selection to speak at the 250th Anniversary of Harvard's foundation, he wrote, "I have not yet accepted and would decline could I give a better reason than that I have nothing to say. Nobody ever thinks that of any

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[1]Howe, New Letters, pp. 33-34.

[2]Unpublished section of a letter to Charles Norton, dated August 13, 1885, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

importance."[1] This plainly illustrates Lowell's feeling that content was all important to audience interest. He wrote of the same address, "To fill so large a bowl as an hour I shall have to draw on the cow with the iron tail--and pumping is exercise that always wearies me beyond most."[2] His knowledge of the Boston audience demonstrates this idea still further:

> A Boston audience is like every other in this--that they like a serious discussion of any topic, and have an instinct whether it will be well handled or no. We have had a course of mountebanks this winter, and people will be all the more hungry for something serious and instructive.[3]

Structure

There are few references to the structure of Lowell's addresses, and he apparently had no theory of his own in this area. However, he wrote of "blocking out his exordium" in his cab and trusting to the spur of the moment for the rest,[4] which according to him was his normal preparation on several earlier occasions. In another instance, writing of a speech he had recently delivered, he remembered hearing several "ominous cracks under me as I hurried over the slender and shaky bridge which led from my exordium to my peroration."[5]

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[1] Scudder, op. cit., II, 337.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Norton, Letters, II, 55.

[4] Stone, op. cit., p. 63.

[5] Norton, Letters, II, 253.

This is scant evidence to prove that he favored classic arrangement, nor would it be possible to determine from these references whether he preferred any particular rhetorician as a guide for outlining his speeches, since he had read Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian. That his knowledge of speech structure was not limited to mere use of terms is evidenced by his comments concerning Emerson's Phi Beta Kappa oration in 1867. He wrote:

> Emerson's oration was more disjointed than usual, even for him. It began nowhere and ended everywhere, and yet, as always with that divine man, it left you feeling that something beautiful had passed that way--something more beautiful than anything else, like the rising and setting of stars. Every possible criticism might have been made on it but one--that it was not noble. There was a tone in it that awakened all elevating associations. He boggled, he lost his place, he had to put on his glasses; but it was as if a creature from some fairer world had lost his way in our fogs, and it was our fault, not his. It was chaotic, but it was all such stuff as stars are made of, and you couldn't help feeling that, if you waited awhile, all that was nebulous would be whirled into planets, and would assume the mathematical gravity of the system.[1]

Logic

To W. J. Stillman he wrote concerning Ruskin's logic, "He is a good logician, but a bad 'reasoner.' Give him his premises and he is all right. Now, in Aesthetics every man more or less assumes his premises and must do so."[2]

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[1] Norton, Letters, I, 393-94.

[2] Ibid., p. 280.

In writing to Godkin, he found one of Anna Dickinson's addresses illogical.

> I enclose you a paragraph from an harangue of Miss Dickinson's at the Boston Music Hall last night--31st December. I don't send it because you will care for what she says about the Nation--which is weak enough--but because it will give you a chance to say a timely word on an important subject. This theory of settling things by what anybody may choose to consider "humanity," instead of trying to find out how they may be settled by knowledge, is a fallacy too common in this country.
> . . . . . .
> For your guidance, I add that there were some very good points in the lecture--better, indeed, than I expected. But it is very droll to me that Miss Dickinson should see that her "humanity" style of setting things right (by instinct, namely) is the very shillelah method she condemns so savagely in the Irish.[1]

Style

One thing that bothered Lowell about lecturing was the absolute time limits assigned. He felt that time limitations adversely affected style.

> Yet whoever undertakes to lecture must adapt his discourse to the law which requires such exercises to be precisely sixty minutes long, just as a certain standard of inches must be reached by one who would enter the army. If one has been studying all his life how to be terse, how to suggest rather than to expound, how to contract rather than dilate, something like a strain is put upon the conscience by this necessity of giving the full measure of words, without reference to other considerations which a judicious ear may esteem of more importance. Instead of saying things compactly and pithily, so that they may be easily carried away, one is tempted into a certain generosity and circumambience of phrase, which, if not adapted to conquer time, may at least compel him to turn his glass and admit a drawn game. It is so much harder to fill an hour

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[1] Ibid., II, 14-15.

than to empty one![1]

Lowell felt that style was natural and instinctive. He wrote the following to Harriet Beecher Stowe.

> My advice is to follow your own instincts--to stick to nature, and to avoid what people commonly call the "Ideal," for that, and beauty, and pathos, and success all lie in the simply natural. . . . There are ten thousand people who can write "ideal" things for one who can see, and feel, and reproduce nature and character. . . . What made Shakespeare so great? Nothing but eyes and--faith in them. . . . I see nowhere more often than in authors the truth that men love their opposites. Dickens insists upon being tragic, and makes shipwreck.[2]

For the best possible style Lowell advocated the following:

> The most noticeable quality of the mere style is its unnoticeability. Balance and repose are its two leading characteristics. . . . To be simple is to be classical.[3]

Here again is the primary effect of Lowell's classical background exerting itself in his love of simplicity, which he greatly admired in the Greeks. This attitude, that lecturing style was in direct opposition to good simple style, may be another reason that he was more comfortable speaking within the framework of the shorter extemporaneous speech.

Delivery

Lowell employed two types of delivery: academic reading and extemporaneous or impromptu speaking. Edward

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[1] Works, VII, 185-86.

[2] The Critic, July 5, 1890, p. 11. Printed under the caption, "From an Old Letter."

[3] James Russell Lowell, The Round Table (Boston: R. G. Badger, 1913), p. 200.

Everett Hale, in James Russell Lowell and His Friends, described his academic reading style of delivery as follows:

> Mr. Lowell never imitates the stump speaker and never falls into the drollery of the comedian. His pronunciation is clear and precise; the modulation of his voice was kept in natural compass. He read like one who had something of importance to utter, and the just emphasis was felt in his penetrating tone. There were no oratorical climaxes, and no pitfalls set for applause.[1]

This same account of Lowell's delivery appears in several places besides Hale's biography. It is quoted in Lowell's death notice in the Colonade, Albert Mordell reprinted it in The Function of the Poet and Other Essays, and it appears in the introduction to the Rowfant Club's reproduction of the 1855 Lowell Institute Lectures.

Reporters covering Lowell's Western Tour in Madison, Wisconsin, made similar comments:

> The lecture of James Russell Lowell, last evening was one the very best of the course delivered before the Institute. It was rich in sentiment, philosophy and humor.--His style is excellent, his delivery easy, without gesticulation, and has the freedom of high-toned and agreeable conversation.[2]

Another wrote:

> He uses the simple, straightforward Saxon, and reads his lectures without attempting to add to the effect of his language by any of the graces or tricks of oratory. His readings from old ballads were admirable and brought out, with fine effect, their bold and picturesque features.[3]

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[1] Hale, op. cit., p. 114.

[2] Daily Democrat, Madison, Wisconsin, loc. cit.

[3] Ibid.

An indication that his reading delivery changed very little over a thirty-one year period is an account of his Harvard address:

> His oratorical delivery was a perfect expression of perfect gentlemanhood. It had the "temperance which gave it smoothness." His voice, which was a most agreeable baritone in its musical register, was used in the quiet, earnest modulations of a cultivated man addressing a group of interested friends. He rarely made a gesture. His was not the temperament that could face a mob, like Wendell Phillips; but he could furnish that matchless orator with poetic sentiments which often winged the piercing darts of his eloquence. His was not the gift of commanding promiscuous assemblies, which is the splendid possession of his friend, George William Curtis. Lowell had little of the essentially popular fibre. He was a public speaker of the finished academic and after-dinner sort, rather than an orator in the amplest sense of the term. He needed [lacked] the power to rise into eloquence of passionate and ringing speech to be quite perfect as an orator.[1]

In the late 1880's Lowell participated in authors' readings, often sharing the platform with Oliver Wendell Holmes. In reading his own poems, he seems to have adapted his delivery to fit the content.

> It were superfluous to say that the two gentlemen read well; but this may be said, that a part of the charm consisted in a demonstration that verse may be read without the regulation hitch, gasp, and quaver of voice. . . . That expression is possible without tremor or gush, or even appealing glances toward the ceiling, may be confidently asserted by all who had the pleasure of listening to these poets in their quotations from themselves. . . . Dr. Holmes . . . put considerable of emphasis and a modicum of fire into his reading. . . . Mr. Lowell chose rather the monotone,

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[1]"Lowell Editorial," p. 299. This periodical feature was torn from a magazine with no other identification. It is among the Lowell papers at the Houghton Library.

> with a clear-cut enunciation, as if his feeling were, "If these words will not of themselves yield my meaning, then 'perish the attempt!'" He had to depart somewhat from this method, however, when it came to the reading of "The Courtin," and here his manner was mildly suggestive of that of his brother poet [Holmes].[1]

These are probably valid criticisms of Lowell's "reading" delivery, since they were gathered from different sources over a period of thirty-one years and yet are similar in several respects. They all mention his pleasant voice, that he used a conversational tone, that he read well, that he used few gestures and that his delivery was not of the popular type. The Harvard Address criticism also stresses Lowell's lack of power for eloquence of the "passionate ringing sort," which would conform to a view he held of himself. He expressed a criticism of his own style of delivery in an introduction to a Wordsworth lecture which he apparently delivered before a lyceum audience:

> In accepting an invitation to speak before you this evening, I confess that I felt a great deal of doubt whether I could make the things that interest me also interesting to you,--whether literary criticism were not a thing too remote from popular topics, perhaps too abstract in its nature to be profitably presented here. The Lyceum, it would appear, has in some measure departed from its virginal intention and to a certain extent has begun to supply the place of the theatre where people go to be amused and are apt to be a little impatient if they are cheated of what they expect. It has trained a body of public speakers who know all the pulses of an audience and can move them to merriment or indignation as they list. Lecturing, like acting, has become an art and the starring system has naturally invaded the theatre, till there appeared to be no place left for quiet unprofessional people with

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[1] The Critic, March 20, 1886, p. 149.

> no gift of oratory, no knack at rousing applause, and no patent political medicine to advertise.[1]

The earlier accounts, the Harvard Address criticism, and his own estimate of his speaking talent indicate that his addresses were never written to "rouse applause" or to be "eloquent" in an emotional sense.[2]

His "reading" generally brought him excellent notices and considerable praise, but it was not always successful. There were critics who disliked his plain, unembellished delivery. An account of his Coleridge Commemoration Address was obviously written by a journalist who had heard him speak extemporaneously and felt that his reading delivery was poor by comparison:

> Mr. Lowell's speech preliminary to his unveiling the bust of Coleridge, which his countrymen had presented, was read instead of being delivered. This may perhaps have been a disappointment to those present who had any previous opportunity of listening to one of the happiest of impromptu orators; but the educated public are certainly the gainers by those honorable scruples of literary conscience which induced him in this instance to give his thoughts that greater finish of form which they could only obtain from the pen, and which he rightly held the occasion to require. Thus perfected, his address, which in any case no doubt would have been equally full of acute and sympathetic criticism, sparkled also with felicities

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[1]Unpublished manuscript in the Houghton Library; one page written on the reverse side of a Dante examination, entitled "Wordsworth Opening."

[2]A. Lawrence Lowell, op. cit., pp. 83-84, wrote that emotional appeals were not characteristic of Lowell even in an emotional situation like anti-slavery writings. "In the first place his anti-slavery writings differ from those of his contemporaries by the fact that he never tries to harrow the reader's feelings by dwelling on the anguish of the slave. . . . He always appeals solely to the sentiment of heroism and manhood."

> of diction, and abounded with that quiet humor which is hardly more constant or captivating even in Mr. Lowell's verse than in his prose.[1]

In the case of his Garfield Address, the critic was not nearly as kind. He reported that the address read beautifully in the newspapers but that "the speech was badly delivered, and the Americans who were privileged to listen to it failed to perceive its beauty. All their applause was given to an Episcopalian bishop who had mastered the tricks of the platform."[2] Lowell himself realized that his delivery was more effective when he addressed small groups and when he could use a conversational tone. He wrote to R. W. Gilder:

> I was disheartened by the size of the house. The sort of things I am apt to say are not exactly to be bawled and without bawling I might as well have expected to fill the Cave of Kentucky.[3]

Generally, when conditions were more favorable, he revealed a quickness and versatility of mind, and a certain native, spontaneous grace, both of words and manner, which were characteristic of him. He was "so truly genuine" that he could not fail to charm.[4]

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[1] Critic, May 30, 1885, p. 261, reprinted from The Saturday Review.

[2] The Speaker, August 15, 1891. Newspaper clipping in Lowell papers at Houghton Library, page unknown.

[3] Norton, Letters, II, 372.

[4] Henry Stone, "Introduction," American Ideas for English Readers, James Russell Lowell (Boston: J. B. Cupples, 1892), p. x.

His impromptu delivery, compared to his reading delivery, received considerably more praise. Scudder wrote the following of Lowell's speaking in England:

> It was natural that Lowell should be in demand on such occasions [dinners or societies], and it was inevitable that he should make a remarkable impression. He had for years cultivated the art of speaking to small assemblies when he had a congenial subject and a responsive audience. He had the readiness of a practised writer, and he had above all a spontaneousness of nature which made him one of the best of conversationalists. It was but a slight remove from his lecture-room at Harvard, or his study at Elmwood, to an English dinner-table, and the themes on which he was called upon to speak were very familiar to him. Literature, the common elements of English and American life, the distinctiveness of America, these were subjects on which he was at home, and he brought to his task a manner quiet yet finished by years of practice. Had set orations been his business, he would scarcely have made so remarkable an impression as he made by his off-hand speeches. Yet it must not be supposed that these were careless, impromptu affairs. He was helped by his readiness, but he did not rely upon it. He thought out carefully his little address, and sometimes wrote it out in advance even when he made no use of manuscript.[1]

The Daily Telegraph compared him to Charles Dickens:

> Literary ability and oratorical accomplishment are less commonly united in this country than in Mr. Lowell's own; but it may be doubted whether on either side of the Atlantic there has been any man of the first rank in literature who has attained to Mr. Lowell's acceptance and distinction as an after-dinner speaker since the death of Dickens.[2]

Sir James Rennell Rodd, a fellow diplomat, remembered Lowell as a speaker in his Social and Diplomatic Memories:

> I heard him deliver one of the most eloquent and finished speeches to which it had ever been my

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[1] Scudder, op. cit., II, 264-65.

[2] Daily Telegraph, London, August 13, 1891.

> fortune to listen at a dinner given by the Incorporated Society of Authors to American Men of Letters.[1]

All the accounts of Lowell's shorter impromptu delivery that the writer could locate were extremely complimentary, while comments on his reading delivery fluctuated from high praise to less than flattering comments.

After-Dinner Speech

Bryce, in praising Lowell, hinted that he had developed the after-dinner speech to an art:

> There is a tendency today to make after-dinner speaking a mere string of anecdotes, most of which may have little to do with the subject or with one another. Even the best stories lose their charm when they are dragged in by their head and shoulders, having no connection with the allotted theme. Relevance as well as brevity is the soul of wit, for a good speech is a work of art, in which every part should have an organic relation to every other part. And when you tell a story, take some pains with the form of it. The late Mr. James Russell Lowell whom we in England admired as the best after-dinner speaker of his day, was a master in that line. The classical felicity of his diction set off and gave charm to the smallest anecdote he told.[2]

Lowell never wrote an article or essay concerning his theory of speaking, but he did make enough comments and criticisms to make his ideas on the subject worth examination. He was aware of the general mistakes that after-

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[1]Sir James Rennell Rodd, Social and Diplomatic Memories 1884-1893 (London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1922), p. 154.

[2]Bryce, loc. cit.

dinner speakers often make and humorously referred to them in speeches of his own.

> I am consoled . . . by an observation of mine, which is that speakers on an occasion like this are not always expected to allude except in distant and vague terms to the subject on which they are supposed to talk.[1]

In another speech he observed the following:

> I have also in my experience of after-dinner speeches observed that a speech is like an ill-broken horse; it is apt to take the bit between its teeth and to bolt at the most unexpected moments. A speaker frequently brings up, not where he intended to bring up, but where his steed chooses to land him.[2]

And with his usual sense of humor he intimated that "the staple of the proper after-dinner speech" was to tell the audience about their own city.[3] On still another occasion his views concerning presiding at a meeting were:

> I shall be careful not to devastate the speeches of those who are to come after me by trying to show how many fine things I can say about the subject which will be the chief topic of discussion to-night. I shall prefer to let you suppose that I could say them If I would. For I consider the true office of a chairman on such occasions to be that of the heralds who blow a few conventional notes to announce that the lists are open.[4]

In a letter to Henry James, he described what an address is:

> An address is a species by itself--a cross between essay and speech--tolerating, even inviting, more rhetoric than the one, less logic than the other and suggesting the touch of humour here and there

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[1] James Russell Lowell, American Ideas for English Readers, ed. Henry Stone (Boston: J. G. Cupples Co., 1892), p. 52.

[2] Ibid., pp. 89-90.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Writings, VI, 81.

> that shall relieve without relaxing the attention of an audience.[1]

To make a good speech, Lowell supplied the following formula:

> I have my own theory as to what after-dinner speaking should be. I think it should be in the first place short; I think it should be light; and I think it should be extemporaneous and contemporaneous. I think it should have the meaning of the moment in it and nothing more.[2]

On another occasion, making a speech at a dinner for Henry Irving in 1881, Lowell asserted that an after-dinner speech ought to contain "an anecdote, a platitude, and a quotation."[3] In "Cambridge Thirty Years Ago," Lowell observed that a lagging audience at a political meeting could "be exploded at once by an allusion to their intelligence or patriotism; and at a literary festival, the first Latin quotation draws the first applause, the clapping of hands being intended as a tribute to our own familiarity with that sonorous tongue, and not at all as an approval of the particular sentiment conveyed in it."[4] Lowell went on to explain that even a derogatory quote in Latin would have the same effect. He noted that Swift was "lousy with Latinisms," Browne's quotes were "far-sought and farfetched," and Feltham's were "stuck-in

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[1]Howe, New Letters, p. 297.

[2]Address delivered before the Provincial Newspaper Society on May 7, 1884, p. 1. See also Scudder, op. cit., II, 306.

[3]Matthews, op. cit., p. 27.

[4]Clark and Foerster, op. cit., p. 289.

like plums in his poor pudding."[1] Recognizing these dangers did not diminish Lowell's extensive use of quotation which he continued throughout his life.[2] He felt that it was difficult for an ornamental quotation not to be successful for it embellished by its mere presence.[3]

Theory

A search through Lowell's speeches and letters for his theories concerning public speaking revealed that they are neither plentiful nor profound, appearing rather as casual observations or structural devices for his speeches. He often advanced as part of an introduction to a speech his theories concerning speech construction or speech content, and then he would construct his own speech to follow the formula he had laid down.[4] More often, however, his theory consists of astute observations dealing with the elements of speech making.

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[1] Scudder, op. cit., II, 359.

[2] George P. Clark, op. cit., pp. 225-26. Clark found that Lowell used quotation for three main purposes: (1) to ornament his style, (2) to develop his meaning, and (3) to provide humor.

[3] Writings, I, 19.

[4] Supra, pp. 105-107.

