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BRYAN, CHAUTAUQUA'S ORATOR.

The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1963
Speech–Theater

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BRYAN, CHAUTAUQUA'S ORATOR

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

John Bolton Bartlett, B. A., M. F. A.

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The Ohio State University
1963

Approved by

[Signature]
Adviser
Department of Speech
The name William Jennings Bryan evokes different attitudes in different people. There are those who remember his name still with something like reverence. Those who loved him, loved him well. Those who hated him, often did so vehemently.

To some, many now of an older generation, he was the Flaming Evangel, the Peerless Leader of the Democratic Party. But opinions of his political standards and views run the gamut from extreme to extreme, and, although some still continue to praise him, awaiting a day when his peace treaties will be employed, others will still denigrate him, maintaining that he was an intellectual dwarf incapable of the affairs of state.

Although historians, political scientists, and rhetoricians have dealt with Bryan as a politician, there is another phase of his life that has been rarely considered. It is that of lecturer on the great Chautauqua circuit from 1904 until 1925, which is thought by some to be the most important and fruitful of his endeavors, and that through which he made his greatest contribution to American life. It is from considering those who remember the great Chautauqua movement with William Jennings
Bryan as its favorite lecturer that inspiration for this study is drawn. Even now, for some, his name awakens memories of a great brown tent, a summer's day, and throngs of people gathering to hear their champion, to be thrilled by the voice of the "silver-tongued orator," to soar above the drudgeries of the work-a-day world with the inspiration of his lectures.

I have undertaken this study in an effort to understand and to estimate Bryan's effectiveness as a Chautauqua speaker, to find an explanation for the claims of critics that he had a voice unparalleled in his day, and to discover the truth in the allegations that he was effective because he met the people on their level and that he was a commoner among common men. The apparent success of William Jennings Bryan on the Chautauqua circuit results from a strange mixture of ingredients: a rural mid-western background, fervent religious beliefs, the strong influence of McGuffey's educational philosophy; all these must be investigated if we are to comprehend this phase of Bryan's career. To see Bryan then in his historical context and to evaluate him in his role of inspirational lecturer on the Chautauqua platform are the ends of this study.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A work of this scope could not have been completed without the help and influence of many people. I wish to express my particular appreciation to my adviser, Dr. Paul A. Carmack, for his personal guidance, for his ceaseless patience and understanding, and for his kindness in allowing me the use of his excellent library. I am indebted also to Dr. Franklin Knower and Dr. Keith Brooks, not only for their thoughtful readings of the manuscript, but also for their helpful instruction while I was enrolled in their classes; and to Frank Paluka, the Head of Special Collections at the State University of Iowa, and to Jack King, Librarian in Special Collections at the State University of Iowa for their patient assistance in my researches through the Chautauqua Collection there. And I reserve special appreciation for my wife, Ruth, and my daughters, Cynthia and Jennifer.
CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II In the Beginning</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Nineteenth Century Influences Contributing to Bryan's Philosophy</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV On the Circuit</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V Bryan's Ethos</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI A Rhetorical Analysis</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII Conclusions</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix A</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix B</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix C</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix D</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix E</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix F</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The career of William Jennings Bryan was varied. He was citizen, statesman, lecturer, teacher, journalist, and author. His was one of the few public lives against whose character no incriminating word was ever heard.¹ Bryan is known as the peerless leader of the Democratic party from 1896, when he was first chosen as her standard bearer, until 1924, when he suffered his final party defeat. Even though he did not enjoy the ultimate victory in 1896, his vigorous campaign gained him a stronghold in the party.² Bryan is known around the world as an outstanding orator, ranking high with the great speakers of all times. Paul A. Carmack, Associate Professor of Speech at The Ohio State University, lists him in his roster of the six greatest American orators.³

¹Speech by J. C. Penney on April 8, 1928, in William Jennings Bryan Papers (MSS in Library of Congress), container 50, folder 16.
²Irving Stone, They Also Ran (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc., 1944), p. 79.
³Personal interview with Paul A. Carmack, Associate Professor of Speech at The Ohio State University.
Bryan's position as a political speaker cannot be denied; the volumes written concerning him have fully established it.

Purpose of the study. It is the purpose of this study to consider William Jennings Bryan as a lecturer on the Chautauqua circuit, and to evaluate his Chautauqua speeches as they may be judged in relationship to the standards of the criticism of public address generally. I have selected for particular analysis Bryan's "Prince of Peace" speech which was delivered on Chautauqua platforms and in churches throughout America as well as in many foreign countries, and which is thought to be second in importance and popularity only to his "Cross of Gold" speech delivered at the Democratic Convention in Chicago in 1896.

The method. The method of this study will involve both the historical and the rhetorical approaches. The historical portion is of importance because it reveals many things in Bryan's background pertinent to his love for Chautauqua. A study of his early home training reveals much concerning the standards of the mature Bryan. Dale Gilliland has asserted that his home life was deeply religious and that it was in his home that he assimilated those religious principles from which he later could not
The important influence of the educational philosophy of William Holmes McGuffey also is easily traced to Bryan's early background and is evident in his own philosophy. The intellectual attitudes of the middle and late nineteenth century are seen reborn in the basic philosophy of the Chautauqua movement to which he subscribed.

The rhetorical portion of this study will include the five ancient canons of oratory as set forth in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and which apply to the theories of public address even today. I shall here catalogue these canons: (1) Invention includes the speaker's use of ethical, logical, and emotional proof; ethical proof being that which helps to establish the speaker's character, intelligence, and good will; pathetic or emotional proof including those devices which help put the audience in a frame of mind in which it can receive the speaker's ideas; and logical proof employing the devices of the enthymeme (rhetorical syllogism) and example. (2) Arrangement is the ordering of the arguments. (3) Style is the presentation of the arguments in clear, appropriate, and correct language. (4) Memory is the mental procedure of preparation for the delivery of the speech. (5) Delivery includes both the use of the voice and the body in the actual speech situation.

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4 Personal interview.
Reasons for the study. There are two primary reasons for this study. The first is an effort to evaluate the belief that Chautauqua was an American movement, "as American as corn on the cob." The second and more important reason is to estimate Bryan's social and cultural contribution to the people of rural America in his role as inspirational lecturer. As his agent, Charles F. Horner, states it:

Again and again I placed myself so that I could look into the faces of the people as he spoke. I could sense and see the evidence of their emotions but no sound from it would reach my ears. For an hour and a half I thought they were enjoying a deep feeling of peace and even happiness. Most of them, I suppose, usually carried in their hearts the same kind of worries and fears that perplex men in all places and stations. Here, for a little while, these would slip away from their consciousness and they could reach towards the stars.

Materials for the study. The works of Bryan's biographers, the histories of Bryan's age, the writings of religionist William Warren Sweet, in addition to the relevant periodicals (of particular value was The Chautauquan, the official voice of the Chautauqua movement), composed.

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the substance of printed materials used in this study. Trips to Washington, D. C., for the study of the Bryan Papers housed in the Library of Congress, to the State University of Iowa for the Redpath and Vawter Collections, and to the Ironside Memorial Library at Bryan College in Dayton, Tennessee, for the Bryan Memorial Collection, supplied access to many unpublished materials. Of special aid in appraising his delivery was a recording of Mr. Bryan's voice delivering his lecture "The Prince of Peace." Of substantial significance also were personal interviews with some of Bryan's friends and acquaintances in Iowa, Kansas, Tennessee, and Ohio.
CHAPTER II
IN THE BEGINNING

The surname Bryan, meaning "having a thundering voice," often most fittingly describes members of the family that have lived and are still living in Ireland, Europe, and the United States. The name originated in the eleventh century with Brian Boro, King of Ireland. From Brian Boro descended a long line of princes and chiefs, who, with their numerous followers, engaged for several centuries in defending the national independence of Thomand (called O'Bryan County), Ireland.¹

William Jennings Bryan, records tell us, was born on March 19, 1860, in a house of perhaps five or six rooms, on the outskirts of the town of Salem, Illinois. The forces that went into that mighty personality had begun years and years before.² In his memoirs Bryan wrote: "I cannot trace my ancestry beyond the fourth generation

¹Grace H. Bryan, unpublished biography of her father in William Jennings Bryan Papers (MSS in Library of Congress), Container 64.

and there is not among them, so far as I know, one of
great wealth or great political or social prominence, but
so far as I know they were honest industrious, Christian,
moral, religious people . . . not a black sheep in the
flock, not a drunkard, not one for whose life I would
have to utter an apology.”3

Bryan's father, Silas Bryan, was born in Culpepper,
Virginia, in 1822. He was a man of strong character,
stern integrity, and high purpose. He took rank among
the best lawyers in Southern Illinois, and was a very
graceful and forceful speaker.4 Early in life, Silas was
left an orphan, “but he determined to acquire an educa-
tion rather than remain on the farm as his father and
grandfather had done.”5 At the age of nineteen, he moved
to the state of Illinois where “he entered McKendree
College at Lebanon, and finally made his home in Salem,
where he began the practice of law.”6 His was the sturdy

3William Jennings Bryan and Mary Baird Bryan, The
Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan (Chicago: John C.

4William Jennings Bryan, The Life and Speeches of
William Jennings Bryan (Baltimore: H. R. Woodward Co.,
1900), p. xii.

5Wayne C. Williams, William Jennings Bryan

6M. R. Werner, Bryan (New York: Harcourt, Brace
schooling of the West and hardship preceded every achievement.  

When he was in his middle thirties, Silas was elected to the Senate of the State of Illinois on the Democratic ticket. He served in this capacity for the next eight years. Later he was elected as judge in the Second Judicial Circuit of Illinois and served two successful terms. "He helped to frame the present Constitution of the State of Illinois, and in various other ways left his impression upon these moments which served to advance the interests of the great commonwealth."  

Mariah Elizabeth Jennings, Bryan's mother, was "a woman of excellent sense, superior skill and management."  

She was born into an English family of long residence in the United States. Her family had been in the United States so long that Bryan found it impossible to trace their lineage in England. Her ancestors had moved from Kentucky to Illinois early in the nineteenth century.  


Ibid., p. 21.  

Bryan, Life and Speeches, p. xv.
century where she was born in 1834 at Walnut Hill, a rural community near Centralia. Reared in the country, she attended a community school where she became a pupil of Silas Bryan. "Daily she came to the school presided over by the tall, dignified, somewhat quiet teacher with his touch of sternness and devotion to quiet things."\(^{10}\)

Although he was twelve years her senior, when she was eighteen, Mariah Jennings married him. Bryan wrote that although his mother did not have the educational advantages his father had enjoyed, she was as enthusiastic as he in her appreciation of education and her devotion to it. After their marriage her studies and companionship with him enabled her to compensate partly for the shortness of her school days.\(^{11}\)

She was competent and of rare native ability, and, like her husband, very devout. The religious life of the family was typical of that time. There were always family prayers and sometimes prayers twice a day.\(^{12}\) It is interesting to note that, during the first twenty years of

\(^{10}\)Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 22.


their married life, Silas and Mariah belonged to different churches. Silas was a Baptist and Mariah a Methodist. Bryan remembered that during these years there was never the slightest note of discord in regard to the difference in their denominations. "Both of them were firmly wedded to the fundamentals of Christianity, but charitable to all nonessentials."\(^{13}\)

The writings of Bryan are full of words of adulation for his mother. Because responsibilities of court kept his father away from home for long periods of time, the entire responsibility of the family was on the shoulders of his mother. Her every responsibility was discharged faithfully. Bryan observed that there was not a single act in her entire life worthy of his slightest criticism. For some years after her husband's death, her time was given solely to the nurture and education of her five minor children.\(^{14}\) "There was no lack of love and happiness in this early Illinois home."\(^{15}\)

Bryan's mother lived sixteen years after her husband's death and saw all her children grown, settled, and

\(^{13}\)Ibid., p. 27.

\(^{14}\)Bryan, Life and Speeches, pp. 15-16.

\(^{15}\)Williams, op. cit., p. 23.
successful in life. It seems only fair to add here that Bryan stated that his mother did have one advantage which could not be overlooked: the good example of her husband in word and conduct could be invoked always in the training of her children. Every single example of the father could safely be followed by the children. The memory of the two is so entwined as if of a "single character, so much alike were they in all that contributed to character building." 16

Until he was ten years of age, Bryan's education consisted of his mother's tutoring him at home. In addition to his regular subjects, his mother encouraged him in the art of declamation. This was probably his first introduction into that realm by which one day he would become famous. When he was ten years of age, he entered the public schools of Salem and was a pupil there for five years. When he was fifteen he entered Whipple Academy, the preparatory department of Jacksonville College, and later matriculated in the College proper, where he was a student for six years. 17

17 Gale and Kline, op. cit., p. 22.
While at the Jacksonville College, Bryan took the classical course. This was not a matter of his choice, but rather the decision made by his mother and father. When he left home, he was presented with both Greek and Latin lexicons by his father. At that time these great volumes had little value, but later he placed high esteem upon them because they aided him both in the choice of words and in his understanding of the etymological origins of words. "Even in his student days, he acquired an enviable reputation for eloquence."18 "While he didn't achieve any amazing popularity on the campus, he was liked; he was respected; and he was rewarded with some of the substantial college honors."19

Although Bryan enjoyed sports and entered into them enthusiastically at college, the broad jump was the only one in which he showed any real ability. He wrote of himself: "I would start jumping as soon as the frost was out of the ground and jump until I was sore and then I would continue jumping until the soreness disappeared."20 When he entered college he stood five feet ten and a half

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19 Herrick and Herrick, op. cit., p. 47.
20 Bryan and Bryan, Memoirs, p. 56.
Inches tall with broad shoulders, symmetrical form, and until he was fifty years of age, still had the symmetry and physique of an athlete.  

Sigma Pi, a literary society not to be confused with the fraternity, was the organization in which Bryan was most active in college. In the Memoirs, Bryan stated how important he considered these societies to be to the college student. He noted that they were especially valuable if one contemplates public speaking. Enumerating literary society tasks, Bryan naturally put the greatest value upon declamations, essays, orations, and debates. He described debate as the climax of good speaking: "A debate brings out the ability of the essayist to think and to express himself with clearness and force. It also tests his ability to think upon his feet and to express himself without the aid of a manuscript. But still more, it compels him to think quickly, and to construct his replies on the moment. He analyzes his opponent's speech as it is made, and takes its principal points and frames a reply without time for examination of authorities or for deliberation. It gives him the most conclusive proof of completeness of preparation, of a thorough understanding of the subject, of earnestness in its preparation and

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21 Williams, op. cit., p. 489.
therefore it is most effective in its impression upon an audience."22 The application and proof of this seems to be evident in the oratory of the Great Commoner who often "could think people's thoughts, divine their aspirations, and give simple and cogent expressions to their half framed convictions."23

One interesting trait appears all through the career of Bryan. He felt keenly the lure of the "prize," and entered every contest for which he was eligible. This lure of the victor's prize spurred him through school and then through the rigors of the Presidential campaigns. Because of the value he placed on them, Bryan himself established several such prizes in schools and colleges; he was also instrumental in having a wealthy friend establish similar awards in twenty state universities. The excitement of the prize stirs to activity, said Bryan, and it was because of this that he believed the idea of value.

Although some have said he was not outstanding intellectually, Bryan had certain indefinable qualities which enabled him to make his contribution to Americanism and to

22Ibid., p. 60.

mankind generally. Concerning his college career, it has been written: "He was industrious and obedient to discipline, but was not noted for originality of thought." However, in his senior year he was elected class orator, and having won the highest rank in scholarship during the four-year course, delivered the valedictory.

During his junior year at college, he was afforded the honor which he had eagerly sought as student at the Academy. He was chosen to represent his college in the intercollegiate oratorical competition. In this contest he won second prize, but gained that which was to be of greater value to him; an introduction to General John C. Black. Bryan went to Black's hotel room and received many valuable suggestions upon the art of speaking. Black suggested that Bryan's style was similar to that of Victor Hugo, but that it would be to his advantage to follow the pattern of Edmund Burke who used longer and more complex sentences. This advice was somewhat difficult for Bryan to accept because his burning compulsion was that his speeches be clear and understandable to all who listened.

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24 Ibid.
25 Bryan, Life and Speeches, p. 27.
26 Ibid.
After graduation from college, "in the fall of 1881, Bryan entered the Union College of Law at Chicago, and while a student there, spent many of his hours reading in the law office of his good friend and advisor, Lyman Turnbull." After his graduation in 1883, he returned to Jacksonville where he began his practice in the law firm of Brown, Kirby, and Russell, one of the most prominent in the city. Judge William Brown became a devoted personal friend and adviser of Bryan, in fact, Bryan wrote that Brown had more influence upon his style of speaking than any other person from whom he had taken lessons.

It was this in Bryan's early life that made him familiar with the farming conditions of Central Illinois, with the urban situation in Chicago while a student of law there, and later with the agrarian problems of the West. His background was one of revolt, not so much against the political bosses and the spoils system, as against industrial oligarchy, against railroads and trusts as instruments of attack upon agrarian prosperity and upon democracy. These, agricultural distress, and the fear of

27 Gale and Kline, op. cit., p. 22.
plutocracy are the bases of his attitude and political career.29

In college "Bryan met fate in her most becoming guise."30 Like every young man, Bryan looked to new fields, new lands, and new opportunities, and, when he met Mary Baird, the beginning of an entirely new life began to unfold for him. When Bryan first saw her sitting in the women's parlor at the Jacksonville Women's Seminary, he was completely captivated. Her sharp features, her oval face, her large blue eyes, fully curved lips, and curly brown hair gave her a distinctive charm which made her outstanding among her fellow students.31 And Mary Baird had distinct advantages; she was the only daughter of John, a well-to-do merchant, and Lavina Baird; having attended one of the best finishing schools, Monticello Seminary, she had acquired a presence and manner especially pleasing to Bryan. Although not a great social mixer, she had a pleasant personality. "To the accepted theory that behind every great man's life there must be a great mother, there should be more often added that, side by side, and hand in

30Williams, op. cit., p. 40.
31Long, op. cit., p. 34.
hand, the strongest possible support is that of an in-
spiring, intelligent, and sympathetic counselor, a devoted
wife." Wisely for her and happily for him Mary Baird
Bryan found her utmost joy in adapting her education and
attitudes to this end.

On October 1, 1884, William and Mary were married.
After their marriage, she studied law, Bryan teaching her,
and, in 1888, the Nebraska Supreme Court admitted her to
the bar. She displayed great ability, was skilled in
literary work, and was a good counselor in all of her
husband's affairs. She was of great help in the various
tasks that served to place him so prominently before the
people of the world. Her excellent judgment and clear
criticisms were without doubt of great service to her
husband. The life of the Bryans was a perfect partner-
ship. It appeared that in every avenue of his life,
Mrs. Bryan served as consultant to her distinguished
husband. "The gifts which go to make up the genuine
homemaker, are undeniably Mrs. Bryan's." Fondly the

33Gale and Kline, op. cit., p. 23.
34Personal interview with F. R. Rogers of Dayton, Tennessee, in whose home Bryan was an honored guest and
where Bryan died.
35Gale and Kline, op. cit., p. 91.
remembered her husband as she saw him first entering the parlor of the Seminary in Jacksonville. He entered the room with several students, but was taller than the rest and attracted her attention at once. Though he was not fastidious in dress, his stance was firm and dignified. His hair and smile were particularly notable: the hair was black in color, plentiful, fine in quality, and parted distressingly straight; the smile was expansive and expressive. Later in his life, a friend recounting experiences commented to Bryan that his marriage had been a great romance. "Still is, Bryan reported with a happy smile." This same type devotion was always expressed toward Mrs. Bryan. While busily engaged on the Chautauqua circuit, her health was always his prime consideration. In 1919 he wrote to Crotty stating that her (Mrs. Bryan's) health made it presently impossible to take any engagements. "Ordinarily I would have been able to devote a few days at anytime to lecturing, but just now I feel I should spend the winter with her." Earlier in

36 Bryan, Life and Speeches, p. xxi.
37 Long, op. cit., p. 70.
38 Letter from Wm. J. Bryan to L. B. Crotty, Oct. 1, 1919. Chautauqua Collection (MSS in the State University of Iowa), Container: "Talent" 1919-1920, A-G.
the same year he wrote that "Mrs. Bryan's health is such that I can make no promises about lecturing. I appreciate your past courtesies and shall use your bureau when I can, but just now my plans must depend on Mrs. Bryan's health." 39

For the next three years the Bryans lived in Jacksonville where the law practice which had begun so meagerly grew and flourished. In the summer of 1887 his practice called Mr. Bryan to Lincoln, Nebraska, on business. While there, he was a guest of A. R. Talbot, a former college classmate. Bryan was immediately impressed with the advantages that this growing western town offered. So impressed was he, that upon his return home, he shared this new enthusiasm with his wife, and it was decided that they should go to Lincoln and set up a law practice.

Later Bryan recounted how circumstances had been influential in this move from Jacksonville to Lincoln. He was now prospering in Jacksonville, but it would not be long before he had reached the limit of his possibilities there. Lincoln, a much larger city, would afford new and greater opportunities and challenges. Since Lincoln was the capital of the state, Bryan would be eligible for Supreme Court legal practice. The speed with which the

39 Letter from Wm. J. Bryan to H. P. Harrison, May 23, 1919. Chautauqua Collection (MSS in the State University of Iowa), Container: "Talent" 1919-1920, A-G.
West was developing was also an important factor in the change. The fact that he had found a newspaper owner in Lincoln who had offered to give him a weekly column in his paper was another indication that the move would be to his advantage. After enumerating all of these arguments to his wife, she is said to have answered in a spirit typical of her: "You know Jacksonville; you have seen Lincoln; if you think that the change is for the best, I am willing to go."40

It was through this move that William Jennings Bryan was launched upon his long political career. How strange it all seemed. In the beginning politics were remote in his thinking. Bryan was a staunch Democrat; Nebraska was a Republican state: the congressional district to which he was moving was Republican, so was the county of Lancaster, the city of Lincoln, and even the ward where the Bryans had decided to live. Nevertheless, on the beautiful autumn morning of 1887, they arrived in Lincoln to begin the work that awaited him. His gifts, however, drew him into politics and he served two terms in the United States House of Representatives. His work on the tariff

40Bryan and Bryan, Memoirs, p. 74.
question during this period established the Democratic Party's position for years to come. 41

His political opponents referred to him as an unsuccessful lawyer. The only thing that could have justified these criticisms were those early years when the young lawyer had first begun. In response to the president of a great Eastern university who had stated that Bryan was not fit to be President of the United States because he had never enjoyed a large income from his profession, Bryan argued in his own behalf that "To succeed as an advocate, I must be a great lawyer, and to be a great lawyer, I must give up my chance of being a great man." 42

One of many such instances shows clearly that Bryan was always interested in the establishment of important legal principles.

Not long after I located at Lincoln, Editor Emmons of our local weekly Democratic paper, called on me for advice in regard to a lawsuit. He had been circulating cards upon the sidewalk and a policeman attempted to arrest Emmons for violating a city ordinance which forbade the throwing of paper upon the street. Emmons resisted arrest and came out second best in the encounter. He went to the office of a justice of the peace and filed complaint against the policeman for assault and battery and the constable

41 Rosser, op. cit., p. 22.

42 Bryan and Bryan, Memoirs, p. 61.
refused to serve the papers without fees being advanced. Emmons wanted to know whether it was necessary for him to advance the fees in order to secure redress. I looked for authorities and could find none. One statute specifically gave the constable the right to demand fees before serving papers. After careful consideration of facts, I reached the conclusion in which Judge Cassidy, who was associated with me, concurred: that while the statute made no exception of papers served in criminal cases, such an exception must be presumed, otherwise redress for criminal assault would be impossible to those without means.

Pleading the case upon what I regarded as a fundamental principle, namely, that justice could not be sold and that a remedy in a criminal case could not depend upon the financial ability of the party injured, I drew a petition for a writ of mandamus compelling the constable to serve the warrant without prepayment of his fee. When I took the petition to Judge Chapman and told him the nature of my petition he shook his head and replied: "You will have to have a very strong case before I will make an officer serve papers without fees being advanced"... "I have a strong case," I answered, "as I think I shall be able to convince you." At the hearing I did convince him and he issued the writ, from which the defendant appealed.

When the matter came up in the Supreme Court the hearing was held in a room on the walls of which appeared the seal of the State with the State's motto, "Equality before the law." As that was the basis upon which our fight was being made, I was able to point the judges to the State's motto and it doubtless had its effect in securing a decision, the first, I think in the United States establishing this important principle.43

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43 Ibid., pp. 77-78.
Only a year and a half after he settled in Lincoln, Bryan was nominated for Congress by the Democrats. This seemed to be a great advancement for a young attorney, especially for one who was new in the territory. However, the nomination was not so flattering as it may seem. He was nominated because it was not thought possible for a Democrat to win in a staunch Republican area. Had there been any thought of a Democratic victory, certainly the honor would have gone to an older, more fully seasoned, politician. The morning after the nomination, a Republican paper said, "a confidence game had been played upon a young man from Illinois and that he had been offered as a sacrifice upon the party altar because he had not been in the State long enough to know the political complexion of the district."\(^4\)

In the campaign speeches which he so greatly loved to make, "he roused his audiences to great enthusiasm by his ringing phrases on the inequalities of the tariff and the inequities of organized wealth." "The mass of Republicans in this state," he said, "have deluded themselves with the belief that the Republican Party was only flirting with organized wealth, and that it would finally wed the poor man; but the marriage between the G. O. P. and

\(^4\)Werner, op. cit., p. 25.
monopoly has been consummated, and what God hath joined together let no man put asunder." The powerful thought incorporated in this speech never seemed to be forgotten by Bryan because it was sentiments such as these that characterized his speeches for the next thirty years.