CHAPTER IV

TEXTUAL CONSIDERATIONS

A major consideration in the study of public speaking is the difficulty of obtaining valid texts for the period before film and electrical transcription came into wide usage. "In a sense, each critic of oratory is also a bibliographer; he must find the most authentic texts before he proceeds to an evaluation of the speaker's merit."[1]

In the case of James Russell Lowell, the bibliographic study has proved to be the most important and interesting aspect of this study for the writer. In many ways Lowell is a nearly ideal subject for textual investigation. He often wrote his speeches in advance and, after reading them from manuscript, furnished newspaper reporters with a copy. At other times, when he spoke extemporaneously, stenographers were present; and in a few cases, he was recorded by stenographers as he read from a manuscript. Another factor to add authenticity to Lowell texts was his attitude toward them. He felt morally obligated to leave his extemporaneous speeches as they were delivered.

> Mr. Lowell found occasion to say that he never tampered with correct reports of extemporaneous speeches

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[1]Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1948), p. 307.

> that he had made. No matter how good a thing occurred to him afterwards, nor how much the report of his actual remarks would gain by it, it seemed to him unfair to get credit from the readers of what he had said, for what was really an afterthought.[1]

Examination of newspaper accounts of his addresses supports this statement. Comparison of them with those later published by Lowell in book form shows little textual variation.[2]

In longer addresses, the same attitude toward his texts prevailed. An example of this conscientiousness is displayed by the insertion of a footnote to make a correction in his "Harvard Address" when he later published it in Democracy and Other Addresses.[3] Lowell's penchant for accuracy is further seen in his "Democracy Address" from the same volume. Circumstances and poor communications with the press caused confusion concerning the textual accuracy of the address and led him to write Charles Norton, "It wasn't revised (as they say it was) by me. I did but insert some passages I spoke, but which were not in the

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[1] The Critic, September 19, 1891, p. 144.

[2] It was not the purpose of the writer to collate all of Lowell's texts, but several were examined closely in a search for the most accurate ones for detailed analysis, and the writer found that there was generally little variation between newspaper accounts and the addresses Lowell chose to include in his books.

[3] James Russell Lowell, Democracy and Other Addresses (Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1887), p. 201.

notes given to the press."[1] These "insertions," which in this case the press did not receive, have resulted in three separate versions of the address. Lowell was disturbed by the misunderstanding, as his letter indicates; and it is believed by this writer, because of the conscientiousness Lowell demonstrated, that he published the text which best represented what he actually said on the occasion, and that the version in Democracy and Other Addresses is the most accurate.

There is only one address that appeared in Lowell's final publication of his works in which the accuracy of the text was questionable.[2] On this occasion Lowell made the mistake of releasing the manuscript of a speech in advance of its delivery without keeping a copy. In his attempt to maintain textual accuracy, he tried to memorize the address. The result, according to a letter to his friend Gilder, was something less than desirable; and the text, in this case, is unreliable.[3] On other occasions when Lowell

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[1]A note on the first published edition of this address, located in the Huntington Library, reads: "First published edition, differs in text from proof copy and from address as published in Lowell's Collected Writings." This note would indicate that there are really three separate versions of this address: the proof copy, the first edition in pamphlet form, and Lowell's later published version.

[2]This reference is to The Writings of James Russell Lowell (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1890), which Lowell prepared for the press.

[3]Norton, Letters, II, 372. "I don't mean that the speech was bad as speeches go, to judge by the latest quotations, but I delivered it as if I thought it was. The truth was that they made me write it out before I was ready,

was dissatisfied with his presentation or with the text in general, he often refused to allow it to be published and would not release the manuscript.[1] Lowell's shyness and general lack of confidence in his speaking may have resulted in the loss of many addresses and after-dinner speeches through his refusal to allow publication.

Lowell's desire for textual accuracy is as unusual as it is commendable, but it far from eliminates all problems for the researcher. There are the usual errors by stenographers, misprints by the press, and deletions by editors and reporters. Besides the usual mechanical problems there are two primary areas of consideration in which the researcher must exercise extreme caution when working with Lowell speech texts.

The first results from a practice of Lowell's during his years as a professor. During this time he rewrote many of his college lectures as essays for periodical publication and later included them in Among My Books,[2] Among

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and that tempted me to try committing it to memory and I couldn't, and I had no entire copy and that bothered me." Mr. Lowell was seventy years of age at this time and was deeply involved in writing an introduction to a book and some poetry, and he made no attempt to correct this speech text.

[1] The Critic, August 29, 1891, p. 109. See also Norton, Letters, I, 233.

[2] James Russell Lowell, Among My Books (New York: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1880). The first edition was 1870.

My Books, Second Series,[1] and My Study Windows.[2] The essay titles are generally the same as the lecture titles from which the essays were reworked,[3] and for this reason some caution must be exercised in working with the manuscripts. To add a bit to the confusion, Lowell delivered three and

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[1]James Russell Lowell, Among My Books, Second Series (Boston: J. R. Osborn & Co., 1876).

[2]James Russell Lowell, My Study Windows (Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1880).

[3]There is substantial evidence that Lowell "reworked" his earlier notebooks, poems, and lectures for material for publication later in his lifetime. See Howard, op. cit., pp. 161-162, 340-365. Howard's general impression was that Lowell wrote almost nothing creative in the last third of his life but kept remining his notebooks and lectures for material for his essays and later poems. See Norton, Letters, II, 140, "I hope you will permit me to send you also my two volumes of prose, to which a third will be added next autumn. The article on Spenser has been wholly rewritten since you heard it, and contains only a passage or two here and there which were in the lecture." Ibid., p. 318. Lowell is speaking of a volume of poems under publication in 1887. "Not a volume of new poems exactly, but a collection made by my publisher of pieces already printed in different magazines during the last thirty years. . . . I have added to that old scraps enough from old portfolios to make a volume of proper size." Scudder, op. cit., II, 111-112. "He complains, when preparing his article on Rousseau, that he is always bothered when he tries to do anything with old material, as he was in this case, inserting in his paper patches from college lectures; and any one who has had the experience appreciates the difficulty of turning the 'oratio directa' of the lecture into the 'oratio obliqua' of the essay,-- to mention but one of the 'bothers' of such work. But a comparison of the manuscript of Lowell's college lecture with the text of the printed article shows two things: first, that in going back to his old lecture, Lowell easily took fire from his own words and, in copying a sentence, ran on into a fuller, more finished conclusion. Again it is evident from the comparison that Lowell's direct address in speaking to his class from written lecture was in the form of sentences little different from what he used when writing for the public."

sometimes more lectures and addresses on the same topic, e.g., Wordsworth, Dante, and Shakespeare. In manuscript the texts are not always dated, are generally written on odd-sized sheets of paper, and are stored rather haphazardly in the same box with notebooks and other items. From pencil markings on the manuscripts it is apparent that someone, probably Norton, has attempted to sort and arrange them in their proper order. Unfortunately, there is no way to verify that the texts taken from these manuscripts and published after Lowell's death are accurate.

This brings us the second area of caution, the posthumous publication of Lowell's addresses. The largest collection of unpublished material remaining after Lowell's death consisted of his lecture and address manuscripts. Charles Eliot Norton, his literary executor, made extensive revisions and deletions in this material,[1] and he began publishing the lectures in December, 1891,[2] three months after Lowell's death. By 1894 he had put thirty-five lectures and lecture fragments into publication;[3] however,

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[1]Charles Eliot Norton, Century Magazine, XLVII (November, 1893), 124. "Yet these unprinted remains contain so much that seems to me to possess permanent value that, after some question and hesitation, I have come to the conclusion that selections from them [emphasis mine] should be published." Comparison with the manuscripts shows extensive deletions and revisions.

[2]Atlantic Monthly, LXVIII (December, 1891), 816-823.

[3]George Willis Cooke, A Bibliography of James Russell Lowell (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1892), pp. 446-447.

Norton's notations on the manuscripts, copies of the revised manuscripts, and his editorial remarks all indicate that these published texts cannot be considered accurate enough for speech analysis.

A second editor, Henry Stone, published a posthumous edition of Lowell's addresses, American Ideas for English Readers.[1] These ten[2] addresses are, for the most part, reporter's accounts rather than full texts; and they are accurate only as general representations of what Lowell said on these occasions.

In 1897 the Rowfant Club republished Lowell's 1855 Lowell Institute lectures verbatim from the Boston Daily Advertiser accounts. It was mentioned earlier that these accounts were taken from Lowell's manuscripts by his friend Carter, and that they are close representations of the original manuscripts. The original reporter made several deletions in reporting the event for the original publication, but the Rowfant Club made no changes when republishing the series.

Of the more than fifty lectures and addresses published after Lowell's death, none of the texts can be accepted as completely accurate. On the whole, the Rowfant

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[1]James Russell Lowell, American Ideas for English Readers, ed. Henry Stone (Boston: J. G. Cupples Co., 1892).

[2]This book lists eleven addresses, but the "Address Before the Town Council of the City of Worcester" was not delivered by Lowell. It was, instead, a letter containing the remarks that Lowell wished to be read in his absence.

Club publication is the most accurate.

The availability of Lowell speech texts seems to bear a relationship to his national prominence. As his fame increased, so did the number of available speech texts. During the first twenty-five years his speaking was almost entirely of a local nature, consisting of classroom speaking and other local activities.[1] For this period from 1857 to 1880 only six address texts were located, and of the estimated 3,500 lecture periods that Lowell held during his twenty years as a Harvard professor, only forty-one fragments and complete texts remain.[2] The earlier 1855 series of lectures for the Lowell Institute gave Lowell his start as a college professor and at the same time gave him an opportunity to travel the Lyceum circuit. Lowell's aversion to the rigors of traveling and facing the "cold" audiences of "far West" and his refusal to allow Briggs to publish the Lowell Institute Lectures in book form combined to remove Lowell to relative obscurity as a speaker after he had made a brilliant start.

Lowell's speaking maintained only local interest until he was appointed by the United States to the country's highest diplomatic post in 1880. His speeches became of international interest with his new office, and, consequently,

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[1] Supra, chap. iii, p. 73.

[2] Lowell gave approximately thirty-five lectures for each course, teaching from four to six courses yearly for twenty years.

his addresses began to be published by English and American newspapers and periodicals. In these circumstances Lowell's ethical appeal and stature[1] were greatly expanded beyond any he had previously attained. Chapter Three has already shown the part speaking played in Lowell's role as the English Ambassador and has discussed the increased stature that accompanied him with his return to the United States in 1885. The number of speech texts available during the last six years of his life and their circulation in national newspapers and periodicals suggest that his speeches maintained international interest.[2] For the eleven years that Lowell lived after his initial appointment as Minister to England, forty-nine addresses were located as compared to the six discovered for the twenty-three year period just prior to 1880. Evidence indicates that, after his return to America in 1885, Lowell continued speaking to small local groups, a practice which he had begun in the early days of his Harvard professorship and had continued through his

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[1] Supra, chap. iii, pp. 74-76. See also Norman Foerster, American Poetry and Prose (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947), I, 762. "'During my reign no ambassador or minister has created so much interest or won so much regard,' said Queen Victoria."

[2] The exact number of Lowell speeches is impossible to estimate. The best guide the writer had was Lowell's personal correspondence, and even this source omitted several addresses which were alluded to in other sources. The New York Times and the London Times indexes were examined, along with complete sets of The Critic, Harper's Magazine, the Atlantic Monthly, and The Century; The Boston Daily Advertiser and The Boston Transcript were examined from December, 1854, through March, 1855.

English Ministry.[1]

There are five important limiting factors in selecting representative speeches: (1) The extreme variety of Lowell's speaking makes it difficult to select four representative speeches, since he delivered literary, occasional, after-dinner, political, and reform addresses. (2) There is a time problem encountered with a lack of texts from 1857 to 1880. Of the six texts found for this period there are no manuscripts, and only one text is available for each of the six speeches, making collation impossible. Consequently, it is necessary to consider 1855-1857 as representative of the entire early period of Lowell's speaking and to select the remaining representative speeches from

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[1]Two letters show more speaking than the number of Lowell texts would indicate. Charles Eliot Norton, Letters of James Russell Lowell (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1904), III, 139. Norton published a three-volume edition of Lowell's letters, which added several new letters. These were not included in the earlier two-volume edition. "My only history is that I have been making visits (and speeches, of course) for the better part of a month." The writer was able to find reference to only two speeches that Lowell delivered during this period: one at Ashfield on August 27, 1886, for which no text could be found, and a second speech at Concord on September 12, 1886. Ibid., pp. 153-154. To Leslie Stephens he wrote in March of the same year, "If you only knew how hard they work me with letters and speeches and things; and they have invented a new mode of torture--readings from one's poems, by Dr. Holmes and me, for the benefit of charities of one kind or another." Other than a specially printed sheaf of poems located in the Huntington Library and inscribed "Selections for Public Readings, 1886," no texts were found for this period. The first text found for 1886 was dated May 3, 1886. From this evidence and other unaccounted for gaps of time, it can be assumed that the present appendix of one hundred nine address and lecture texts represents only a small portion of Lowell's entire speaking efforts over a thirty-four year period.

the period after 1880. (3) There is a limitation imposed by the type of delivery used and the number of manuscripts available. His longer addresses were frequently read from manuscript, while his shorter addresses were almost always delivered extemporaneously. The selection of texts for the sample to be analyzed is partially limited by the number of complete manuscripts available. (4) The fourth limitation concerns finding valid texts of speeches Lowell delivered extemporaneously. This was accomplished by eliminating those texts that cannot be verified as extemporaneous through sources other than the texts themselves. (5) Another limiting factor is the available audience information. This factor is governed by the number of newspapers and periodicals that covered the events and are available to the writer.

It is not the purpose of this dissertation to authenticate all of Lowell's speech texts, but to locate enough addresses and lectures to form a representative sample for analysis. The writer has attempted to show that James Russell Lowell was an important speaker of his time, and the major role speaking played in his life and in his career has been demonstrated in Chapters Two and Three. In Chapter Four, along with Appendix A, he has shown that sufficient authentic texts are available for a valid representative sample, has discussed general textual problems that occur in Lowell's addresses and lectures, and has suggested five limiting factors in selecting a representative sample from those located.

An important consideration in selecting a representative sample from Lowell's early speaking period is the twenty-three year time gap from which few texts are available. With the textual selection of this early period limited to the years between 1855 and 1857, the Lowell Institute Lectures become the logical choice, because they overcome the five limiting factors and also meet all the necessary qualifications for analysis. Manuscripts are available, as well as newspaper accounts from the Boston Traveller and the Boston Daily Advertiser, whose reporter had access to the manuscripts. Newspaper reports of the audience, diary entries, letters, and other materials from which to evaluate the audience response and the general effectiveness of the speaker are available.

Of the twelve lectures in the series, "The Ballads" was chosen because of the completeness of the manuscript and of the newspaper accounts of the audience, which are more plentiful for this address than for any of the others in the series. The text is representative of Lowell as an early literary lecturer and presents him in his primary type of speaking situation, expounding a literary theme. Chapter Five will contain a detailed analysis of this text.

Chapter Six will consist of an analysis of an extemporaneous speech on copyright reform. The speech was delivered before a congressional committee on copyright in January of 1886 and appeared in the Congressional Record. Because of its political overtones and its legislative nature,

this speech also has significance as a political address, making it doubly significant, as well as representative.

Chapter Seven will contain a criticism of a longer occasional address. Of those available Lowell's "Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Foundation of Harvard University Address" provided the greatest amount of research material. Besides the manuscript, which is in the Harvard Library, there are three other texts as well as newspaper and periodical accounts of the speech. This particular address was often mentioned in Lowell's correspondence, and it was honored by having among its auditors the President of the United States.

Probably Lowell's reputation as an after-dinner speaker did the most to enhance his speaking reputation. Chapter Eight will contain an analysis of an extemporaneous after-dinner address. This speech proved to be the most difficult to select. While the others were more or less selected by a process of elimination, there are four or five in this category that offer sufficient material to allow detailed analysis. Only one of the five, however, offers proof of being extemporaneous. This is a speech delivered to the Incorporated Society of Authors to American Men and Women of Letters, at the Criterion Restaurant in July of 1888. Three separate texts of this speech are available, one in the London Times, one in The Critic, and one in pamphlet form produced by the Society of Authors.

This address contains one of Lowell's dominant themes, advocating better relations between America and England. Because of the theme and the extemporaneous delivery, which Lowell used often during the final eleven years of his life, this speech is considered by the writer to be representative.

The amount of available materials necessarily took precedence over other considerations in the selection of these addresses and lectures for detailed analysis. Representativeness took precedence over critical acclaim or apparent quality in the texts. Lowell's two main forms of delivery, reading from manuscript and extemporaneous speaking, are equally represented by two examples of each type. There is one each of his major types: a literary lecture, a reform speech, an occasional address, and an after-dinner speech utilizing a dominant theme of his final years. These addresses are thought to be typical and representative of James Russell Lowell, the speaker.

CHAPTER V

LOWELL INSTITUTE LECTURES, 1855
THE OLD BALLADS

Introduction

The analyses in the next four chapters will be concerned with four different types of speeches, each with distinctively different purposes. "The Old Ballads" was designed to teach or to inform, the "Copyright Address" was to refute and persuade, the "Harvard Address" was to praise, and the "Society Address" was to entertain; but, in spite of the widely diversified purposes, methods of argument and elements of style were found to be common to all four speeches.

Factors Influencing Rhetoric

Because all speech-making utilizes mental processes, experiences, background, and knowledge of rhetorical practices, it is not surprising to discover common elements in different types of speeches by the same author. From this study of Lowell, the writer has discovered ten factors which seem to have influenced his rhetorical invention and his style.

The following outline traces these ten factors and illustrates their relationship to Lowell's rhetoric.

1. Wide reading in seven languages contributed logical and ethical proofs.
    a. Evidence through literary examples--logical proof
    b. Evidence through literary allusions--logical proof
    c. Evidence through quotation--logical proof
    d. Reasoning by literary example--logical proof
    e. Reasoning by literary analogy--logical proof
    f. Reputation as linguist and classicist--ethical proof

2. Philological interest affected style and logic.
    a. Precise use of words--style
    b. Use of definition--logical proof

3. Poetry and prose writing experience influenced style, invention, arrangement, logic, and ethos.
    a. Knowledge of audience--logical and ethical proofs, style
    b. Clarity through use of similes, metaphors--logical proof, style
    c. Frequent use of analogy--logical proof
    d. Practical experience--invention, arrangement, and style

4. International prestige and varied accomplishments supplied him with ethical proof by influencing his speech introductions, his use of common ground, and his ethos.

5. Ancestry and strong Americanism determined his ethos and affected his arrangement by leading to parenthetical remarks vaguely related to the subject.

6. Shyness resulted in parenthetical remarks affecting the arrangement in his extemporaneous speeches.

7. Law study affected invention and style.
    a. Occasional use of law terms--style
    b. Use of legal arguments--invention

8. Invention was influenced by his critical faculties.
    a. Insight and ability to isolate primary arguments
    b. Ability to make valid critical assertions

9. The difficulty he experienced in preparation resulted in the re-use of early materials, thus contributing to his invention.

10. Humor affected ethos, style, and logic.
    a. Ethos--ethical proof
    b. Entertainment--style
    c. Satire--logical proof

Analysis revealed that all of these factors, with the exception of shyness, were present in some degree in all four speeches. Those elements found to be common to all four speeches were considered primary elements of James Russell Lowell's rhetorical practices; thus, in an attempt to avoid repetition later in the four analyses, these primary elements as they apply to all four speeches will be dealt with in this introduction.

Common Elements of Rhetoric

Ethical proof

Lowell depended heavily on his humor and personal prestige as a national and international figure for much of his ethical proof. The humor,[1] which came easily for him and was an intrinsic part of his speaking and writing, is prevalent in all four of the speeches. His prestige was extrinsic, operating independently of any effort on

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[1]William Norwood Brigance, Speech Communication (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1947), pp. 13-14. Brigance described humor as a special quality of insight: "Analysis of real humor reveals that it springs from deep insight into the nature of the subject to which it is applied. This insight means more than knowledge; it implies understanding and wisdom. Humor is not obtained except by an objective view that permits of seeing details in their true relations." Emphasizing its ethical value, Brigance went on to say, "The speaker who shows a sense of humor in his mental outlook . . . is one to whom the audience is instinctively drawn. It is his guarantee of mental balance, and they accept it as such. In him they recognize a sane leader and listen the more willingly." Quintilian recognized humor as a "gift of nature" that "cannot be taught." Lowell gave evidence that he possessed this gift and used it advantageously, both logically and ethically. Lester Thonssen, Selected Readings in Rhetoric and Public Speaking (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1942), p. 78.

his part, though he was aware of it and took advantage of it. This would appear to be the reason that he made no effort to establish rapport with the audience in the introductions of three of the four speeches, possibly relying on his humor and prestige to take the place of intrinsic common ground that is generally a part of the introduction. There is also the possibility that he felt the introduction given him dispelled the need for common ground. Contrary to the usual procedure, however, Lowell included common ground at the end of his "Society Address," and it was "tacked on" after the peroration of the "Harvard Address." "The Old Ballads" and the "Copyright Speech" contain no common ground appeals.

Other factors of ethical value were Lowell's strong Americanism and his two-hundred-year American ancestry. They were both sources of pride to him; and though they were often a detriment to his arrangement--for he would break away from the point he was making to praise America or to defend her practices[1]--he probably gained in ethical proof whatever loss may have occurred from his breaking from the outline of his address, for this was during the strongly nationalistic period after the Civil War.

Logical proof

Logical proof, which constituted the major portion of Lowell's rhetorical invention, appeals to the intellect

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[1] Infra, chap. viii, p. 200.

rather than to the emotion of the listener and concerns itself with evidence and reasoning. "Evidence is the raw material used to establish proof," consisting of personal experience, testimony of individuals, statistics, illustrative examples, and factual material.[1] Reasoning "serves as a cohesive force; through the relationship it establishes, the mind is led from recognition of discernible facts to a conclusion."[2] Reasoning follows either an inductive or deductive pattern and is developed from example, analogy, cause, and sign.[3]

Lowell most frequently used reasoning by example and analogy, strongly supported by literary allusion, quotation, and humor, and clarified by definition and restatement. The following outline demonstrates the pattern of inductive reasoning by example which he frequently employed:

1. An assertion
2. Restatement (one or more times)
3. Definition (one or more times)
4. One or more examples
5. Restatement (one or more times)
6. One of four climactic conclusions:
   a. Restatement in plain style
   b. Humorous illustration (sometimes in the form of analogy)
   c. Illustration in grand style
   d. Quotation

This combination is present in all four speeches; however, the conclusion in the grand style appears only in "The Old

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[1] Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., pp. 341-50.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

Ballads."

Lowell made extensive use of a second means of logical proof in the form of evidence, literary allusion, and quotation. Quotation was most often used as a form of testimony; and allusion was employed to refer to literary ideas, concepts, or authors. While literary allusion often provided clear illustration, it seemed in several instances to obscure meanings. For example, in the "Harvard Address" he alluded to the following: "Pilate's question still murmurs in the ear of every thoughtful and Montaigne's in that of every honest man." To apply the allusion, the listener would have to know instantly Pilate's and Montaigne's questions.

A second allusion in the "Harvard Address" referred to Pythagoras:

> It is true that, if we may put as much faith in heredity as seems reasonable to many of us, we are all in some transcendental sense the coevals of primitive man, and Pythagoras may well have been present in Euphorbus at the siege of Troy.

It would appear that Lowell flattered his audience by presupposing that they would know that Pythagoras believed in transmigration of souls and that he had claimed to have remembered a previous existence in the body of Euphorbus some nine hundred years prior to his reincarnation as Pythagoras.[1]

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[1]In fairness to Lowell, it should be noted that his audience on this occasion consisted of Harvard graduates predominantly, along with educators from other nations.

Other vague allusions included "declaration in trover," Simonides, Tacita, Marina, Bishop Golias, and "black Care of the Roman poet," to mention a few.

The number of easily identifiable allusions far exceeds the obscure ones, and they make up a great part of the evidence used in "The Old Ballads" and the "Harvard Address"; and though the number was greatly reduced, allusions were utilized to good advantage in both of the extemporaneous addresses.

Along with literary allusion and quotation, Lowell showed equal preference for comparison, which, as he used it, frequently took the form of similitude.[1] Note the two following examples, one from the "Harvard Address" and one from "The Old Ballads."

> They were no more unreasonable than the landlady of Taylor the Platonist in refusing to let him sacrifice a bull to Jupiter in her back-parlor. (Harvard Address.)

> They did not moralize, but left nature to furnish her own morals; which she is as sure to do as she is to put a sting in the tail of a wasp. (The Old Ballads.)

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[1] Sidney J. Smith, Precepts of Rhetoric (Worcester, Mass.: Holy Cross College Press, 1956), p. 17. A similitude is "an argument based on a simile . . . or a metaphor, . . . which affords a resemblance between the instance under discussion and a well-known instance in a different order of things." Smith further noted that the similitude has little force as proof, except with simple and uneducated audiences. "It is, however, a fertile source of illustration because its appeal is to the imagination, and as such it has much power as a means of interest and emotional appeal in popular oratory. Since Lowell's purpose most often was to inform or to entertain, similitudes served a useful purpose to him; he used them extensively in "The Old Ballads," and they appear frequently in the other three speeches, with the "Copyright Speech," primarily persuasive, containing the fewest.

Lowell employed many maxims and truisms in his speeches, making them his major form of deductive reasoning.[1] He utilized two variations: the plain maxim and the maxim with the reason subjoined, his reason often taking a humorous turn, as in the following from "The Old Ballads."

> People do not want poets who only amuse them--nothing becomes tedious so soon as that--and what could be more intolerable than to have a longwinded fellow come in when you had a feast (for the minstrels were a privileged class) and drone over for the thousandth time the story of Sir Launcelot or Sir Isumbras? Imagine one of Mr. James's novels set to rather stringy music, and badly sung, and you compelled to hear it till you knew it by heart. I beg pardon for conjuring up so frightful an image.

On other occasions his maxims were of the plain variety, needing no reason to make his point. In the "Harvard Address"

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[1]Lane Cooper, The Rhetoric of Aristotle (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1932), pp. 147-54. Aristotle classified the maxim as a form of the enthymeme, thereby making it a form of deduction. There are two basic variations: the plain maxim and the maxim with the reason subjoined, the reason being needed when "the statement is paradoxical or open to dispute; maxims that state nothing paradoxical need no supplement." Maxims have an important distinction; they are "a statement about those things which concern human action, about what is to be chosen or avoided in human conduct." Lowell may have been making this distinction when he said in his "Harvard Address," "I know that I am repeating truisms, but they are truisms that need to be repeated." Aristotle, in his discussion of the maxim, demonstrated that they have strong value as ethical proof as well as logical value: "The one great advantage of maxims to a speaker arises from the uncultivated mentality of an audience. People are delighted when he succeeds in expressing as a general truth the opinions they entertain about special cases." In emphasizing the ethical value, Aristotle pointed out, "Maxims always produce the moral effect, because the speaker in uttering them makes a general declaration of ethical principles [preferences]: so that, if the maxims are sound, they give us the impression of a sound moral character in him who speaks." Lowell's use of maxims, then, like his use of the similitude, is valuable both as ethical and logical proofs.

he combined two plain maxims.

> The fame and usefulness of all institutions of learning depend on the greatness of those who teach in them . . . and great teachers are almost rarer than great poets.

Style

Lowell's style can be best summarized by listing its four main characteristics: (1) wide use of quotation and allusion, (2) frequent use of simile and metaphor, (3) knowledge of philology, and (4) humor. The use of simile and metaphor, quotation and allusion, and humor have been discussed in relation to their effect on his ethical and logical proofs; but they remain as important elements of style also, because of their effect on clarity and interest.

From all indications, Lowell's style was generally entertaining, though his vague references and obscure allusions may have on occasion disconcerted the listener.

Lowell's philological expertness prevailed; and his content sometimes became obscured because of unfamiliar words; e.g., municipum, ferae naturae, coigns of vantage, alembic, Gratulatio, hobbledehoy, vapulatory, and eleemosynary. Keeping in mind that his audiences were seldom comprised of "common" people, perhaps this language was not as remote to them as it seems; and "The Old Ballads," the only one of the four which would have been attended by the general public, contains few obscure words and no Latinisms or Greek phrases.

Of the three primary qualities of style, clearness, force, and interest, Lowell appears to have erred occasionally

in the area of clearness in his use of allusions and by unfamiliar word usage, but he generally selected his words carefully, paying particular attention to the exact meaning he wished to convey. His sentences, on occasion, became complicated--one in the "Harvard Address" contains over 300 words--but are usually short, averaging from sixteen to twenty clear and graphic words. With the exception of parenthetical remarks that lengthened his sentences and disturbed the flow of his thought, the development as a whole shows logical coherence and progress.

Lowell's force is enhanced by descriptive, graphic, vivid, and suggestive words comprising his similes and metaphors. His climactic arrangement and use of maxims and truisms add force to the projection of his ideas.

The strongest characteristic of Lowell's style, in the opinion of this writer, was the interest that his speeches held. He seldom used lifeless or colorless words and his ideas were made graphic and concrete by frequent quotation and poetic phrases.

Of all of Lowell's qualities as a speaker, probably his witty, arresting style helped most in his attaining a reputation as an entertaining and interesting speaker.

Analysis of "The Old Ballads"

Setting and Audience

Because they represent the beginning of James Russell Lowell's professional speaking career, the Lowell Institute

Lectures of 1855 are particularly relevant to this study; and "The Old Ballads," the fourth in the series, has been selected for analytical consideration.[1]

In the throes of depression over a series of tragic events in his personal life,[2] and having been rejected by his reading public,[3] Lowell saw the lectures as an opportunity for a new beginning and a new means of earning a livelihood.[4] For this reason he was elated over the rush for tickets,[5] the overflow crowds,[6] and the favorable newspaper reviews. He was even more pleased with the new direction the lectures gave to the course of his life, providing him with a secure position[7] and a chance to try out the lecture circuit.[8]

However, while on tour he acquired a definite aversion for that life, and instead of lecturing, devoted himself to study and preparation for the Harvard professorship, which he was to hold for the next twenty years. He achieved popularity and a measure of financial security from his

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[1] Supra, chap. iv, p. 120.

[2] Supra, chap. i, pp. 1-2.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Supra, chap. iii, p. 59.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid., p. 60.

[8] Ibid., pp. 65-70.

successful Institute appearance; but, ironically, the same speaking success resulted in his absence from the platform for more than a year, while studying abroad to prepare himself for the teaching of modern languages. A steady income for the next twenty years eliminated his financial need, and a time-consuming job demanded his attention, with the result that what might have developed into an outstanding lecture career became buried in the lecture classroom. Thus, the speech to be analyzed, as a part of the entire series, can be said to have greatly influenced the life of the lecturer.

Textual Considerations

Four texts of "The Old Ballads" are available: Lowell's hand-written manuscript and three newspaper accounts, all located in the Houghton Library.

The Boston Daily Advertiser had announced the day before the lectures began that their reporter would have access to the manuscripts.

> We are gratified to announce that we have made arrangements with a gentleman who is a personal friend of Mr. Lowell, and in whom he has perfect confidence, to furnish us with abstracts of his lectures, sufficiently full to give a fair idea of them. These abstracts will each be about a column long, or rather longer than the usual length of newspaper reports of lectures, and will be regularly published in our paper on the next morning after the first delivery of the lectures.[1]

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[1] Boston Advertiser, January 8, 1855, p. 2.

With minor exceptions, i.e., changes in word order and portions in third person, the Advertiser report is what it claims to be, an abstracted version of the original. Most of the deletions are full sentences, paragraphs, or poems.

The Boston Evening Transcript reported its intention of copying the Advertiser stories with limitations.

> The twelve lectures are to be reported in the Daily Advertiser the morning after their delivery by a friend of Mr. Lowell, who is amply qualified for the duty. We shall avail ourselves of these reports, and copy such portions as our limits will allow.[1]

A third newspaper, the Boston Evening Traveller, carried the lectures, and, according to Howard, reported from stenographic notes. However, collation of available texts of "The Old Ballads" strongly indicates that the Traveller reporter relied heavily upon the Advertiser's morning version, as well as his own notes. This assumption is drawn from the fact that while the Traveller report is more extensive than the Advertiser (indicating the use of reported notes), those sections of the speech reported by both newspapers agree almost perfectly, even including obvious typographical errors and reversing of words[2] (revealed by comparison with the manuscript). In one instance the Traveller copied a clarifying phrase which the Advertiser

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[1]Boston Evening Transcript, January 10, 1855.

[2]The manuscript refers to "simple and nervous," while both papers reverse it to read "nervous and simple poetry."

had inserted.[1] However, those portions appearing in the Traveller only show numerous variations from the manuscript, including such flagrant errors as misquoted lines of poetry, grossly distorted meanings in a few instances, and much paraphrasing. In one two-hundred-word paragraph, there are fifty-two discrepancies between the manuscript and the Traveller account, consisting of word and structure changes, deletions, and additions. The following appeared in the Traveller but not the Advertiser. Note the meaning as it appears in the manuscript:

> Whoever values these will hold Wordsworth to be the greatest man who has written English poetry in modern times. But Wordsworth had not in him even a suspicion of the dramatic imagination--he had too much individual character--and when he puts himself beside the older poet he seems not only tame but downright barnyard. [Italics mine.]

Now note the change which occurred in the meaning as it was paraphrased by the reporter:

> Whoever values these would value Wordsworth as the greatest man who had written English poetry in modern times. But he was not dramatic: he had no individuality. [Italics mine.]

Lowell quoted several poems as examples; and, invariably, when the poem appeared in the Advertiser, the two newspapers' accounts agreed verbatim with the manuscript, while those poems which the Traveller alone reported

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[1]Both papers add the phrase, "in the newspapers," to clarify a point.

contained numerous inaccuracies. Compare the following.

Manuscript:

I wish I were where Helen lies
Night and day on me She Cries
I wish I were where Helen lies
On fair Kirconnel lee
Curst be the heart that thought the thought
And curst the hand that fired the shot
When in my arms burd Helen Dropt
And died to succor me! [Italics mine.]

Traveller:

I wish I were where Ellen lies,
Night and day on me she cries,
I wish I were where Helen lies,
On cauld Kirconnel lea.
Cursed be the heart that taught the thought,
And cursed the hand that fired the shot
When in my arms poor Helen Dropped,
And died to succor me. [Italics mine.]

Howard stated that the reports in the Boston Traveller "were evidently made from stenographic notes, and consequently indicate interpolations and platform revisions."[1] [Italics mine.] This assumption is not validated by the findings, since those portions dependent upon the reporter's stenographic notes display extreme inaccuracy, with as much as twenty-five percent disagreement with the manuscript. Further examination shows the Traveller account to be approximately one-fourth paraphrase in those sections not appearing in the Advertiser. Since the Traveller printed 74 percent of the manuscript text, and the Advertiser printed about 51 percent, the Traveller reporter had to rely on his notes for only about 23 percent of his report, and since

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[1]Howard, op. cit., p. 373.

this portion is highly inaccurate, it would be difficult to distinguish with any degree of accuracy between reporter paraphrase and Lowell's platform revision or interpolation.

The Traveller reporter probably attended the evening session of the lectures, took extensive notes, perhaps in longhand rather than stenographic notes, and, with the aid of the next morning's Advertiser text, wrote his account. Though strong dependence on the Advertiser account is evidenced, the Traveller reporter did deviate in seven instances, making the following changes: changed "few" to "two"; added "that" (not in the Advertiser or manuscript); omitted "only" (not in the manuscript but in Advertiser); deleted a sentence (in both Advertiser and manuscript); used different third person wording from the Advertiser; and used third person when the Advertiser did not.

Since there is relatively close agreement between the Advertiser and the Traveller, and since the manuscript is available to collate that part of the Traveller which the Advertiser does not contain, it is possible to recreate a close facsimile of the actual speaking text. The Traveller verifies the content of the lecture and the manuscript determines the actual wording, providing a reasonably accurate estimate that at least 74 percent of the manuscript was actually read. This allows an above average text to be reconstructed for analysis.

Arrangement

There are five main divisions in this lecture: (1) the office of the poet, (2) a description of early poets in terms of their performance and contribution, (3) England's historical background and its effect on the early poetry, (4) the status and characteristics of ballads in English literature, and (5) the superiority of ballads over other forms of poetry.

The first three divisions make up the introduction; the main body of the speech attempts to establish their superiority over other forms of poetry by listing thirty-seven characteristics of the ballads and providing examples, quotations, allusions, and illustrations to establish each characteristic. The conclusion is made up of nine advantages that the minstrels had over other poets.

The structure of the address is a simple one, being, for the most part, direct and to the point, and it appears to be arranged almost according to a formula. An assertion, often in the form of a maxim, is followed by one or more illustrations. Under the five main headings are forty-five subheadings.[1]

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[1]

Introduction

- I. Office of the poet
  - A. Position in the body politic
  - B. Comparison of early poet with political newspaper
  - C. Poet as wielder of public opinion
- II. Description of primitive poet
  - A. Comparison of poems to living men
  - B. Bards
  - C. Political poets compared to poets with historical purpose

In three instances Lowell broke away from his outline

III. England's historical background as it related to the poetic output
   A. Background of English inhabitants, a peculiar one
   B. The changes that took place in the English people (Parenthetical insert: an expression of Lowell's avid Americanism)
   C. Comparison of the English with the American historical origin

Body

Stature and characteristics of ballad in English literature
   A. Ballads first truly national poetry
   B. Ballad makers not encumbered with useless information
   C. Ballad makers used common material
   D. Ballad makers thought, felt, and believed as their hearers did
   E. Ballads are pathetic
   F. Ballads are models of nervous and simple diction
   G. Ballads tell a story
   H. Ballads are spontaneous
   I. Ballads are models of narrative poetry
   J. Ballads display passion rather than thought or morals
   K. Ballads are picturesque and touching
   L. Ballad singers had the advantage of the spur of the moment and the excitement speaking gives
   M. Ballad singers knew what "told"
   N. Ballads plunge "into deep water at once"
   O. Ballads never give too much information
   P. Transitions are abrupt in ballads
   Q. Passions speak out savagely
      (Parenthetical remark: a satire of newspapers and their effect on the English language--not entirely unrelated, but serves as a comparative illustration)
         1. Definition of "expression"
         2. Reasons editor writes
         3. General contentedness in commonplace content
         4. Function of newspapers
         5. Compare scholars of past with current readers
         6. Milk and watering of English
   R. Compares ballad makers with newspapers
   S. Minstrels were not metaphysical
   T. Contrasts metrical romances with ballads
   U. Common man to whom ballad maker sang had limited powers of association
   V. Comparison of the modern process of "reflective thinking" which is never found in the ballads
   W. Ballads imply "love of nature" rather than emphasizing it

and included parenthetical, related ideas. The first was a result of his early dislike for the English. In 1855 Lowell's hostile attitude toward the British had not begun to mellow; and after demonstrating that the mingling of the races had left the English without a past of its own, he added defensively, "English writers demand of us a national literature. But where, for thirteen centuries was their own?"