It was during these early political speeches that Mr. Bryan realized his great power over audiences. The report is given by Mrs. Bryan that "he had spoken in a town in the western part of the state, came home on a night train, and arrived at daybreak. I was sleeping when he came in, and he awakened me. Sitting on the edge of the bed, he began: 'Mary, I have had a strange experience. Last night I found that I had power over the audience. I could move them as I chose. I have more than usual power as a speaker. I know it. God grant that I may use it wisely.'

In this his first political campaign, the young lawyer so recently removed from Illinois, eloquent, earnest, and well-informed, so impressed the voters that, to the surprise of even himself perhaps, his popularity swept away the Republican majority and the "Boy orator of the Platte"

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45 Ibid.
took his seat in the House of Representatives, one of the youngest members, if not the youngest, of that body. 47

It was on the tide of such oratory that Bryan, the youngest man ever to run for the highest office of the land, was chosen as his party's standard bearer in the convention of 1896. On the famous issue of bimetallism with which Bryan had so long been associated, he was defeated for a third term in the House. He abandoned law and became the editor of the Omaha World Herald, in which paper he continued his advocacy of bimetallism as well as in his speeches. The debate on bimetallism in the Chicago Convention seemed to be at an end until Bryan rose and made his famous "Cross of Gold" speech. After declaring that the idle holders of idle money in Wall Street were responsible for the evils of the day, he continued:

The individual is but an atom; he is born, he acts, he dies; but his principles are eternal, and this has been a contest over a principle. Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests, and the toilers everywhere, we will answer those who demand a single gold standard by saying, You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold. 48

47 Rosser, op. cit., p. 7.
48 Bryan, Heart To Heart Appeals (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1917), p. 64.
The effects of these last words were sensational, and not only was Bryan nominated as the Democratic candidate for the Presidency against William McKinley, but his career as one of the greatest orators of all time was well established.49

CHAPTER III
NINETEENTH CENTURY INFLUENCES CONTRIBUTING TO BRYAN'S PHILOSOPHY

To understand fully his dedication to his brothers of the middle border to the extent that Bryan has become known as the Great Commoner, and to the extent that the great bulk of his oratory was in their behalf, it is important to investigate this section of the country as it existed in the nineteenth century.

Born and reared in Illinois, Bryan was a son of the middle border. He stands out brilliantly as the embodiment of all that was important to an agrarian order. His very being was molded with all of the forceful mores that a rural society demands.  

To the multitudes of "common folk," Bryan typified a great hope. He was their champion, the defender of their faith and of their trust in immortality.

Many of the ideals to which Bryan was so closely wed he had discovered embodied in the very heart of

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Jeffersonian theory. "He took literally Jefferson's dictum that all men were created equal. They were not only created equal, they were equal." Men needed the courage of Andrew Jackson to apply the principles of Jefferson to existing conditions. Bryan believed that Jefferson gave expression to the ageless hopes of mankind and had set forth the principles upon which all popular government must rest. It was Jefferson that saw a people bowed beneath oppression and that had the vision of a self-governing nation in which every citizen would be a sovereign.

Although called a demagogue, and his followers a mob, Jefferson dared to follow his best promptings. He placed man above matter, humanity above property, and, spurning the bribes of wealth and power, pleaded the cause of the common people. It was this devotion to the interests of the people that gave the Democratic party its significance in Jefferson's day, and Bryan believed that this same devotion to them could make it great again.

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5 Ibid., p. 155.
So to Bryan, Jefferson was the greatest agrarian leader of all times. He was the product of the first West in American history. He grew up with the men of the land, men who ruled their country well, men who fought the Indians courageously. He not only loved these his rural neighbors, but he in turn was loved by them.\footnote{Vernon L. Parrington, The Colonial Mind (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1954), p. 350.}

In the drafting of the Constitution, it was Jefferson who made the break from the Whiggish doctrine bequeathed by Locke and substituted the pursuit of happiness for "property." These words, far more than a political gesture to draw support, were an embodiment of Jefferson's convictions and of his total life. This appeal would be perennially human and vital. His life, thenceforth, was spent that Americans could enjoy a government that would insure these inalienable rights to all.\footnote{Oswald Garrison Villard, Prophets, True and False (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1919), p. 213.}

To Jefferson, America was a land of free men. It should never be exploited by an aristocracy nor a plutocracy. The noble goal of the government should be to preserve the country and its heritage from falling back into the state of "serfdom" from which it was freed. Significant
as were the contributions, both separate and collective, of all those who came to America from abroad, it was imperative that on this continent there be developed a heritage of ideas that were peculiarly American. Here, the individual must be born, he must work, because he had something to work upon. Before him lay soil, forests, minerals, and water which were his for the taking. Here, in one place, necessity, motive, material, and reward, all combined to inspire men of vision to work and success. Like Jefferson before him, Bryan thought that men were not created equal in their physical strength, but they were created equal in their natural rights and these could neither be acquired nor annihilated. Bryan found in the Declaration of Independence, the rock upon which the nation should be founded, and like its chief author "embodied the idealisms of the great revolution and its faith in human nature, its economic individualism, its conviction that here in America, through the instrumentality of political democracy, the lot of the common man would somehow be made better."

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Later on in our history came other men like Andrew Jackson to inspire Bryan and to add strength to those principles which he would advocate. It was during the time of Jackson that gentlemen were suddenly reminded that the plain people had been overlooked in the distribution of benefits. As they saw prosperity, which had trickled much too sparingly to them, and as they saw wealth pouring into "private ponds" from government sources, that envy which at times rises in the breasts of all men took possession of them. In theory, the pipelines which fed these sources belonged to them, but in practice the mains seemed to conduct only to industrialists and capitalists. True to the Jeffersonian theory, "he desired a simple independence for himself and for his country ... he must return to the common people, who had put their trust in him."12

It was through struggles and victories between liberalism and conservatism that over the years the American philosophy and character were developed. These were the products of inheritance and environment. "That

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12Ibid., p. 142.
so heterogeneous an inheritance should result in so homo-
genous a character suggests that environment was
decisive." Although in this environment diversity
remained nearly as great as that in Europe, there emerged
a certain character that was distinctively national.
Differences in geography, climate, and location all
tended for differences in the greater whole, but the over-
all atmosphere of freedom, the same sense of greatness,
and the encouragement to enterprise combined to make the
American environment. In sharp contrast to the European
who lived in the past, the American lived in the future.
His was to fashion, to build, to formulate, and to plan
for tomorrow. Because the men of the middle border had
developed the right combination of qualities to conquer
the wilderness, they began to believe quite naturally that
they were the only ones who knew how to solve its prob-
lems. They saw the present only as it pertained to the
future and thus with this surge of optimism, they would
make America great. It was to this kind of democracy that

13 Henry Steel Commager, *The American Mind* (New

14 James Truslow Adams, *The Epic of America* (New
the "great commoner" directed his oratory. This great ideal for humanity seemed like an earthly projection of the kingdom of heaven, and it could only be attained through a stable background of social institutions and moral ideals.  

Fortunately the young stripling reacts favorably and responds graciously to toil and tears because the quest of young America was not an easy one, or one to be won easily. "Civilization shouts, gives orders, writes rules, puts man in institutions, and intimidates him with a thousand irritating directives. In return it offers him protection, soul salvation and a living if he can find it. Nature looks down on him and broods in silence."  

No longer could the old European cry of man against nation be heard. Now the cry of those who had dared to challenge the middle border was man against nature. Here the frontiersman was alone, alone with nature. In this new environment he could do anything that he wanted to do, he could do it when he wanted to do it, and he could do it


in the manner he wanted to do it, without any outside human opposition. Only those who learned to play the game survived.

The outgrowth of these rugged experiences gave birth to a society which was intensely practical. The challenge was that men be ingenious and resourceful. Their ideas often like those of their brothers in the East were as homespun as their clothes, and they never seemed willing to outgrow certain idiosyncrasies which would ultimately retard them. However, their reaction to most of the demanding new situations were practical ones, and they were happiest when they could confront their problems directly and solve them in a practical manner. From the very experiences which wed them to the middle border and to the farm, parents and children alike learned much about "seasons and elements, about animals, plants and trees." This was a practical knowledge connected peculiarly to their existence and contributed to their welfare and progress in a unique way.

The basic ingredient for success among those who fought ahead on the frontier was work. Our long and

glowing lists of forefathers are the rolls of men who believed in work. John Smith of Virginia expounded this principle to its fullest. Only those who were willing to work were allowed to eat. Benjamin Franklin glorified work as the chief of all of man's occupations. "God helps them who help themselves," a quotation from Poor Richard's Almanack, is still used. It is not difficult to see how this philosophy would appeal to Bryan who was nurtured on this same ideal. He, like McGuffey, "Firmly believed in the dignity of labor."19

First of all, men on the middle border may have worked because of the necessity and nothing else, but later they worked because there was a tangible reward for them that nothing else offered. It was work and nothing else that put the seeds in the good earth, that gathered in the abundance of the harvest, that built the barn, that filled the cellar with the product, and that put the roof on the house.20 After all the work was done, there was always more work left for the man on the middle border; but from this strange way of life was to emerge an indefinable quality that was to be found only there. It was that right of

19Glad, op. cit., p. 10.
each man to be an individual. Here men were forced to take that great step forward, that long step towards democracy that Bryan advocated, not through political machinery but by way of "psychological, and economic liberty without which political democracy cannot long endure." The old walls which had always surrounded him before were now slowly crumbling, and man himself was beginning to emerge. He alone was in the forefront, because it was man alone that faced the frontier storm. One by one were lost all of the former accoutrements that had so closely identified him with the metropolis. As each part of this excess was lost along the way, slowly but ever surely, the individual emerged. Here on the middle border the individual would succeed. Here the bustling new America would account itself a democratic world. Free people could now put away all aristocratic privileges of former days, and, conscious of their own worth and power, could possess the frontier for democracy.22

Life in the West for all newcomers had been hard, terribly hard. To stake out a claim and bring it under

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21 Ibid., p. 31.

cultivation and ultimately to make it produce, left little
time or energy for thought and education. In the hard
toil of community building, great sentiment had sprung up
against education in the frontier settlements. Some of those
first settlers of the middle border felt that too much book
learning somehow might interfere with success under the con-
ditions of life as it must be led; and, it was further
argued, education might remove one from his fellows. There
was a tendency to feel that the mere fact of being American
gave superiority, and that knowledge of how to meet the
problems of the daily round was sufficient and made educa-
tion superfluous if not sometimes harmful.23

Thus in the nineteenth century education became
highly stylized, being influenced both by the mores of
society and by the educational theories of William Holmes
McGuffey. Between 1850 and 1900 Americans bought one
hundred million copies of his school readers.24 These
readers taught more than the elements of academic education,
they inculcated a code of ethics and morals that the men of

23Adams, op. cit., p. 295.

24Lewis Atherton, Main Street on the Middle Border
the middle border eagerly grasped. One intelligent foreign observer of this period noted that children in America were taught more and trained less than in Europe. The educational system devised by the people for the people did not aim so much to equip students to cope with the problems of an outside world as to train their minds and characters. McGuffey was so concerned about frontier dangers that he overlooked many of the revolutionary changes of the day. When he should have been considering the changes in manufacturing, transportation, and management, he was still writing about merchant rather than manufacturer, about artisan in the place of factory laborer, of the outdoors, of birds, and farm animals. McGuffey's emphasis on rural and village life pleased an agrarian age. His environmental picture squared with physical facts, and people knew just enough about the outside world to share his doubts about cities. His readers thus gained strength by applying the eternal verities to a simple culture, uncomplicated by urban and industrial problems.


26Adams, op. cit., p. 224.

27Atherton, op. cit., p. 65.

28Ibid., p. 66.
It is easy to see how Bryan, the son of the middle border, and the son of a staunch McGuffey devotee, would be influenced. Provision was even made in Silas Bryan's will that "all his children be encouraged to secure the highest education which the generation affords."  

Reflecting the philosophy of McGuffey, Bryan thought that an education was incomplete which did not place a noble purpose behind mental training and make the hands willing to work. Education, thought Bryan, is also defective which so inflames one's vanity or so shrivels one's heart as to separate him in sympathy from his fellows. He advocated that universal education be our national aim. He believed that there should be an open school door before every child born in America, and all encouraged to make the largest possible use of the opportunities furnished. Bryan's philosophy of education can best be summed up by saying that "heart and head must be developed together."  

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29 Bryan, Life and Speeches, p. 23.
We are accustomed to saying that we are partially dependent for national strength on English laws and English spirit, but one of the grandest contributions which England made to the life of our nation is seen in the ideal of a universal kingdom of righteousness and truth. Because of this inheritance, religion has always been a part of the great American tradition. The early settlers of this country were of almost solid Christian stock. The influence of our founding fathers who shaped early thought so largely has remained upon the mass mind and contributed greatly to the unifying culture of our country. "In the barest outline, the preconceptions of the Christian tradition were that God is the father and nurturing protector of the Universe, that the life of Jesus Christ, his divine Son, is the eternal model after which every life should be patterned, that the Ten Commandments are final and complete ethical standards, that the Church and its appointed leaders are God's surrogates on earth, that some kind of immortality in heaven follows after the end of an earthly life which the church is willing to approve, that the Sabbath day should be dedicated to worship, that the Bible, written by prophets under the direct inspiration of God, is sacred and infallible.33


34 Woelfel, op. cit., p. 5.
There are few things that in the American tradition are more remarkable than the unanimity with which Americans have professed their religious faith. In an age and a setting where men were accustomed to "Sweat, toil, and tears," doctrines formulating a means by which the woes of life later be alleviated had tremendous appeal. Indeed, in most phases of American life, even at the beginning of the twentieth century, America was known as a Christian nation. In some states Christianity enjoyed official recognition. Jurors were required to believe in God, teachers in public schools very often read the Bible. Tocqueville had remarked that there was no country in the world in which the Christian religion played a greater role over the souls of men than in America, and there can be no greater proof of its utility and of its conformity to human nature, than as its influence is felt over the most enlightened and free nation on earth.35 "Whatever differences in way of life and whatever conflicts of interest separated the country gentry and great merchants from the frontiersmen, poor farmers, artisans, and small shopkeepers, all nominally subscribed to Christian tenets and at least in theory accepted Christianity as their guide."36

35Commager, op. cit., p. 163.
36Curti, op. cit., p. 50.
The many differences in doctrine, worship, and church organization and government that separated the religious bodies, were overshadowed by the importance that every group placed on the Bible. During this time, however, as individualism began to emerge, dogmas and traditional creeds slowly began to vanish. The emphasis was turned from these to a rather direct subjective relationship of the individual with the Holy Spirit as the authentic way of arriving at the truth. Bryan himself was a strong advocate of this teaching, firmly believing that, if the individual did not agree with existing and established ways, it was his privilege to search elsewhere for truth. As opposed to this idea as some of the nineteenth century religionists would have been, this philosophy of a divorce from dogmas and established creeds was strangely akin to Locke's philosophy which contended that the church was a voluntary society, and that no man was bound by nature to any particular sect, but every man should join himself to that manner of worship which he thought acceptable to God. 37

This great change in the religious pattern of American culture which was felt so keenly in the nineteenth

century gave way to the greatest religious revival in church history. To understand fully how this was possible, the transformation of a raw and uncouth frontier society into orderly and well-regulated communities, it is necessary to consider some of the older well-established religious orders which were instrumental in this change.38

Those societies which had been successful in the earlier colonial revivals were best equipped to do the work here. Fortunately for its immediate good influence on these new communities, and for the future of the country as a whole, the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, the Methodists, and the Baptists were equipped to meet the new challenge. The work was really begun by the Presbyterians, but, chiefly because they worked among those of their own denomination, an opening was made for the Methodists and Baptists who, like Bryan, were interested in the welfare of the "common man." By the middle of the nineteenth century the whole of the settled West was covered by these organizations.39

The Methodist Church grew to be the most powerful religious force in the frontier. When the Presbyterians,


who had been so successful with the early camp meetings, gave them up as “too emotional,” the Methodists took them and developed them to an extent that they have now become known as a Methodist institution. Most men dealing with nineteenth century religion in the United States agree that the Methodist camp meeting was one of the most powerful forces of the church. Usually, however, there is too much stress placed upon its emotional phase, and not enough on the practical aspects of its work.

All of the denominations which did their work faithfully in the West labored under certain disadvantages. The supply of ministers was not great enough to meet the demand. Meeting houses were few and scattered widely. Under these conditions, church ordinances could not be administered properly. The confusion and disorder which these conditions would naturally engender struck a blow to order and dignity in worship which was felt throughout the frontier, and whose mark is still seen in some churches.

All of the more aggressive frontier churches stressed the necessity of conversion, although each had

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its own method of bringing this about. Each exercised rigid disciplinary methods on all of its members. Before a member of the Presbyterian Church could take communion, for example, he was examined to see if he had broken any of the Ten Commandments. This either qualified or debarred him from celebrating this holy sacrament.

The frontier Baptist Church had a monthly congre­gational meeting at which time every member was required to attend. Here each life was scrutinized and charges were brought against those who had not kept the rules of Christian conduct.

The Methodist system of dealing with its members was the weekly class meeting. Each member was assigned to a certain class and was under the supervision of a class leader. Only he who could satisfactorily testify of his experience was allowed a ticket which admitted him to communion.42

The Presbyterian preachers, through whose efforts the Presbyterian seed was planted, were as colorful a company of pioneers as the frontier affords. Just as the ministry of the rustic preacher was the principal factor in the success of the Baptist on the frontier, so the ministry of the circuit rider was the success of Methodism.43

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42 Ibid., pp. 128-133.
43 Sweet, Religion in Development, pp. 113-115.
From an understanding of these background factors, men have tried to analyze the religious experience of William Jennings Bryan. Some say that it was the time in which he lived that accounted for the strong religious emphasis in his life. In fact, Bryan stated that he "had been a child of fortune from birth. God gave me into the keeping of a Christian father and mother. They implanted in my heart the ideals that guided my life."\(^4^4\)

His father, Judge Silas Bryan, was strongly religious. It was his habit to open his court with prayer.\(^4^5\) In his mother there was found a personage far from ordinary. In her day women's clubs and other civic activities for feminine self expression had not supplanted the prayer meeting, and Mrs. Bryan made her home Christian for her children.\(^4^6\)

Some have accused Bryan's father of being religiously narrow, but Bryan defended him on this point. He stated that he enjoyed the privilege of making religious decisions


without the interference of his parents. When he asked
his father's permission to join a church different from
that of the rest of the family, his father answered that
"he wanted me to join where I felt I would be most at
home and could do the most good."^47

The atmosphere at Jacksonville College backed all
of the staunch fundamental teachings that Bryan had been
taught at home. It was the belief of the college that
religion and education must not be divorced. The dedica-
tion of the faculty when Bryan was a student was consistent
with that laid down in the charter. In recounting his
college days later in his Memoirs, he remembers that the
transition from home to college may form the dangerous
time in the life of a youth. "It is during this transi-
tion period the pendulum is apt to swing too far and he
sometimes finds himself more self-reliant than he ought
to be and less disposed to be influenced by advice of
others . . . it is a matter of profound gratitude to me,
that during these days I was associated with Christian in-
structors so that doubts aroused by my studies were
resolved by putting beside them a powerful and loving
God."^48

^47 Bryan and Bryan, Memoirs, p. 48.
^48 Ibid.
It was while at college that he found the concluding stanza of Bryant's "To A Waterfowl" might be used as the keynote of Bryan's life:

He who, from zone to zone,
Guides through the boundless sky thy certain flight,
In the long way that I must tread alone,
Will lead my steps aright. 49

All of the superb powers of speech which were Bryan's were bitterly used against evolution in the years 1921-1924. It is difficult to believe, however, that in regards to Christianity "he wanted that system forced down the throats of his contemporaries at all costs, just as some rich men wanted their economic system forced down the throats of their contemporaries." 50 Possibly in this most stormy phase of the life of the "Great Commoner," his influence would have counted for more had he used the philosophy of St. Augustine who wrote: "It very often happens that there is some question as to earth or the sky, or the other elements of this world ... respecting which one who is not a Christian has knowledge derived from most certain reasoning or observation, and it is very disgraceful and mischievous and of all things to be


50 Werner, op. cit., p. 306.
carefully avoided, that a Christian speaking of such matters as being according to the Christian, scriptures should be heard by an unbeliever talking such nonsense. "51

A certain lack of concern for dogmatic distinctions marked Bryan's conception of the church. He would argue that its doctrinal position was a matter to be decided by a majority of its members and that if some disagreed they could leave one church and join another.52

Moral law, according to Bryan, had its foundations in the principles of the Bible and the teachings of Christ. He had little more regard for philosophical systems than he did for an excess of theological structure.53 Ethics then seems to be the first principle of his faith.54

The other principle which seemed to characterize the religion of Bryan was that he gave it an emotional rather than a rational emphasis. This could almost be expected, since Bryan was a man of warm impulses. "He did not have to be a theologian or a logician to accept the moral teachings of Jesus, and religion was for Bryan a simple, heart warming experience. "55

51 Ibid., p. 299.
52 Ibid., p. 27.
54 Glad, op. cit., p. 44.
55 Ibid., p. 29.
CHAPTER IV
ON THE CIRCUIT

It was said in 1915 that if misrepresentation or misapplication could have killed the Chautauqua ideal it would have expired years ago. "It survives today because it meets the constant needs of individuals and society. Its various manifestations are typical phenomena of the American way of life."1

Chautauqua was a direct outgrowth of the New England Lyceum movement which began in 1826. As it first appeared, its purpose was to foster adult education and as it grew, it drew upon the talent of well known lecturers.2 Carl Russell Fish said that "the most important educational agency touching the lives of Adult America was the one known as the Lyceum meeting."3 Allen Nevins called it "the people's college."4 Mary Whiteford Graham maintained


that men and women attended the lyceum because of a desire for something that would help them in their own daily lives. Another reason according to Graham was "that it would aid him in his efforts to be successful."\(^5\)

The inspirational lecture which was to be such an important part of the Chautauqua program could also be traced directly to its forerunner, the lyceum.

At present the tendency seems to be to direct the chief attention to popular lectures. They are undoubtedly useful. By bringing the best minds of the country in direct contact with our youth, they impart to them a good style of thinking, expression and delivery. They also convey much useful knowledge, and sharpen the appetite for more, while they point the way by which it may be attained. They serve also to encourage the young to aim at greatness . . . . The negative advantages of lectures ought not to be overlooked; they divert attention from frivolous, idle, and often sinful amusements.\(^6\)

These early lyceums like Chautauqua which was to follow, were sparked by some interested person in the community who set up the programs and invited the lecturers on an individual basis. Setting a cultural and educational standard hard to maintain were the lectures of such men as Emerson and Thoreau.\(^7\)


\(^7\)Editorial appearing in the Indianapolis Lyceum World (May, 1916), p. 70.
It was not until 1868 that the first literary booking agency was formed in the United States by James Redpath of Boston. This bureau was designed to act as a center from which other lyceum groups could book lecturers for their programs. In 1884, S. B. Hershey of Ashtabula, Ohio, conceived the idea of making these programs available for a greater number of people by organizing a single series of programs and taking them from one town to another on a circuit. 8

The Chautauqua idea, building upon the lyceum foundation, served primarily to define an attitude about life. This attitude germinated in the mind of a young man (Charles Vincent) who determined to compensate for his not having a college education. Emphasis was placed upon the making of a life rather than the making of a living and upon those things which enlarge one's vision and refine one's taste; the goal was to reach the many, and not simply the few, with these ideas. "The great Chautauqua movement was for the education, entertainment and the inspiration of the people." 9

8Graham, op. cit., p. 5.
The first Chautauqua was founded in 1874 by John H. Vincent on the shores of Lake Chautauqua in Western New York State. "Mother Chautauqua," as it is called, has maintained its services for over ninety years now. Visitors at first came from the western part of New York State where the lake was situated. As they enjoyed the music, the lectures, the special courses, and the religious services, they went home with glowing reports; the next season many more people flocked to the assembly. In scattered areas some who were completely caught up in the "Chautauqua spirit" decided to provide a summer assembly of their own. Following the example of the good Bishop Vincent, these gatherings usually were held in a beautiful grove of trees situated on the banks of a lake. The idea took and the movement grew. Great crowds were expected and great crowds came. On Sunday, the big day for such gatherings special trains were hired at low fare to bring scores of excited people, and on any day of the week there were hardly enough hitching posts and livery stables to accommodate the out-of-town guests. Why suddenly did this movement mushroom until its effects were felt from Maine to California and from Canada to Mexico? Many have tried to explain it, but Charles Horner seems to describe it best. However, he believes that people today may smile at their culture, but that "it was something real and
vital to us."\textsuperscript{10} People were literally starving for culture. Everyone wanted to do something. They sang, recited verse, debated, or tried to play some musical instrument. People rode almost any distance to hear a man of reputation give a single lecture. The people of rural America were hungering for, demanding, and were going to get something better. Horner, now old, graphically tells how, as a youth, he had travelled across the prairies for three days in a covered wagon, tenting out at night, just to get to hear William Jennings Bryan give one speech.\textsuperscript{11} He heard the Great Commoner, and felt greatly rewarded. His exhilaration was typical of that of many parents, and it made them pledge that their children's lots would be better than their own had been.