When stating the characteristics of the ballads, Lowell compared the minstrels to newspapers, praising the

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X. Ballads express primal sympathies
Y. Ballad landscapes are not metaphysical
Z. Ballads are the only true folksongs in English
AA. Disagrees with Scott's assertion that "flatness and insipidity" are "the ballads' great imperfection"
AB. Minstrels avoid all entangling accessories and cleave to what is grand and permanent
AC. Ballads never make a mistake between body and soul
AD. Ballads are purely poetry of this world
AE. Ballads display force and earnestness of style
AF. Compression of ballad content
AG. Repetition in ballads
AH. Praises Wordsworth before making some harsh criticism of his modernization of ballads
AI. Supernaturalism of the old ballads was peculiar
AJ. Tenderness of the ballads
AK. Pathos in ballads

Conclusion

Advantages of ballads and ballad makers

A. Ballad makers stood face to face with life
B. Advantage of ballads is the sieve (of time) that they had to pass through
C. Advantage of direct contact with audience
D. Advantage of the outdoor living of the minstrels
E. Charm of the ballads because "nobody made them"
F. Ballads are dear because they are old
G. Ballads' age renews hearers' youth
H. Each generation adds enthusiasm to ballads
I. We bestow youth on a poem and it in turn preserves for us some youth to bestow

contributions the minstrels made to the life of their time but deploring the influence of the modern newspaper:

> It is worth thinking of whether the press which we have a habit of calling such a fine institution be not weakening the fibre and damaging the sincerity of our English and our thinking quite as fast as it diffuses intelligences.

After a bit of further comparison, Lowell concluded with a maxim: "We are continually becoming what we habitually read." Adding a note of wry humor, Lowell suggested,

> The power to read is a ticket that admits us to the company of the wise and good of all time--and if we read what dissipates thought instead of exciting it . . . it would be wise if the state should furnish every child born in it with a pistol to blow out its brains at once, as with this subtle means of getting rid of them by degrees.

Lowell again digressed during his conclusion to renew his diatribe against newspapers:

> Day by day the art of printing isolates us more and more from our fellows, and from the healthy and inspiring touch of our fellows. We learn continually more and more of mankind and less of man. We know more of Europe than we do of our own village.

In each of these departures from the text, Lowell moralized, making points that were not directly relevant to his theme, although the comparisons between the minstrel and modern newspaper have some merit.

Logical Proof

In "The Old Ballads" Lowell frequently used the device of restatement. Note the number of restatements in the following example in which Lowell expressed a simple idea that the ballads have no metaphysical passages, and

that the people who lived in the period in which the ballads were composed lived and thought simply, rather than metaphysically.

> The minstrels had no metaphysical bees in their bonnets. They did not speculate about this world or the next. They had not made the great modern discovery that a bird in the bush was two in the hand. They did not analyze or refine till nothing genuine was left of this beautiful world but an indigestion. The people in those days lived frankly; they looked out cheerfully upon life, and were more concerned about their stomachs than the mysteries of their being. Their world was a small one. They took things just as they were, without supposing they were responsible for the consequences. Goodness did not always "Put in its thumb, And pull out a plum;" nor did evil come to a bad end. They were probably sincerely thankful for a "good murder" or a shipwreck, just as news-boys are now.

In order to make this simple point, Lowell stated his initial assertion, restated it in simpler terms, expanding the idea to include the speculative aspect of metaphysics, and then re-emphasized it in the form of a humorous example. In using a proverb, Lowell gave it a metaphysical twist in order to satirize the effect metaphysics has in complicating an idea. A third restatement followed, this time adding a moral connotation--that current metaphysical practice changed "beauty" into an indigestion. Having stated the idea four times, Lowell turned the coin and examined the "causes" that led to this "effect." Beginning with a second simple assertion, "The people lived frankly and cheerfully," he restated it in more concrete terms, emphasizing the "stomach" over the mysteries of life and contrasting simplicity with metaphysics. Lowell then restated the idea

of "simplicity" in general terms: "They took things as they were." He again contrasted "simplicity" with metaphysics, i.e., consequences for their actions. Following the pattern of his first assertion, Lowell used a well-known nursery rhyme to make his point, substituting "goodness" for Jack Horner, and thus satirizing metaphysics again. He tied both assertions together in a humorous climax, comparing minstrels to newsboys, "sincerely thankful for a good murder."

This use of restatement and example serves as an excellent illustration of how Lowell reasoned inductively from example. It also illustrates the outline of Lowell's most used pattern of argument mentioned earlier in this chapter. This illustration utilizes a humorous conclusion, and although the other three forms of this pattern, i.e., the plain, the quotation, and the florid ending, are present in this lecture, the "florid" conclusion does not appear in the other three speeches and is therefore unique to this particular lecture.

> It is dead feeling that is wrapt up in a shroud of language. When in a matter that concerns emotion, a man begins to contrive what he shall say and how he shall say it, he is going to utter something that is unfit for him to speak and for us to hear. The poet does not make the poem; it possesses him and can no more tell you how it was made out of him than the brown earth can guess how the snowdrop that looks back at her could create itself out of her dusky bosom and find in her the secret of its perfumed pearls. We feel as wide a difference between what is manufactured and what is spontaneous as between the sparks from an Electrical Machine, which a sufficiently muscular professor can grind out by the dozen, and the wild fire of

> God that writes mene, mene, on the crumbling palace walls of midnight cloud.[1]

In this lecture, the inductive pattern of definition and example leading into the "quotation" conclusion tends to be less elaborate than the other three conclusions and generally contains fewer restatements and examples. Lowell stated his assertion, defined it, illustrated it, and then relied on the quoted ballad to provide the emphasis, clarity, and proof of his assertion.

> The balladsingers had all the advantage of that spur of the moment which the excitement of speaking gives, and they also received the magnetism which came from the sympathy of their hearers. They knew what told, for they had their hand upon the living pulse of feeling. There was no time to palaver, they must come to the point.
>
> The Percy out of Northumberland
> And a vow to God made he
> That he would hunt in the mountains
> Of Cheviot within days three
> In the maggre of Doughty Douglas
> And all that ever with him be.

Use of quotation and allusion as evidence has been discussed in the introduction as a general trait of Lowell's rhetoric; however, "The Old Ballads," an hour lecture, exceeded the two-hour "Harvard Address" in both allusion and quotation. The more common allusions referred to were the Bible, Shakespeare, Virgil, Homer, Spencer, Chaucer, Sir Phillip Sidney, Adam Smith, Dr. Johnson, Milton, Wordsworth, Mallet, Michel Angelo [sic], King Arthur, and Robin Hood. Less familiar ones were Numa, Tacita, Doddridge, Jamieson,

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[1]This example also provides an excellent illustration of Lowell's early use of similitude.

Firdusi, Demagorgon, "mene, mene," "declaration in trover," and "sowing of dragon's teeth."

On an equal level of importance with his arguments from example and analogy and his use of evidence was Lowell's use of humor. He applied some form of it in every paragraph, utilizing original humor, wit, satire, and irony. Satire and original humor appear to be his favorites and were most often used in making contrasts of the past with the present or in making fun of contemporary authors. Contrasting a death scene from an old ballad with an invented parallel provided Lowell with an opportunity to contrast the old with the new:

> If a maiden loses her lover, she merely--
>
> Turns her face unto the wall,
> And there her heart it breaks.

Using humorous invention, Lowell makes the following contrast:

> A modern poet would have hardly thrown away the opportunity offered him of describing the chamber and its furniture; he would put a painted window into it--for the inkstand will supply them quite as cheap as plain glass. He would tell you all about the tapestry, which the eyes of the dying maiden in her extreme agony would have been very likely of course to have been minutely interested in. He would have given a clinical lecture on the symptoms, and a post-mortem examination.

In a second instance Lowell poked fun at newspapers:

> We are apt to wonder at the scholarship of the men of two centuries ago. They were scholars because they did not read so much as we do. We spend more time over print than they did, but instead of communing with the choice thoughts of choice spirits, and insensibly acquiring the grand manner of that supreme society, we diligently inform ourselves of such facts as that a fine horse belonging to Mr. Smith ran away on Wednesday, and that a son of Mr.

> Brown fell into the canal on Thursday, or that a gravel-bank caved in and buried alive Patrick O'Callahan on Friday.[1]

Ethical Proofs

Lowell's ethical proofs vary little from those expounded in the introduction. He used humor, maxims, and similitudes and utilized his American theme, which served as ethical proofs. At this early period Lowell was noted as a humorist, primarily because of his Biglow Papers, which had been published in 1848. By including a great deal of humor in this lecture, Lowell was meeting what must certainly have been an expectation of the audience. It is also possible that the many poetic passages contained in this lecture were Lowell's attempt to please the audience by living up to their expectations of him as a poet.

Source of Ideas

Lowell cultivated his ability to observe from early adulthood, when he began keeping commonplace books in which he recorded his observations and impressions in the form of maxims, epigrams, and poetry. In these early years Lowell also included quotations from books he had read,

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[1]George Edward Woodberry, Literary Memoirs of the Nineteenth Century (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & Co., 1921), p. 317. In his criticism of Lowell's Democracy and Other Addresses, Woodberry praised Lowell's "dignity of phrase such as has not been noticeable in any American for a long time." For his example of this dignity of phrase, Woodberry cited much of the above quotation from Lowell's "Books and Libraries Address" of 1885, not realizing that Lowell had excerpted this passage from "The Old Ballads" of thirty years earlier.

but this practice seems to have been neglected after 1852, when, instead of writing in commonplace books, he began making notations in the margins of his books as he read them. Unfortunately, the commonplace books were written mostly in pencil and are very difficult to read, and only one idea was traced to them. The fact that he copied one idea from them is indication that he used them as a source for these lectures, and, more than likely, made frequent use of them.

Since Lowell used Wordsworth and his poetry for several examples in "The Old Ballads," it is likely that he utilized materials he had gathered to write an essay on Wordsworth which he published early in 1854.

Considering the hundreds of original similes, metaphors, illustrations, and analogies present in this lecture series, Lowell's inventive faculties must have been heavily strained. Perhaps the difficulties he experienced with his preparation of the series was, in part, a difficulty in producing the large number of comparisons, illustrations, and examples of original humor that were employed. The casual reader of newspaper accounts of these lectures would have missed the greater part of Lowell's original illustrations, because, in shortening the lectures for publication, both reporters removed a large portion of these amplification devices.

Style

M. A. DeWolfe Howe pointed to an important aspect of Lowell's style in his biographical account, located in the Dictionary of American Biography, when he described Lowell's "facility in the twisting of words into all the shapes demanded by punning and verse-making." Howe explained that Lowell could not resist an outlandish pun "even in a serious book review."

> He was capable of applying to certain Shakespearian commentators "the quadrisyllabic name of the brother of Agis, King of Sparta"--in which it took a Felton [a noted Greek scholar] to recognize Eudamidas.

Lowell's use of obscure allusion was noted earlier, and "The Old Ballads" contained several examples of this defect. Lowell's "word twisting" brings to light another aspect of his style. He inserted in his first printing of "The Cathedral" a "miserable interchange with an Englishman at Chartres":

> "Esker vous ate a nabitang?" he asked:
> "I never ate one; are they good?" asked I.

Howe's comment on this incongruity was, "Such things are incredible, but there they are in the spontaneity of Lowell's first printing." "The Old Ballads" manuscript contained only one example of this type; and it did not appear in either of the newspaper texts, indicating that it might have been deleted in delivery.

The better aspects of Lowell's "word twisting," as they relate to style, are demonstrated by his use of

simile and metaphor:

(1) The words of the backwoodsman were sometimes as keen and sure of stroke as his axe. They never had the life squeezed out of them by the printing press nor lost their color by imprisonment in books.

(2) We become mere sponges to be saturated with the stagnant water of village gossip.

(3) The world is now one great village; then, a little hamlet was a world.

(4) When they speak of death their words smell of the mould.

(5) We riddled such barrow-loads of gravel for a grain of gold dust, and when we found it, it was mica after all.

(6) Here all was grim as the grave.

(7) It is plain enough that the main business of this man is to die and of the poet to let him, and not keep him in his agony while he puts Pegasus through all his paces.

(8) It is grim as a fresh-dug grave and bare as a coffin-lid.

(9) The adoption of a new religion was like putting them in the position of persons suffering from a sudden concussion of the brain.

(10) It is dead feeling that is wrapt up in a shroud of dead language.

(11) . . . sounding like a declaration in trover.

(12) It was a different ghost that the olden poet rose, and not one full of Doddridge's Sermons.

(13) They did not live as we do in a world that seems a great ear of Dionysius.

It becomes apparent when examining Lowell's metaphors and similes that there are two distinct kinds: those invented comparisons and word inversions that make his meaning immediately clear, i.e., the first ten; and the last three, which are allusive and have meaning only to those

familiar with the allusion.

Fowler detailed the primary purpose of the metaphor and the simile in these words:

> In nine out of ten metaphors the purpose is the practical one of presenting the notion in the most intelligible or convincing or arresting way, but nine out of ten similes are to be classed not as means of explanation or persuasion, but as ends in themselves, things of real or supposed beauty for which a suitable place is to be found.[1]

It can be seen that Lowell's metaphors were generally used in the normal manner, but that his similes differed from the normal pattern, serving most frequently for explanation and persuasion in the same manner as his metaphors. In the last three examples, the purpose may have been the same as in the others, but the result was not.

The number and force of Lowell's amplification devices, his use of restatement, and the simplicity of his outline are all factors that made this lecture generally clear and easy to understand, in spite of the occasional obscurity caused by florid passages set in lengthy and complicated sentences, as in the following example:

> But the temperament, the deep human nature, the aboriginal emotions, these utter themselves in the voice. Fear chokes it to a husky whisper chilled through with pale mortality; love softens it till the words seem shod with roseleaves and run up their errand secret as the dew: Courage rings in it like a trumpet announcing succor: it trembles, more sensitive of coming sympathy, than aspen that stirs in its sleep with a dream of wind: and when the fevered eyes are burned dry of their futile rain, it draws its tones of sorrow from red heart-caverns far below the surface-springs of tears as the sources of life itself.

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[1]H. W. Fowler, A Dictionary of Modern English Usage (Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 536.

The inclusion of florid passages as conclusions to his inductive reasoning patterns, and its use in other sections as a restatement device, resulted in this lecture's fluctuating from middle to grand style in all three parts of the speech, the introduction, body, and conclusion.

Effect

Sumner called Lowell's "Milton" Lecture the best in the series,[1] whereas Lowell must have felt that "The Old Ballads" was better for the popular audience, since he chose to repeat it in Madison, Wisconsin, during his Western Tour.[2]

Another indication of the effectiveness of the speech is the apparent popularity of the series with his reading audience. His friend, F. J. Child, wrote him, "I am off tomorrow for New York, and must depend on the Advertiser for my lectures."[3] Charles Eliot Norton asked Arthur N. Clough in a letter to him in England if he had received "The report of Lowell's lectures,"[4] and an admirer who had read an account in the newspaper--the "Sweet Singer of Hartford," Lydia Huntly Sigourney--wrote from Connecticut, "The

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[1]Scudder, op. cit., I, 373. On February 6, 1855, Charles Sumner wrote Longfellow, "Lowell's lecture on Milton lifted me for a whole day. It was the utterance of genius in honor of genius."

[2]Supra, chap. iii, pp. 69, 99.

[3]M. A. DeWolfe Howe and G. W. Cottrell, The Scholar Friends (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), p. 8.

[4]Sara Norton and M. A. DeWolfe Howe, Letters of Charles Eliot Norton (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1913), p. 119.

echo of your voice has traveled beyond the Old Bay State."[1] (An attentive friend had sent her Lowell's lectures by way of the Advertiser.)

Recognizing the widespread public interest, Field asked Lowell for permission to publish the lectures, but Lowell refused:

> It has just got through my skull, and made a dent in my sensorium, that you wrote me a note, ever so long ago, about my lectures and the publication of them. I don't mean to print them yet--nor ever till they are better.[2]

The advertiser ran short of "sets" of the series and had to reprint the first lecture of the series a second time when they ran out.[3]

More tangible results of the series have already been discussed, i.e., the Harvard Professorship, the Western Tour, and the possible Dante series subsequent to the Western Tour. The results certainly changed the course of Lowell's life, and perhaps his success led him away from speaking rather than serving to encourage him. The Western Tour proved an unpleasant experience, and the Professorship took him to Germany where he was buried in study for over a year, thus missing the opportunity to follow his triumphant series with further speaking engagements.

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[1]Beatty, op. cit., p. 132.

[2]Norton, Letters, I, 233.

[3]Advertiser, February 24, 1855.

CHAPTER VI

ANALYSIS OF INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT SPEECH

Setting and Audience

Lowell became an active member in the fight for international copyright on November 20, 1885, when he entered the editor's office of the Century Magazine in response to a circular letter. He offered to "write out a poem he had been carrying around in his head for some time."[1] Furnished pen and paper by the editor, Mr. R. W. Gilder, he dashed off the following:

> In vain we call old notions fudge,
> And bend our conscience to our dealing:
> The Ten Commandments will not budge,
> And stealing will continue stealing.[2]

This poem appeared in the February issue of the Century Magazine, along with pro-copyright letters from fifty-four other authors, educators, and ministers. Sometime between November 20 and January 29, when he appeared before the Congressional Committee on Patents and delivered the speech with which this chapter deals, Lowell became president of

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[1]Unpublished letter from R. W. Gilder to Horace E. Scudder, Scudder Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

[2]James Russell Lowell, "Open Letters: International Copyright; Plain Speech from American Authors," Century Magazine (December, 1885), p. 627.

the American Copyright League and gave his support to a campaign that had been under way for almost a hundred years.[1]

James Russell Lowell, as president of the League, went to Washington just six months after his return from the English Ministry to appear before the Committee on Patents in a hearing concerning the Hawley Copyright Bill and the Chase Bill to amend the current copyright law.[2]

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[1]In 1790 a copyright law was passed in America. The patriotic emphasis of the times allowed protection exclusively to American authors, while the English copyright protection "could be claimed under common law or gentleman's agreement on the basis of prior issue and regardless of the author's nationality." Spiller, op. cit., p. 126. It was a publisher's market for the first thirty years, with American presses turning out 30 percent national literature and 70 percent English. Ibid., p. 236. In 1827 American authors began to use the copyright protection British law offered them through residence in England prior to publication. As added incentive British publishers were often willing to pay an American author cash in advance for first publication rights. The English author, however, was not protected under American law, and his work became fair spoil for pirating American publishers. By 1850 a sense of fair play had intervened, and a gentleman's agreement tended to equalize the situation. Ibid., p. 237. Laws in both countries altered frequently but never corrected the situation. A liveable status quo was maintained by the publishers' "courtesy of trade convention" until the late 1870's, at which time it lost its ability to curb excessive reprinting. Increasing profits in the publishing business attracted new firms who saw no reason to honor the "gentlemen's agreements" of their competitors, and pirating again became the rule rather than the exception. By this time, however, American authors had developed English followings, and British publishers stepped up their pirating activities. In 1878, as G. H. Putnam reported, one of every ten books printed in England was an American book. Ibid., p. 807. Authors, magazine editors and publishers, and many book publishers banded together in 1883, forming the American Copyright League, to bring pressure to bear in Washington. Their opponents were typographers, binders, and printing management in general, who masked their greed in "pious words about the cheap dissemination of good books." Ibid.

[2]Both bills favored international copyright, and Lowell showed no preference for either. As a representative

Lowell was a good choice for several reasons. Because of his first-hand knowledge of the attitudes of England's leading political elements, he was an expert on the course of action that England would probably take.[1] Secondly, he still carried considerable prestige which could be counted on to add some influence in Washington. To qualify him further was his reputation as America's leading literary critic, as a prominent author, and as an eminent educator.

On this occasion Lowell came to answer questions for the Committees for Patents from both houses of Congress at a special hearing attended by other members of the Copyright League, lobbyists, and members of the Typographer's Union. Among those named in the Congressional Record were Senators Gray, Teller, and Chase, along with Samuel Clemens, R. W. Gilder, Brander Matthews, Mr. Green, and Mr. Estes.[2] Immediately preceding Mr. Lowell at the hearing was an employee of the Bell Telephone Company, Mr. Gardiner Hubbard,

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of the American Copyright League, his concern was to plead for fairness and to promote international copyright.

[1]The legislature in America was reluctant to tamper with the multimillion dollar publishing business; and besides, should an amendment be passed granting copyright privileges to British authors, there was no assurance that England would reciprocate with the non-resident clauses that these bills provided.

[2]Senate Reports, First Session, 49th Congress, Numbers 1089 to 1315, Inclusive, except Number 1278, 1885-1886 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1886), VII, 28-44. This will be referred to hereafter as Senate Report.

a lobbyist who was hired to protest the bills. His address irritated Mr. Lowell and caused him to reply extemporaneously to Mr. Hubbard's charges against international copyright.[1] Mr. Hubbard's speech presented most of the standard arguments against granting international copyright and appeared to be well prepared by demonstrating opposition arguments and assertions persuasively. Although it is apparent from his opening remarks that Lowell was taken off guard by this speech, the arguments that he presented extemporaneously following Mr. Hubbard's speech were solid and well-founded, as evidenced by the fact that they were the same basic arguments he continued to use throughout the next five years that the copyright fight continued.[2]

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[1]There are many limitations involved in selecting extemporaneous speeches for analysis. The following were deemed the most important factors: (1) Was it typical? (2) Was it representative? (3) Is there proof that it was extemporaneous? (4) Are there descriptions of the delivery? and (5) Are there valid texts? Chapter Four contains ample evidence to indicate that all of the selected speeches are typical and representative. An internal statement supplies proof of extemporaneous delivery, and a description of Lowell's delivery on this occasion is given in an article in the Century Magazine. The text, according to the same article, was printed in "several journals." R. W. Gilder, "James Russell Lowell's Bible Argument," Century Magazine, X, 161-62. Several journals were consulted in a search for this text. The Critic, March 6, 1886, pp. 119-23, printed a verbatim copy of the Senate Report, and no other reports were found. Auer suggests that the Congressional Record is not generally considered a highly accurate source. J. Jeffery Auer, An Introduction to Research in Speech (New York: Harper & Bros.), p. 130. Still, Lowell's speech is recorded as testimony and it was not subject to revision and extension. For this reason, it is believed by the writer that it is a highly faithful report of the proceedings before the committee.

[2]A letter he wrote to Mrs. Briggs in May of 1890. The Critic, June 7, 1890, pp. 262-63. See also The Critic,

Arrangement

To understand the structure of Lowell's speech, it is necessary to examine Mr. Hubbard's address. On the surface the situation resembles a debate rather than a general speaking situation; however, examination of Lowell's other extemporaneous speeches shows that he often took note of remarks by previous speakers and toastmasters and structured his speeches around their primary ideas. This speech differs from his usually light, extemporaneous speaking, however, because his topic in this instance was one that demanded persuasion and argumentation. A comparison of Hubbard's and Lowell's speech outlines shows that Lowell's speech is structured primarily to refute Mr. Hubbard's arguments and to undermine his authority in this subject. Of Mr. Hubbard's entire speech, only his assertion that American authorship had not suffered was ignored by Lowell; and there is a possibility that Lowell included this argument under his general questioning of Hubbard's knowledge of the publishing business.[1]

August 29, 1891, p. 110. "It was Lowell's moral argument upon which the law was finally passed in 1891."

[1]Cf. outline of Mr. Hubbard's speech with the outline of Mr. Lowell's speech.

Mr. Hubbard's arguments

1. Introduction establishing speaker's interest and study of international copyright for thirteen years
2. Assertion that an author has no claim to his writing because it is different from any other kind of property; only while an author retains a manuscript is it his property; when it is published it becomes the property of the world
3. Assertion that copyright is a modern concept and that

Mr. Hubbard's first effort was to establish his authority by making it known that he had been called before the Library Committee in 1872-73 and had testified concerning international copyright at that time. He pointed out that the Library Committee had found international copyright inexpedient and had recommended that no such act be passed.

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there is no precedence for it except on a limited basis
4. Assertion that there is a distinction between the laws in England and those of America, copyright in England protecting the author's rights, while copyright in America is meant to benefit the public and not the authors
5. Assertion that international copyright would raise book prices, restrict production, and destroy cheap reading
6. Assertion that present laws do not discourage American authorship
7. Assertion that passage of the Hawley Bill on copyright would give the bulk of America's publishing business to foreign houses and that scarcely a single book would be printed in America
8. Assertion that international copyright had been found unconstitutional
9. A summary conclusion stating that international copyright would restrict arts and science in the United States

Mr. Lowell's arguments

1. Short introduction
2. Refutes "right-of-property" argument
3. Questions Hubbard's knowledge of publishing
4. Questions that international copyright will raise book prices and discourage cheap publishing
5. States opinion that the bulk of book publishing would be transferred to America as a result of international copyright
6. States personal thesis with national and topical applications, showing that the primary consideration in copyright is moral
7. Refutes Hubbard's arguments as immoral
8. Repeats and amplifies his refutation of the "right-of-property" argument, examines the history of Hubbard's "lack-of-precedence" argument
9. Short conclusion

Mr. Hubbard stated that from his experience with the Library Committee and from subsequent study, he had become convinced that international copyright was not in the interest of the people of America.

Referring back to the previous Library Committee, Mr. Hubbard stated its conclusion: that copyright for American authors could be interpreted as furthering arts and sciences, but that taxing the American people to pay foreign publishers and authors served no such purpose. The Library Committee felt that the framers of the Constitution did not intend that foreigners be given such a right.

At this point Mr. Hubbard was questioned by a member of the Copyright League: If patents could be granted to foreigners, why should copyright be withheld? Mr. Hubbard replied that there was no difference between a copyright and a patent, and that he himself did not think copyright unconstitutional; however, it was for the Committee to decide if it was in the public interest to grant copyright to foreigners.

Upon resuming his speech, Mr. Hubbard projected the cost of English books to the American public by comparing the current English prices with the American reprint prices. He estimated that each English book would increase in average cost by about $4.70 over the current reprint price, should English authors be allowed to secure copyrights. He went on to present statistics showing that copyright of American books had increased 25 percent over a period of

ten years, demonstrating that American authors were not being discouraged by the competition of English reprints. Mr. Hubbard asserted that it was only through inexpensive editions that the American people could be well supplied with literature; and he concluded that the proposed bills would enhance prices, restrict production, and destroy inexpensive reading. "The tendency of each one of these things, it seems to me, is not to promote science and the arts, but to restrict the advance of science and the arts."[1]

Delivery

Upon the conclusion of Mr. Hubbard's remarks James Russell Lowell was introduced to the Committees by Mr. Green, and R. W. Gilder wrote the following impression of Lowell's delivery on this occasion:

> No reports, verbatim or otherwise, could re-create the atmosphere of this remarkable scene. . . . Nothing could exceed the tact, good-nature, ready wit, and hurtling sarcasm with which Lowell took the field.[2]

Gilder continued, noting Mr. Hubbard's misfortune in having to precede Lowell, thus providing Lowell's "lance an embodied foe."[3]

> The keenest thrusts were accompanied by a twinkle of the eye, a pleasant falling inflection of the voice, or a smile, that was like the glistening

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[1] Senate Report, p. 33.

[2] "James Russell Lowell's Bible Argument," op. cit., p. 161.

[3] Ibid.

> of a damascus blade, with an edge as sharpe as its glitter. It was not only in direct assault that Lowell proved his ability, but throughout the long session by answering quickly and ably the questions coming to him from every side.[1]

Arguments

Lowell opened his remarks by referring to Mr. Hubbard's "very extraordinary speech," which "called for some comment."[2] He called Hubbard's statement concerning his belief that there is no such thing as property in books "a very common fallacy." Lowell pointed out that this argument is generally put in another way, "that there is no property in an idea." Lowell agreed that there is no property in an idea but asserted that there is property in "the fashioning that is given to an idea"; and he supported this assertion by stating that the constitution already recognized this by granting patents. "Patents are nothing but ideas fashioned a certain way."[3] Lowell, in what appears on the surface to be an innocent comparison, gave a second example. "For instance, the Bell telephone is precisely a parallel case to that of books, and I think there are a great many people in this country who are interested in the Bell telephone and believe it to be property." To Mr. Hubbard and the committee, however, this comparison was not as innocent as it seemed but was rather an example of Lowell's

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Senate Report, p. 34.

[3] Ibid.

wit, since Mr. Hubbard was employed by Bell Telephone.

Lowell next dismissed opposition views "like Mr. Hubbard's as purely hypothetical," and began to argue ad hominem, by placing his prestige against Mr. Hubbard's.

> He tells you that it [copyright] would make books dearer. I do not think he has the slightest evidence on which to show you that it would make books dearer. My own decided opinion is that it would make books cheaper. When he says, also, that it is an attempt of publishers to make large profits on small editions, instead of small profits on large editions, I think he should have a more general knowledge of the book trade--nay, of the modern tendencies of the trade in general--before he makes an assertion of that sort.[1]

Lowell attempted to undermine the lobbyist's authority by questioning his knowledge of the publishing business. He first called attention to the English practice of printing expensive first editions and thereby implied that Hubbard's statistics on English book prices were exaggerated. Secondly, Lowell noted the trend of circulating library owners to dictate to the publishers, who were at that time controlling the market. This observation that publishers were rapidly losing control of the book market was an endeavor to negate Mr. Hubbard's argument that publishers would control prices if international copyright were to become law. As a further argument against the idea that copyright would raise prices and lower quality, Lowell gave the example of an Edinburgh publisher who paid American authors copyright, reprinted "beautiful little volumes," and sold them

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[1] Ibid.

for a shilling. Lowell added, for the benefit of the legislators, that the American people were not against copyright but were for inexpensively printed books. Relying on his knowledge of the American people, Lowell argued:

> I myself am perfectly satisfied that the reading public in America, being much larger than in England, and demanding cheap books, the result of a copyright law, if we ever get one, will be to transfer the great bulk of the book trade from England to this country, and with it the publishing of books. That is my firm belief.[1]

Mr. Lowell admitted, "But that is purely hypothetical, like Mr. Hubbard's argument." Lowell elaborated on the thought that the book market would come to the United States. "If the larger market be here, and if books have to be printed in a cheaper form in order to suit that market, I think they will be so printed."[2]

Having questioned Mr. Hubbard's authority and replied to his arguments, Lowell stated his own thesis and at the same time branded Mr. Hubbard's arguments as immoral.

> I, myself, take the moral view of the question. I believe that this is a simple question of morality and justice; that many of the arguments which Mr. Hubbard used are arguments which might be used for picking a man's pocket.

Playing on Hubbard's "cheapness-of-literature" argument, Lowell continued,

> One could live a great deal cheaper undoubtedly if he could supply himself from other people without any labor or cost. But at the same time--well,

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 34.

> it was not called honest when I was young, and that is all I can say.[1]

Restating his thesis, Lowell referred to the Bible as "a book which was . . . more read when I was young than it is now,"[2] and stated that the Bible is right when it says, "Righteousness exalteth a nation." Making the application to copyright, Lowell continued, "I believe this is a question of righteousness."[3] Restating his thesis a third time, Lowell said, "If I were asked what book is better than a cheap book, I should answer that there is one book better than a cheap book, and that is a book honestly come by."[4] In one paragraph the thesis was stated three times: on the personal level, i.e., "I take a moral view"; on a national level, "Righteousness exalteth a nation"; and on the topical level, "A book honestly come by." In this same paragraph, while driving his thesis home, Lowell unleashed two strong arguments against Hubbard's cause: (1) that his arguments could be presented in favor of picking pockets, and (2) that a cheap book is not as valuable as an honest book.

Lowell admitted that he favored cheap books, going on to define what he meant, i.e., cheap in price and not in quality. He concluded that quality was "almost" a

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[1] Ibid., p. 35.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

national consideration.

Following his reflection concerning cheap books, Lowell resumed his attack on Mr. Hubbard's argument that authors had no property claim in their books by examining his definitions:

> I should like to ask, in answer to one of the points which Mr. Hubbard made--the notion, namely, that there was no common-law property in books--what is the origin of property? I am not sure that that has ever been quite settled. I think the general theory is that it was force; that the stronger man got possession of what he could, and held it; that force takes the precedence of right, as Bismark says.[1]

And Lowell added a pointed observation: "Advancing civilization is supposed to have found a better system."[2]

Having discussed the historical background of property, Lowell broke his topic into two of its legal aspects: the tests of "custom" and of modern "status."

> But there are many pieces of property for which we cannot show any common law right. We can show custom "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." And Mr. Hubbard's notion that there is any meaning in the fact that copyright was issued first to publishers springs simply from the fact that as the publisher had to buy the right of publication, the copyright was in him, as the lawyers would say; it was not in the author any longer. That follows as a matter of course.[3]

Agreeing with Hubbard's statement that "copyright is a modern species of property," Lowell explained the reason: "It could

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

not possibly have arisen before the invention of the art of printing." Lowell pointed out that before printing was invented, owning a manuscript constituted owning the book, and trouble and cost of piracy operated as safeguards to the author. The "trouble of copying would almost have given the copyist a right to the possession of the book."[1]

> The reason that copyright is modern is because the art of printing is modern, and because the rapid multiplication of books is even more modern than the invention of printing.[2]

Lowell was clarifying Mr. Hubbard's statements of copyright status, i.e., its modernity, because Hubbard gave the impression that there was no precedence under law for an author to have property in his writing. By restating Hubbard's contention that copyright is modern and by adding the historical background, giving examples, and showing that printing had completely changed the author's status by making piracy possible and profitable, Lowell appeared to strengthen his own position and to weaken Hubbard's argument that legal precedence was not in an author's favor.

Lowell seemed momentarily to digress from his "right-of-property" argument to attack Hubbard's apparent attitude that it was shameful for an English author to want more money for his books, using an example of a prominent English author whose book had recently been reprinted in the

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

United States.[1] Although this example appeared to have no connection with his property arguments, he suddenly returned to his former line of argument:

> I think it is very natural he [the English author] should wish more money for his book, and cannot help feeling that he has as clear a right of property in the form he has given to his thought as the inventor feels that he has when he applies for a patent to protect the materialization of his ideas in the machine.[2]

Lowell further illustrated his argument by using the example of Shakespeare, concluding his speech with a final appeal to consider the author's right of property.

> Shakespeare takes from an Italian novel the story of the Merchant of Venice, we will say. But does not Shakespeare put something into the Merchant of Venice that nobody else by human possibility could have put in it? Does he not establish in that way, quite as much as the inventor of a machine, a certain right of property? There are people, you know, who deny the right or property altogether, and they enforce it with very strong reasons and make strong arguments . . . as those brought against the copyrighting of books or the ownership of a copyright in them.[3]

Ethical Proof

Lowell's ad hominem arguments questioned Hubbard's knowledge of the publishing business, and his restatement of Hubbard's argument on "copyright precedence" appeared to negate his opponent as much ethically as it did logically.

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[1] Ibid. The English author was Justin McCarthy, and the book Lowell made reference to was probably Camiola, published in 1885.

[2] Ibid., p. 36.

[3] Ibid.

Lowell gave the overall impression of being completely honest by announcing straightforwardly that his assertions were opinions and that they were for the most part hypothetical, "like Mr. Hubbard's." Since Hubbard had not presented his assertions as opinions, he may have appeared a bit underhanded, or at least not as honest as Mr. Lowell. Lowell further suggested Hubbard's dishonesty when he announced that his own position on copyright was a moral one. Again he contrasted his moral stand with Hubbard's immoral one, using the "pickpocket" argument. He quoted from the Bible and spoke of honesty and righteousness. The ethical value of these appeals is obvious and shows Lowell bettering an already strong position.

The fact that twenty-one of twenty-six "I thinks" included in the speech are in the first half might indicate that Lowell relied on his previously established ethical appeal to supplement his arguments. Possibly because of his awareness of his ethical appeal, Lowell did not attempt to establish common ground or authority within his speech as Hubbard did; but, on the contrary, he stated his opinions and trusted their being accepted on the basis of his own authority. As indicated previously, this manifested itself in Mr. Lowell's using twenty-six variations of "I think" in his twenty-four minute speech.[1] In his first ten minutes,

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[1]This speech was timed in the same manner in which radio scripts are timed, using two words as equal to one second of time.

variations of "I think" were used thirteen times. In the next minute and forty seconds, while Lowell was stating his main thesis of "morality and justice," he used "I believe," "I cannot help thinking," "my view of it," "if I were asked," and "that would be my feeling" eight times. In the last twelve minutes of the speech he used variations of "I think" only five times, and two of these were in the last paragraph. Undoubtedly Lowell's use of these phrases shows his attitude toward himself and toward the ethical appeal that he transmitted to his audience.

Logical Proof

This is not to say that Lowell neglected logical argument for ethical appeal, but rather that he strongly combined them. In dealing with Hubbard's arguments, he placed his opinions directly against his opponent's, admitting that his own assertions were "purely hypothetical, like Mr. Hubbard's." Then, he proceeded to make assertions which were exactly the opposite of Hubbard's; e.g., book prices would not increase, and the bulk of the publishing would move to the United States. This left the Committee to decide whose opinions carried the most weight.

The second half of the speech is devoted entirely to close examination of the question of an author's right of property in his work. The examination is historical, chronological, and filled with examples and illustrations. The approach was refutative, answering each one of Mr.

Hubbard's assertions in turn and supplying new examples as he made new points in favor of copyright.

Style

Complementing his presentation of logical arguments, Lowell employed a generally plain style in this speech, using no flowery phrases nor poetry. The sentences, although not always short, are direct and simply stated; and he used only two rhetorical figures: a simile, "Books . . . are like umbrellas"; and irony, "I do not wish to urge . . . [righteousness] too far because that is considered a little too ideal." Lowell did display one habit in his style that seems to detract from its simplicity. He made many parenthetical remarks which break the flow of the sentences. With the inflections of delivery, perhaps they were not as apparent to his immediate audience as they are on the printed page. His concluding sentence is the best example of this habit:

> There are people, you know, who deny the right of property altogether, and they enforce it with very strong reasons and make strong arguments, I think, quite as strong, it strikes me--to be sure, I am myself an author, and perhaps do not look at it fairly--as those brought against the copyrighting of books or the ownership of a copyright in them.