Today entertainment is a major industry. Perhaps in the hours absorbed, it may be the largest of all activities. Men in small towns and great cities all see the same motion pictures, watch the same television programs, and listen to the same good and bad music on the radio. "Then and now, there was a great deal that was good and some that was bad. But there is a difference between those days


\textsuperscript{11} Personal interview with Charles Horner.
and our own. Then, people came out of the literary society proud of their neighbors. They left the Chautauqua tent with a new light in their eyes."12 Today very often people swarm from the wonderful theaters sated and without expression on their faces. "My greatest regret is that it (present day entertainment) has so dominated the abundant leisure of the people . . . that there is but little incentive for people to do things for themselves."13

Chautauqua was established as an American institution. Men from everywhere and in every avenue of life praised it. A letter to the editor of The Lyceum World expressed well the feeling that thousands shared: "There is no better present day movement that is more popular than Chautauqua, and nothing does more to improve the mental, moral and spiritual life than it."14

The Chautauqua movement, in its enlarged form, began with the establishment of the circuit Chautauqua. The first of these systems, comprising between sixty and a hundred towns, was begun in 1904. The circuit or system Chautauquas were held in tents and remained in a town for

12 Ibid.
13 Horner, op. cit., pp. 22-23.
a period of five to seven days. In the largest Redpath bureaus, the season began about the middle of May in some of the Southern states, worked its way north, and finished in Michigan sometime in September. The towns were usually scheduled at intervals of from fifty to one hundred miles. The shorter distances between Chautauqua centers and the good routing seemed to be the best arrangement.

Elaborate programs announcing practically the same list of talent for one entire system were printed by the hundreds of thousands. Billboard advertising, streamers stretching across business streets, awning banners, flags, door tags, and many other forms of printing were ordered in vast quantities.

The newspapers in all parts of the country with few exceptions had a friendly feeling towards the famous word "Chautauqua," and in no small measure is the success of the enterprise everywhere due to their cooperation. Many went so far as to put out special Chautauqua editions, and others gave up many pages during the season to Chautauqua matters.\(^\text{15}\)

Except for "headliners," talented persons were secured on a weekly salary basis and had to be paid whether

\(^{15}\text{W. Frank McClure, "Circuit or System Chautauquas," The Chautauquan, IXXII (February, 1914), pp. 451-452.}\)
used on every program or not. Three units of talent, that is, three musical companies and three groups of entertainers and lecturers were hired for each circuit. Each attraction was scheduled for two days in each city. Interspersed with these were the headliners, and since each of these was booked for a single lecture, different bureaus could share their time. Among the great aggregation of talent appeared William Rainey Bennett, a star attraction who was in high demand as long as the movement existed; George L. Sheldon, the Republican Governor of Nebraska; Benjamin B. Lindsey, Judge of the Juvenile Court of Denver; Warren Harding, Lieutenant Governor of Ohio; Carl D. Thompson; Judge Lee S. Estelle of the District Bench of Omaha; Colonel Robert S. Seeds, famed agronomist; Dr. Monroe Markley, a gifted and handsome Congregational minister; and Dr. Peter MacQueen, explorer and world traveler; were but a few of the better known lecturers on the circuit. In 1908 the musical talent consisted of the Hesperian Male Quartette, a singing group from the University of Georgia, the charming Kirksmith ladies quartet, the Sterling Jubilee Singers with four men and three women, all colored, and singing the old camp meeting and Jubilee songs, and the Royal Hungarian Orchestra.16

As early as 1890, Bryan was no stranger to the lecture platform. His successful oratory in his Nebraska political campaigns had given him a reputation that always insured him a large hearing. However, it was not until after his second Presidential defeat and the years immediately following, when it seemed that he would never again be a contender for the first office, that he really began to appear as a regular figure on the Chautauqua platform. Soon he was the number one man on the circuit. When he came to town it was literally "Bryan Day." Even in the most flourishing years when Chautauqua brought to her platforms great musical extravaganzas and the greatest musical artists of the day, Bryan was still the leading attraction. He lectured on the Chautauqua platform because it afforded him an opportunity to present lectures to great numbers of people that no other medium would have provided. Even when he again entered the Presidential race in 1908, Bryan wrote that he did not think it improper to go from the Chautauqua platform to the Presidential race, and "had I been elected President, I would

17Personal interview with Charles Horner.

have thought it no stepping down to go to the Chautauqua platform." He felt that those meetings enabled him to keep in touch with the people. "I know of no better opportunity than it (Chautauqua) offers to present a message worth presenting to those to whom it is worthwhile to present a message."20

Yes, William Jennings Bryan was the people's prophet, and his Chautauqua message was "Thus saith the Lord" to them.21 Why did the hard-headed farmer drive his machine for fifty miles, use two dollars' worth of gas, and pay fifty cents at the Chautauqua gate for the privilege of standing in line for two hours to listen to Bryan? Horner maintains that there were several reasons for Bryan's great popularity. First, and probably most important, was the national fame to which he had skyrocketed as a result of his "Cross of Gold" speech at the 1896 Democratic Convention. This established him as the number one orator on the North American Continent.

The next single characteristic that accounted for Bryan's appeal was his ethos. In the fifteen years of his

19"Secretary of State on the Lecture Platform," Literary Digest (July 26, 1913), pp. 115-118.

20Ibid.

21"The Uplift of Chautauqua Week," Literary Digest, LXIII(October 18, 1919), p. 684.
association with Bryan, Horner cannot remember Bryan's saying an unkind word or committing an unkind act. Among the hundreds of people employed by the Bureau, never did he hear an unkind word said about the Commoner. Bryan was proud of his reputation; his sense of morality and his spiritual devotion were the prime concerns of his life. 22

He was always fair to the Bureau managers; he was respected by the Chautauqua workers and was admired by the other talent appearing on the program with him. His correspondence is full of items alluding to this fact. For instance, after an urgent request from the Redpath-Horner Bureau, Bryan wrote: "I may be able to give you from the 8-14 in Chautauqua and lecture dates. You have been very good to me, and I will do the best I can for you." 23 Another note addressed to Horner said: "Am so sorry to have disappointed you, but it could not be helped." 24 Even after a presumptuous manager had booked him without authority, Bryan, although upset, was still

22 Personal interview with Charles Horner.


24 Ibid., September 16, 1913.
kind: "I am hoping that I can fill some of the dates, if not all, but you can see how embarrassing it is to me as well as to you to have promises made without authorization. It is unfair to me to have to make my plans to meet engagements I did not want to make and it injures your business if I am not able to keep the engagements. I will try to accommodate you this time with the understanding that you will not hereafter allow dates to be made without authority." When the demands for his appearances were so great and the dates limited, Bryan wrote L. B. Crotty, "I cannot spare you any more time this Spring, so you may use both afternoons and evenings to cover your needs." As to his financial dealings, Bryan's correspondence reveals several instances of his ethical impeccability. In a letter to Harry P. Harrison, the Chicago Manager for Redpath, he wrote: "Enclosed is a check for part of that I received at Elkhart. He (the manager) was willing to pay the $200.00 guaranteed, but I was not willing to collect more than he took in."
Another letter to Harrison and dealing with finances reads: "I find that you made out the Congregational Society check for $250.00. Unless you know some reason to the contrary, you are entitled to 10% commission on it, and I therefore enclose my check." Bryan's ethics are further reflected in a letter to him from Harrison: "The true American people love you for your sincerity and unflinching stand for the right as you see it, no matter whether they agree with you or not." Although he was constantly sought after, and any manager would have been happy to work his entire week around him, Bryan was interested in being fair. His brother Charles wrote to Harrison, "If we have scheduled some places where these dates conflict with other talent, and you prefer to, omit him (William Jennings Bryan) from such towns. Just kindly mark the ones that are acceptable, and I will send you contracts accordingly."

In 1919 an interesting incident took place in Mr. Bryan's bookings. Again the misunderstanding was handled


29Unpublished letter from Harry P. Harrison to William Jennings Bryan, October 26, 1911, Redpath Collection.

30Unpublished letter from Charles Bryan to Harry P. Harrison, March 15, 1912, Redpath Collection.
in an ethical manner. It appeared that the Coit Bureau had complained that the Redpath Bureau had been promising Bryan's appearance on their program. Bryan had made it clear that no bureau had a right to book him except as he gave a definite promise of time. Crotty replied to Bryan that the Coit Bureau had advertised exclusive management of Bryan in the Lyceum Magazine. In May, Bryan wrote to Harrison, the Chicago Redpath Manager, and said, "I am afraid that I have gotten you or myself in trouble. Coit and others complained that you were selling me and when I wrote to you you said Coit was advertising me exclusively. I do not want to do injustice to either of you. If the magazine used the word "exclusive" send a copy to Coit. If you used the word "exclusive," I will enclose a copy of your letter and I will apologize to Coit. I am writing him along the same line."

The demands for his appearance were so great, it seems strange to imagine Chautauqua without the "Great

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31 Unpublished letter from Wm. J. Bryan to L. B. Crotty, March 29, 1919, Redpath Collection.

32 Unpublished letter from L. B. Crotty to Wm. J. Bryan, April 1, 1919, Redpath Collection.

33 Unpublished letter from Wm. J. Bryan to Harry P. Harrison, May 2, 1919, Redpath Collection.
Commoner." The Bryan correspondence with the Bureau managers reveals that Bryan could not begin to fill the dates offered him. This runs through his entire career as a Chautauqua lecturer. For instance: "We are running a series of Chautauquas in Kentucky, Indiana, Ohio and Michigan during the months of June and July. Is there any possible way we could arrange any of these dates for lecture tours for your brother William Jennings?" In 1915 Harrison wrote to Charles saying: "Most people in Chicago have no idea what a Chautauqua is and it is the object of this club to make this the trial Chautauqua of the city. Your brother above all other men stands for the ideal of the movement in the eyes of nine-tenths of the people of this city." Just three days earlier another letter from Harrison said, "Enclosed you will find two lists of our towns. One of seven days the other of five days. We will be very glad to have Mr. Bryan lecture in any or all of these cities." As late as 1919 and 1920 there was still no let up in the invitations

34 Unpublished letter from Harry P. Harrison to Charles Bryan, January 16, 1912, Redpath Collection.
36 Ibid., July 12, 1915.
issued to Bryan. A letter from Crotty in 1919 to Mr. Bryan began, "We certainly hope that nothing is going to interfere with your filling our engagements that we have for you. There is no one who can fill your place on the platform with our committees." Later in the same month Crotty wrote: "Our committees will accept most anything that you will offer them." This again shows the tremendous demand for the man on the circuit. Early in the spring of 1920 Crotty wrote again saying: "Our representatives are out in the field and the towns where we sold you last year, and everyone is anxious to know when you can fill dates again." Bryan might repeat the same lecture several years in a row, but men and women still seemed to get something new from it. The correspondence is heavy with requests such as the following: "Is there any chance of getting Mr. Bryan for Clinton, Iowa?" "Mr. Bryan has received several invitations from Vandalia to lecture there, but it is impossible for him to fix a

38 Ibid., December 31, 1919.
40 Telegram from Redpath Lyceum Bureau to Charles Bryan, July 10, 1911, 'Redpath Collection.
date." These are but selected examples of numerous invitations and responses.

Of his contributions on the circuit the comments have been varied. In 1913 the *Independent* printed:
"Probably no man in America has done more or is doing more to stimulate morality and temperance and high ideals in life."\(^42\)

Still another reason for his success on the circuit was Bryan's great endurance. It is hard to imagine the rigors of his day. He spoke in one town in the forenoon. He "handshook" his way to and from the train. He got to the next town at 3:45 in the afternoon for another speech. He spoke for two hours and then slipped away from the crowds for just an hour's rest. At seven he would jump into an auto and ride for twenty-five miles to another town where at 8:00 o'clock he would be on the platform for his third lecture that day.\(^43\) An ordinary man could not have endured the pace. But Bryan surely would have chafed at the tedium of an ordinary man's schedule. Whirlwind lecturing and touring were his daily fare. He thought,

\(^{41}\) Telegram from Charles Bryan to Harry P. Harrison, June 20, 1911, Redpath Collection.


planned, prophesied, wrote, edited, measured, listened all the time. At last he would be on the train and off to the next town. He had shaken the last hand, greeted the last politician, and smiled at the last baby who had been named for him. There were only a dozen or so now who would throng about him on the train, and he still managed to visit with each one of them.

Had he had any less endurance, his schedule would have killed him. In a letter to Charles Horner he wrote, "I can deliver the Kansas City Lecture early in March, but am not sure about the date because I must also go to Hutchinson. Time is scarce and the demands so great. I am to be in Lincoln on the evening of the 19th and can run down to Kansas City for the 20th. On returning from Texas, I have promised to speak at Dallas and Fort Worth (I think I can put in both in one day) also Austin. May want to stop at Fayetteville and Oklahoma City."\[^{44}\] As late as 1920 he was still keeping such pace. In writing to Edward Perry he stated: "cannot consider anything after 26th unless I could work in a meeting in Ohio on way East and then I would have tour made without loss of time. I am not sure I can get to Pennsylvania by the 28th without using the 27th. Can you fix 26th near enough Chicago to

\[^{44}\] Unpublished letter from Wm. J. Bryan to Charles Horner, February 26, 1913, Redpath Collection.
allow me to take a midnight train? Could you use Sunday the 25th for a Sunday lecture in Wisconsin?"\textsuperscript{45} To Mr. Crotty in the same month he wrote: "I shall be in Lincoln, Nebraska, on the 20th, in New York on the 21st (March) and in Springfield, Ill., on the 24th and Lincoln, Nebraska, from 26 to 29th. Please write me duplicate letters to these places giving first and last dates and all information."\textsuperscript{46}

As nearly as can be determined from the Bryan correspondence, he had several lectures which were offered to the Bureau Managers for the particular season, and then they could use their discretion in the final choice. Charles Bryan offered the following topics for his brother's lectures for Chautauqua in 1910: (1) "The Passing of Plutocracy" (political but not offensively partisan), (2) "The Signs of the Times" (semi-political with some religious appeal), (3) "The Prince of Peace" (religious), (4) "The Price of a Soul" (religious). While the Chautauqua manager was at liberty to choose, Mr. Bryan suggested that, in view of the forthcoming elections, the first lecture might draw the best audience.\textsuperscript{47}

\textsuperscript{46}Unpublished letter from Wm. J. Bryan to L. B. Crotty, March 17, 1920, Redpath Collection.

\textsuperscript{47}Unpublished letter from Charles Bryan to Harry P. Harrison, April 10, 1919, Redpath Collection.
There is a strange paradox in connection with Bryan's fame as the number one man of the circuit. In the more than three hundred containers of the Chautauqua Collection at the State University of Iowa, there were programs of all sorts and descriptions. Box after box yielded elegant pictures of men with handlebar mustaches and women with distinct "Lillian Russell" resemblances, all advertising the circuit. Nowhere, however, were there any picture posters or sheaves of advertisement proclaiming the coming of the "Great Commoner." The only reference concerning his coming on the circuit was found in one letter dated July 19, 1916, and sent to all eight-day advance men and seven-day superintendents. It simply said, "We have booked Wm. Jennings Bryan on our Seven Day Circuit at the following places. Will you please announce this, so as much publicity as possible can be secured." Following this was the list of towns where Bryan was to speak. Only in one other piece of correspondence did I find mention of Bryan's office in Lincoln sending out picture mats to the bureaus. A copy of Bryan's Redpath itinerary for 1916 appears in Appendix B.

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48 Unpublished letter from R. M. Kimball to eight-day advance men and seven-day superintendents, July 12, 1916, Redpath Collection.
Those who may have followed his political career with any degree of interest know well that William Jennings Bryan was the target of more severe criticism than most other public figures. So with Chautauqua, the guns of criticism were pointed in his direction.

Some said that his real purpose in lecturing was to keep his personality conspicuous in the public mind. It seemed to some that he would resume his Presidential campaign. Although Bryan was no stranger to criticism, the storm of comments aroused by his devotion to the lecture platform must have surprised even the veteran of three Presidential campaigns. The great storm came mostly as he lectured during vacation time when he was Secretary of State, and especially harsh was the criticism upon his resignation. He was charged with having ulterior motives in resigning. Among other things it was hinted that Mr. Bryan's resignation was simply a spectacular stand to draw attention to himself before entering the Chautauqua field, in order to draw larger crowds, larger

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49 "Secretary of State on the Lecture Platform," Literary Digest, LXXIII (July 26, 1913), p. 115.

50 "Secretary Bryan and the Chautauqua Lectures," Outlook, CIV (August 2, 1913), p. 746.
gate receipts, and larger financial gains for himself.\textsuperscript{51}

There was no end to the criticism that Bryan received because of the large fees which he earned in lecturing. On June 9, 1915, the Washington \textit{Herald} stated that this was not generally an appreciated fact, and, based upon Bryan's scale of prices, by diligently devoting his time to the Chautauqua and Lyceum platforms, he could easily earn a hundred thirty-seven thousand dollars a year.\textsuperscript{52} The paper did not say, however, that, in order to do this, Mr. Bryan would have to give at least two lectures each day for the fifty-two weeks of the year. According to Horner, the most he ever devoted to the lecture field was sixty days a year.\textsuperscript{53} A rather interesting letter of reply soon came to the editor's desk. One of Bryan's many admirers maintained that if it were true as stated in the \textit{Herald} that Bryan could earn a hundred thirty-seven thousand dollars a year on the Chautauqua and Lyceum platforms, it showed conclusively that Bryan was not only the best paid and most popular lecturer

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\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{51} "The Resignation of Wm. J. Bryan as Secretary of State as an Act of Conscience," \textit{Lyceum World} (May 15, 1913), p. 117.
\item \textsuperscript{52} Editorial in the Washington \textit{Herald} (June 9, 1915), p.
\item \textsuperscript{53} Personal interview with Charles Horner.
\end{itemize}
in the world, but that the profits for lecturing were much larger than they were a few years earlier.\textsuperscript{54}

To help silence the critics concerning Bryan's financial arrangements, I was fortunate to find a copy of the Chautauqua Contract which was his exclusively, and was sent out from "The Commoner" office whenever an appearance was confirmed. Because of the importance of such a document, it is reproduced in Appendix C. Colonel John Temple Graves, the severest of all Bryan's critics said that he felt Bryan a public enemy, to his country and to his times. "Eyes has he, but sees not the menace of European peril, ears has he, but hears not the thunder of Competitive greed."\textsuperscript{55}

Although many said that they would not cross a street to hear him, and others that he was a dead one, the big tents were packed wherever they were set up. He was still the great Chautauqua attraction in America! There were still the great crowds wherever he went and the towns he visited were still gay with flags. Special trains still brought crowds from adjoining towns, and, when the

\textsuperscript{54}G. H. Hathaway, "Letter to the Editor," Washington Herald (June 12, 1915).

train arrived, the band would "strike it up" and the cry would go up: "There he is, that's Bryan!""56

Was it worth it all, the criticism, the long hours of travel in uncomfortable trains and "broken down cars?"
Was there any reward other than the obvious financial remuneration? Bryan's Chautauqua lectures were justified by their fruits, "not by the financial gains, but in the inspiration of the hearers."57 To the culture-thirsty dweller of the rural areas, Chautauqua furnished a week of uplift and inspiration to be looked forward to half the year and to be remembered the other half. It was the only vacation, the one outlook upon the world, of mind and spirit beyond the farm or the rural community. "Do you know what the Chautauqua means to us? What it means to thousands of intellectually and musically starved country people? It is our oasis, our life belt."58 Indeed, the music that was heard during Chautauqua week was the music that was sung for the rest of the year. The


lectures that were given were discussed for months to come. It would have been hard to endure the loneliness had it not been for that respite, "Chautauqua Week."

Certainly some of the expressions of distaste were due to a misconception of the Chautauqua circuit. No one could have an idea of what Chautauqua was who regarded it merely as a kind of side show. To the dweller in the large town or city there were opportunities, often more than ample, both for recreation and enlightenment that could be gained from contact with minds of the world outside. To the dwellers in the small town and in the country, such opportunities came but rarely. "What the Chautauqua circuit did was to bring within the reach of a great host of people both wholesome recreation and intellectual stimulus."59

A testimony of three men of prominence concludes "On the Circuit." It was President Harding who declared: "It has been to me a personal satisfaction and spiritual opportunity to be numbered among the lecturers who have carried the Chautauqua message throughout the country... The time has long since passed away when there could be any doubt of Chautauqua's service to the country.

59 Outlook, CV (September, 1913), p. 158.
Chautauqua has served to reveal the individual American community to itself at its best.\(^6^0\) Ohio's Governor Frank B. Wells said: "The Chautauqua is one of the greatest forces of our modern life. It combines recreation, entertainment, instruction and inspiration;'\(^6^1\) and West Virginia's Governor H. D. Hatfield praised: "More every year the Chautauqua is developing into one of the great forces for the moral, religious and intellectual uplift of the country at large.'\(^6^2\)


\(^{62}\) Ibid.
CHAPTER V
BRYAN'S ETHOS

Lane Cooper maintains that the ethos of a speaker "is his habit of choice, his disposition to act in one way, to refrain from acting in another."\(^1\) Cooper further states that a speaker’s ethos ought to be good else his audience will not be likely to trust in him if they have reason to think he is bad.\(^2\)

Since Cato stressed that the orator is "the good man skilled in speech," much consideration has been placed on the value of good ethos in the life of the speaker.\(^3\)

Robert T. Oliver in his 1961 address before the Ohio Speech Association mentioned that there is a great stress on the ethical value in speech texts, and indicated that the moral breakdown of our age would probably bring the ethical stress back into the classroom.\(^4\)

\(^1\) Cooper, op. cit., p. xxii.
\(^2\) Ibid., p. xxiii.
\(^4\) Robert T. Oliver, Speech delivered at the Ohio Speech Convention, Columbus, Ohio, October 4, 1963.
This value is in evidence in the works of most of those who have written on oratory, and the man without this quality will doubtlessly find none who will follow his council. Aristotle saw its importance and wrote in his *Rhetoric* that "as for speakers themselves, the sources of our trust in them are three, for apart from the arguments (in a speech) three things gain our belief; intelligence, character, and good will . . . It necessarily follows that the speaker who is thought to have all these qualities . . . has the confidence of his hearers." Closely following the example of their Greek predecessors, the Roman writers stress this value. In *The Institutio Oratoria*, Quintilian states:

My aim then, is the education of the perfect orator. The first essential for such an one is that he should be a good man, and consequently we demand of him not merely the possession of exceptional gifts of speech, but of all the excellences of character as well.

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Although some of the present day writers have turned away from parts of our "ancient inheritance," the value of ethos is yet stressed in our better texts. Thonssen and Baird say that "character may be established by association with virtue, by tempered praise, by the removal of that which seems unfavorable, and by sincerity." President Franklin Delano Roosevelt said that it was his (Bryan's) sincerity that brought him the millions of devoted followers and the same sincerity which made him a force for good in his generation.

Robert T. Oliver says that "the study of oratory is properly the study of the moral and the intellectual force exerted by a great speaker through the power of his words over men and the movements of generations." William Jennings Bryan Jr., has shared with me in correspondence "that his father's only concern was to determine the right . . . and once he determined where the right lay, he adhered to his belief with all the zeal of a crusader."

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As closely as C. W. Bryan advised his brother, William Jennings, even he "could not influence his brother when it came to a matter of principle."\(^{11}\)

Lionel Crocker makes it evident that persuasion is not only effected by the way an attitude is reflected in a speech, but what is generally understood to be the life purpose of the speaker. "Since we cannot have proof for everything a speaker says, we must depend upon the speaker and his integrity."\(^{12}\) I quote again from correspondence with Wm. J. Bryan Jr., where he referred to a letter his father had written to his brother Charles. Mr. Bryan knew that he (in the prohibition issue) would have a hot time, but made it evident that he was willing to make the fight. Whether he won or lost should not control, in that taking a whipping might lay the foundation for future victory. "At any rate I have taken the course that seems to me most honest and honorable and shall take the consequences without complaining."\(^{13}\) Baird and Knower stress as essential that speech aims and methods be based on intellectual and

\(^{11}\) Ibid.


\(^{13}\) Bryan, Jr., op. cit.
moral honesty. "Your (the speaker's) right to speak is morally based on your desire to benefit those who listen . . . your responsibility as a speaker is to tell the truth as you understand it and to avoid distortions of fact and logic." Mr. Bryan wrote to William, Jr. when he graduated from college discussing the opportunities in various fields. He closed the letter with these observations: "I would be glad to see you excel in public speaking but it is more important that you shall be good than that you should be brilliant; more important that you shall be right, than that you should be eloquent." So in one form or another, Seneca, Cicero, St. Augustine, and many other rhetoricians have declared that great speaking cannot be divorced from great personalities committed to good causes. Aristotle concludes it well in saying "we might almost affirm that his character (ethos) is the most potent of all the means of persuasion."  

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15Ibid.
16Cooper, op. cit., Book 1, p. 9.
In the presence of a close friend he confided, "It doesn't matter so much who holds the offices; it is the reforms for which we are fighting that are important." 17

This same spirit is evident in the famous "Cross of Gold" speech delivered at the Democratic Convention on July 9, 1896, when he began:

If this were but a measuring of abilities it would be presumptuous indeed to present myself against the distinguished gentlemen who advocate the minority report . . . But this is not a contest among persons for, after all, the individual is but an atom; a man is born, he acts, he dies, but principles are eternal, and this is a battle of principles. 18

Bryan was a man of unwavering purpose and unflinching spirit. When he believed that he was right, he gave ground to no assault. His ambition was not so much for himself as for the causes he had decided were the most beneficial for mankind. He was honest; he might have capitalized upon his power over people, but he preferred to use that power to bring about results that he believed would aid the nation. 19

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In his first speech of acceptance on July 30, 1890, when nominated to be the standard-bearer for his Congressional District in Nebraska, he said, "I accept from your hands and at your command the Democratic standard for this Congressional district, and whether I carry it to victory, or as our president has gracefully expressed it, 'fall fighting just outside the breastworks' it shall not suffer dishonor."  

Bryan's work was so much broader than the political field, for his life was greater than his career, or the ideas and principles that he may have advocated. It may be in generations yet to come that his peace treaties will instruct nations in law and order bringing them to lasting peace.  

For more than a generation, Bryan maintained for himself a place of very great political importance without professional position, and without holding office except for a period of four years in Congress as a young man and two years as Secretary of State in his maturity. These constitute his official career, yet his influence was written largely in American life for over thirty years.  

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20Ibid., p. 67.  


The source of his great strength lay in the fact that "he was of the people, that he was clean, honest, and above board in his life."\(^{23}\)

It was precisely his acceptance of the perfect equality of all men that made men his friends, even though they could not accept his political, economic, or religious beliefs, and that made him their friend in turn. He loved all humanity, and so men of every cast of thought and belief, and every economic and social status admired him.\(^{24}\)

Some remember him as an orator, others as a statesman, others as a towering advocate of peace. Still others remember him as a progressive whose rare gifts enabled him to keep the mind of the nation focused on the goal for which this country should strive.\(^{25}\) History may record that other men of his period were more thoroughly schooled in law, more experienced in diplomacy, more gifted in executive ability, or more agile in political acumen as measured by victories at the polls; even so none will be


\(^{25}\)Harold L. Ickes, Speech given at 73rd Congress, 1934.
found who heard him in the days of his militant leadership to deny that he won and held kingship in the realm of true eloquence as America's "Great Commoner."

Those who remember him yet remember that Bryan was a "wonderful looking man having every appearance in the world of being a statesman." Although he had a reputation for having an enormous appetite, he often left his meals untouched when someone came to him with a personal problem. Seeming to have time for everyone, and treating all in a democratic way, it is easy to see how he has become known as the "Great Commoner."

Those who knew him learned to admire his unaffected humanity, his decency, his wit, his own concern for all mankind. "He never compromised with the truth as it was given to him to see truth, and never departed from the naive simplicity of his belief in the infallible rightness of the common people whose champion he was by his own choice as well as by the unwavering assent of millions of them."

William Jennings Bryan was human, intensely human. He was admired because he was human and because of all the

26 Personal interview with attorney Wendell McKenzie, Dayton, Tennessee.

27 Personal interview with Dr. F. R. Rogers in Dayton, Tennessee.

28 Josephus Daniels, Speech made at Bryan Memorial Dedication in Washington, D. C., 1934.
imperfections of humanity. The influence of his life upon civilization has already been remarkable, and no human mind can fully estimate the effect of his influence through the years.29

"Time alone is required for the just appraisal of so important a man. Generations free from the attraction of charm or eloquence as well as from disagreement or prejudice, must measure this man in the light of history."30

Rev. Virgil Wilkey, Minister of the First Methodist Church of Graysville, Tennessee, who, as a teenager, first appeared as a heckler of Mr. Bryan in the famous Tennessee trial, soon realized that here in William Jennings Bryan was the "high ideal of a Christian gentleman, a life to emulate and follow."31

29Ibid.


31Personal interview with Rev. V. Wilkey in Graysville, Tennessee.
CHAPTER VI
A Rhetorical Analysis

The history of William Jennings Bryan, including such stimuli as influenced the molding of the man, having been considered, we now concentrate our efforts on an appraisal of the speech itself.

According to Aristotle, rhetoric is defined as "the faculty of discovering in the particular case what are the available means of persuasion."1 This section of the study will be an evaluation of the speaking of Bryan in terms of the recognized canons of rhetorical criticism. As was outlined in the introduction, these canons are: (1) invention, (2) arrangement, (3) style, (4) memory, and (5) delivery. Following explanatory remarks regarding these five canons, I shall examine Bryan's "Prince of Peace" homily in detail, giving consideration to each of these five canons, particularly as they relate to standards of criticism set forth by Aristotle.

"The Prince of Peace," whose very title is an epithet, one of the many artifices of good style which

were typical of the oratory of William Jennings Bryan, has been chosen for rhetorical analysis because it was to Chautauqua what his "Cross of Gold" speech was to the political sphere. Bryan himself is said to have claimed: "I would rather be the author of the 'Prince of Peace' than be the President of the United States." The text of this speech appears in Appendix A.

Although the speech was not delivered until 1904, when Bryan was already known on the Chautauqua platform, inspiration for it had been given years before. It was as he remembered his college days, and especially as he remembered the spiritual needs of students that inspired him more than anything else to prepare and deliver this address.

After the election of 1904, Bryan had no certainty of again becoming a candidate for the Presidency, and he felt justified in entering into religious activity. At first his invitations for religious lectures were largely from churches, from religious groups, and from YMCA's. However, it was not long before "The Prince of Peace" had

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2 Gale and Kline, op. cit., p. 137.
3 Bryan and Bryan, Memoirs, p. 51.
been delivered around the world. He delivered it to audiences on his world tour in 1906 and to Chautauqua audiences where thousands were thrilled by its message. Whether the group was large or small, Mr. Bryan always gave this lecture with the same enthusiasm. Gale and Kline recount that one night he gave the address at a little church near Sixth and D Streets. The building accommodated only a few hundred people. Seven or eight thousand wanted to go, but could not get in. Nevertheless, the "Prince of Peace" was spoken with just as much feeling, and with as much eloquence before the little congregation as if a certified check from the box office nestled in the vest-pocket of the speaker.⁴

Literally millions of people have heard this, the best known of his lectures. In its final form it embodied the very essence of Bryan's religious tenets. Week after week, and year after year, he continued to give it before vast audiences.

Of his three major Chautauqua lectures, this unquestionably was number one. It kept his audiences fixed in their seats, unmoving and rapt until he signaled the end with that famous bit of verse, and his wide genial

⁴Gale and Kline, loc. cit.
smile. Then and only then, did the audience relax, and very often with an audible sign, broke into tempestuous applause and crowded after him to the train, waving their handkerchiefs in the traditional Chautauqua salute.5

Invention

Invention "involves the attempt on the part of the orator, as Cicero says, to 'find out what he should say.'"6 It embraces not only the surveying of the subject, but also the search for arguments suitable to the given rhetorical effect. Further, it includes the entire investigative undertaking such as the logical, emotional, and ethical modes of persuasion.7 McBurney amplifies this by saying that "it is the art of exploring the material to discover the lines of reasoning suitable to the discussion in any given case. It includes the study of kinds and methods of reasoning, refutation and fallacies, and is that part of rhetoric most closely related to logic."8 Baldwin, in his Ancient Rhetoric and Poetic, maintains that invention in "Aristotelian language is the

7Ibid., p. 79.
discovery of all the extrinsic means of persuasion or more simply, survey of the material and forecast."\(^9\)

As was stated earlier, invention includes the speaker's use of ethical, logical, and emotional proof. Ethical proof is that which helps establish the speaker's character, intelligence, and good will. A speaker's pathetic or emotional proof includes those devices which help put the audience in a frame of mind in which it can receive the speaker's ideas. The materials for logical proof according to Aristotle are the enthymeme (rhetorical syllogism) and example.

Without question, Bryan's speeches have been most criticized for their want of legitimate invention. Some critics have said that one often searches in vain to find rational argument. It will not be denied that his speaking abounded in the use of pathos, and that he may have preferred to communicate from "heart to heart, rather than from mind to mind.\(^10\) But to say that he was incapable of effective argument makes it obvious that these critics have not carefully studied all of his speeches.

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Where Bryan felt that arguments were necessary, he could present hard and jolting ones. Doubly effective was his strange ability to direct them not only to the head, but also to the heart. This is obvious in light of his effective use of illustration and example.

Emotional proof was established by Bryan in different ways. First in importance, he knew how to choose his material so that it would appeal to his audience. The height of his Chautauqua speaking came at the end of the Spanish American War and the years preceding and immediately following World War I. Men and women were frightened by the horrors of war, especially with the new and improved methods of warfare introduced in World War I. They were eager to hear Bryan tell about "The Prince of Peace," the only one who could offer lasting peace to the individual and to the world. Men were not interested primarily in argument. They were generally in agreement with his ideas. The most important factor was Bryan's ability through the use of colorful language and powerful delivery, to articulate perfectly their ideas and feelings. Because he knew how to choose his topics to please the Chautauqua audience, the lectures "set the pattern for Chautauqua, and Chautauqua is probably remembered more for its lectures than for any other phase of the program."¹¹

Regarding ethical proof, Thonssen and Baird maintain that:

In general a speaker focuses attention upon the probability of his character if he (1) associates either himself or his message with what is virtuous and elevated; (2) bestows, with propriety, tempered praise upon himself, his client, and his cause; (3) links the opponent's cause with what is not virtuous; (4) removes or minimizes unfavorable impressions of himself or his cause previously established by his opponent; (5) relies upon authority derived from his personal experience; and (6) creates the impression of being sincere in his undertaking.

Finally, a speaker's good will generally is revealed through his ability (1) to capture the proper balance between too much and too little praise of his audience; (2) to identify himself properly with the hearers and their problems; (3) to proceed with candor and straightforwardness; (4) to offer necessary rebukes with tact and consideration; (5) to offset any personal reasons he may have for giving the speech; and (6) to reveal, without guile or exhibitionism, his personal qualities as a messenger of the truth.\(^\text{12}\)

Professor Carmack maintains that on those occasions that he heard Bryan lecture from the Chautauqua platform, it was his moral ethos that captured the audience. Even in Republican territory where Carmack was able to make this observation, Bryan was held in near reverence by

\(^{12}\) Thonssen and Baird, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 387.
those who heard him. According to Dale Gilliland, another facet of his ethical strength lay in the fact that he "wove his philosophy close to the Bible. Churchmen hearing a politician and a statesman believing as they did quite willingly gave him their assent." Possibly the highest compliment that could be made concerning his ethics was that made by J. K. Livermore: "He does not judge the right or wrong of a cause simply by whether it wins or not."

My analysis of the content (Invention) of Bryan's "Prince of Peace" is largely to show his argumentative structure. He does not employ formal logic for there seems to be no syllogistic or formal arguments. The argument is rather of the informal type, trying to buttress his arguments with as much evidence as possible, then to show a probable relationship between these assertions.

As to the ethical argument, or the attempt of a speaker to associate himself with that which is good, intelligent, or virtuous, Bryan begins early in his lecture

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13 Personal interview with Paul A. Carmack.
14 Personal interview with Dale Gilliland.
15 J. K. Livermore, testimonial speech made in honor of Governor elect Odel, December 5, 1900, in William Jennings Bryan Papers (MSS in Library of Congress), file 50, container 144.
to draw attention to his motives as good and virtuous. He concludes his third paragraph in fact with an appeal to the reader's sense of benevolence: "If, in referring to religion, I can touch one human heart for good, I have not laboured in vain no matter how large the majority may be against me." This is a picture of the speaker as defending the mass of men even from themselves, and ministering to the spiritual needs.

But the listener must be convinced of more than the good will of the lecturer; he must also have a sense of the speaker's intelligence. Bryan's efforts toward this end are very interesting; interested as he is in speaking on the most elemental level, he still makes frequent references to authors and books generally admired as representative of an erudite man's readings. In "The Prince of Peace," Bryan makes specific reference to Tolstoy, Darwin, Simpson, and books on the rise and fall of nations (paragraph 46). And, in a general reference (paragraph 52), he even invokes the poets as though to say, "They are on my side, and everyone knows they can be believed." He disregards, for his end, the fact that poets may be as alien to the truth as any other persons.

The testimony of others is also called to substantiate his argument: that of the aged as able to verify his statement about faith and peace in paragraph 52, for
example. But the most important association in the historical context is the reference to the Bible, the text of many of the audience who had been educated in the McGuffey tradition. In this Bryan has a ready-made virtue with which to align his arguments, and for many in his audience, this in itself is sufficient reason for giving credence to the substance of the argument. Automatically associated with religion, too, is the upright life to which Bryan makes reference in paragraph 64; and his audience might naturally conclude that Bryan was such an upright person.

But perhaps one of the most convincing identifications which Bryan makes of himself for many of his hearers appears at just the end of the lecture when he portrays himself as a simple farmer, cloaked in humility, of course not quite so good as others have urged him to be (paragraph 63). The effect must have been enormous; who among his listeners could not have identified himself with the "simple" yet eloquent and forceful proponent of simple piety and national peace.

When we turn to the emotional arguments of Bryan's speech, we find him appealing most frequently to his audience's feelings of pride. In paragraph 15, for example, Bryan ridicules his opponent as debasing the generally held concept of human dignity in tracing man's history to
the ape. Bryan, and his audience will surely agree, will have no part of such allegations, and will refuse to trace his ancestry to the primitive beasts of the trees.

Following quickly upon this, he singles out the soul and mind of man as distinguishing him from any such lower form of life. "Yes, yes!" his audience must be saying, for Bryan's argument has the virtue that it can appeal to an innate feeling in human kind that we are superior. Bryan does not need, at this point, to rely on logic for his proof; in fact, he needs no proof -- he can appeal to the inveterate longing of man to find that in himself which sets him apart from the brute creation.

Still later, in paragraph 37, Bryan enlarges upon the fundamental Christian concept that man is created in God's image. In fact, he says that he has found "proof" of this, while, actually, his demonstration of his point is not so convincing. But Bryan need not fear, for he does have that predisposing warmth as an integral part of his audience's philosophical and religious training.

But in addition to this natural propensity of Bryan's readers to believe his arguments logical whether they can be substantiated by any sort of syllogistic or inductive proof, he has that rare gift of appealing to the
listener's emotion by the dramatic way in which he creates for his listener the visual images of the scenes he is describing. What could be more graphic and, at the same time, more poignant, for example, than his evocation of the early martyrdoms of paragraph 70: "I can imagine that the early Christians, who were carried into the Coliseum to make a spectacle for those more savage than the beasts, were entreated by their doubting companions not to endanger their lives. But, kneeling in the center of the arena, they prayed and sang until they were devoured. How helpless they seemed, and measured by every human rule, how helpless was their cause! And yet within a few decades the power which they invoked proved mightier than the legions of the emperor and the faith in which they died was triumphant o'er all the land." Couple with such graphic presentation the magnificent and oracular delivery for which Bryan has been so praised, and the audience would doubtless be deeply moved.

Significant, too, to the emotional force of Bryan's lecture are those passages which appeal to the emotion of love as being more powerful and more significant than the emotion of hate (paragraph 21). No secure rational arguments have been urged, but Bryan knows his audience will respond properly to these two powerful emotions and the force they can lend to his argument.
Again, in paragraph 34, when Bryan is seeking to lay the foundation for the credibility of the atonement, he appeals not to the theological arguments of St. Augustine or even of Strong or Hodge or Aquinas, but to the analogy which such an idea has with the sacrifice of the parent in connection with his child. Bryan spends two paragraphs evoking sympathy for the sacrificing mother and then, as though that settled the argument, moves to the larger sphere of civilization generally.

I do not mean to imply in this portion by my apparent criticism of Bryan's overuse of the emotional appeal that Bryan was not fair with his audience. He may have been able to muster all the theological arguments given over the centuries to substantiate the idea of the atonement; but he knew that his audience needed proof which they could understand and assimilate more readily, and he selected that evidence in analogy and illustrative example which could appeal to them in a more direct way. He was not writing nor speaking for the graduate students of the seminary; he was seeking to convey his own firm conviction to men and women existing largely from the every day walks of life.

This can be further illustrated by Bryan's choice of another illustration that appears remotely Pauline. In paragraph 57ff, Bryan makes his appeal to the innate desire
of all human beings to live forever. Unable to give any logical proof of such a conviction, Bryan appeals to the natural vegetative process, to the "cold and pulseless heart of the buried acorn," if you will, to underwrite his argument. The acorn experiences annual revival; is it not reasonable (and I add that it is certainly not necessarily so) that man too will experience resurrection?

When one comes to the logical aspect of Bryan's argument, it is more difficult to assess his performance. His chief application of the logical method is his use of example. Knowing, as Bryan undoubtedly did, that illustrations would be remembered and would have a greater effect upon the particular audience to which he appealed than any sort of dialectical or syllogistic reasoning could have, he set about the task of illustrating each abstract statement with homely anecdote and aphorism drawn largely from the rural and pious climates from which his hearers came.

At times there are arguments which sound remotely inductive. For example, when Bryan concludes that "man is essentially devout" (paragraph 4), he would have us think that he drew this conclusion from an examination of the particulars of divergent religious practice (i.e., the behavior of the Hindu, the sun worshipper, the Mohammedan, or the Christian) of men everywhere. But it
does not require careful thought to remember the avowed atheist, the indifferent religionists whose religion is simply an empty ritual, and other clear indications that his argument is not altogether conclusive.

Perhaps the best objection against Bryan's logical argument is the fact that he relies too often upon simply subjective notions rather than upon objective or demonstrable facts. For example, in paragraph 40, after summonsing Simpson to his defense, Bryan can only conclude weakly: "he feels that somehow there is a cord that stretches from that life to his." I think the passage is exemplary. There is nothing here sufficiently tangible that it can be empirically proved, but Bryan relies upon the supposition that his listeners will, because of the intellectual climate in which they have been reared, agree with his feelings.

When Bryan approaches a syllogistic structure, he often commits the fault of sliding too casually from premises to conclusion. When he is describing the watermelon, for example, an illustration that must have excited the imaginations of many of his listeners, he seems to expect the reader to formulate the deduction in the following manner: The growth of a watermelon which is miraculous in its way is something which I, while not understanding it, accept: religion is also something which I cannot understand; therefore, I ought to accept religion as
readily as I accept the miracle of the watermelon's growth. But our age is a skeptical one, and no full identity could be established for most logicians between the tangible melon (despite its "mystery") and the intangible spiritual world upon which Bryan asks us to thrust ourselves in faith. The addition of the egg, as well as that of the water, does not convince many by its logic.

Perhaps the most substantial aspect of the Bryan argument is in his method of refutation; often he can simply turn away his enemy for lack of evidence without assuming on his own part a need of conjuring adequate proof. In paragraph 20 he argues, for example, thus: "I object to the Darwinian theory, until more conclusive proof is produced, because I fear we shall lose the consciousness of God's presence in our daily life, if we must accept the theory that through all the ages no spiritual force has touched the life of man or shaped the destiny of nations."

Again in paragraph 27, Bryan argues that science is not to be relied upon because there are still so many things for which it cannot account: "there is really a great unknown which is still unexplored and that which we have learned ought to increase our reverence rather than our egotism."
It is a rather interesting twist that Bryan attacks Ingersoll for adopting a similar attitude but in the contrary sphere. Ingersoll (as Bryan alludes to him in paragraph 55) had said he could not say there was no God, but only that he did not know, that he had no proof. So Bryan turns his own argument back upon himself to an extent by not allowing Ingersoll the same refuge in the enemy camp that he has assumed for himself in the camp of faith.

Arrangement

Concerning arrangement, Aristotle said: "A speech has two parts. Necessarily, you state your case and you prove it." In actuality, this is simply the ordering or arranging of the speech. The constituent parts of arrangement are (1) proem, (2) narration, (3) argument and refutation, and (4) epilogue.

The proem coming at the beginning of the speech, paves, as it were, the way for what follows. In actuality then, it is "to make clear the end and object of your work."17

It is well to endeavor to capture the attention of the hearers in the proem due to the fact that men pay

16Cooper, op. cit., p. 220.
17Ibid., p. 223.
attention "to things of importance, to their own interests, to anything wonderful, to anything pleasant; and hence you must give the impression that your speech has to do with the like."18

In the second part of the speech or the narration, the speaker must give account of the actions that give rise to the speech. This narration is not continuous, but intermittent. Included in the narration will be the use of artistic proofs, those elements of persuasion that lie within the speaker, and inartistic, those which lie without. Aristotle urges the use of the "golden mean" in the narration: thus implying that it should be neither too long nor too short, but rather saying just so much as will make matters plain. The topic should have the importance that the speaker would have people think it has. "The narration should depict character; and will do so if we know what imparts character. One thing that will give this quality is the revelation of moral purpose; for the quality of the ethos is determined by the quality of purpose revealed, and the quality of this purpose is determined by its end."19 Finally, Aristotle insisted that

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18 Ibid., p. 224.
19 Ibid., p. 230.
for the narration of the speech to be effective, the speaker must employ the traits of emotion.

In Argument, the third section of the speech, Aristotle said that the arguments should have the effect of demonstrations, and that this attempt at demonstration must have direct bearing upon that which is really in dispute. A further requirement for effective argumentation, and a tool which Bryan uses well, is the weaving of bits of eulogy into the argument. His most effective tool, however, as drawn from the principles of Aristotle is that of moral suasion.

The purpose of the Epilogue, the final section of the speech, is fourfold. Its first purpose is to render the audience well disposed to the speaker, and ill disposed to the opposition. Secondly, the speaker must magnify and depreciate: he must magnify those things that help his argument, and depreciate those of the opposition. Next, it is important that the audience be in the right state of emotion, and finally, their memories must be refreshed. Following this procedure, one need only recapitulate what has been said. The speaker will begin by noting that he has done what he undertook to do.

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20 Ibid., p. 240.
This may be followed by a summary of what has been said, and why it has been said. Then, said Aristotle, "you may in fitting style close your speech with an asyndeton; it will mark off the epilogue as a true peroration. 'I have done; you all have heard; you have the facts; give your judgement.'"

In the beginning of "The Prince of Peace," as Aristotle suggests in his discussion of proems, Bryan's opening paragraph gives "a hint at the plot." Stating his theme in rather general terms (i.e., that he will write "upon a religious theme"), Bryan's proem sets about the task of, in Aristotle's phrase, "engaging his (the reader's) attention" by suggesting that "Religion touches the infinite circle of existence as well as the small arc of that circle which we spend on earth." So, for the occasion of this address, Bryan will divert his energies from the lesser, the political task, direct them toward the greater, the religious, task.

Paragraph four contains a succinct, though a somewhat inexplicit, statement of Bryan's theme -- the intrinsic religious essence which may, as Bryan's argument runs, be observed in every human being. That religious essence may

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21 Ibid., p. 241.
display itself in a multiplicity of specific forms; yet, this variegation attests to the one essential fact of man's expression of innate devoutness.

In paragraphs five and six, Bryan attempts identification and partial refutation of the popular oppositions to religion: the skeptics and the intellectuals. Thus Bryan turns aside the arrows of his most obvious attackers. Aristotle had laid down the principle which lay behind Bryan's either intentional or intuitive inclusion of these defensive paragraphs: "The defendant will deal with prejudice at the beginning; the accuser will reserve such effort for the close of the speech. Nor is the reason for this obscure. When a defendant is about to present his case, he must dislodge whatever stands in his way, and so any prejudice against him must be removed at the outset." It should be said here, however, that it is not prejudice to the speaker (the specific concern of Aristotle's remarks), but prejudice toward the subject which Bryan seeks to allay.

It is only at paragraphs seven and eight that Bryan arrives at the explicit statement of his theme: the relation which exists between a man and God is the foundation of all morality. But "Refutation' of the opponent," states Aristotle, "falls under the head of the arguments."
And Bryan hastens to answer his opposition by referring in paragraph nine to four arguments against the materialist's system of morality:

1. its virtues are not intrinsic, but are borrowed from moral-religious systems;
2. its basis is argument, not authority;
3. its function cannot clearly distinguish reason, passion, and self-interest;
4. its motivation is the calculation of material rewards.

Bryan follows (10-11) by summarily asserting the superiority of a morality whose roots are in religion, in a personal and conscious responsibility to an all-seeing God -- this is a more powerful restraining force.

Now Bryan turns to refutation of the arguments of the learned skeptics of his college years, to the evolutionists specifically (12-22). His refutation rests upon the uncertainties of the presuppositions of these theorists. Bryan's own presupposition is that an intelligent God is the source of creation, a presupposition, in Bryan's mind, which demands no more mere speculation than the views of the evolutionists, and one which makes better sense of the world as it exists than the views of the naturalists do. Now Bryan specifies his objections to the theories
of evolution (16-22): 1. whether the process is evolution or devolution cannot clearly be demonstrated; 2. only man's physical, and neither his mental nor his spiritual, history (Bryan is a trichotomist) has been linked, and even that falsely, with lower creatures; 3. the existing theories still cannot account for the origin of life -- that must of necessity have been a creative act; 4. the law of evolutionary progress has been had at the cost of hate and cruelty -- the survival of the strong and the merciless.