Effect

The effect of this speech cannot be measured in tangible results, but it was the beginning of a movement. The American Copyright League, formed in 1883, had accomplished little to this date. After 1885 meetings were held;

money was raised through authors' readings for the cause; other committees lobbied congress and presidents; and magazines printed pro-copyright articles, editorials, and letters. In spite of this combined effort, it was another five years before the bill was finally passed, and at that time the same moral argument first espoused by Lowell was the reason given for its passage.[1]

Lowell himself stated what he thought his chief accomplishment was with regard to international copyright when he wrote the following to Kate Field:

> We have made progress. We have secured public discussion, and a righteous cause which has done that has got the weather gauge of its adversary.[2]

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[1]"The Tribute of a Poet and Critic," The Critic, August 29, 1891, p. 110. In an interview with a Critic reporter, Edmund Stedman gave the following information: "It was to Mr. Lowell, in spite of the hard work of other advocates, that much of the success of the final copyright campaign was due. From the first Mr. Lowell advocated International Copyright purely as a matter of national honor and justice to foreign authors. . . . During the recent campaign, then, we had no valid argument in behalf of International Copyright except the moral one, and the law was finally passed upon ground held by Mr. Lowell."

[2]The Critic, June 7, 1890, p. 262. Lowell firmly believed that given the choice, the American people were fair-minded and would vote on the side of truth. For Lowell, then, the chief object of the American Copyright League's efforts was to secure public discussion and to get the arguments before the public. This speech proved effective in accomplishing this end.

CHAPTER VII

TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDATION OF HARVARD ADDRESS

Setting and Audience

On November 8, 1886, Harvard University celebrated her two hundred and fiftieth year, with James Russell Lowell as the chief orator, delivering a two-hour speech in praise of his alma mater. Four months before the distinguished occasion, he had written to Charles Eliot Norton, "I would decline if I could give a better reason than that I have nothing to say."[1]

As a result of his ambassadorship he had become one of Harvard's most renowned sons; his reputation as a speaker almost equaled his reputation as a poet, and he was the ideal choice. Also, by virtue of the ambassadorship, Lowell's name had been elevated to capital letters in the Harvard Quinquintenial Catalogue, making his one of the most prominent listings:

> JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, A.M.; LL.B. 1840; D.C.L. Oxford 1873; LL.D. 1884, Cambr. 1874, St. Andrews 1884, Edinb. 1884; Smith Prof. French and Span. Lang. and Lit. and Prof. Belles Lettres, and Smith Prof. Emeritus; Rector St. Andrews Univ.; Overseer, Fellow Am. Acad.; Memb. Mass. Hist. Soc., Am. Philos. Soc., and Real Acad. Espanola; Fellow Royal Soc. Edinb., and Royal Soc. Lit. (London) U.S. Min. Plen. Spain, Gt. Britain.

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[1] Supra, chap. iii, p. 87.

To this impressive list other honors and accomplishments could have been added, but probably the most important would have been Lowell's presidency of the Birmingham Midland Institute, where he delivered his famous "Democracy Address," eliciting unlimited praise in the United States.

Lowell was joined on the platform for the august ceremony by Oliver Wendell Holmes, poet for the occasion; and behind them was seated a third famous Harvard graduate, the President of the United States, Grover Cleveland.

Sanders Theatre, the place of the event, was filled to capacity, and an observer noted that one student was perched on the top of an open door in order to get a better view.[1] Harvard graduates and representatives from universities all over the world comprised the audience.

In spite of the supreme honor bestowed by Harvard University in selecting him to speak, Lowell was in a distraught state of mind, personal problems weighing heavily on him. Part of his depression was due to his old nemesis of preparation that kept him in a state of despair for four months.[2]

An incident just two weeks before the occasion greatly distressed Lowell. Julian Hawthorne stopped at Elmwood to visit Lowell between trains, and Lowell spoke freely with the son of his old friend. Later, to his immense

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[1] A. Lawrence Lowell, op. cit., p. 101.

[2] Supra, chap. iii, pp. 86-89.

dismay, he learned that his conversation had appeared in the New York World, presenting him in a very unflattering manner by printing many of his "off the record" comments. An exchange of public letters ensued, with Hawthorne declaring that Lowell knew he was being interviewed for an article and Lowell denying it. On October 27, just twelve days before the "Harvard Address," Lowell wrote a letter to the Boston Herald.

> If he [Hawthorne] shall assert that he told me for what he came and that I understood him, I shall feel obligated to leave the matter to those who know us both as a question of veracity between him and me. The life of a man, into whose private affairs the public assumes the right to look, is far from agreeable at best; but on the terms which Mr. Hawthorne seems willing to justify, it would be unendurable. I have now said, I hope, the last word which I shall find it necessary about an affair, almost as painful to me for Mr. Hawthorne's sake as for my own, though he could hardly have chosen a victim who could suffer more keenly. I might fairly go farther and repudiate indignantly a report of my conversation which wholly misrepresents me in its more offensive particulars, but I remember Sancho's proverb and desist.[1]

It was in this frame of mind that he took the platform to speak.

Textual Considerations

The "Harvard Address" received wide publication, appearing first in a special supplement of the December, 1886, Atlantic Monthly. It was reprinted in two parts in The Critic, and within twelve months it was published in

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[1] The Critic, November 6, 1886, p. 227.

Democracy and Other Addresses. All three printed texts, with minor variations, are close representations of the reading manuscript.

Emotional Proof

Of the four speeches analyzed, this address was the only one in which Lowell used direct emotional appeals. They appeared rather subtly, the first coming as a comparison; Harvard sons returning to their school were likened to a prosperous son returning to his old home.

> We come back hither from the experiences of a richer life, as the son who has prospered returns to the household of his youth, to find in its very homeliness a pulse, if not of deeper, certainly of fonder, emotion than any splendor could stir. "Dear old Mother," we say, "how charming you are in your plain cap and the drab silk that has been turned again since we saw you! You were constantly forced to remind us that you could not afford to give us this and that which some other boys had, but you sent us forth into the world with the sound constitutions and healthy appetites that are bred of simple fare."

Lowell made a moral application of his emotional proof: "It is good for us to commemorate this homespun past of ours; good, in these days of a reckless and swaggering prosperity, to remind ourselves how poor our fathers were." He continued with his purpose sentence for the address. "This is our Founders' Day, and we are come together to do honor to them all."

Later in the speech Lowell employed an emotional proof a second time, when he referred to the fact that Sanders Theatre had been built to commemorate the Civil War dead.

> It is the stuff out of which fortunate ancestors are made, and twenty-five years ago their sons

> showed in no diminished measure the qualities of the breed. In every household some brave boy was saying to his mother, as Iphigenia to hers,--"Thou bearest me for all the Greeks, not for thyself alone." [The quotation was in Greek.] Nor were Harvard's sons the last. This hall commemorates them, but their story is written in headstones all over the land they saved.

This second emotional proof served to close a rather lengthy narration in which he described the life of the early New England clergy.

Ethical Proof

Besides using all the general ethical appeals discussed in Chapter Five, Lowell added other innovations in this speech. His remarkable extrinsic ethos has been discussed as part of the background and setting of the speech; possibly to add weight to his opinions, he called attention to his accomplishments, e.g., "I stand here as a man of letters, and as a man of letters I must speak." He also used his ethos to attempt to refute arguments as he had in his "Copyright Speech" a few months earlier. "This is not true, if I may judge from some little experience, but it is interesting as implying a certain consciousness, which is of the most hopeful augury." Also, "I have seen several Spirits of the Age in my time, of very different voices and summoning in very different directions, but unanimous in their propensity to land us in the mire at last." Opinions from his own experience appeared frequently in this address, prefaced by "I think," "I am not ignorant that," "I am saddened."

There are quotations in five languages, Latin and Greek taking predominance; and if one applies Lowell's own view on the use of them, i.e., "The first Latin quote draws the first applause," it is possible to infer that they were inserted to elevate his ethical appeal; however, it is probable that they were employed because academic style was expected from a scholar and a man of letters.

Lowell again relied heavily on humor, maxims, and similitudes; and, as has been previously emphasized, they were strong factors of ethical proof.

Logical Proof

Lowell's use of logical proofs for this address did not vary from his general practice as far as the type he used, i.e., predominant forms were reasoning from example and analogy, most of the evidence being literary examples and allusions, quotations, restatements, and definitions; however, the content was considerably more erudite, and his examples and allusions were drawn from history and literature more than in the other three speeches.

Still, in spite of the occasion, the similes Lowell chose to use sometimes took on the pungent flavor of those used in "The Old Ballads"--"Fancy flutters over these vague wastes like a butterfly blown out to sea, and finds no foothold," "Opinions are 'as handy,' to borrow our Yankee proverb, 'as a pocket in a shirt,' and I may add, as hard to come at."

On a more intellectual plane he referred to "the black Care of the Roman poet," Platonic year, Ruskin's opinion

that he could not live in a country without castles or cathedrals, Euripidean chorus, and concepts of Milton and Donne, to name a few of his erudite examples.

The following is characteristic of his use of historical example in this address:

> The colony, still insignificant, was in danger of an Indian war, was in the throes of that Antinomian controversy which threatened its very existence, and yet the leaders of opinion on both sides were united in the resolve that sound learning and an educated clergy should never cease from among them or their descendants in the commonwealth they were building up.

Lowell also supplied examples of the early history of Harvard, including a lengthy one concerning two Indians who were taught to read Latin and Greek. He alluded to men of importance to the history of Harvard, e.g., Higginson, Cotton, Wilson, Norton, Shephard, Davenport, and Winthrop, to list a few.[1]

In several instances Lowell argued from his own authority, as was noted in the discussion of ethical proof.

He recalled personal examples of his early schooling to illustrate his logical proof:

> The late Professor Popkin, whom the older of us remember, would have allowed that title [of letters] only to the Greeks,--and to teach them in such a way as to enable the pupil to assimilate somewhat of their thought, sentiment, and style, rather than to master the minuter niceties of the language in which they wrote.

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[1]In referring to these family names, Lowell did not make reference to specific members.

His general illustrations were characteristically clear and poignant:

> Many a boy has hated, and rightly hated, Homer and Horace the pedagogues and grammarians, who would have loved Homer and Horace the poets, had he been allowed to make their acquaintance.

While most of these logical proofs are common to all four speeches, the "Harvard Address" shows Lowell deviating from his general practice in two important aspects: he used narrative and he used extensive deductive reasoning, neither of which appeared in the three other speeches. With narrative, he led the audience to visualize the early New England clergy; and from literary evidence, he deductively recreated early Harvard teaching practices.

Arrangement

Lowell's arrangement for this address is not a complicated one, but it is rather the common chronological arrangement of many commemoration addresses--past, present, and future.

Introduction
1. Time's paradoxes--past, present
2. Homespun past--past

Body
1. Birth of Harvard--past
2. Objects of the founders--past
3. Chief service of the college--past
4. Debt of Massachusetts--present
5. Meaning of a university--present
6. New education--future
7. What Harvard has done, ought to do--past, present, future
8. True measure of success--future

Conclusion
1. What a diploma should stand for--peroration
2. Common ground appeals, welcome alumni--future
3. Praise of President Cleveland

Within this outline, Lowell allowed himself considerable mobility, and using the rhetorical device of digression, spent more time than appeared to be prudent to his purpose on the elective system, teaching foreign languages, and democracy. With less emphasis he discussed state socialism and the French school system. All of these were made relevant to Lowell's speech, but there is a possibility that he inserted the last three in order to propagate his own opinions.

While the elective system controversy was at its peak in 1884, Child wrote Lowell in England, "I can tell you we need you here now. The chemists are in conspiracy to oust Greek, and then Latin."[1] If the situation were still in a state of flux, Lowell may have given his expanded views on the elective system and the teaching of languages to help the cause of his fellow faculty members.

Source of Ideas

Horace Scudder suggested that Lowell's addresses were "a series of valedictories."

> Lowell did in the closing years of his life sum up, in forms which occasions for the most part suggested, his leading principles and doctrines, as if in a series of valedictories. Thus "Democracy" was a confession of his fundamental belief in the region of world-politics; his address at Harvard was the one word on scholarship which at the end of a scholar's life he most wished to say.[2]

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[1]Howe and Cottrell, op. cit., p. 64.

[2]Scudder, op. cit., II, 372-73.

There is evidence to indicate that when he began to write the "Harvard Address," he had already decided to publish it in his Democracy and Other Addresses, which appeared in 1886. He gave the speech on November 8, and on November 17, he wrote to Lady Lyttelton when the book was on the point of publication: "I shall ask your acceptance ere long of a volume of my addresses and you can judge for yourself as the last ['Harvard Address'] will be in it."[1] Besides this statement, the longer sentences of his literary style that appear throughout the speech serve as intrinsic indications of his intention.

It is possible to trace several of the ideas which Lowell projected in the address. In the introduction he referred to the "sentimental relish" that Americans have for age and the fancy that "we have to play very hard in order to believe that we are old." This concept of age had been mentioned in "The Old Ballads" and again in his "Old South Church Address."

A letter to Norton, written at the time he was composing the address, showed his humorous reflections on "time." To his own thoughts he added several literary allusions and quotations concerning "time" and placed them in the "Harvard Address" introduction.

Lowell made reference to three older schools, including Oxford and Cambridge, both of which had conferred

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[1]Howe, New Letters, p. 294.

honorary doctorates upon him.

Much of his invention was derived from the early history of Massachusetts. Lowell had been an active member of the Massachusetts Historical Society since 1863, probably giving him first-hand access to early documents of the state. He referred to "the Gratulatio presented by Harvard College on the occasion of the accession of George III." Since Lowell's grandfather, "the Old Judge," had helped to prepare it, this may have been inserted as a matter of pride.[1]

He related personal experiences and recalled his own instructors at Harvard; and he offered his definition of what a university should be, drawing from a statement he had made to Harvard's President Walker thirty years earlier.

His digressions on electives, teaching of languages, and democracy appear to be part of Lowell's basic philosophy. The elective system had been the cause of an earlier controversy, his ideas on language may have been the genesis of his later speech as the first president of the Modern Language Association, and his ideas on democracy had appeared in his "Democracy Address" in England and would reappear later in his "Independent in Politics Speech."

Because of the occasion, however, the sources of Lowell's invention were primarily literary, stemming from his vast reading background.

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[1]Underwood, op. cit., p. 11.

Delivery

Only three comments have been located concerning Lowell's delivery on this occasion, and they serve little purpose to the study, since they appear to be contradictory. One account has been noted in Chapter Three. The writer, who is unidentified, says that Lowell's "oratorical delivery was a perfect expression of perfect gentlemanhood. His voice . . . a most agreeable baritone . . . of a cultivated man addressing . . . friends."[1] He tells of the qualities Lowell did not possess: "rarely made a gesture," "had not the gift of commanding promiscuous assemblies," "little of the essentially popular fibre," "not an orator in the amplest sense of the word."

A. Lawrence Lowell described Lowell's oration as "somewhat despondent in tone," but he did not stipulate whether it was due to delivery or content.[2]

Thirty-three years after the event, Barrett Wendell recalled a Wordsworth stanza in the "Harvard Address" that he thought Lowell had delivered admirably. Referring to Lowell's reading of it, Wendell remarked, "The wonder of this, perhaps, can never be fully felt except by those who heard him read the lines."[3]

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[1] Supra, chap. iii, p. 100.

[2] A. L. Lowell, op. cit., p. 101.

[3] Barrett Wendell, Speech, Commemoration of the Centenary of the Birth of James Russell Lowell, p. 41.

Style

Lowell employed all the general elements of style that were characteristic of him; but the many quotations and allusions in Latin and Greek, plus two in Italian and French, make this address less clear to the general reader, though it was probably clearer to his immediate audience. His allusions, as was noted in Chapter Five, probably caused some obscurity even to the listening audience. Besides being more erudite and formal than the other speeches, this address seems to have a more consciously polished effect. There are more instances of repetition for effect; e.g., "It is <u>good</u> for us to commemorate this homespun past of ours; <u>good</u>, in these days of reckless and swaggering prosperity." [Italics mine.] Of the four speeches, the "Harvard Address" alone contains a large number of rhetorical questions.

> Is it indeed so self-evident a proposition as it seems to many that "You may" is as wholesome a lesson for youth as "You must"? Is it so good a foreschooling for Life, which will be a teacher of quite other mood, making us learn, rod in hand, precisely those lessons we should not have chosen?

He also posed questions to which there were no definite answers and then provided his own opinion as to the best answer.

> What and to what end should a university aim to teach now and here in this America of ours whose meaning no man can yet comprehend? And, when we have settled what it is best to teach, comes the further question, How are we to teach it? Whether with an eye to its effect on developing character or personal availability, that is to say, to its effect on the conduct of life, or on the chances of getting a livelihood? Perhaps we shall find that we must have a care for both.

Another characteristic of this address, which is a deviation from his style in the other three, is Lowell's frequent sprinkling of longer, complex sentences, averaging approximately thirty-five words, and in one instance, going to over 300 words.

The address fluctuates from formal stately sentences,--

> Leave in their traditional pre-eminence those arts that were rightly called liberal; those studies that kindle the imagination, and through it irradiate the reason; those studies that manumitted the modern mind; those in which the brains of finest temper have found alike their stimulus and their repose, taught by them that the power of intellect is heightened in proportion as it is made gracious by measure and symmetry.

to "low comedy" sentences like the following:

> They would have said to the president, with the Gypsy steward in the old play when he heard the new-come nightingale, "Oh, Sir, you hear I am called."

Besides the stately sentences and the "low comedy" type, there are several poetic sentences. Referring to the "gray seclusions of the college quadrangles and cloisters at Oxford and Cambridge," he noted that "the very stones seemed happier for being there."

Consequently, the style is sometimes stilted, sometimes unclear with vague allusions, charming in spots, persuasive, and most of all, a mixture of Lowell, the interesting writer, and Lowell, the erudite scholar, speaking not to the common man, but rather to other scholars.

Effect

Woodberry, in his criticism of Democracy and Other Addresses, though complimentary to Lowell, did not suggest that Lowell accomplished the primary purpose of a commemoration speech, that of giving praise, but instead voiced too many of his own views about the ills of Harvard. He wrote that Lowell sometimes exhibited too much tact, but in the "Harvard Address," on the contrary:

> The constraint of the hour was evidenced by the complete liberty of speech which he sensibly accorded to himself: as one in the house of his friends, he magnanimously determined to say his say, irrespective of who might be critical, sure of amiable tolerance if not of cordial agreement.[1]

Lowell's own opinion is recorded in a letter he wrote to Lady Lyttelton.

> My address at the Harvard Commemoration is over and gone and I am slowly shaking off the discomfort of the praises it won me--for I did not think it very good. The occasion did not--would not rouse me, do what I might.

The value of the speech today is not as an example of a good commemoration address but as a representation of Lowell's theories on education.

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[1]Woodberry, op. cit., p. 304.