But paragraph 22 is pivotal and shifts concern from refutation of evolutionary argument to refutation of a scientific anti-supernaturalism in general (22-33), a case upon which Bryan's introduction of Christ's supernatural deity rests. Man's finiteness necessarily limits his apprehension of the miraculous; it can be approached only through faith, and the mysteries of the world about us are no less mysterious than those of a mystic incarnation and resurrection. Science cannot answer the mystery of life -- yet it surrounds us. We, in our finiteness, participate in numerous mysteries (of which the mysteries of vegetative growth, 28-29; biological reproduction, 30; the formulaic structures of compounds, 31; and the changes of human personality, 33; are only typical) which we do not understand; these limitations ought to teach us humility in our attitudes toward the miraculous (32).
Bryan's organization of his argument takes on something of a rambling character in that argument leads further to argument by some point of contact until a final statement is realized. At this point the transition is made from the miraculous in general to the scheme of Christian redemption in general and to the divinity of Christ in particular (34-45). Fundamental to this scheme is the notion of vicarious suffering (illustrated by the sacrificing mother, 34-35; and by the general law of civilization, 36-38). But the supernatural nature of Christ can best be shown by an examination of his virtuous person and his posthumous influence (40-45); his purity in thought and life (41); his forgiving spirit (42); his limitless love (43).

Having now, at least to his own satisfaction, established the deity of Christ, Bryan arrives at his titular subject -- that Christ is the Prince of Peace (46-68). He begins his discussion by establishing man's need of peace; money cannot provide it (48-9); nor can social distinction nor political prominence (50). It is the reward of a free conscience toward God (51) and of faith (52) and of prayer (53) and of the assurance of immortality (54-59, the testimonies of Ingersoll, Christ, vegetative revival, the indestructibility of matter, the fecundity of the crops), and of our acceptance of the prescribed measure of greatness (service, rather than the
acquisition of power) (60-61), and of our use of the formula for the propagation of truth (by good example, love, and the reason, rather than by force) (62-67). Christ brought us all these things.

Now Bryan begins his Epilogue, the burden of which is that Christ's teachings have been ignored or misunderstood. The application of Christianity to contemporary life is a comparatively recent thing (68). Christianity is not a religion of the weak, but of the strong and daring (69-72). The early disciples proved this (71) as has the mature Christian of modern times (73). Here Bryan seeks, in Aristotle's phrase, "to make the audience feel the right emotions." He concludes with an exhilarating appeal to the human desire to be strong and virtuous simultaneously; and the Christian ethic, he argues, joins these two attributes in perfect union.

Style

Books I and II of the Rhetoric have quite naturally discussed the method of investigation of the subject at hand making use of the facts themselves as the means of persuasion. Book III begins by saying that since it is not enough to know what to say, one must also know how to say it. Knowing how to say a certain thing is a great

\[22\] Cooper, op. cit., p. 182.
contribution to the right impression of the speech. It is necessary, said Aristotle, that we give attention to style because of the very nature of the audience.

The first requisite of good speech style is clarity. "The proof is that language which does not convey a clear meaning fails to perform the very function of language."^{23} Next, the style should be neither mean nor above the dignity of the subject, but appropriate.

Clarity is secured through the use of nouns, adjectives, and verbs currently in use. However, it is good to give the ordinary idiom an air of remoteness, "The hearers are struck by what is out of the way and like what strikes them."^{24} "In style, the allusion is successful if we take our individual words from the current stock, and put them together with skill."^{25} In using name words, the speaker should select sparingly rare words, compound words, and coined words, because they diverge too far from custom tending towards the extreme. "In language of spoken prose, only the current term, the distinctive name, and metaphors can be used to advantage; we so infer

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^{23}Ibid., p. 185.
^{24}Ibid., p. 185.
^{25}Ibid., p. 186.
because these, and these alone, are what everyone uses in ordinary conversation."\textsuperscript{26} This pattern having been followed, the style rendered will be novel, and yet any art can escape notice and the style remain clear.

It is the use of metaphors above all else that gives clearness, charm, and distinction to style. The speaker must find epithets and metaphors that are fitting: "Their appropriateness will arise from the correspondence (proportion, between epithet or metaphor and the thing to which it is applied). Otherwise, the impropriety will be glaring. One word may come closer than another to the thing described, may be more like it, and, being more akin to it, may set it more distinctly before our eyes.\textsuperscript{27}

The foundation of good style is correct idiom, and the purity of language is dependent upon five things: (1) the correct use of connective words; (2) the use of specific words, rather than general terms; (3) the avoidance of ambiguous language; and (4) the correct use of gender, number, and unity. A style may become impressive when the following instructions are adhered to: (1) describe the object instead of naming it; (2) use metaphors

\textsuperscript{26}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 186.
\textsuperscript{27}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 187.
and epithets for vividness being careful to avoid a poetic effect; (3) use the plural for the singular for effect; (4) describe a thing in terms of what it is not. This mode of amplification has no limits. It may be applied with the good qualities or the bad. 28

Style will be rendered appropriate as it expresses (1) emotion, (2) character, and if it is, (3) in proportion with the subject. Each subject must be treated in a manner befitting it. "Weighty matters must not be treated in a slipshod way, nor trivial matters in a solemn way." 29 The chief reward of appropriate language is that it will make people believe in the facts.

Aristotle summarizes his section on style by saying that, for popular speaking, style is in every way comparable to the painting of scenery. The greater the crowd, the more distant is the point of view; so that, in a speech and the sketch alike, minute touches are superfluous, and blur the effect. 30

To make further distinctions -- to say that the style should be pleasant or magnificent -- is needless. Why these

28 Ibid., pp. 196-197.
29 Ibid., p. 198.
30 Ibid., p. 219.
particular qualities rather than restraint, or liberality, or any other excellence of character you please? Obviously, if our (previous) definition of style was sound, the style will be rendered pleasant by means of what we have discussed . . . plainly, now, the midway is befitting. And the means we have discussed will make the style give pleasure; the happy blending of customary with unusual terms, and rhythm, and the persuasiveness that comes from appropriate feeling.\(^{31}\)

Beyond these, he concludes that severe self-criticism will return great dividends in the development of style. Above all, he reminds us to "aim at the golden mean."\(^{32}\)

"The distinguishing characteristic of his (Bryan's) style is its concreteness."\(^{33}\) To achieve this, he made great use of analogy, antithesis, allusion, illustration, and figures of speech. An analysis of Bryan's speech style as found in "The Prince of Peace" follows:

I offer no apology for writing upon a religious theme, for it is the most universal of all themes. I am interested in the science of government, but I am more interested in religion than in government. I enjoy making a political speech--I have made a good many and shall make

\(^{31}\) Cooper, op. cit., p. 219.

\(^{32}\) Ibid., p. 191.

\(^{33}\) Brigance, op. cit., p. 913.
more—but I would rather speak on religion than on politics. I commenced speaking on the stump when I was only twenty, but I commenced speaking in the church six years earlier—and I shall be in the church even after I am out of politics. I feel sure of my ground when I make a political speech, but I feel even more certain of my ground when I make a religious speech. If I address you upon the subject of law I might interest the lawyers; if I discussed the science of medicine I might interest the physicians; in like manner merchants might be interested in comments on commerce, and farmers in matters pertaining to agriculture; but no one of these subjects appeals to all.

Metonymy: I commenced speaking on the stump when I was only twenty, but I commenced .

Even the science of government, though broader than any profession or occupation, does not embrace the whole sum of life, and those who think upon it differ so among themselves that one could not enlarge upon the subject so as to please a part without displeasing others. While to me the science of government is intensely absorbing, I recognize that the most important things in life lie outside of the realm of government and that more depends upon what the individual does for himself than upon what the government does or can do for him. Man can be miserable under the best government and they can be happy under the worst government.

Alliteration: I recognize that the most important things in life lie outside of the realm of government and that more depends upon what the individual does for himself than upon what the government does or can do for him. Man can be miserable under the best government and they can be happy under the worst government.
Government affects but a part of the life which we live here and does not deal at all with the life beyond, while religion touches the infinite circle of existence as well as the small arc of that circle which we spend on earth. No greater theme, therefore, can engage our attention. If I discuss questions of government I must secure the cooperation of a majority before I can put my ideas into practice, but if, in referring to religion, I can touch one human heart for good, I have not laboured in vain no matter how large the majority may be against me.

Appeals to the Emotion: ... but if, in referring to religion, I can touch one human heart for good, I have not ...
Alliteration: whose sincerity we recognize and respect, but occasionally I find young men who think it smart to be skeptical; they talk as if it were an evidence of larger intelligence to scoff at creeds and to refuse to connect themselves with churches.

Paradox: They call themselves "Liberals," as if a Christian were narrow minded.

Even some older people profess to regard religion as a superstition, pardonable in the ignorant but unworthy of the educated. Those who hold this view look down with mild contempt upon such as give to religion a definite place in their thoughts and lives. They assume an intellectual superiority and often take little pains to conceal the assumption. Tolstoy administers to the "cultured crowd" (the words quoted are his) a severe rebuke when he declares that the religious sentiment rests not upon a superstitious fear of the invisible forces of nature, but upon man's consciousness of his finiteness amid an infinite universe and of his sinfulness; and this consciousness, the great philosopher adds, man can never outgrow. Tolstoy is right; man recognizes how limited are his own powers and how vast is the universe, and he leans upon the arm that is stronger than his. Man feels the weight of his sins and looks for One who is sinless.

Alliteration: Even some older people profess to regard . . .

Simile: religion as a superstition, pardonable in . . .

Alliteration: Tolstoy administers to the "cultured crowd" . . .

Metonymy: . . . and he leans upon the arm that is stronger than his.

Allusion: Man feels the weight of his sins and looks for One who is sinless.
Religion has been defined by Tolstoy as the relation which man fixes between himself and his God, and morality as the outward manifestation of this inward relation. Every one, by the time he reaches maturity, has fixed some relation between himself and God and no material change in this relation can take place without a revolution in the man, for this relation is the most potent influence that acts upon a human life.

Antithesis: Religion has been defined by Tolstoy as the relation which man fixes between himself and his God, and morality as the outward manifestation of this inward relation.

Alliteration: . . . no material change in this relation can take place without a revolution in the man, for this relation is the most potent . . .

Religion is the foundation of morality in the individual and in the group of individuals. Materialists have attempted to build up a system of morality upon the basis of enlightened self-interest. They would have man figure out by mathematics that it pays him to abstain from wrong-doing; they would even inject an element of selfishness into altruism, but the moral system elaborated by the materialists has several defects.

Metaphor: Religion is the foundation of morality in the individual and in the group of individuals.

Alliteration: Materialists have attempted to build up a system of morality upon the basis . . .

Compound word: . . . of enlightened self-interest. They would have man figure out by mathematics that it pays him to abstain from wrong-doing; . . .
First, its virtues are borrowed from moral systems based upon religion. All those who are intelligent enough to discuss a system of morality are so saturated with the morals derived from systems resting upon religion that they cannot frame a system resting upon reason alone. Second, as it rests upon argument rather than upon authority, the young are not in a position to accept or reject. Our laws do not permit a young man to dispose of real estate until he is twenty-one. Why this restraint? Because his reason is not mature; and yet a man's life is largely moulded by the environment of his youth. Third, one never knows just how much of his decision is due to reason and how much is due to passion or to selfish interest. Passion can dethrone the reason—we recognize this in our criminal laws. We also recognize the bias of self-interest when we exclude from the jury every man, no matter how reasonable or upright he may be, who has a pecuniary interest in the result of the trial. And, fourth, one whose morality rests upon a nice calculation of benefits to be secured spends time figuring that their good deeds seldom do enough good to justify keeping books. A noble life cannot be built upon an arithmetic; it must be rather like the spring that pours forth constantly of that which refreshes and invigorates.

Alliteration: ... with the morals derived from systems resting upon religion that they cannot frame a system resting upon reason alone.

Personifications: Passion can dethrone the reason--

Pun: Those who keep a book account of their good deeds seldom do enough good to justify keeping books.

Simile: it must be rather like the spring that pours forth constantly of that which refreshes and invigorates.

Morality is the power of endurance in man; and a religion which teaches personal responsibility to God gives strength to morality. There is a powerful restraining influence in the belief that an all-seeing eye scrutinizes every thought and word and act of the individual.
Metaphor: Morality is the power of endurance in man;

Metonymy and Allusion: There is a powerful restraining influence in the belief that an all-seeing eye scrutinizes every thought . . .

There is wide difference between the man who is trying to conform his life to a standard of morality about him and the man who seeks to make his life approximate to a divine standard. The former attempts to live up to the standard, if it is above him, and down to it, if it is below him—and if he is doing right only when others are looking he is sure to find a time when he thinks he is unobserved, and then he takes a vacation and falls. One needs the inner strength which comes with the conscious presence of a personal God. If those who are thus fortified sometimes yield to temptation, how helpless and hopeless must those be who rely upon their own strength alone!

Antithesis: There is wide difference between the man who is trying to conform his life to a standard of morality about him and the man who seeks to make his life approximate to a divine standard.

Alliteration: . . . with the conscious presence of a personal God. . . . how helpless and hopeless. . .

Well, I have a right to assume, and I prefer to assume, a Designer back of the design—a Creator back of the creation; and no matter how long you draw out the process of creation, so long as God stands back of it you cannot shake my faith in Jehovah. In Genesis it is written that, "in the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth," and I can stand on that proposition until I find some theory of creation that goes farther back than "the beginning." We must begin with something. We must start somewhere—and the Christian begins with God.
Alliteration: Designer back of the design . . .  
               Creator back of the creation . . .  
Personification: . . . a Designer back of the design—  
                 a Creator back of the creation . . .  
Allusion: . . . A Designer back of the design—  
          a Creator back of the creation . . .  

Climax: We must begin with something—we must start somewhere—and the Christian begins with God.

15

I do not carry the doctrine of evolution as far as some do; I am not yet convinced that man is a lineal descendant of the lower animals. I do not mean to find fault with you if you want to accept the theory; all I mean to say is that while you may trace your ancestry back to the monkey if you find pleasure or pride in doing so, you shall not connect me with your family tree without more evidence than has yet been produced. I object to the theory for several reasons.

Allusion: . . . you may trace your ancestry back to the monkey . . .  

Alliteration: . . . if you find pleasure or pride in doing . . .  

16

First, it is a dangerous theory. If a man links himself in generations with the monkey, it then becomes an important question whether he is going towards him or coming from him—and I have seen them going in both directions. I do not know of any argument that can be used to prove that man is an improved monkey that may not be used just as well to prove that the monkey is a degenerate man, and the latter theory is more plausible than the former.
Antithesis: I do not know of any argument that can be used to prove that man is an improved monkey that may not be used just as well to prove that the monkey is a degenerate man, and the latter theory is more plausible than the former.

It is true that man in some physical characteristics resembles the beast, but man has a mind as well as a body, and a soul as well as a mind. The mind is greater than the body and the soul is greater than the mind, and I object to having man's pedigree traced on one-third of him only—and that the lowest third. Fairburn, in his "Philosophy of Christianity," lays down a sound proposition when he says that it is not sufficient to explain man as an animal; that it is necessary to explain man in history—and the Darwinian theory does not do this. The ape, according to this theory, is older than man and yet the ape is still an ape while man is the author of the marvelous civilization which we see about us.

Weak: . . . and I object to having man's pedigree traced. . .

Simile: . . . sufficient to explain man as an animal;

Metaphor: . . . ape is still an ape while man is the author of the marvelous civilization . . .

Go back as far as we may, we cannot escape from the creative act, and it is just as easy for me to believe that God created man as he is as to believe that, millions of years ago, He created a germ of life and endowed it with power to develop into all that we see today. I object to the Darwinian theory, until more conclusive proof is produced, because I fear we shall lose the consciousness of God's presence in our daily life, if we must accept the theory that through all the ages no spiritual force has touched the life of man or shaped the destiny of nations.

Alliteration: . . . if we must accept the theory that through all the ages. . .
But there is another objection. The Darwinian theory represents man as reaching his present perfection by the operation of the law of hate--the merciless law by which the strong crowd out and kill off the weak. If this is the law of our development then, if there is any logic that can bind the human mind, we shall turn backward towards the beast in proportion as we substitute the law of love. I prefer to believe that love rather than hatred is the law of development. How can hatred be the law of development when nations have advanced in proportion as they have departed from that law and adopted the law of love?

Alliteration: ... represents man as reaching his present perfection by the...

Metaphor: ... operation of the law of hate--the merciless law by which the strong crowd out and kill off the weak.

Alliteration: ... we shall turn backward towards the beast in proportion...

Metaphor: ... believe that love rather than hatred is the law of development.

Christ cannot be separated from the miraculous; His birth, His ministrations, and His resurrection, all involve the miraculous, and the change which His religion works in the human heart is a continuing miracle. Eliminate the miracles and Christ becomes merely a human being and His Gospel is stripped of divine authority.

Metaphor: ... change which His religion works in the human heart is a continuing miracle.

Anti-climax: ... Christ becomes merely a human being and His Gospel is stripped of divine authority.

The miracle raises two questions: "Can God perform a miracle?" and, "Would He want to?" The first is easy to answer. A God who can make a world can do anything He
wants to do with it. The power to perform miracles is necessarily implied in the power to create.

Alliteration: The **power** to **perform** miracles. . .

The fact that we are constantly learning of the existence of new forces suggests the possibility that God may operate through forces yet unknown to us, and the mysteries with which we deal every day warn me that faith is as necessary as sight. Who would have credited a century ago the stories that are now told of the wonder-working electricity? For ages man had known the lightning but only to fear it; now, this invisible current is generated by a man-made machine, imprisoned in a man-made wire and made to do the bidding of man. We are even able to dispense with the wire and hurl words through space, and the X-ray has enabled us to look through substances which were supposed, until recently, to exclude all light. The miracle is not more mysterious than many of the things with which man now deals--it is simply different. The miraculous birth of Christ is not more mysterious than any other conception--it is simply unlike it; nor is the resurrection of Christ more mysterious than the myriad resurrections which mark each annual seed-time.

Compound word: wonder-working

Alliteration and Compound word: . . . a **man-made** machine.

Synecdoche: . . . imprisoned in a man-made wire and made to do the bidding of man. We are even able to dispense with the wire and . . .

Alliteration: . . . The miracle is not more mysterious than many of things. . . . . . Christ more mysterious than the myriad which mark each . . .

Compound word: . . . annual seed-time.

It is sometimes said that God could not suspend one of His laws without stopping the universe, but do we suspend or overcome the law of gravitation every day?
Alliteration: ... Sometimes said that God could not suspend one of His laws without stopping the universe, but do we not suspend or over-come ... 

Science has taught us so many things that we are tempted to conclude that we know everything, but there is really a great unknown which is still unexplored and that which we have learned ought to increase our reverence rather than our egotism. Science has disclosed some of the machinery of the universe, but science has not yet revealed to us the great secret—the secret of life. It is to be found in every blade of grass, in every insect, in every bird and in every animal, as well as in man. Six thousand years of recorded history and yet we know no more about the secret of life than they knew in the beginning! We live, we plan; we have our hopes, our fears; and yet in a moment a change may come over any one of us and this body will become a mass of lifeless clay. What is it that, having, we live, and having not, we are as the clod? The progress of the race and the civilization which we now behold are the work of men and women who have not yet solved the mystery of their own lives.

Metaphor: ... the secret of life. It is to be found in every blade of grass, in every insect, in every bird and in every animal, as well as in man.

Paradox: What is it that, having, we live, and having not, we are as the clod?

Simile: ... we are as the clod?

And our food, must we understand it before we eat it? If we refuse to eat anything until we could understand the mystery of its growth, we would die of starvation. But mystery does not bother us in the dining-room; it is only in the church that it is a stumbling block.
Antithesis: But mystery does not bother us in the dining-room; it is only in the church that it is a stumbling block.

Metaphor: . . . it is a stumbling block.

I was eating a piece of watermelon some months ago and was struck with its beauty. I took some of the seeds and dried them and weighted them, and found that it would require some five thousand seeds to weigh a pound; and then I applied mathematics to that forty-pound melon. One of these seeds, put into the ground, when warmed by the sun and moistened by the rain, takes off its coat and goes to work; it gathers from somewhere a hundred thousand times its own weight, and forcing this raw material through a tiny stem, constructs a watermelon. It ornaments the outside with a covering of green; inside the green it puts a layer of white, and within the white a core of red, and all through the red it scatters seeds, each one capable of continuing the work of reproduction. Where does that little seed get its tremendous power? Where does it find its coloring matter? How does it collect its flavoring extract? How does it build a watermelon? Until you can explain a watermelon, do not be too sure that you can set limits to the power of the Almighty and say just what He would do or how He would do it. I cannot explain the watermelon, but I eat it and enjoy it.

Compound-word: . . . and then I applied mathematics to that forty-pound melon.

Personification: One of these seeds, put into the ground, when warmed by the sun and moistened by the rain, takes off its coat and goes to work; it gathers from somewhere two hundred thousand times its own weight, and forcing this raw material through a tiny stem, constructs a watermelon. It ornaments the outside with a covering of green; inside the green it puts a layer of white, and within the white a core of red, and all through the red it scatters seeds, each one capable of continuing the work of reproduction.
The egg is the most universal of foods and its use dates from the beginning, but what is more mysterious than an egg? When an egg is fresh it is an important article of merchandise; a hen can destroy its market value in a week's time, but in two weeks more can bring forth from it what man could not find in it. We eat eggs, but we cannot explain an egg.

Alliteration: . . . but what is more mysterious than an...

. . . bring forth from it what man could not find.

Water has been used from the birth of man; we learned after it had been used for ages that it is merely a mixture of gases, but it is far more important that we have water to drink than that we know that it is not water.

Alliteration: . . . it is merely a mixture of gases...

Metaphor: . . . we learned after it had been used for ages that it is merely a mixture of gases, but it is far more important that we have water to drink than that we know that it is not water.

Everything that grows tells a like story of infinite power. Why should I deny that a divine hand fed a multitude with a few loaves and fishes when I see hundreds of millions fed every year by a hand which converts the seeds scattered over the field into an abundant harvest? We know that food can be multiplied in a few months' time; shall we deny the power of the Creation to eliminate the element of time, when we have gone so far in eliminating the element of space? Who am I that I should attempt to measure the arm of the Almighty with my puny arm, or to measure the brain of the Infinite with my finite mind? Who am I that I should attempt to put metes and bounds to the power of the Creator?
Metonymy and allusion: Why should I deny that a 
divine hand fed a multi-
tude with a few loaves and 
fishes when I see hundreds 
of millions fed every year 
by a hand which converts 
the . . .

Alliteration: . . . which converts the seeds 
scattered. . .

. . . creator to eliminate the ele-
ment of time. . .

. . . eliminating the element of 
space?

Allusion and Metonymy: Who am I that I should 
attempt to measure the arm 
of the Almighty with my 
puny arm, or to measure 
the brain of the Infinite 
with my finite mind?

But there is something even more wonderful still-- 
the mysterious change that takes place in the human heart 
when the man begins to hate the things he loved and to 
love the things he hated--the marvelous transformation 
that takes place in the man who, before the change, would 
have sacrificed a world for his own advancement but who, 
after the change, would give his life for a principle 
and esteem it a privilege to make sacrifice for his con-
victions! What greater miracle than this, that converts 
a selfish, self-centered human being into a centre from 
which good influences flow out in every direction! And 
yet this miracle has been wrought in the heart of each 
one of us--or may be wrought--and we have seen it wrought 
in the hearts and lives of those about us. No, living 
a life that is a mystery, and living in the midst of 
mystery and miracles, I shall not allow either to deprive 
me of the benefits of the Christian religion. If you 
ask me if I understand everything in the Bible, I answer 
no, but if we will try to live up to what we do under-
stand, we will be kept so busy doing good that we will 
not have time to worry about the passages which we do not understand.
Alliteration: . . . takes place in the *human heart* when.

Paradox: . . . the mysterious change that takes place in the human heart when the man begins to hate the things he loved and to love the things he hated--

Alliteration: . . . that converts a *selfish*, *self-centered* . . .

Metaphor: . . . self-centered human being into a centre from which good influences flow out in every direction!

Alliteration: . . . living in the *midst* of *mystery* and *miracles* . . .

Some of those who question the miracle also question the theory of atonement; they assert that it does not accord with their idea of justice for one to die for all. Let each one bear his own sins and the punishments due for them, they say. The doctrine of vicarious suffering is not a new one; it is as old as the race. That one should suffer for others is one of the most familiar of principles and we see the principle illustrated every day of our lives. Take the family, for instance: from the day the mother's first child is born, for twenty or thirty years her children are scarcely out of her waking thoughts. Her life trembles in the balance at each child's birth; she sacrifices for them, she surrenders herself to them.

Allusion (to Scripture): Let each one bear his own sins and the punishments due for them, they say.

Alliteration: she sacrifices for them, she surrenders herself to them.

Is it because she expects them to pay her back? Fortunate for the parent and fortunate for the child if the latter has an opportunity to repay in part for a parent's care. In the course of nature the debt is paid,
not to the parent, but to the next generation, and the
next—each generation suffering, sacrificing for and
surrendering itself to the generation that follows. This
is the law of our lives.

Alliteration: . . . each generation suffering,
sacrificing for and surrendering
itself. . .

Metaphor: . . . This is the law of our lives.

36

Nor is this confined to the family. Every step in
civilization has been made possible by those who have
been willing to sacrifice for posterity. Freedom of
speech, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience and
free government have all been won for the world by those
who were willing to labour unselfishly for their fellows.
So well established is this doctrine that we do not re­
gard any one as great unless he recognizes how unimportant
his life is in comparison with the problems with which
he deals.

Alliteration: . . . won for the world by those who
were willing to labour. . .

37

I find proof that man was made in the image of his
Creator in the fact, that throughout the centuries, man
has been willing to do, if necessary, that blessings denied
to him might be enjoyed by his children, his children's
children and the world.

Allusion: . . . of his Creator in the fact, that
throughout the centuries, man has been
willing to do, if necessary, that bless­
ings denied to him might be enjoyed by
his children, his children's children
and the world.

38

The seeming paradox: "He that saveth his life
shall lose it and he that loseth his life for My sake
shall find it," has an application wider than that usually
given to it; it is an epitome of history. Those who live only for themselves live little lives, but those who stand ready to give themselves for the advancement of things greater than themselves find a larger life than the one they would have surrendered. Wendell Phillips gave expression to the same idea when he said, "What imprudent men the benefactors of the race have been. How prudently most men sink into nameless graves, while now and then a few forget themselves into immortality." We win immortality, not by remembering ourselves, but by forgetting ourselves in devotion to things larger than ourselves.

Paradox: "He that saveth his life shall lose it and he that loseth his life for My sake shall find it."

Alliteration: . . . saveth his life shall lose it and he that loseth his life for My sake shall find it."

Metaphor: epitome of history.

Alliteration: . . . live little lives, but those. .

. . . find a larger life than. . .

Alliteration: . . . while now and then a few forget themselves. .

Antithesis: We win immortality, not by remembering ourselves, but by forgetting ourselves in devotion to things larger than ourselves.

Instead of being an unnatural plan, the plan of salvation is in perfect harmony with human nature as we understand it. Sacrifice is the language of life, and Christ, in suffering for the world, adopted the only means of reaching the heart. This can be demonstrated not only by theory but by experience, for the story of His life, His teachings, His suffering and His death has been translated into every language and everywhere it has touched the heart.
But if I were going to present an argument in favor of the divinity of Christ, I would not begin with miracles or mystery or with the theory of atonement. I would begin as Carnegie Simpson does in his book entitled, The Fact of Christ. Commencing with the undisputed fact that Christ lived, he points out that one cannot contemplate this fact without feeling that in some way it is related to those now living. He says that one can read of Alexander, of Caesar or of Napoleon, and not feel that it is matter of personal concern; but that when one reads that Christ lived, and how He lived and how He died, he feels that somehow there is a cord that stretches from that life to his.

Alliteration: ... begin with miracles or mystery or...

... commencing with the undisputed fact that Christ lived, he points out that one cannot contemplate this fact...

Allusions: He says that one can read of Alexander, of Caesar or of Napoleon, and not feel...

As he studies the character of Christ he becomes conscious of certain virtues which stand out in bold relief—His purity, His forgiving spirit, and His unfathomable love. The author is correct. Christ presents an example of purity in thought and life, and man, conscious of his own imperfections and grieved over his shortcomings, finds inspiration in the fact that He was tempted in all points like as we are, and yet without sin. I am not sure but that each can find just here a way of determining for himself whether he possesses the true spirit of a Christian. If the sinlessness of
Christ inspires within him an earnest desire to conform his life more nearly to the perfect example, he is indeed a follower; if, on the other hand, he resents the reproof which the purity of Christ offers, and refuses to mend his ways, he has yet to be born again.

**Alliteration:** ... *character* of Christ he becomes *conscious* of certain virtues...

**Climax:** Christ presents an example of purity in thought and life, and man, conscious of his own imperfections and grieved over his own shortcomings, finds inspiration in the fact that he was tempted in all points like as we are, and yet without sin.

**Antithesis:** If the sinlessness of Christ inspires within him an earnest desire to conform his life more nearly to the perfect example, he is indeed a follower; if, on the other hand, he resents the reproof which the purity of Christ offers, and refuses to mend his ways, he has yet to be born again.

42

The most difficult of all virtues to cultivate is the forgiving spirit. Revenge seems to be natural with man; it is human to want to get even with an enemy. It has even been popular to boast of vindictiveness; it was once inscribed on a man's monument that he had repaid both friends and enemies more than he had received. This was not the spirit of Christ. He taught forgiveness and in that incomparable prayer which He left as a model for our petitions, He made our willingness to forgive the measure by which we may claim forgiveness. He not only taught forgiveness but He exemplified His teachings in His life. When those who persecuted Him brought Him to the most disgraceful of all deaths, His spirit of forgiveness rose above His sufferings and He prayed, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!"

**Alliteration:** once inscribed on a *man's monument* that...
Simile: ... prayer which he left as a model for our ...

Metaphor: He made our willingness to forgive the measure by which we may claim forgiveness.

Alliteration: ... the measure by which we may.

Climax: He not only taught forgiveness but He exemplified His teaching in His life.

Paradox: When those who persecuted Him brought Him to the most disgraceful of all deaths, His spirit of forgiveness rose above His sufferings and He prayed, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!"

But love is the foundation of Christ's creed. The world had known love before; parents had loved their children, and children their parents; husbands had loved their wives, and wives their husbands; and friends had loved friends; but Jesus gave a new definition of love. His love was as wide as the sea; its limits were so far-flung that even an enemy could not travel beyond its bounds. Other teachers sought to regulate the lives of their followers by rule and formula, but Christ's plan was to purify the heart and then to leave love to direct the footsteps.

Metaphor: But love is the foundation of Christ's creed.

Simile: His love was as wide as the sea;

Antithesis: Other teachers sought to regulate the lives of their followers by rule and formula, but Christ's plan was to purify the heart and then to leave love to direct the footsteps.

Alliteration: ... then to leave love to direct...

This entire paragraph is a paradox.
What conclusion is to be drawn from the life, the teachings, the death of this historic figure? Reared in a carpenter shop, with no knowledge of literature save Bible literature; with no acquaintance with philosophers living or with the writings of sages dead, when only about thirty years old He gathered disciples about Him, promulgated a higher code of morals than the world had ever known before, and proclaimed Himself the Messiah. He taught and proclaimed miracles for a few brief months and then was crucified; His disciples were scattered and many of them put to death; His claims were disputed, His resurrection denied and His followers persecuted; and yet from this beginning His religion spread until hundreds of millions have taken His name with reverence upon their lips and millions have been willing to die rather than surrender the faith which He put into their hearts.

Climax: ... with reverence upon their lips and millions have been willing to die rather than surrender the faith which He put into their hearts.

How shall we account for Him? Here is the greatest fact of history; here is One who has with increasing power, for nineteen hundred years, moulded the hearts, the thoughts, and the lives of men, and He exerts more influence today than ever before. "What think ye of Christ?" It is easier to believe Him divine than to explain in any other way what He said and did and was. And I have greater faith even than before, since I have visited the Orient and witnessed the successful contest which Christianity is waging against the religions and philosophies of the East.

Personification: ... the successful contest which Christianity is waging against the religions and philosophies of the East.

I was thinking a few years ago of the Christmas which was then approaching and of Him in whose honor the day is celebrated. I recalled the message, "Peace on earth, good will to men," and then my thoughts ran back to
the prophecy uttered centuries before His birth, in which
He was described as the Prince of Peace. To reinforce
my memory I reread the prophecy and I found immediately
following a verse which I had forgotten—a verse which
declares that of the increase of His peace and government
there shall be no end, and, Isaiah adds, that He shall
judge His people with justice and with judgment. I had
been reading of the rise and fall of nations, and occasion­
ally I had met a gloomy philosopher who preached the
doctrine that nations, like individuals, must of necessity
have their birth, their infancy, their maturity and finally
their decay and death. But here I read of a government
that is to be perpetual—a government of increasing peace
and blessedness—the government of the Prince of Peace—
and it is to rest on justice.

Allusion (to Scripture): "Peace on earth, good will
to men,"

Simile: . . . which He was described as the Prince
of Peace.

Alliteration: . . . To reinforce my memory I re­
read the. . .

Personification: . . . who preached the doctrine
that nations, like individuals, must of necessity have their
birth, . . .

. . . their maturity and finally
their decay and death.

Epithet: . . . government of the Prince of Peace—
and it is. . .

49

Some have even reached the point where they find
difficulty in getting people to accept their money; and
I know of no better indication of the ethical awakening
in this country than the increasing tendency to scrutinize
the methods of money-making. I am sanguine enough to
believe that the time will yet come when respectability
will no longer be sold to great criminals by helping them
to spend their ill-gotten gains. A long step in advance
will have been taken when religions, educational, and
charitable institutions refuse to condone conscienceless
methods in business and leave the possessor of illegiti-
mate accumulations to learn how lonely life is when one
prefers money to morals.

Alliteration: . . . methods of money-making. . .

Compound word: money-making

Metaphor: . . . the time will yet come when respect-
ability will no longer be sold to great
criminals by helping them. . .

Alliteration: . . . refuse to condone conscience-
less methods. . .

. . . to learn how lonely life is
when one prefers money to morals.

To those who have grown gray in the Church, I need
not speak of the peace to be found in faith in God and
trust in an overruling Providence. Christ taught that
our lives are precious in the sight of God, and poets
have taken up the thought and woven it into immortal
verse. No uninspired writer has expressed it more
beautifully than William Cullen Bryant in his "Ode to a
Waterfowl." After following the wanderings of the bird
of passage as it sees first its southern and then its
northern home, he concludes:

Personifications: Thou art gone; the abyss of
heaven
Hath swallowed up thy form,
but on my heart
Deeply hath sunk the lesson
thou hast given,
And shall not soon depart.

Allusion: He, who, from zone to zone,
Guides through the boundless sky thy
certain flight,
In the long way that I must tread alone,
Will lead my steps aright.

Metonymy: To those who have grown gray in the
Church. . .
Alliteration: I need not speak of the peace to be found in faith in God.

Allusion: . . . trust in an overruling Providence.

When I was a young man I wrote to Colonel Ingersoll and asked him for his views on God and immortality. His secretary answered that the great infidel was not at home, but enclosed a copy of a speech of Colonel Ingersoll's which covered my question. I scanned it with eagerness and found that he had expressed himself about as follows: "I do not say that there is no God, I simply say I do not know. I do not say that there is no life beyond the grave, I simply say I do not know." And from that day to this I have asked myself the question and have been unable to answer it to my own satisfaction, how could any one find pleasure in taking from a human heart a living faith and substituting therefor the cold and cheerless doctrine, "I do not know."

Anti-climax: . . . "I do not say that there is no God, I simply say I do not know. I do not say that there is no life beyond the grave, I simply say I do not know."

Alliteration: . . . pleasure in taking from a human heart

If the Father deigns to touch with divine power the cold and pulseless heart of the buried acorn and to make it burst forth from its prison walls, will He leave neglected in the earth the soul of man, made in the image of his Creator? If he stoops to give to the rosebush, whose withered blossoms float upon the autumn breeze, the sweet assurance of another springtime, will He refuse the words of hope to the sons of men when the frosts of winter come? If matter, mute and inanimate, though changed by the forces of nature into a multitude of forms, can never die, will the imperial spirit of man suffer annihilation when it has paid a brief visit like a royal guest to this tenement of clay? Rather let us believe that He who in His apparent prodigality wastes not the rain-drops,
the evening sighing zephers, the blade of grass, and created nothing without a cause has made provision for a future life in which man's universal longing for immortality will find its realization. I am as sure that we live again as I am sure that we live today.

Allusion: If the Father deigns to touch with divine power the cold and pulseless heart of the buried acorn and to make it burst... 

Personification: ... the buried acorn and to make it burst forth from its prison walls, will...

Simile: ... brief visit like a royal guest...

Metaphor: ... to this tenement of clay?

Onomatopoeia: ... the evening sighing zephers...

Again, Christ deserves to be called The Prince of Peace because He has given us a measure of greatness which promotes peace. When His disciples quarrelled among themselves as to which should be greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven, He rebuked them and said: "Let him who would be the chiefest among you be the servant of all."

Epithet and Alliteration: The Prince of Peace because He has given us a measure of greatness which promotes peace.

Paradox: "Let him who would be the chiefest among you be the servant of all."

Service is the measure of greatness; it always has been true, it is true today, and it always will be true, that he is the greatest who does the most of good. And how this old world will be transformed when this standard of greatness becomes the standard of every life! Nearly all of our controversies and combats grow out of the fact that we are trying to get something from each other--there will be peace when our aim is to do something for
each other. Our enmities and animosities arise largely from our efforts to get as much as possible out of the world—there will be peace when our endeavour is to put as much as possible into the world. The human measure of a human life is its income; the divine measure of a life is its outgo, its overflow—its contribution to the welfare of all.

Metaphor: Service is the measure of greatness;
Climax: ... that he is the greatest who does the most good.

Climax and Antithesis: The human measure of a human life is its income; the divine measure of a life is its outgo, its overflow—its contribution to the welfare of all.

The other is the Bible plan—"Be not overcome of evil but overcome evil with good." And there is no other way of overcoming evil. I am not much of a farmer—I get more credit for my farming than I deserve, and my little farm receives more advertising than it is entitled to. But I am farmer enough to know that if I cut down weeds they will spring up again; and farmer enough to know that if I plant something there which has more vitality than the weeds I shall not only get rid of the constant cutting, but have the benefit of the crop besides.

Antithesis: The other is the Bible plan—"Be not overcome of evil but overcome evil with good."

Alliteration: ... constant cutting, but have the benefit of the crop besides.

In order that there might be no mistake in His plan of propagating the truth, Christ went into detail and laid emphasis upon the value of example—"So live that others seeing your good works may be constrained to glorify your Father which is in Heaven." There is no human influence
so potent for Good as that which goes out from an upright life. A sermon may be answered; the arguments presented in a speech may be disputed, but no one can answer a Christian life—it is the unanswerable argument in favor of our religion.

Climax: . . . the value of example—"So live that others seeing your good works may be constrained to glorify your Father which is in Heaven."

Metaphor: . . . Christian life—it is the unanswerable argument in favor of our religion.

In former times when men read that Christ came "to bring life and immortality to light," they placed the emphasis upon immortality; now they are studying Christ's relation to human life. People used to read the Bible to find out what it said of Heaven; now they read it more to find what light it throws upon the pathway of today. In former years many thought to prepare themselves for future bliss by a life of seclusion here; we are learning that to follow in the footsteps of the Master we must go about doing good. Christ declared that He came that we might have life and have it more abundantly. The world is learning that Christ came not to narrow life, but to enlarge it—not to rob it of its joy, but to fill it to overflowing with purpose, earnestness and happiness.

Antithesis: . . . they placed the emphasis upon immortality; now they are studying Christ's relation to human life.

Climax: . . . Christ came not to narrow life, but to enlarge it—not to rob it of its joy, but to fill it to overflowing with purpose, earnestness and happiness.

Only those who believe attempt the seemingly impossible, and, by attempting, prove that one, with God, can chase a thousand and that two can put ten thousand to flight. I can imagine that the early Christians, who were carried into the Coliseum to make a spectacle for those more savage than the beasts, were entreated by their doubting companions not to endanger their lives. But, kneeling
in the center of the arena, they prayed and sang until they were devoured. How helpless they seemed, and measured by every human rule, how helpless was their cause! And yet within a few decades the power which they invoked proved mightier than the legions of the emperor and the faith in which they died was triumphant o'er all the land. It is said that those who went to mock at their sufferings returned asking themselves, "What is it that can enter into the heart of man and make him die as these die?" They were greater conquerors in their death than they could have been had they purchased life by a surrender of their faith.

Paradox: . . . by attempting, prove that one, with God, can chase a thousand and that two can put ten thousand to flight.

Allusion: . . . who were carried into the Coliseum to make a spectacle for those more savage than the beasts.

Climax: They were greater conquerors in their death than they could have been had they purchased life by a surrender of their faith.

As the Christian grows older he appreciates more and more the completeness with which Christ satisfies the longings of the heart, and, grateful for the peace which he enjoys and for the strength which he has received, he repeats the words of the great scholar, Sir William Jones:

Apostrophe: "Before they mystic altar, heavenly truth,
I kneel in manhood, as I knelt in youth,

Synecdoche: Thus let me kneel, till this dull form decay,

Allusion: And life's last shade be brightened by thy ray."
From this analysis of Bryan's speech style, it is evident that the major part of his illustrative material comes from his own rich personal experience and his knowledge of the Bible.

His great range of activities as student, lawyer, farmer, and statesman gave an ample store from which to draw. As was seen much of his illustrative material was taken from nature. Among his best illustrations that appear in any of his speeches are those of the watermelon and the grain of wheat which appeared in "The Prince of Peace."

Bryan was unique in his use of figures of speech. Though he used the metaphor most frequently, he also employed similes, hyperboles, allegories, and personifications. A great deal of audience appeal was gained through his use of humor.

His style was compact and periodic on the whole. He used good specific words usually with the proper connectives. For the treatment of universal subjects, his language was appropriate. He used illustrations that had universal appeal and appeared to have combined effectively the use of Scriptural language with that of current usage.
Memory

Although Memory, the fourth of the ancient canons, receives no systematic treatment in the Rhetoric, an inclusion will be made because of Bryan's unusual power in this faculty. It should be mentioned, however, that other ancients gave it systematic treatment in their works. "Tradition has it that Simonides discovered the memory, but undoubtedly Hippias was the first man who considered the training of the memory as essential discipline in the education of the orator."34

In its oldest sense, memory was a fairly comprehensive concept embracing the mastery of the material in a sequential order. Cicero maintained that "The memory is also to be exercised by learning accurately by heart as many of our own writings, and those of others as we can."35 Quintilian alludes to the fact that impressions are stamped on the mind as signets of rings are marked on wax. "If any shall ask me, however, what is the only and great art of memory, I shall say that it is exercise and labor. To learn much by heart, to meditate much, and if possible, daily, are the most efficacious of all methods. Nothing is so much strengthened by practice,

34 Thonssen and Baird, op. cit., p. 39.
or weakened by neglect as memory." Quintilian offers further worthwhile advice by saying:

If a long speech is to be retained in the memory, it will be of advantage to learn it in parts; for the memory sinks under a vast burden laid on it at once. At the same time, the portions should not be extremely short, for they will then distract and harass the memory. I cannot, however, prescribe any certain length, since this must be suited, as much as possible, to the different divisions of the subject, unless a division, perchance, to be of such magnitude that it requires to be subdivided. But certain limits must assuredly be fixed, that frequent meditation may connect the series of words in each, which is attended with great difficulty, and that a repetition of the parts in their order may unite them into a whole. As to those which are least easily remembered, it will be of advantage to associate with them certain marks, the recollection of which may refresh and excite the memory.

Although there is little information about Mr. Bryan's method of preparation and memorization, there is enough to give us a hint as to his procedure. His method of speech preparation was not consistent throughout his long years as an orator, his method often changing to meet the circumstances. When he began as a young politician,

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37 Ibid., pp. 27-28.

38 Brigance, *op. cit.*, p. 911.
his speeches were written word for word and then care­fully committed to memory. However, in the political arena a starched and ironed speech often gives a speaker little or no flexibility for meeting the arguments of an opponent. This Bryan quickly learned. Soon he discarded this method of writing and committing speeches to memory. He then started to speak from notes, writing nothing out fully unless the speech was of official importance.39

Often he spoke entirely without notes, when his subject was one with which he was entirely familiar and upon which he had spoken before. If the subject was a new one, he was apt to make brief notes of the heads of paragraphs. These he did not expand but simply used them to direct his thought at the time.40

There is much legend concerning Bryan's power of memory, but there is little to be found to substantiate it. One such story is that, after making a speech, Mr. Bryan, besieged by a reporter, was asked for a copy of the text of the speech. Bryan is said to have pulled a typed copy from his suit-coat pocket and handing it to the reporter made this comment: "I changed one word in last paragraph." Mrs. Bryan, however, does give this sort of legend some credibility by recounting in the Memoirs

39Bryan and Bryan, Memoirs, p. 252.
40Brigance, op. cit., p. 911.
that in all of the years that she heard him speak, only on one occasion did his memory falter, and a line or two were not given exactly as he planned to say them.

Delivery

The fifth of the canons deals with the art of correct delivery. Success in delivery, says Aristotle, is of the utmost importance to the effect of a speech. Delivery concerns itself largely with the voice, with the right management of it to express every emotion. It is of prime importance that the speaker know when to use a loud voice, a soft voice, and even the intermediate. The use of pitch and rhythm are also prime factors in good delivery. "These are, in fact, the three things that receive attention: volume, modulation of pitch, and rhythm." The ethical speaker will deliver the case on the merits of the facts alone, but by the very fact of the nature of the audience, attention must be given to delivery.

Cicero, after explaining the other canons, sums up by stating that these parts can only be as successful as

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41 Cooper, op. cit., p. 183.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid.
their delivery. . ."Delivery, I say, has the sole and supreme power in oratory; without it, a speaker of the highest mental capacity can be held in no esteem; while one of moderate abilities, with this qualification, may surpass even those of the highest talent."44

For effectiveness and excellence in delivery, the voice doubtless contributes the most, for what is more adapted to delight the ear, and produce agreeableness than the change, variety, and alteration of tone?

Cicero further maintains that a good gesture, not that of the stage, but one showing the whole force and meaning of a passage, is essential to good delivery. But, he says,

All depends on the countenance; and in that the eyes bear sovereign sway. . . for all the powers of action proceed from the mind, and the countenance is the image of the mind, and the eyes are its interpreters. This, indeed, is the only part of the body that can effectually display as infinite a number of significations and changes, as there is of emotions in the soul. . . for these reasons, in our oratorical action, the countenance is next in power to the voice.45

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44 Watson, op. cit., p. 277.
Of the powerful delivery of Bryan there appears to be no place to begin or end. Rollin Kirby has aptly put it by saying "others have altogether neglected the art of addressing the crowd and have neither the time nor the inclination for the physical training which all great orators have found essential. With the exception of Mr. Bryan, the speakers who have voices good enough to be heard have nothing to say, and the speakers who have anything to say have no voices to say it." Arthur Hancock, long associated with the Patterson Springs Illinois Chautauqua, remembers that Bryan was not only an outstanding lecturer, but an outstanding man as well. "He was known as 'the silver tongued Orator,' and he was just that."\footnote{Letter from A. E. Hancock to Paul A. Carmack, dated September 30, 1963.}

The Rev. B. F. Lamb who also appeared as a regular lecturer on the Circuits and who knew Bryan personally, says that personality and tone of voice were such positive traits of Bryan. Comparing him to other "greats" of the day he recalls that his delivery wasn't abrupt like that of Theodore Roosevelt, or dry like that of William Howard Taft. He appeared so sincere in his purpose...
that people couldn't help believe what he said. "Bryan literally preached his convictions and words and ideas fell from his lips like water falls over a dam."48

In the famous Scopes trial, Attorney McKenzie remembers well that he (Bryan) was eloquent, because he was talented and gifted, having a perfect command of his English. He never had to look for a word to express his idea. It was always on the tip of his tongue. "His voice was perfectly modulated, and every gesture was in absolute timing with the thought it helped express."49

Gale and Kline recount that his voice was a "perfect organ of expression."50 Mellow, rather than loud, it had a thrilling quality that carried its tones distinctly through the reverberating murmurs of a crowded hall or the straggling noises of an open-air meeting. "His manner, while glowing with earnestness, is composed, and he speaks without haste, strain or flurry. His gestures are simple and spontaneous, and he makes the most of what he says by distinct articulation and appropriate emphasis."51

49Personal interview with Wendell McKenzie, Attorney at Law in Dayton, Tennessee.
50Gale and Kline, op. cit., p. 138.
51Ibid.
Paul A. Carmack remembering his Chautauqua lectures noted that his strong voice would carry for a great distance beyond the confines of the tent and could be heard perfectly by the great crowds gathered in the open. As the silver tones rolled with very little change of pitch almost a hypnotizing effect was created. It seemed that one could not turn away from it and even the children were quiet.\(^{52}\) Standing in one place, with very little movement, with but few and perfectly timed and placed gestures, he simply stood still and "let it flow."\(^{53}\)

Remembering his delivery and his power over his audience, Mrs. Bryan wrote:

I speak positively of his power, for I have seen proofs. For years, I attended political meetings. . .if conditions were favorable, his mood was transmitted to his listeners. He smiled, and the smile rippled away over his audience; he frowned, and so did they; he grew tense with emotion, they bent forward and sat upon the very edge of the seats. Nor was the power over an audience shown only in these moods.\(^{54}\)

Recounting another experience, she wrote:

Mr. Bryan spoke in a little Utah mining town. The surrounding mountains were so high that the valley in early afternoon

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\(^{52}\)Personal interview with Paul A. Carmack.

\(^{53}\)Ibid.

\(^{54}\)Bryan and Bryan, Memoirs, p. 249.
was already in shadow. He spoke from the second-story balcony of the railway station to a great audience of miners with mining lamps on their caps... He was speaking to them after an unsuccessful struggle. But his youth and his deep earnestness rang to his audience on every clear note of his voice. While he was speaking the shadows had deepened. It was twilight when he closed his speech with the statement that "all his life, whether in victory or defeat, he would fight the battles of the Common People." His life was pledged to their cause through all the years to come. With his closing phrase, there came the moment when applause conventionally follows, but none came. There was a deep silence, and one miner after another took off his cap, until that great crowd was standing with bared and bowed heads. His mood of consecration had carried to them. After a tense pause such a roar of cheers filled the valley as sent echoes rattling back from the hills; a clamor of applause.