CHAPTER VIII

SPEECH BEFORE THE INCORPORATED SOCIETY OF AUTHORS

Setting

In 1888 James Russell Lowell's ethical appeal had reached its zenith, and the press was referring to him as "the foremost citizen of the Republic" and as "one of the six most interesting men alive."[1] Adding to his public honors, he had just returned from the University of Bologna, where he had received his sixth honorary doctorate on June 13. Hours before the ceremony took place, he had fallen ill with gout and had to be rushed back to England where he had made a slow recovery. Although he had been recuperating for almost six weeks before the event, he was described as looking "far from well" when he rose to speak before the Incorporated Society of Authors on July 25, 1888.[2]

Audience

His audience consisted of authors from America and England, publishers, educators, and governmental dignitaries. Lord Tennyson, president of the Incorporated Society, was unable to attend, and James Bryce, M.P., presided in his

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[1] Supra, chap. ii, p. 54.

[2] The Critic, August 11, 1888, p. 67.

absence.[1] The program followed the usual "toasting" system, and Lowell, the chief guest, was chosen to answer the toast for literature.[2] Despite the assigned topic, the interest of the audience was focused toward international copyright, the American authors being interested because they had taken part in the copyright movement and the British authors, because they stood to benefit if the bill were passed. At the time of the meeting, the "supporters of the International Copyright bill in the House"[3] expected to see it come to a vote and be passed before Congress adjourned. Although the bill did not pass until three years later, the expectation of the audience at the time of the speech was that the passage

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[1]James Bryce was serving as undersecretary of foreign affairs at the time of this speech. He served as British Ambassador to the United States from 1907 to 1913, was a noted author and historian, and in 1914 was created Viscount Bryce of Dechmont. Clarence L. Barnhart (ed.), The New Century Handbook of English Literature (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1956), p. 174.

[2]Examination of pamphlets containing after-dinner proceedings in England and the United States shows that the same general structure prevailed in both countries. A president, chairman, toastmaster, or master of ceremonies presided and proposed the first two toasts, to the Queen and to the President of the United States (if an American were present), and a second that would fit the chief guest of the evening. When Lowell was present he usually answered for literature. The rest of the toasts during the evening seemed to be impromptu but followed a prescribed pattern. There were usually toasts to science and to the hosts of the evening. The minor toasts varied, depending on the audience and the areas of interest and competence of the guests; e.g., on this occasion one toast was to "Fellow Novelists on this side of the Atlantic." The chairman proposed the toast to literature and designated Lowell to answer it, giving him a rather lengthy introduction.

[3]The Critic, August 11, 1888, p. 67.

of the bill was imminent, and, by the general tone of the speeches, there seemed to be a general feeling of elation and triumph at the dinner. No toasts to copyright were given, but each of the first three speakers talked about it; and Bryce devoted one-third of his introduction of Lowell to copyright, making it almost obligatory that Lowell follow his lead. Midway in his speech Lowell commented that he "could not very well avoid touching upon the subject of International Copyright,"[1] and directed his remarks toward the audience's primary interest.

Textual Considerations

Four texts have been located for this after-dinner address: they are in the London Times,[2] The Critic,[3] American Ideas for English Readers,[4] and a Report of the Proceedings at the Dinner Given by the Society of Authors to American Men and Women of Letters at the Criterion Restaurant, on Wednesday, July 25, 1888.[5] The first three texts are

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[1]Lowell regarded the lack of international copyright laws as a moral blot against America and probably would have liked to have avoided discussing the subject in England. He had a reputation for being "touchy" concerning any attack on America, even if it were justified. This may account for the way Lowell approached copyright in the body of his speech.

[2]London Times, July 26, 1888.

[3]The Critic, August 11, 1888, pp. 67-68.

[4]Stone, op. cit.

[5]Report of the Proceedings at the Dinner Given by the Society of Authors to American Men and Women of Letters,

identical, the Times appearing on July 26, The Critic on August 11, and American Ideas fourteen years later in 1902. Stone (American Ideas) credits the Times as his source, but The Critic does not, in spite of the fact that it apparently is. The Critic, however, supplies audience information which is not in the Times. This might indicate that The Critic received audience information from a London source, possibly one of the guests at the dinner, along with a copy of the London Times' account, and combined them for its report of the event. The Critic sheds additional light on the Society Report of the address by noting that a stenographer was present and that a full report of the speeches would be published in the fall.[1]

The Society Report, exclusive of punctuation, contains more than eighty variations from the Times text. The Times reporter omitted several sentences and single words, he misplaced words, and he presented sentences in different word order from the Society Report. Of the more than eighty differences, only four significantly change the meaning or give rise to ambiguity. Two deletions from the Times text concern Lowell's shyness and his fear of boring his audience. The first is near the middle of the speech:

> I do not intend, Mr. Chairman, to detain you long, in fact, I am not precisely in a condition to make

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at the Criterion Restaurant, on Wednesday, July 25, 1888 (London: Society of Authors, 1888), pp. 17-25. Hereafter referred to as Society Report.

[1]The Critic, August 11, 1888, p. 67.

> what I consider to be an appropriate after-dinner speech.

Again, near the end of the speech, he voiced his fear of boring his audience:

> And I shall leave you to hear the other speakers for whom at this time you must justly be impatient.

The quotations, appearing near the middle and near the end of the speech, in conjunction with his opening remark that he "rose under a certain oppression," give some insight into his frame of mind and attitude toward himself.[1] Another variation, the misplacing of the word "topical" in the Times text, changes the meaning of a Lowell philological allusion. The Times also omitted, perhaps intentionally, a remark in which Lowell corrected Chairman Bryce for reversing the publication dates of Cooper and Irving. Because of his renown as a scholar, he could not let the incorrect allusion go without comment even though the correction may have affected his ethical appeal.

The difference between the two versions is not great in content, style, or arrangement. The texts vary enough, however, to prove that they were recorded by different sources; and they serve as reliable checks on each other. There is agreement on over 90 percent of the material in the two texts, leading the writer to conclude that both are generally close representations of what was said. There are more deletions from the Times text, perhaps indicating that the

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[1] Supra, chap. iii, pp. 86-88.

Society's stenographer was more accurate and conscientious than the Times' reporter. Despite reasonably close correlation between the two texts, there is evidence of editing. For example, the Times text contains "that" where the Report used "which" on three occasions. Twice the Times included the word "singular" as an adjective, but it did not appear on the Report text, indicating that there may have been a certain amount of loss through the sheer mechanics of copying a speech from stenographic notes.

Collation of these two texts provides as nearly perfect a text as can be reproduced today from a speech given in 1888.

Arrangement

Probably the most interesting aspect of this speech is the fact that it has six primary ideas or themes and resembles a musical composition in the way that the themes are interwoven. They appear to be structured around the remarks in the chairman's introduction. Mr. Bryce quoted from Alexis de Tocqueville, recalling the strained relations between the United States and England in 1828, in order to contrast with this the fact that Americans and Englishmen were sitting at the same table. Lowell used the date in the quotation, 1828, as a focal point in time and as a transitional device from which he led into his six themes: (1) better relations between America and England, (2) literature, (3) copyright, (4) England, (5) language as a common

tie, and (6) Lowell. Perhaps "Lowell" should not be considered a theme, but he stated his accomplishments, personal anecdotes, and ideals candidly, causing them to appear as a part of the speech itself as well as a means of increasing his ethical appeal. The speech is not arranged with common ground near the beginning as is frequently found in speech construction. Rather, in this speech, Lowell's common ground and audience appeals are located at the end of his speech, as are the other themes most likely to solicit audience appeal, i.e., "England" and "language as a common tie."

The arrangement of his ideas is as follows:

1. The oppression of speaking (Lowell theme)
2. The need for better relations between England and America
3. The assigned text, literature
4. A reference to self merit (Lowell theme)
5. A discussion of copyright
6. A reference to the occasion (better relations theme)
7. A detailed discussion of the better relations theme
8. Lowell's love of England
9. The common tie of language
10. Better relations and the conclusion

Mr. Bryce, on the other hand, had introduced all of these themes in the following order:

1. Better relations
2. The attraction of England for Americans
3. Copyright
4. Lowell's efforts on behalf of copyright
5. Lowell's literary reputation
6. Lowell as a public official
7. The common bond of language
8. A toast to literature

It should be noted that Lowell did not comment upon the themes in the same order in which they were presented.

For example, he included copyright as a part of the Lowell theme.

> You have alluded also, in terms which I shall not qualify, to my own merits. You have made me feel a little as if I were a ghost revisiting the pale glimpses of the moon, and reading with considerable wonder my own epitaph. But you have done me more than justice in attributing so much to me with regard to International Copyright.

After being introduced as a part of the Lowell theme, copyright was discussed in some detail; later it appeared as an example in the theme of better relations between the two countries. Likewise, Lowell's "love of England" theme was developed after first using it as an example of increased good will between the two nations.

The speech is arranged in a climactic structure, building near the close and incorporating three poetic allusions in the climax.

Logical Proof

Lowell followed his usual pattern of argument in this speech with one notable exception: instead of his primary method of reasoning by example, he used reasoning by analogy. He compared his own speaking to the pitcher which, in the proverb, "had gone too often to the well." Referring to copyright, he made an analogy between "preserving pheasants that fly over the fence" and books that do the same thing. He also used analogies comparing England to Rome and London to "David's palace near a hundred streams."

Style

Lowell's use of language complements his logical structuring, being figurative in only five instances, where he employed such phrases as "old home" for England, "noble language" for English, and "the roaring loom of time" for the noise of London. The absence of figurative language in the introduction and the body of the speech indicates that the plain style was used; however, the conclusion contains the five figures of speech and the analogies comparing England to Rome and London to David's palace. This elevates the conclusion to middle style.[1] As was mentioned earlier, Lowell utilized his conclusion to establish common ground and to elicit good will; thus he changed his style to match his new "cause."

His philological interest is particularly evident in this address with his attention to the precise meaning of words, e.g., "His [Johnson's] famous lines about the life of the scholar, and by scholar he meant the author." "But there were a great many local considerations, topical as our ancestors used to call them." "I cannot help feeling as I stand here that there is something especially—I might almost use the cant word and say monumentally—

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[1]Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., p. 415. "Quintilian formalized this concept by saying that the style should be adapted not only to the cause, but to particular parts of the cause. Thus the orator will rely upon different arts and modes of expression in the exordium, narration and so on."

interesting in a meeting like this." "I was going to say fraternize when I remembered that I ought perhaps to add 'sororize!'" [Italics mine.] Lowell again fell into his habit of parenthetical remarks mentioned in Chapter Five; however, he limited the number to eighteen for the entire speech, and in only one sentence did he use two parenthetical phrases.

The six themes which make this speech different from the other three cause no apparent lack of unity in the thematic treatment.

Ethical Proof

Lowell began his speech with strong ethical appeals. He explained how difficult it was for him to speak, how easy it was when he was young, and how awkward "now that a certain aphasia overtakes me, a certain inability to find the right word precisely when I want it." He went on to say, "I had pretty well made up my mind not to make any more after-dinner speeches." He amplified the statement with two proverbs, and then, following this build up, concluded, "But I could not resist. I certainly felt that it was my duty on an occasion like this." After this serious appeal, Lowell chided his audience about their improved financial status over those authors a hundred years earlier. He quoted Samuel Johnson's lament about the ills that assail the author: "Toil, envy, want, the patron, and the

gaol."[1] He made allusion to a Wordsworth poem, suggesting that the present authors were like "forty feeding as one"[2] and noted that a hundred years before "one [author] fed like forty when he got the chance." Lowell's most eloquent ethical appeal is at the end of the speech when he praises their England and their London.

Source of Ideas

Humor is present throughout the speech--not the joke-book variety, but resulting from Lowell's native wit. Punning, he used "spur" of the moment and then changed it to mean a "spur" in his flanks. This was no doubt spontaneous; however, he had often mentioned in his letters the need to be pricked with spurs and bayonets to make him write.

Many of his ideas and much of the humor that appear in his speeches can be found in his letters, indicating that his invention was cumulative, having been practiced and polished in his lifelong prodigious correspondence. Compare the following quote from an unpublished letter of 1871 with an excerpt from the speech under discussion. He offers a joking admonition of the English attitude toward Americans:

Letter, 1871:

> If your countrymen [English] could get over the notion that we are always trying to bully or cheat

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[1] John Bartlett, Familiar Quotations (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1940), p. 230.

[2] Ibid., p. 297.

> them and that we are governed by a committee of hyenas! I think the American people the most reasonable in the world and for a very simple cause--that more of them are practiced in affairs. England (you will pardon my frankness) always seems to me like a woman, who from inexperience in business can't comprehend why in a bargain there must be advantages to both sides and who accordingly always takes it for granted that she has been done in some inexplicable fashion--I hope she will come to understand that the bulk of our people are of English blood and have a very English way of feeling wronged also. When they feel so they are more apt to turn their cuffs than to offer the other cheek, an impulse which if it did not come from their blood, I know not where they got it.[1]

Speech, 1888:

> I think I have been told often enough to remember that my countrymen are apt to think that they are always in the right; that they are apt to look only at their own side of the question. Now, this conduces certainly to peace of mind and imperturbability of judgment, whatever other merits it may have. I am sure I do not know where we got it. Do you?[2]

The seventeen years that elapsed between the letter and the speech resulted in a shorter and more compact presentation, but the idea is the same. Lowell may have used it in other extemporaneous speeches to his English audiences, since it hardly seems probable that he would suddenly recall the idea after so many years.

There are other ideas in this address that are not new. Many can be traced to previous speeches and letters. In a letter to Mrs. W. E. Darwin in 1880 Lowell wrote concerning speakers, "Some pity is also due to the unfortunate

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[1]Unpublished letter to Frederick Furnivall, Huntington Library (July 15, 1871).

[2]Collated speech text.

creature who is obliged to inflict his particular form of aphasia (isn't that the word?) upon them."[1] In this speech he considered himself: "But I find as I grow older a certain aphasia overtakes me." In October of 1886 Lowell wrote Norton, "My pitcher has gone once too often to the well. If I could scoop up a few drops with a shard of it, I were happy."[2] He alludes to the same proverb in the address:

> I had been bethinking me of the old proverb with regard to the pitcher and well and it was not altogether a consolation to me to think that that pitcher, which goes once too often to the well, belongs to the class which is taxed by another proverb with too great length of ears.

Lowell's remarks about copyright are easily identifiable as the same arguments he used in the Copyright Speech before the Committee on Patents.[3] An interesting aspect is that with the same arguments that he had formerly condemned American publishers for the practice of pirating English books, Lowell at this time defended them before his predominantly English audience. He re-stated his contention that American authors were unanimously in favor of international copyright on a moral basis, and that the rest of the problem lay in the early application of the property law. Then he changed to a defensive argument with the following remarks:

> I think that perhaps a little injustice has been done to our side of the question; I think a little

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[1]Norton, Letters, II, 252.

[2]Ibid., p. 319.

[3]Supra, chap. vi, p. 159.

> more heat has been imported into it than was altogether wise. I am not so sure that our American publishers were so much more wicked than their English brethren would have been if they had the chance. I cannot, I confess, accept with patience any imputation that implies that there is anything in our climate or in our form of government that tends to produce a lower standard or morality than in other countries.[1]

This argument was based on opinion, and Lowell used reasoning by analogy and from example to support it. The reasoning took the same form as his arguments had three years earlier.

> I, of course, understand, as everybody understands that all property is the creature of municipal law. . . . It is not difficult for the average man to comprehend that there may be property in a special form which genius or talent gives to an idea. He can see it. It is visible and palpable, this property in an idea, when it is exemplified in a machine, but it is hardly so apprehensible when it is subtly interfused in literature.[2]

Even the Latinism, "ferae naturae," that he used to describe books was from his earlier speech on copyright. Lowell strengthened his new position by mentioning a visit to Longfellow, from which he was able to make his point that thousands of copies of Longfellow's books had been pirated by English publishers.

The origin of one quote in the speech caused a considerable stir--his reference to the sounds of London as the "roaring loom of time." There was a lively discussion in The Critic[3] in subsequent issues as many subscribers

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[1]Collated speech text.

[2]Ibid.

[3]The Critic, September 26, 1891, p. 158.

wrote, expressing their opinions that the phrase deserved quotation marks. Two readers traced it to Goethe's Faust, a third to Lowell's own address, "Democracy," and a fourth reader credited it to Carlyle's "Sartor Resartus." In a letter to his daughter Lowell voiced his own fears concerning plagiarism:

> Last night I had to attend a dinner of the "Incorporated Society of Authors." . . . Of course I was very miserable and I thought my speech very miserable too, but the audience seemed to like it--more fools they. The fact is I have talked so often after dinner that beside not knowing what to say, I can't remember what I may have said and am afraid of plagiarizing from my former self. By doing the same thing over so many times one runs the risk of a metamorphosis more dreary than any of Ovid's--into a barrelorgan to wit.[1]

Effect

In his theory of after-dinner speaking, Lowell laid down these criteria: a good speech should be "extemporaneous, contemporaneous, and should have the meaning of the moment in it and nothing more." Applying Lowell's own standard to this speech, one would have to conclude that the speech is extemporaneous and contemporaneous, thus meeting two of the three requirements. However, it falls short of the third criterion of containing "only the meaning of the moment" in it, because more than thirty years after hearing the speech, people were still referring to it. Sir James Rennel Rodd wrote, "I heard him deliver one of the most eloquent and finished speeches to which it had ever been my

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[1]Howe, New Letters, p. 324.

fortune to listen at a dinner given by the Incorporated Society of Authors."[1] Twenty-seven years after the event Brander Matthews recalled, "He made one of the happiest of his speeches, as full of good will as it was of 'good things.'"[2] Several years after Lowell's death James Bryce had this to say:

> Relevance as well as brevity is the soul of wit, for a good speech is a work of art, in which every part should have an organic relation to every other part. . . . The late Mr. James Russell Lowell; whom we in England admired as the best after-dinner speaker of his day, was a master in that line.[3]

Perhaps Lowell failed to fulfill his criteria for a good after-dinner speech (i.e., by having it meaningful beyond the moment), but he did help to fulfill one of the primary desires of his life, as stated in his speech:

> If I look back to anything in my life with satisfaction, it is to the fact that I myself have, in some degree, contributed . . . to this good feeling [between England and America].

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[1]Rodd, loc. cit.

[2]Matthews, op. cit., p. 27.

[3]Bryce, loc. cit.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS

The accomplishments of James Russell Lowell have sometimes been questioned, and he has been referred to as a "man of parts"[1] and a man who "seemed greater than anything he had ever done."[2] This study has attempted to fill a gap in Lowell scholarship by considering one of those "parts," and, in so doing, it has estimated Lowell's accomplishments and abilities as a speaker. While endeavoring to answer questions about Lowell's speaking, the writer discovered a number of important facts. The following paragraphs set forth summations of the major findings resulting from this study:

1. It was found that speaking played a major role in Lowell's total literary output and that Lowell was reluctant to publish his speeches, only one volume having been published in America during his lifetime.

2. It was found that ten significant factors from Lowell's life influenced his speaking.

3. It was found to be doubtful that Lowell was involved in anti-slavery speaking, as has been previously

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[1]Clark and Foerster, op. cit., p. cxxxix.

[2]Underwood, op. cit., p. 57.

supposed by many Lowell scholars.

4. It was found by exploring in some detail Lowell's teaching career through his former students that several aspects of his teaching were related to his speaking.

5. It was found that Lowell's being awarded a doctorate from the University of St. Andrews is not mentioned by any of his major biographers, and his earning a Master's degree is noted only by M. A. DeWolfe Howe.