Remembering him on the Chautauqua platform, Dale Gilliland states that his delivery, "a product of the elocutionary age, was actually heroic, but always in good taste. One of the strong points of his delivery was his masterful use of silences and pauses. These were eloquent." His change of pace and his regard for dynamics and climax were most unusual. Gilliland remembers that he would start slowly and quietly and then build up to a tremendous climax. His speaking at a slow rate gave the

55 Ibid., pp. 249-250.
impression that he was thinking deeply; then he would gather momentum and build toward another climax. His every gesture was a perfect follow-up of his mood and thought.56

The Herricks have noted that later in his career, Bryan quite consciously tried to save his voice as much as possible. "While enunciating so clearly that the listener caught every syllable, he deliberately neglected, or as some have said, 'threw away' at least one-third of his syllables. That is, his stress and strain of voice technique was so worked out that he emphasized just the syllables that needed emphasis and conserved his energy on the others, almost to the point of tossing them aside."57 The result of this technique was a well poised voice accent which added to the laurels he already enjoyed as a speaker. Next to the management of that great voice, Bryan was perfectly at home on the platform.

He did not gyrate about like a whirligig. Often he stood, straight, quiet, with his fingers at his sides or touching the edge of the table. He didn't throw away useless gestures. Some of his favorite ones were the right hand

56 Personal interview with Dale Gilliland.
57 Herrick and Herrick, op. cit., p. 157.
beating down on the left palm; both hands outstretched to the side; both hands upward obliquely; and the upraised right hand.58

Possibly the best source of information on Mr. Bryan's delivery was from a letter shared with me and which had been sent to William Jennings Bryan, Jr. from his mother on his 25th birthday. The letter from his mother reads in part:

After attending many gatherings, both political and religious, during the thirty years of our married life, I find his voice one of his great assets.

There is, so far as I have been able to learn neither here nor in England any voice like it. It possesses clearness and sweetness of tone, combined with a bell-like resonance, a vibratory quality quite peculiar to itself.

Unusual carrying power is another attribute of his voice, due to two causes, viz., his excellent knowledge and command of pitch and his clear enunciation.

He told me that when a boy in Whipple Academy he failed to win a prize in declamation, Dr. Jones told him he thought the failure was due to faulty enunciation. He remembered this always and paid particular attention to distinctness. There is a lesson in this for you, my son.

In Convention halls I have repeatedly found he was the only man who had perfect quiet and attention, largely because he was the only one who could make himself heard. . . Another charm is the simplicity of his diction. He used few long words, many

58Tbid.
having only one syllable. I have often heard people of meagre education say, 'Wasn't he fine?' 'I could understand everything he said.' 'Why can't all our public men talk like that?' He never talked above their heads drawing his illustrations from the common things of life.

These things I know perhaps better than anyone, and I wish to leave with you a record of them. A father like yours is not found in every generation. . .

Your Mother. 

For my analysis of Bryan's delivery I was fortunate to find two different recordings of his voice from which to study. Horner gives assurance that these are accurate and representative of Bryan's actual delivery. One of these records includes portions of the "Cross of Gold" and "The Prince of Peace." This one was found in the Bryan Memorial Association Collection at Bryan College in Dayton, Tennessee. The other one is from the recording "Voices of Freedom" on which Bryan gives a speech in behalf of the Philippines. This recording was made in 1901.


60Personal interview with Charles Horner.


62"Voices of Freedom," produced by Sol Pantiz (Teaching Aids Laboratory), The Ohio State University.
What strikes one most, hearing Bryan speak those parts of his famous lectures preserved for us by the limited technology of his day, is the want of affectation in his delivery. I do not mean simply that his voice is natural or even conversational, but partly that it seems to emerge from the physical and emotional depths of the man, and that, to listen to its reverberations is to have aroused within oneself that same distinct illusion which Whitman claimed for his poems: "Who touches this book touches a man." It is a tribute, I think, to his great vocal gift that Bryan can convey, even in the disembodied form of a raspy recording, himself, or at least what one would still like to think him, a warm, honest, sensitive human being, speaking intelligibly, commandingly, and yet simply, from the profound depth of his spirit to the very hearts of his audience.

Not that there is no art there, but that it is an art so nearly concealed that it is utterly void of ostentation. I agree with those who heard Bryan speak, with whom I had personal interviews, who remembered that his speaking seemed to produce almost an hypnotic effect. This is due to a substantial and reiterated cadence which is his innate response to the poetry which can lie at the heart of all language. But it is a poetry of which Bryan is master, and which his own necessity of communication
transcends. These facts coupled with the mellow tones and the effortless and compelling manner in which he spoke produced the delivery for which he was famous.

As he begins to speak, he does so in a conversational tone but in a clear voice that could be heard for a great distance. At first there is little of the eloquence of which we hear so much. It seems that the orator would identify himself in a casual manner. As he continues, still without great change in pitch, but with perfectly timed pauses, he soars on to eloquence and brilliance. When the voice is raised or lowered the modulation seemed planned so that it would fall on a perfectly tuned ear. The speech which has already been examined under Invention abounds with anecdotes, stories, and examples, but each is told in earnest tone, the words being strong due to the import of the subject. The words, though arranged and delivered to make them ring with splendor, were chosen to be understood by the common man. Clarity is never sacrificed for rhetorical artifice.

One senses vividly an audience immediately before him with the needs of an audience to be met. There is nothing obscure about "The Prince of Peace," nothing that the average man could not readily understand. The sentences are generally brief, terse, and simple.
It would have been helpful to have seen as well as heard Bryan deliver this his favorite speech. Of gestures, Horner maintains that there were few. "One hand held a palm leaf fan which was rarely still, and the other rested alternately on a block of ice in a basin on a table and then on top of his head upon which the heat beat down pitylesslty." His favorite gesture was the raised arm and the extended palm pointing to the audience in a manner of benediction.

After the last opulent phrases were uttered, Bryan would pull a chair to the edge of the platform, sit, and there with both hands extended, greet all of those whose lives would be different because of "The Prince of Peace."

As a conclusion to this section let us consider Bryan's own ideas on oratory.

An orator is a product of his time and there will always be orators when there are great interests at stake, and when men arise with a message to deliver.

There are two essentials in oratory; first, that the man shall know what he is talking about, and second, that he shall mean what he says. You cannot have eloquence without these two essentials. If a man does not know a thing, he cannot tell it, if he is not informed himself, he cannot inform others; and if he does not feel in his own heart, he cannot make anybody else feel.

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Horner, op. cit., p. 126.
And next to these two, I would place clearness of statement . . . next to clearness of statement, I would put conciseness of statement, the saying much in a few words . . . No great thought has been presented more concisely than the great thought of Patrick Henry, 'Give me Liberty or give me Death.' He was a great orator, and his influence rested upon his ability to speak to the hearts of the people. He did not speak for himself, no orator can speak for himself and be eloquent. He must speak for a larger cause.

If a man is to be eloquent he must speak for mankind; only then can he appeal to the hearts of men. A man is of little importance in this world, except as he advance a principle, or help his fellows.\(^{64}\)

\(^{64}\) Wm. J. Bryan (From a speech at the Jamestown, Virginia, Exposition, May 30, 1907).
CHAPTER VII
CONCLUSIONS

The Man

1. William Jennings Bryan, a descendant of a long line of men interested in oratory, was a twentieth century fulfillment of Cato's requirement that the orator be "a good man skilled in speech."

2. Because they were so emphatically stressed in his early home training, religion and morality became the chief concerns of his life.

3. The mores of a rural mid-western background heavily influenced his life.

4. Factors contributing to Bryan's becoming known as "The Great Commoner" were (1) he had time for everyone, (2) he treated all men in a democratic manner, and (3) that he learned to identify himself with men from every walk of life.

The Speech

5. Two contrasting effects can be created from Bryan's speeches: one by reading and the other by listening to them. His speeches are more effective when heard.
Without the quality of the voice, much of the value of the speech is lost.

6. When one comes to the logical aspect of Bryan's argument, it is more difficult to assess his performance. His chief application of the logical method was in his use of example. Each abstract statement was illustrated with homely anecdote and aphorism drawn largely from the rural and pious climates from which his hearers came.

7. Bryan used proof which his audience could understand and assimilate, and he selected that evidence in analogy and illustrative example which would appeal to them in a direct way.

8. When employing emotional arguments, Bryan often appealed to the audience's feelings of pride. The dramatic way in which he created for his listener visual images of the scenes he was describing was also effective in arousing the emotions.

9. Rather than using strong theological arguments to prove his theses, he often appealed to the emotions by drawing heavily upon the experiences of life; these he knew that his audience could understand and assimilate.

10. The strongest objection to Bryan's logical argument is the fact that he relied too often upon simply subjective notions rather than upon objective or demonstrable facts.
11. Bryan's speech style was compact and periodic. He used good specific words and for his treatment of universal subjects his language was appropriate. His use of illustration was a helpful tool in gaining audience response.

12. Bryan's voice was a powerful organ of expression. Mellow, rather than loud, its thrilling quality carried its tones to the far corners of a crowded hall, or for great distances in an open field.

13. Bryan effectively used the dramatic pause, and his change of pace and regard for dynamics and climax were unusual.

14. His words, though arranged and delivered to make them ring with splendor, were chosen to be understood by the common man.

15. Listening to Bryan speak, one senses an audience immediately before him, with the needs of an audience to be met.

**On the Circuit**

16. From 1904 until 1924 William Jennings Bryan was the number one attraction on the Chautauqua circuit.

17. His Chautauqua lectures were primarily of an inspirational nature, although he did give lectures dealing with social and political issues.
18. Bryan's preference for the Chautauqua platform lay in the fact that it afforded him an opportunity to appeal to great masses of people without regard to party or creed.

19. Factors contributing to Bryan's great success on the Chautauqua circuit were (1) his fame as a political orator, (2) his ethos, (3) his great physical endurance, and (4) his ability to identify himself with men from every walk of life.

20. The Chautauqua idea, building upon the lyceum foundation, served primarily to make a social, cultural, and educational contribution to the people of rural America.

21. The Chautauqua movement, in its enlarged form, began with the establishment of the circuit Chautauquas the first of which was established in 1904.

22. In the larger Redpath bureaus, the season began about the middle of May in some of the southern states, worked its way north, and finished in Michigan in September.

23. With very few exceptions, the newspapers in all parts of the country were friendly towards Chautauqua.

24. To the culture-thirsty dweller of the rural areas, Chautauqua furnished a week of uplift and inspiration to be looked forward to half the year and to be remembered the other half.
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C. UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS


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H. P. Harrison to William Jennings Bryan, October 26, 1911.

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______, March 15, 1912.

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______, January 16, 1912.
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D. NEWSPAPERS

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E. PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

Carmack, Paul A. Associate Professor of Speech at The Ohio State University, in August, 1962.

Gilliland, Dale. Head of the Department of Voice at The Ohio State University, in August, 1963.


Lamb, B. F. President of Temple of Good Will, Columbus, Ohio.

Rogers, P. R. Of Dayton, Tennessee, in whose home Bryan was a guest and where Bryan died, in November, 1962.

Sutton, Robert. Professor of Comparative Education at The Ohio State University, in November, 1962.


F. SPEECHES


Voices of Freedom, Produced by Sol Pantiz (Teaching Aids Lab), The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.
APPENDIX A

"THE PRINCE OF PEACE"
I offer no apology for writing upon a religious theme, for it is the most universal of all themes. I am interested in the science of government, but I am more interested in religion than in government. I enjoy making a political speech—I have made a good many and shall make more—but I would rather speak on religion than on politics. I commenced speaking on the stump when I was only twenty, but I commenced speaking in the church six years earlier—and I shall be in the church even after I am out of politics. I feel sure of my ground when I make a political speech, but I feel even more certain of my ground when I make a religious speech. If I addressed you upon the subject of law I might interest the lawyers; if I discussed the science of medicine I might interest the physicians; in like manner merchants might be interested in comments on commerce, and farmers in matters pertaining to agriculture; but no one of these subjects appeals to all.

Even the science of government, though broader than any profession or occupation, does not embrace the
whole sum of life, and those who think upon it differ so among themselves that one could not enlarge upon the subject so as to please a part without displeasing others. While to me the science of government is intensely absorbing, I recognize that the most important things in life lie outside the realm of government and that more depends upon what the individual does for himself than upon what the government does or can do for him. Man can be miserable under the best government and they can be happy under the worst government.

3

Government affects but a part of the life which we live here and does not deal at all with the life beyond, while religion touches the infinite circle of existence as well as the small arc of that circle which we spend on earth. No greater theme, therefore, can engage our attention. If I discuss questions of government I must secure the cooperation of a majority before I can put my ideas into practice, but if, in referring to religion, I can touch one human heart for good, I have not laboured in vain no matter how large the majority may be against me.

4

Man is a religious being; the heart instinctively seeks for a God. Whether he worships on the banks of the
Ganges, prays with his face upturned to the sun, kneels towards Mecca or, regarding all space as a temple, communes with the Heavenly Father according to the Christian creed, man is essentially devout.

5

There are honest doubters whose sincerity we recognize and respect, but occasionally I find young men who think it smart to be skeptical; they talk as if it were an evidence of larger intelligence to scoff at creeds and to refuse to connect themselves with churches. They call themselves "Liberals," as if a Christian were narrow minded. Some go so far as to assert that the "advanced thought of the world" has discarded the ideas that there is a God. To these young men I desire to address myself.

6

Even some older people profess to regard religion as a superstition, pardonable in the ignorant but unworthy of the educated. Those who hold this view look down with mild contempt upon such as give to religion a definite place in their thoughts and lives. They assume an intellectual superiority and often take little pains to conceal the assumption. Tolstoy administers to the "cultured crowd" (the words quoted are his) a severe re-buke when he declares that the religious sentiment rests
not upon a superstitious fear of the invisible forces of nature, but upon man's consciousness of his finiteness amid an infinite universe and of his sinfulness; and this consciousness, the great philosopher adds, man can never outgrow. Tolstoy is right; man recognizes how limited are his own powers and how vast is the universe, and he leans upon the arm that is stronger than his. Man feels the weight of his sins and looks for One who is sinless.

7

Religion has been defined by Tolstoy as the relation which man fixes between himself and his God, and morality as the outward manifestation of this inward relation. Every one, by the time he reaches maturity, has fixed some relation between himself and God and no material change in this relation can take place without a revolution in the man, for this relation is the most potent influence that acts upon a human life.

8

Religion is the foundation of morality in the individual and in the group of individuals. Materialists have attempted to build up a system of morality upon the basis of enlightened self-interest. They would have man figure out by mathematics that it pays him to abstain
from wrong-doing; they would even inject an element of selfishness into altruism, but the moral system elaborated by the materialists has several defects.

First, its virtues are borrowed from moral systems based upon religion. All those who are intelligent enough to discuss a system of morality are so saturated with the morals derived from systems resting upon religion that they cannot frame a system resting upon reason alone. Second, as it rests upon argument rather than upon authority, the young are not in a position to accept or reject. Our laws do not permit a young man to dispose of real estate until he is twenty-one. Why this restraint? Because his reason is not mature; and yet a man's life is largely moulded by the environment of his youth. Third, one never knows just how much of his decision is due to reason and how much is due to passion or to selfish interest. Passion can dethrone the reason—we recognize this in our criminal laws. We also recognize the bias of self-interest when we exclude from the jury every man, no matter how reasonable or upright he may be, who has a pecuniary interest in the result of the trial. And, fourth, one whose morality rests upon a nice calculation of benefits to be secured spends time figuring what he should spend in action. Those who keep a book
account of their good deeds seldom do enough good to justify keeping books. A noble life cannot be built upon an arithmetic; it must be rather like the spring that pours forth constantly of that which refreshes and invigorates.

10

Morality is the power of endurance in man; and a religion which teaches personal responsibility to God gives strength to morality. There is a powerful restraining influence in the belief that an all-seeing eye scrutinizes every thought and word and act of the individual.

11

There is wide difference between the man who is trying to conform his life to a standard of morality about him and the man who seeks to make his life approximate to a divine standard. The former attempts to live up to the standard, if it is above him, and down to it, if it is below him—and if he is doing right only when others are looking he is sure to find a time when he thinks he is unobserved, and then he takes a vacation and fails. One needs the inner strength which comes with the conscious presence of a personal God. If those who are thus fortified sometimes yield to temptation, how helpless and
hopeless must those be who rely upon their own strength alone!

12

There are difficulties to be encountered in religion, but there are difficulties to be encountered everywhere. If Christians sometimes have doubts and fears, unbelievers have more doubt and greater fears. I passed through a period of skepticism when I was in college, and I have been glad ever since that I became a member of the church before I left home for college, for it helped me during those trying days. And the college days cover the dangerous period in the young man's life; he is just coming into possession of his powers, and feels stronger than he ever feels afterwards—and he thinks he knows more than he ever does know.

13

It was at this period that I became confused by the different theories of creation. But I examined these theories and found that they all assumed something to begin with. You can test this for yourselves. The nebular hypothesis, for instance, assumes that matter and force existed—matter in particles infinitely fine and each particle separated from every other particle by space infinitely great. Beginning with this assumption,
force working on matter—according to this hypothesis—created a universe.

14

Well, I have a right to assume, and I prefer to assume, a Designer back of the design—a Creator back of the creation; and no matter how long you draw out the process of creation, so long as God stands back of it you cannot shake my faith in Jehovah. In Genesis it is written that, "in the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth," and I can stand on that proposition until I find some theory of creation that goes farther back than "the beginning." We must begin with something—we must start somewhere—and the Christian begins with God.

15

I do not carry the doctrine of evolution as far as some do; I am not yet convinced that man is a lineal descendant of the lower animals. I do not mean to find fault with you if you want to accept the theory; all I mean to say is that while you may trace your ancestry back to the monkey if you find pleasure or pride in doing so, you shall not connect me with your family tree without more evidence than has yet been produced. I object to the theory for several reasons.
First, it is a dangerous theory. If a man links himself in generations with the monkey, it then becomes an important question whether he is going towards him or coming from him--and I have seen them going in both directions. I do not know of any argument that can be used to prove that man is an improved monkey that may not be used just as well to prove that the monkey is a degenerate man, and the latter theory is more plausible than the former.

It is true that man in some physical characteristics resembles the beast, but man has a mind as well as a body, and a soul as well as a mind. The mind is greater than the body and the soul is greater than the mind, and I object to having man's pedigree traced on one-third of him only--and that the lowest third. Fairburn, in his "Philosophy of Christianity," lays down a sound proposition when he says that it is not sufficient to explain man as an animal; that it is necessary to explain man in history--and the Darwinian theory does not do this. The ape, according to this theory, is older than man and yet the ape is still an ape while man is the author of the marvelous civilization which we see about us.
One does not escape from mystery, however, by accepting this theory, for it does not explain the origin of life. When the follower of Darwin has traced the germ of life back to the lowest form in which it appears—and to follow him one must exercise more faith than religion calls for—he finds that scientists differ. Those who reject the idea of creation are divided into two schools, some believing that the first germ of life came from another planet and others holding that it was the result of spontaneous generation. Each school answers the arguments advanced by the other, and as they cannot agree with each other, and I am not compelled to agree with either.

If I were compelled to accept one of these theories, I would prefer the first, for if we can chase the germ of life off this planet and get it out into space we can guess the rest of the way and no one can contradict us, but if we accept the doctrine of spontaneous generation we cannot explain why spontaneous generation ceased to act after the first germ was created.

Go back as far as we may, we cannot escape from the creative act, and it is just as easy for me to believe
that God created man as he is as to believe that, millions of years ago, He created a germ of life and endowed it with power to develop into all that we see today. I object to the Darwinian theory, until more conclusive proof is produced, because I fear we shall lose the consciousness of God's presence in our daily life, if we must accept the theory that through all the ages no spiritual force has touched the life of man or shaped the destiny of nations.

21

But there is another objection. The Darwinian theory represents man as reaching his present perfection by the operation of the law of hate—the merciless law by which the strong crowd out and kill off the weak. If this is the law of our development then, if there is any logic that can bind the human mind, we shall turn backward towards the beast in proportion as we substitute the law of love. I prefer to believe that love rather than hatred is the law of development. How can hatred be the law of development when nations have advanced in proportion as they have departed from that law and adopted the law of love?

22

But, I repeat, while I do not accept the Darwinian theory I shall not quarrel with you about it; I only refer
to it to remind you that it does not solve the mystery of life or explain human progress. I fear that some have accepted it in the hope of escaping from the miracle, but why should the miracle frighten us? And yet I am inclined to think that it is one of the test questions with the Christian.

23

Christ cannot be separated from the miraculous; His birth, His ministrations, and His resurrection, all involve the miraculous, and the change which His religion works in the human heart is a continuing miracle. Eliminate the miracles and Christ becomes merely a human being and His Gospel is stripped of divine authority.

24

The miracle raises two questions: "Can God perform a miracle?" and, "Would He want to?" The first is easy to answer. A God who can make a world can do anything He wants to do with it. The power to perform miracles is necessarily implied in the power to create. But would God want to perform a miracle?—this is the question which has given most of the trouble. The more I have considered it the less inclined I am to answer in the negative. To say that God would not perform a miracle is to assume a more intimate knowledge of God's plans and purposes than
I can claim to have. I will not deny that God does perform a miracle or may perform one merely because I do not know how or why He does it. I find it so difficult to decide each day what God wants done now that I am not presumptuous enough to attempt to declare what God might have wanted to do thousands of years ago.

25

The fact that we are constantly learning of the existence of new forces suggests the possibility that God may operate through forces yet unknown to us, and the mysteries with which we deal every day warn me that faith is as necessary as sight. Who would have credited a century ago the stories that are now told of the wonder-working electricity? For ages man had known the lightning, but only to fear it; now, this invisible current is generated by a man-made machine, imprisoned in a man-made wire and made to do the bidding of man. We are even able to dispense with the wire and hurl words through space, and the X-ray has enabled us to look through substances which were supposed, until recently, to exclude all light. The miracle is not more mysterious than many of the things with which man now deals— it is simply different. The miraculous birth of Christ is not more mysterious than any other conception— it is simply unlike it; nor is the
resurrection of Christ more mysterious than the myriad resurrections which mark each annual seed-time.

26

It is sometimes said that God could not suspend one of His laws without stopping the universe, but do we not suspend or overcome the law of gravitation every day? Every time we move a foot or lift a weight we temporarily overcome one of the most universal of natural laws and yet the world is not disturbed.

27

Science has taught us so many things that we are tempted to conclude that we know everything, but there is really a great unknown which is still unexplored and that which we have learned ought to increase our reverence rather than our egotism. Science has disclosed some of the machinery of the universe, but science has not yet revealed to us the great secret—the secret of life. It is to be found in every blade of grass, in every insect, in every bird and in every animal, as well as in man. Six thousand years of recorded history and yet we know no more about the secret of life than they knew in the beginning! We live, we plan; we have our hopes, our fears; and yet in a moment a change may come over any one of us and this body will become a mass of lifeless clay. What
Is it that, having, we live, and having not, we are as the clod? The progress of the race and the civilization which we now behold are the work of men and women who have not yet solved the mystery of their own lives.

28

And our food, must we understand it before we eat it? If we refuse to eat anything until we could understand the mystery of its growth, we would die of starvation. But mystery does not bother us in the dining-room; it is only in the church that is a stumbling block.

29

I was eating a piece of watermelon some months ago and was struck with its beauty. I took some of the seeds and dried them and weighted them, and found that it would require some five thousand seeds to weigh a pound; and then I applied mathematics to that forty-pound melon. One of these seeds, put into the ground, when warmed by the sun and moistened by the rain, takes off its coat and goes to work; it gathers from somewhere two hundred thousand times its own weight, and forcing this raw material through a tiny stem, constructs a watermelon. It ornaments the outside with a covering of green; inside the green it puts a layer of white, and within the white a core of red, and all through the red it scatters seeds,
each one capable of continuing the work of reproduction. Where does that little seed get its tremendous power? Where does it find its coloring matter? How does it collect its flavoring extract? How does it build a watermelon? Until you can explain a watermelon, do not be too sure that you can set limits to the power of the Almighty and say just what He would do or how He would do it. I cannot explain the watermelon, but I eat it and enjoy it.

The egg is the most universal of foods and its use dates from the beginning, but what is more mysterious than an egg? When an egg is fresh it is an important article of merchandise; a hen can destroy its market value in a week's time, but in two weeks more can bring forth from it what man could not find in it. We eat eggs, but we cannot explain an egg.

Water has been used from the birth of man; we learned after it had been used for ages that it is merely a mixture of gases, but it is far more important that we have water to drink than that we know that it is not water.
Everything that grows tells a like story of infinite power. Why should I deny that a divine hand fed a multitude with a few loaves and fishes when I see hundreds of millions fed every year by a hand which converts the seeds scattered over the fields into an abundant harvest? We know that food can be multiplied in a few months' time; shall we deny the power of the Creator to eliminate the element of time, when we have gone so far in eliminating the element of space? Who am I that I should attempt to measure the arm of the Almighty with my puny arm, or to measure the brain of the Infinite with my finite mind? Who am I that I should attempt to put metes and bounds to the power of the Creator?