6. The Lowell Institute Lectures of 1855 were found to be more important for the direction they gave to his life than for their success, *per se*.

7. Certain misconceptions were found concerning the validity of the texts of "The Old Ballads."

8. It was found through the evidence of two unpublished letters to Jane Norton that a possible Dante lecture series may have taken place immediately following the Lowell Institute Lectures of 1855.

9. An unpublished letter written during Lowell's Western Tour was found, enabling the writer, with the help of three published letters, to reconstruct the Western Tour and to shed new light on Lowell's attitude toward the West and the rigors of the trip.

10. It was found that Lowell's dislike for speaking and his shyness were two interesting insights into his character. The extreme difficulty that he experienced in his speaking preparation was found to be incongruous with the life of a writer.

11. It was found that Lowell displayed a knowledge and respect for his audience. Several of Lowell's comments concerning audiences were found, as well as his views on arrangement, logic, and style.

12. Accounts of Lowell's delivery, along with his theories of arrangement, logic, and style, were found to enhance the general knowledge of Lowell as a speaker.

13. It was found that Lowell's chief accomplishment as a public speaker lay in the reputation he attained as an after-dinner speaker while in England; and some of his comments concerning after-dinner speaking are included in this study.

14. Lowell's speaking reputation was found to depend more heavily upon his reading audience than upon his listening public. An estimate of his lifetime listening audience was found to be less than 100,000--about one-half the circulation of Harper's Magazine or the Atlantic Monthly.

15. Several previously unlisted texts of Lowell's speeches were found, enabling the writer to correct some current bibliographical errors. It was found that Lowell's attitude toward textual accuracy contributed to the validity of the texts. Several general textual problems in working with Lowell texts were found.

16. It was found through analyzing a representative sample of four Lowell speeches those factors of his rhetoric that made him successful as a speaker.

17. Lowell's use of humor was found to be a strong factor in his logical and ethical proofs; and his logical proof was found to be enhanced by reasoning through example and analogy, and by his use of example, literary allusion, and quotation as evidence.

18. One of Lowell's most frequently used rhetorical devices was found to be the similitude.

19. It was found that Lowell apparently utilized his reputation as a public figure to supply the necessary audience attention, seldom using ethical appeals, other than humor, in the introduction to his speeches; but, instead, he occasionally made extensive use of common ground techniques as part of his conclusion. This procedure was found to be unusual as a rhetorical practice and might suggest some further study as a valid method of ethical proof.

20. It was found that Lowell's arrangement in two extemporaneous speeches analyzed was structured after the speeches that preceded them. In "The Old Ballads" the structure was found to be a simple five-point outline with subheadings. Each heading and subheading was found to be an assertion and was proved logically with reasoning by example and through analogy, embellished with similitude, definition, and restatement. It was found that the "Harvard Address" followed a pattern of past, present, and future, employing as a primary form of argument reasoning by example. Emotional proof, narrative, and extensive deductive reasoning were found to be used in this address but not in any

of the other three speeches.

21. It was found that Lowell's reasoning was almost entirely inductive, and that he displayed a favorite pattern of induction which he used in all four speeches.[1]

22. Lowell's style was found to be partially determined by his evaluation of his audience, varying considerably from "The Old Ballads" to the "Harvard Address." It was found that the grand style of the earlier lectures gave way to plain and middle styles in later years.

Although Lowell's style was found to be a major factor in his effectiveness as a speaker, he displayed some tendencies that detracted from the clarity and flow of his speeches: (a) his parenthetical expressions, especially in his extemporaneous speeches; (b) his vague literary allusions which may have mystified his listeners; and (c) his occasional long, involved sentences in his written speeches. These were found to be minor faults, causing only momentary vagueness or confusion in his generally clear, forceful, and entertaining style.

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[1] Supra, chap. v, p. 127.

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APPENDIX A

This appendix is a listing of speeches for which entire or partial texts have been located. The 109 speeches, their delivery dates, and source reference code are listed first, followed by a coded bibliography of speech texts.

	DATE AND TITLE	SOURCE
1.	Jan. 9, 1855 Definitions	MSS, D, b-l, d, e
2.	Jan. 11, 1855 Piers's Ploughman's Vision	MSS, D, b-l, d, e
3.	Jan. 16, 1855 The Metrical Romances	MSS, D, b-l, d, e
4.	Jan. 19, 1855 The Old Ballads	MSS, D, b-l, d, e
5.	Jan. 23, 1855 Chaucer	MSS, D, b-l, d, e
6.	Jan. 26, 1855 Spencer	MSS,[1] D, b-l, d, e
7.	Jan. 30, 1855 Milton	MSS, D, b-l, d, e
8.	Feb. 2, 1855 Butler	MSS, D, b-l, d, e
9.	Feb. 6, 1855 Pope	MSS, D, b-l, d, e
10.	Feb. 9, 1855 Poetic Diction	MSS, D, b-l, d, e

[1]Spencer manuscript is not the same one delivered in 1855.

11.	Feb. 13, 1855 Wordsworth	MSS, D, b-1, d, e
12.	Feb. 16, 1855 The Function of the Poet	MSS, D, b-1, d, e
13-16.	Feb. 18 - Mar. 11, 1855 Dante I, II, III, IV	MSS
17.	Feb. 18 - Mar. 11, 1855 Moral Elements in Great Art	MSS
	1857-77:	
18.	Firdusi	MSS
19-20.	Wolfram von Eschenbach I, II	MSS
21.	Shakespeare	MSS
22.	Art Lecture	MSS
23.	The Poet's Poetry	MSS
24-28.	Romantic Literature I, II, III, IV, V	MSS
29.	Humor and Wit	MSS, f-2
30.	Elements of the English Language	MSS
31.	Puritanism	MSS
32.	Style, The Product of Imagination	MSS
33.	The Study of Literature	MSS, f-2, k
34.	Froma Mertis Crome	MSS
35.	Kalevala	MSS, k
36.	Beginnings of Medieval Literature	MSS
37.	Troubadours and Jongleurs	MSS
38.	Chanson de geste	MSS
39.	Karl	MSS
40.	Roland	MSS

41.	Odd Leaves	MSS
42.	Mr. Noon's "Eligan"	MSS
43.	Dr. Wales	MSS, F-6
44.	Kaho and Orthoepy	MSS
45.	Translation	MSS, k
46.	Originality and Tradition in Literature	MSS, k
47.	Choice in Reading	MSS, k
48.	The Search for Truth	MSS, k
49.	Close of Lectures at Cornell University	MSS, k
50.	The Poetic and the Actual	MSS, k
51.	Poetry in Homely Lines	MSS, k
52.	Montaigne	MSS, k
53.	The Humorous and the Comic	MSS, k
54.	First Need of American Culture	MSS, k
55.	Exact date unknown Rousseau	MSS
56.	1857 The Power of Sound (A Rhymed Lecture)	E
57.	Sept., 1870 Tribute to John P. Kennedy	L-1
58.	Spring, 1876 Caucus Speech	MSS, F-1
59.	Jan. 18, 1877 Speech at Old South Meeting-house	T
60.	June, 1877 Tribute to Edmund Quincy	L-2
61.	Nov. 6, 1880 Speech at a Dinner Given Him by Directors of Edinburgh Philosophical Institution	A, V, m-1

62. Aug. 2, 1880 — i
Speech at Club Déjeuner to American Actors

63. Sept. 24, 1881 — B, I, m-2
Address on Garfield's Death

64. Dec. 13, 1881 — B, m-4
Speech at the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey in Commemoration of Dean Stanley

65. July 5, 1883 — t
Reply to Toast to Literature, Science, and Art at Dinner for Henry Irving

66. Jan. 29, 1883 — A
Speech at London Chamber of Commerce Dinner

67. Sept. 4, 1883 — B, m-5
Address on unveiling the bust of Fielding

68. 1883 — MSS, a-2, C
Address read before the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution: Shakespeare's Richard III

69. Date unknown — MSS, u
Dulwich College Address

70. March 2, 1884 — u, F-2
Speech at the ceremony of placing a bust of Longfellow in Westminster Abbey

71. April 25, 1884 — A, g, l
Address on Browning

72. May 6, 1884 — A, b-1, m-6
Address at the University of Cambridge on the opening of the Archaeological Building

73. May 10, 1884 — B, O
Address as president of the Wordsworth Society

74. June, 1884 — r
Provincial Newspaper Society Address

75.	June 6, 1884 Address on International Arbitration to a deputation from the Workman's Peace Association	A
76.	Oct. 6, 1884 Birmingham and Midland Institute: On Democracy	J, j-1, q, B, h-2
77.	1884 Emmanuel College commemoration of 300th anniversary of foundation	H
78.	1885 Notes on Don Quixote	B
79.	May 7, 1885 Address on the unveiling of the bust of Coleridge in Westminster Abbey	B, 1, m-7, h-3
80.	May 26, 1885 Address delivered at the unveiling of the bust of the poet Gray in the hall of Pembroke College, Cambridge	MSS, A, h-4, m-8, C
81.	June, 1885 Fragment of after-dinner speech at Harvard	h-5
82.	Sept. 12, 1885 Speech at Concord at the 250th anniversary of its incorporation	U
83.	Dec. 22, 1885 Address on books and libraries	b-2, N, B
84.	1885 Addresses at the inauguration of Bryn Mawr College	X-1
85.	Jan., 1886 Speech before committee on patents	Q, F-3
86.	Feb. 9, 1886 Savage Club speech	MSS[1]

[1]This speech was copied by a friend of Lowell's from the Savage Club records.

87. 1886 — S
Selections for Public Readings

88. May 3, 1886 — A
Address on literature at the annual dinner of the Royal Academy

89. May 16, 1886 — X-2
Address on Dante

90. Nov. 8, 1886 — MSS, JJ, a-1, B, O
Address on the 250th anniversary of the founding of Harvard University

91. Dec., 1886 — L-3
Tribute to Charles Francis Adams

92. March 1, 1887 — W
Address at anniversary of West Church

93. March, 1887 — MSS, DD, j-1
Old English Dramatists

94. March, 1887 — MSS, DD, j-2
Marlowe

95. March, 1887 — MSS, DD, j-3
Webster

96. March, 1887 — MSS, DD, j-4
Chapman

97. March, 1887 — MSS, DD, j-5
Beaumont and Fletcher

98. March, 1887 — MSS, DD, j-6
Massinger and Ford

99. Nov. 28, 1887 — MSS, F-4, h-2
Address on international copyright in Chickering Hall, New York

100. Dec. 27, 1887 — MSS, M
Speech from the chair at the meeting for the formation of the International Copyright Association

101. Dec. 29, 1887 — dd-1
Address at a meeting of the Tariff Reform League

102. April 12, 1888 — dd-2
Short speech delivered to the Reform Club

103. April 13, 1888 — dd-3, n, o, P, C
The Independent in Politics

104. 1888 — F-5
Civil Service Reform Association

105. 1888 — MSS
Civil Service Reform Speech

106. July 25, 1888 — A, R, h-9
Society of Authors to American Men and Women of Letters, at the Criterion Restaurant

107. Nov. 23, 1888 — A, h-10
Speech at a banquet of the Liverpool Philomatic Society

108. Dec., 1889 — C, s
Address on Study of Languages

109. April 29, 30, May 1, 1889 — h-11, C
Address at Washington Centenary Celebration in New York

In Cooke's bibliography (op. cit., pp. 174-79), of forty of Lowell's speeches, five major discrepancies occur. On July 3, 1875, at the Washington Anniversary in Cambridge, Lowell read a poem instead of delivering a speech. (p. 174.) Two letters are counted with the speeches: one concerns a major in the British Army, dated 1884 (p. 175); the second is a State Department dispatch (p. 176).

The fourth is listed as an "Address before the Town Council of the City of Worcester, in reply to an address presented to him by the Mayor." Lowell did not deliver this address but sent a letter to the Mayor to be read on the occasion. (p. 176.) Concerning Lowell's Birmingham and Midland Institute Address, "On Democracy," Cooke gives one of the sources as the Pall Mall Gazette, when it should be the Pall Mall Budget. (p. 176.)

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MSS Manuscripts, Houghton Library, Harvard University

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A Lowell, James Russell. American Ideas for English Readers. Ed. Henry Stone. Boston: J. B. Cupples Co., 1892.

B _____. Democracy and Other Addresses. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1887.

C _____. Latest Literary Essays and Addresses. Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1891.

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F Scudder, Horace. James Russell Lowell. 2 vols. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1901.

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G Browning Society Papers, Part V, p. 112, 1884.

H Cambridge University. Emmanuel College Commemoration of 300th Anniversary of the Foundation 1884. Cambridge, England: C. J. Clay and Son at University Press, 1885, pp. 9-10.

I Death of President Garfield. Meeting of Americans in London, at Exter Hall, 24 September 1881. London: Benjamin Franklin Stevens, 1881.

J Democracy: An Address Delivered in Town Hall, Birmingham on the 6th of October, 1884. Birmingham: Cond Bros., 1884.

JJ A Record of Commemoration November 5th to 8th, 1886, on the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding of Harvard University. Cambridge, 1887.

K Report of the Fifth Annual Meeting. Transactions of the Wordsworth Society. No. VI. Edinburgh, Constable, 1884.

L Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings.
1. Sept., 1870, v. 11, p. 365.
2. June, 1877, v. 17, p. 286.
3. Dec., 1886, v. 2, p. 149.

M Proceedings of Meeting for the Formation of the International Copyright Association. Boston: 1888.

N Proceedings at the Dedication of the New Library Building, Chelsea, Mass. Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, University Press, 1886.

O A Record of Commemoration, Nov. 5th to 8th, 1886, on the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Foundation of Harvard University. Cambridge, 1887.

P Reform Club Series. New York: The Reform Club, 1888, p. 27.

Q Report No. 1188, 49th Congress, 1st Session, p. 28.

R Report of the Proceedings at the Dinner Given by the Society of Authors to American Men and Women of Letters at the Criterion Restaurant on Wed., July 25, 1888, pp. 17-25.

S Selections for Public Readings 1886. Huntington Library 89168. Private printing.

T Speech in Memorial Hall on the Old South Meeting-house. Report of a Meeting of the Inhabitants of Cambridge in Memorial Hall, Harvard College, January 18, 1877. Boston: Press of George H. Ellis, 1877.

U Celebration of the 250th Anniversary of the Incorporation of Concord, September 12, 1885. Concord, 1885.

V Speech at a Dinner given him by the directors of the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution, Balmoral Hotel, Edinburgh, November 6, 1880.

W The West Church, Boston--Commemoration Services of the Fiftieth Anniversary of Its Present Ministry and the One Hundred and Fiftieth of Its Foundation, On Tuesday, March 1, 1887. Boston: Damrell & Upham, 1887.

X Misc. unverified sources.
1. Addresses at the Inauguration of Bryn Mawr College, 1886. See Cooke, op. cit., p. 177.
2. Fifth Annual Report of the Dante Society, May 16, 1886, Cambridge, 1886.

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a Atlantic Monthly
1. Dec., 1880, Supplement I.
2. Dec., 1891, V. 68, pp. 816-23.

b Boston Daily Advertiser
1. Jan.-Feb., 1855.
2. Dec. 23, 1885.

c Boston Daily Post
1. Dec. 30, 1887, pp. 1-3.
2. Apr. 13, 1888, p. 1.
3. Apr. 14, 1888, pp. 1 & 2.

d Boston Evening Transcript, Jan.-Feb., 1855.

dd Boston Post
1. Dec. 30, 1887.
2. Apr. 13, 1888.
3. Apr. 14, 1888.

e Boston Traveller, Jan.-Feb., 1855.

f The Century, Vol. 47, Nov., 1893 - May, 1894.
1. Nov., 1893, pp. 125-31.
2. Dec., 1893, pp. 223-24.
3. Jan., 1894, pp. 432-39.
4. Feb., 1894, pp. 515-16.
5. Mar., 1894, pp. 716-21.
Vol. 48.
6. May, 1894, pp. 24-28.

g The Christian Advocate, Dec. 6, 1894, p. 795.

h The Critic
1. May 7, 1884, p. 286.
2. Nov. 1, 1884, pp. 211-15.
3. May 23, 1885, pp. 249-50.
4. June 13, 1885, p. 285.
5. June 20, 1885, p. 10.
6. Nov. 13, 1886, pp. 239-42.
Nov. 20, 1886, pp. 253-56.
7. May 5, 1887, pp. 116-18.
8. Dec. 3, 1887, p. 281.
9. Aug. 11, 1888, pp. 67-68.
10. Dec. 15, 1888, pp. 305-306.
11. May 4, 1889, pp. 225-26.

i The Era, London, August 2, 1880.

j Harper's, LXX
1. March, 1885, pp. 644-45.
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2. p. 75.
3. p. 195.
4. p. 410.
5. p. 560.
6. p. 757.
7. p. 943.

k The Harvard Crimson, March 23 - May 4, 1894.

l Literary World, XVI (May, 1885), pp. 188-89.

m London Times
1. Nov. 7, 1880.
2. Sept. 24, 1881.
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4. Dec. 14, 1881.
5. Sept. 5, 1883.
6. May 7, 1884.
7. May 8, 1885.
8. May 27, 1885.
9. Unknown date.

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o New York Evening Post, April 17, 1888.

p New York Tribune, April 29, 30, May 1, 1889.

q Pall Mall Budget, October 6, 1884, p. 15.

r Provincial Newspaper Society, June, 1884. Darlington: Printed at the Northern Echo Printing Works.

s Publication of the Modern Language Association, Vol. V, No. 1. "Address by Lowell." Baltimore, 1890.

t The Standard Transcript, July 5, 1883.

u Unidentified newspaper clippings and handwritten copies of newspaper texts at Houghton Library.

APPENDIX B

This appendix lists references to speeches for which no texts were located.

Lowell presided for six and one-half hours at a Phi Beta Kappa dinner in 1865.	Norton, Letters, I, 347
He missed a lecture in New York, Feb. 9, 1857, but gave it on Feb. 16, 1857.	Norton, Letters, I, 277
He lectured on Spencer in Baltimore, possibly in 1870 at Johns Hopkins University.	Norton, Letters, II, 56, 140-41
He agreed to preside at an English meeting on Jan. 23, 1884.	Unpublished letter to Frederick Furnivall, Huntington Library, FU 507
He spoke at Peterhouse (St. Peters College, Cambridge), Dec., 1884.	Norton, Letters, II, 290-91
He spoke at Ashfield, Mass., in July, 1885.	Norton, Letters, II, 298
He spoke before the Harvard Club of Chicago in Feb., 1886.	Scudder, op. cit., II, 352
He spoke at Pepys' Memorial, Dec., 1886.	Norton, Letters, II, 323
He prepared but did not deliver a speech for Bologna University, June 12, 1888.	Scudder, op. cit., II, 379
He spoke at the Tavern Club, Feb. 22 or 23, 1889.	Norton, Letters, II, 366 The Critic, August 22, 1891, p. 98 Scudder, op. cit., II, 387

Lowell, as vice-president of the Egypt Exploration Fund, gave two addresses: the dedication of a statue of Sir Erasmus Wilson, and a speech at an annual meeting of the Society. (Dates unknown.)	The Critic, August 22, 1891
He appeared on the stage with Walt Whitman at Madison Square Garden when the "Good Gray Poet" was reading his last tribute to Lincoln. (Date unknown.)	The Critic, August 22, 1891, p. 97