But there is something even more wonderful still—the mysterious change that takes place in the human heart when the man begins to hate the things he loved and to love the things he hated—the marvelous transformation that takes place in the man who, before the change, would have sacrificed a world for his own advancement but who, after the change, would give his life for a principle and esteem it a privilege to make sacrifice for his convictions! What greater miracle than this, that converts a selfish, self-centered human being into a centre from which good
influences flow out in every direction! And yet this miracle has been wrought in the heart of each one of us--or may be wrought--and we have seen it wrought in the hearts and lives of those about us. No, living a life that is a mystery, and living in the midst of mystery and miracles, I shall not allow either to deprive me of the benefits of the Christian religion. If you ask me if I understand everything in the Bible, I answer no, but if we will try to live up to what we do understand, we will be kept so busy doing good that we will not have time to worry about the passages which we do not understand.

Some of those who question the miracle also question the theory of atonement; they assert that it does not accord with their idea of justice for one to die for all. Let each one bear his own sins and the punishments due for them, they say. The doctrine of vicarious suffering is not a new one; it is as old as the race. That one should suffer for others is one of the most familiar of principles and we see the principle illustrated every day of our lives. Take the family, for instance; from the day the mother's first child is born, for twenty or thirty years her children are scarcely out of her waking thoughts. Her life trembles in the balance at each child's birth; she sacrifices for them, she surrenders herself to them.
Is it because she expects them to pay her back? Fortunate for the parent and fortunate for the child if the latter has an opportunity to repay in part the debt it owes. But no child can compensate a parent for a parent's care. In the course of nature the debt is paid, not to the parent, but to the next generation, and the next--each generation suffering, sacrificing for and surrendering itself to generation that follows. This is the law of our lives.

Nor is this confined to the family. Every step in civilization has been made possible by those who have been willing to sacrifice for posterity. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience and free government have all been won for the world by those who were willing to labour unselfishly for their fellows. So well established is this doctrine that we do not regard any one as great unless he recognizes how unimportant his life is in comparison with the problems with which he deals.

I find proof that man was made in the image of his Creator in the fact, that throughout the centuries, man
has been willing to do without, if necessary, that blessings denied to him might be enjoyed by his children, his children's children and the world.

38

The seeming paradox: "He that saveth his life shall lose it and he that loseth his life for My sake shall find it," has an application wider than that usually given to it; it is an epitome of history. Those who live only for themselves live little lives, but those who stand ready to give themselves for the advancement of things greater than themselves find a larger life than the one they would have surrendered. Wendell Phillips gave expression to the same idea when he said, "What imprudent men the benefactors of the race have been. How prudently most men sink into nameless graves, while now and then a few forget themselves into immortality." We win immortality not by remembering ourselves, but by forgetting ourselves in devotion to things larger than ourselves.

39

Instead of being an unnatural plan, the plan of salvation is in perfect harmony with human nature as we understand it. Sacrifice is the language of love, and Christ, in suffering for the world, adopted the only means of reaching the heart. This can be demonstrated not only
by theory but by experience, for the story of His life, His teachings, His sufferings and His death has been translated into every language and everywhere it has touched the heart.

40

But if I were going to present an argument in favor of the divinity of Christ, I would not begin with miracles or mystery or with the theory of atonement. I would begin as Carnegie Simpson does in his book entitled, The Fact of Christ. Commencing with the undisputed fact that Christ lived, he points out that one cannot contemplate this fact without feeling that in some way it is related to those now living. He says that one can read of Alexander, of Caesar or of Napoleon, and not feel that it is a matter of personal concern; but that when one reads that Christ lived, and how He lived and how He died, he feels that somehow there is a cord that stretches from that life to his.

41

As he studies the character of Christ he becomes conscious of certain virtues which stand out in bold relief--His purity, His forgiving spirit, and His unfathomable love. The author is correct. Christ presents an example of purity in thought and life, and man, conscious of his own imperfections and grieved over his
shortcomings, finds inspiration in the fact that He was tempted in all points like as we are, and yet without sin. I am not sure but that each can find just here a way of determining for himself whether he possesses the true spirit of a Christian. If the sinlessness of Christ inspires within him an earnest desire to conform his life more nearly to the perfect example, he is indeed a follower; if, on the other hand, he resents the reproof which the purity of Christ offers, and refuses to mend his ways, he has yet to be born again.

The most difficult of all virtues to cultivate is the forgiving spirit. Revenge seems to be natural with man; it is human to want to get even with an enemy. It has even been popular to boast of vindictiveness; it was once inscribed on a man's monument that he had repaid both friends and enemies more than he had received. This was not the spirit of Christ. He taught forgiveness and in that incomparable prayer which He left as a model for our petitions, He made our willingness to forgive the measure by which we may claim forgiveness. He not only taught forgiveness but He exemplified His teachings in His life. When those who persecuted Him brought Him to the most disgraceful of all deaths, His spirit of forgiveness rose above his sufferings and He prayed, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!"
But love is the foundation of Christ's creed. The world had known love before; parents had loved their children, and children their parents; husbands had loved their wives, and wives their husbands; and friend had loved friend; but Jesus gave a new definition of love. His love was as wide as the sea; its limits were so far-flung that even his enemy could not travel beyond its bounds. Other teachers sought to regulate the lives of their followers by rule and formula, but Christ's plan was to purify the heart and then to leave love to direct the footsteps.

What conclusion is to be drawn from the life, the teachings, the death of this historic figure? Reared in a carpenter shop, with no knowledge of literature save Bible literature; with no acquaintance with philosophers living or with the writings of sages dead, when only about thirty years old He gathered disciples about Him, promulgated a higher code of morals than the world had ever known before, and proclaimed Himself the Messiah. He taught and proclaimed miracles for a few brief months and then was crucified; His disciples were scattered and many of them put to death; His claims were disputed, His resurrection denied and His followers persecuted; and yet
from this beginning His religion spread until hundreds of millions have taken His name with reverence upon their lips and millions have been willing to die rather than surrender the faith which He put into their hearts.

45

How shall we account for Him? Here is the greatest fact of history; here is One who has with increasing power, for nineteen hundred years, moulded the hearts, the thoughts, and the lives of men, and He exerts more influence today than ever before. "What think ye of Christ?" It is easier to believe Him divine than to explain in any other way what He said and did and was. And I have greater faith even than before, since I have visited the Orient and witnessed the successful contest which Christianity is waging against the religions and philosophies of the East.

46

I was thinking a few years ago of the Christmas which was then approaching and of Him in whose honor the day is celebrated. I recalled the message, "Peace on earth, good will to men," and then my thoughts ran back to the prophecy uttered centuries before His birth, in which He was described as the Prince of Peace. To reinforce my memory I reread the prophecy and I found immediately following a verse which I had forgotten--a
verse which declares that of the increase of His peace and government there shall be no end, and, Isaiah adds, that He shall judge His people with justice and with judgment. I had been reading of the rise and fall of nations, and occasionally I had met a gloomy philosopher who preached the doctrine that nations, like individuals, must of necessity have their birth, their infancy, their maturity, and finally their decay and death. But here I read of a government that is to be perpetual—a government of increasing peace and blessedness—the government of the Prince of Peace—and it is to rest on justice.

47

I have thought of this prophecy many times during the last few years, and I have selected this theme that I might present some of the reasons which led me to believe that Christ has fully earned the right to be called The Prince of Peace—a title that will in the years to come be more and more applied to Him. If He can bring peace to each individual heart, and if His creed when applied will bring peace throughout the earth, who will deny His right to be called The Prince of Peace?

48

All the world is in search for peace; every heart that ever beat has sought for peace, and many have been
the methods employed to secure it. Some have thought to purchase it with riches and have labored to secure wealth, hoping to find peace when they were able to go where they pleased and buy what they liked. Of those who have endeavored to purchase peace with money, the large majority have failed to secure the money. But what has been the experience of those who have been eminently successful in finance? They all tell the same story, viz., that they spent the first half of their lives trying to get money from others and the last half trying to keep others from getting their money, and that they found peace in neither half.

Some have even reached the point where they find difficulty in getting people to accept their money; and I know of no better indication of the ethical awakening in this country than the increasing tendency to scrutinize the methods of money-making. I am sanguine enough to believe that the time will yet come when respectability will no longer be sold to great criminals by helping them to spend their ill-gotten gains. A long step in advance will have been taken when religious, educational, and charitable institutions refuse to condone conscienceless methods in business and leave the possessor of illegitimate accumulations to learn how lonely life is when one prefers money to morals.
Some have sought peace in social distinction, but whether they have been within the charmed circle and fearful lest they might fall out, or outside, and hopeful that they might get in, they have not found peace. Some have thought, vainly thought, to find peace in political prominence; but whether office comes by birth, as in monarchies, or by election, as in republics, it does not bring peace. An office is not considered a high one if all can occupy it. Only when few in a generation can hope to enjoy an honor do we call it a great honor.

I am glad that our Heavenly Father did not make the peace of the human heart to depend upon our ability to buy it with money, secure it in society, or win it at the polls, for in either case but few could have obtained it, but when He made peace the reward of a conscience void of offense towards God and man, He put it within the reach of all. The poor can secure it as easily as the rich, the social outcasts as freely as the leader of society, and the humblest citizen equally with those who wield political power.

To those who have grown gray in the Church, I need not speak of the peace to be found in faith in God and trust in an overruling Providence. Christ taught that our
lives are precious in the sight of God, and poets have taken up the thought and woven it into immortal verse. No uninspired writer has expressed it more beautifully than William Cullen Bryant in His "Ode to a Waterfowl." After following the wanderings of the bird of passage as it seeks first its southern and then its northern home, he concludes:

"Thou art gone; the abyss of heaven
Hath swallowed up thy form, but on my heart
Deeply hath sunk the lesson thou hast given,
And shall not soon depart.

He who, from zone to zone,
Guides through the boundless sky thy certain flight,
In the long way that I must tread alone,
Will lead my steps aright."

Christ promoted peace by giving us assurance that a line of communication can be established between the Father above and the child below. And who will measure the consolations of the hour of prayer?

And immortality! Who will estimate the peace which a belief in the future life has brought to the sorrowing hearts of the sons of men? You may talk to the young about death ending all, for life is full and hope is strong, but preach not this doctrine to the mother who stands by the death-bed of her babe or to one who is within the shadow of a great affliction.
When I was a young man I wrote to Colonel Ingersoll and asked him for his views on God and immortality. His secretary answered that the great infidel was not at home, but enclosed a copy of a speech of Colonel Ingersoll's which covered my questions. I scanned it with eagerness and found that he had expressed himself about as follows: "I do not say that there is no God, I simply say I do not know. I do not say that there is no life beyond the grave, I simply say I do not know." And from that day to this I have asked myself the question and have been unable to answer it to my own satisfaction, how could any one find pleasure in taking from a human heart a living faith and substituting therefor the cold and cheerless doctrine, "I do not know."

Christ gave us proof of immortality and it was a welcome assurance, although it would hardly seem necessary that one should rise from the dead to convince us that the grave is not the end. To every created thing God has given a tongue that proclaims a future life.

If the Father deigns to touch with divine power the cold and pulseless heart of the buried acorn and to make it burst forth from its prison walls, will He leave
neglected in the earth the soul of man, made in the image of his Creator? If he stoops to give to the rosebush, whose withered blossoms float upon the autumn breeze, the sweet assurance of another Springtime, will He refuse the words of hope to the sons of men when the frosts of winter come? If matter, mute and inanimate, though changed by the forces of nature into a multitude of forms, can never die, will the imperial spirit of man suffer annihilation when it has paid a brief visit like a royal guest to this tenement of clay? Rather let us believe that He who in His apparent prodigality wastes not the rain-drops, the evening sighing zephers, the blade of grass, and created nothing without a cause--has made provisions for a future life in which man's universal longing for immortality will find its realization. I am as sure that we live again as I am sure that we live today.

In Cairo I secured a few grains of wheat that had slumbered for more than thirty centuries in an Egyptian tomb. As I looked at them this thought came into my mind: If one of those grains had been planted on the banks of the Nile the year after it grew, and all its lineal descendants had been planted and replanted from that time until now, its progeny would today be sufficiently
numerous to feed the teeming millions of the world. An unbroken chain of life connects the earliest grains of wheat with the grains that we sow and reap. There is in the grain of wheat an invisible something which has power to discard the body that we see, and from earth and air fashion a new body so much like the old one that we cannot tell the one from the other. If this invisible germ of life in the grain of wheat can thus pass unimpaired through three thousand resurrections, I shall not doubt that my soul has power to clothe itself with a body suited to its new existence when this earthly frame has crumbled into dust.

59

A belief in immortality not only consoles the individual, but it exerts a powerful influence in bringing peace between individuals. If one actually thinks that man dies as the brute dies, he will yield more easily to the temptation to do injustice to his neighbors when the circumstances are such as to promise security from detection. But if one really expects to meet again, and live eternally with those whom he knows today, he is restrained from evil deeds by the fear of endless remorse. We do not know what rewards are in store for us or what punishment for one who deliberately and consciously wrongs another to have to live forever in the company of the
person wronged and have his littleness and selfishness laid bare. I repeat, a belief in immortality must exert a powerful influence in establishing justice between men and thus laying the foundation for peace.

60

Again, Christ deserves to be called The Prince of Peace because He has given us a measure of greatness which promotes peace. When His disciples quarrelled among themselves as to which should be greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven, He rebuked them and said, "Let him who would be the chiefest among you be the servant of all."

61

Service is the measure of greatness; it always has been true; it is true today, and it always will be true, that he is the greatest who does the most of good. And how this old world will be transformed when this standard of greatness becomes the standard of every life! Nearly all of our controversies and combats grow out of the fact that we are trying to get something from each other--there will be peace when our aim is to do something for each other. Our enmities and animosities arise largely from our efforts to get as much as possible out of the world--there will be peace when our endeavour is to put as much as possible into the world. The human measure of
a human life is its income; the divine measure of a life is its outgo, its overflow—its contribution to the welfare of all.

62

Christ also led the way to peace by giving us a formula for the propagation of truth. Not all of those who have really desired to do good have employed the Christian method—not all Christians even. In the history of the human race but two methods have been used. The first is the forcible method, and it has been employed most frequently. A man has an idea which he thinks is good; he tells his neighbors about it and they do not like it. This makes him angry; he thinks it would be so much better for them if they would like it, and seizing a club, he attempts to make them like it. But one trouble about this rule is that it works both ways; when a man starts out to compel his neighbors to think as he does, he generally finds them willing to accept the challenge and they spend so much time in trying to coerce each other that they have no time left to do each other good.

63

The other is the Bible plan—"Be not overcome of evil but overcome evil with good." And there is no other way of overcoming evil. I am not much of a farmer—I get more credit for my farming than I deserve, and my little
farm receives more advertising than it is entitled to. But I am farmer enough to know that if I cut down weeds they will spring up again; and farmer enough to know that if I plant something there which has more vitality than the weeds I shall not only get rid of the constant cutting, but have the benefit of the crop besides.

64

In order that there might be no mistake in His plan of propagating the truth, Christ went into detail and laid emphasis upon the value of example—"So live that others seeing your good works may be constrained to glorify your Father which is in Heaven." There is no human influence so potent for good as that which goes out from an upright life. A sermon may be answered; the arguments presented in a speech may be disputed, but no one can answer a Christian life— it is the unanswerable argument in favor of our religion.

65

It may be a slow process—this conversion of the world by the silent influence of a noble example but it is the only sure one, and the doctrine applies to nations as well as to individuals. The Gospel of the Prince of Peace gives us the only hope that the world has— and it is an increasing hope—of the substitution of reason for
the arbitrament of force in the settlement of international disputes. And our nation ought not to wait for other nations—it ought to take the lead to prove its faith in the omnipotence of truth.

But Christ has given us a platform so fundamental that it can be applied successfully to all controversies. We are interested in platforms; we attend conventions, sometimes traveling long distances; we have wordy wars over the phraseology of various planks, and then we wage earnest campaigns to secure the endorsement of these platforms at the polls. The platform given to the world by the Prince of Peace is more far-reaching and more comprehensive than any platform ever written by the convention of any party in any country. When He condensed into one commandment those of the ten which relate to man's duty towards his fellows and enjoined upon us the rule, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," He presented a plan for the solution of all the problems that now vex society or hereafter arise. Other remedies may palliate or postpone the day of settlement, but this is all-sufficient and the reconciliation which it effects is a permanent one.
My faith in the future—and I have faith—and my optimism—for I am an optimist—my faith and my optimism rest upon the belief that Christ's teachings are being more studied today than ever before, and that with this larger study will come a larger application of those teachings to the everyday life of the world, and to the questions with which we deal.

In former times when men read that Christ came "To bring life and immortality to light," they placed the emphasis upon immortality; now they are studying Christ's relation to human life. People used to read the Bible to find out what it said of Heaven; now they read it more to find what light it throws upon the pathway of today. In former years many thought to prepare themselves for future bliss by a life of seclusion here; we are learning that to follow in the footsteps of the Master we must go about doing good. Christ declared that He came that we might have life and have it more abundantly. The world is learning that Christ came not to narrow life, but to enlarge it—not to rob it of its joy, but to fill it to overflowing with purpose, earnestness and happiness.
But this Prince of Peace promises not only peace but strength. Some have thought His teachings fit only for the weak and the timid and unsuited to men of vigor, energy, and ambition. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Only the man of faith can be courageous. Confident that he fights on the side of Jehovah, he doubts not the success of his cause. What matters it whether he shares in the shouts of triumph? If every word spoken in behalf of truth has its influence and every deed done for the right weighs in the final account, it is immaterial to the Christian whether his eyes behold victory or whether he dies in the midst of the conflict.

"Years, though thou lie upon the dust,
When they who helped thee flee in fear,
Die full of hope and manly trust,
Dislike those who fell in battle here.

Another hand thy sword shall wield,
Another hand the standard wave,
Till from the trumpet's mouth is pealed
The blast of triumph o'er thy grave."

Only those who believe attempt the seemingly impossible, and, by attempting, prove that one, with God, can chase a thousand and that two can put ten thousand to flight. I can imagine that the early Christians, who were carried into the Coliseum to make a spectacle for those more savage than the beasts, were entreated by their doubting companions not to endanger their lives. But,
kneeling in the center of the arena, they prayed and sang until they were devoured. How helpless they seemed, and measured by every human rule, how helpless was their cause! And yet within a few decades the power which they invoked proved mightier than the legions of the emperor and the faith in which they died was triumphant o'er all the land. It is said that those who went to mock at their sufferings returned asking themselves, "What is it that can enter into the heart of man and make him die as these die?" They were greater conquerors in their death than they could have been had they purchased life by a surrender of their faith.

What would have been the fate of the Church if the early Christians had had as little faith as many of our Christians of today? And if the Christians of today had the faith of the martyrs, how long would it be before the fulfillment of the prophecy that "every knee shall bow and every tongue confess?"

I am glad that He, who is called the Prince of Peace—who can bring peace to every troubled heart and whose teachings, exemplified in life, will bring peace between man and man, between community and community,
between State and State, between nation and nation throughout the world--I am glad that He brings courage as well as peace so that those who follow Him may take up and each day bravely do the duties that to that day fall.

As the Christian grows older he appreciates more and more the completeness with which Christ satisfies the longings of the heart, and, grateful for the peace which he enjoys and for the strength which he has received, he repeats the words of the great scholar, Sir William Jones:

Before thy mystic altar, heavenly truth,  
I kneel in manhood, as I knelt in youth,  
Thus let me kneel, till this dull form decay,  
And life's last shade be brightened by thy ray.
APPENDIX B

BRYAN'S REDPATH ITINERARY
BRYAN’S REDPATH ITINERARY FOR 1916

Lv. Freeport 7:40 A.M. I.C.
Arr. Madison 10:00 A.M.
Lv. " 1:00 P.M. C.M.&St.P.
Arr. Watertown 2:20 P.M. Lecture afternoon of 27th

Drive to West Bend (30 miles)

Drive to Hartford (20 miles)

Lv. Hartford 5:16 P.M. C.M.&St.P.
Arr. Waupun 6:30 P.M. Lecture evening of 28th

Lv. Waupun via bus to Chester
Lv. Chester 4:37 A.M. C. & N.W.
Arr. Chicago 8:25 A.M.
Lv. " 9:05 A.M. M.C.
Arr. Kalamazoo 12:16 Noon

Lv. Kalamazoo 3:46 P.M. M.C.
Arr. Ypsilanti 6:15 P.M. Lecture evening of 29th

Kenton, Ohio

Dayton, Ohio

Lv. Dayton 11:30 P.M. C.H.
Arr. Detroit 6:50 A.M.
Lv. " 10:50 A.M. G.T.
Arr. Pt. Huron 12:10 Noon

Lv. Pt. Huron 3:40 P.M. G.T.
Arr. Lapeer 5:05 P.M.

Lv. Lapeer 7:30 A.M. G.T.
Arr. Flint 8:00 A.M.

Lv. Flint 3:45 P.M. G.T.
Arr. Saginaw 4:30 P.M.

Lv. Saginaw 6:40 A.M. P.M.
Arr. Belding 10:20 A.M. Lecture afternoon of 2nd

Lv. Belding 6:36 P.M. P.M.
Arr. Alma 8:35 P.M. Lecture evening of 2nd

217
Lv. Alma 7:30 A.M. A.A.
Arr. Owosso 9:05 A.M.
Lv. 10:16 A.M. G.T.
Arr. St. Johns 11:00 A.M.
Lv. St. Johns via street car for Lansing
Lv. Lansing 9:20 A.M. G.T.
Arr. Charlotte 9:47 A.M.
Lv. Charlotte 3:36 P.M. G.T.
Arr. Battle Creek 4:18 P.M.
Delphi, Indiana.

Lecture afternoon of 3rd
Lecture evening of 3rd
Lecture afternoon of 4th
Lecture evening of 4th
APPENDIX C
CHAUTAUQUA CONTRACT
Chautauqua Engagement Contract

Lincoln, Nebraska, April 9, 1916.

The undersigned hereby agree to and do engage of CHARLES W. BRYAN the services of William Jennings Bryan to deliver a lecture, during the Chautauqua season of 1916 at Lincoln, and on dates, and subject to conditions indicated in this contract, said engagement being subject to the undersigned fulfilling all conditions and requirements as stipulated in this contract.

The compensation for the delivery of said lecture shall be the first two hundred and fifty dollars ($250.00) taken in for this lecture and one-half (½) in excess of the first five hundred dollars ($500.00). As a large sale of season tickets necessarily lessens the number of day tickets sold, the minimum compensation shall not be less than ten cents (10c) for each season ticket sold up to twenty-five hundred (2500) tickets.

Where reserved seats are sold, receipts from this source shall be counted as admissions. All-day tickets and all other tickets that admit to this lecture shall be accounted for at the price fixed for this lecture.

It is further agreed that single lecture tickets shall be sold for this lecture, and the price shall be the same as for other single lectures on other days of said Chautauqua session. Should there be a difference between the prices, at least three other lectures must be in the highest class; twenty-five cents is preferred but price of admission not to exceed fifty cents (50c) under any circumstances.

The undersigned further agrees to furnish a suitable place on Chautauqua grounds with necessary attaches, accessories and assistants for the lecture and to pay express charges on all advertising forwarded.

The undersigned further agrees to pay the amount due Mr. Bryan under the terms of this contract at the conclusion of the lecture.

For and in consideration of the above agreements on the part of the party or parties above, the said Charles W. Bryan agrees to furnish William Jennings Bryan at Time, Place and upon the terms above stated; it being understood and agreed that no damages shall accrue against the said Charles W. Bryan because of the failure of said lecturer to appear, the said failure being due to sickness, accident or any unavoidable circumstance.

And it is further mutually agreed that this contract can be cancelled only by mutual consent of the parties hereto subscribing. No custom shall be considered in the construction or meaning of this contract at variance with its terms.

The above contract covers all agreements and promises, verbal or otherwise, and cannot be changed or modified except by a mutual written agreement.
In consideration of the fact that Charles W. Bryan has assigned to H. P. Harrison several dates, it is agreed by the said H. P. Harrison that in the event the receipts from one or more engagements fall below $250,00 each, and the receipts from others exceed that sum each, then the excess of the latter shall be credited to Mr. Bryan in order to make up for the deficiency in the former, until the average compensation to Mr. Bryan shall be at least $250,00 per engagement, also provided that Mr. Bryan shall still participate in the receipts over and above $500 per town as provided herein.

(Signed)
APPENDIX D
CHAUTAUQUA AND LYCEUM
APPENDIX D

The following material is taken from a report sent to the President of the International Lyceum and Chautauqua Association from Charles F. Horner. The document was dated September 7, 1921, and contains information on Chautauqua and Lyceum for the year 1920. Horner maintained that while all information was not complete, all information is accurate. I obtained my information from Horner's files, and according to him, his is the only copy of such information in existence.

Cooperating Bureaus

Acme Chautauqua, Des Moines, Iowa.
Chautauqua Association of Pennsylvania, Swarthmore, Pa.
Community Chautauqua, Greencastle, Indiana.
Community Chautauquas, New Haven, Conn.
Coit & Alber Chautauquas, Cleveland, Ohio.
Cadmean Chautauquas, Topeka, Kansas.
Ellison-White and Dominion Chautauquas, Portland, Oregon.
Jones Chautauqua System, Perry, Iowa.
Midland Chautauquas, Des Moines, Iowa.
Mutual Chautauquas, Chicago, Ill.
Redpath Chautauquas, Columbus, Ohio.
Redpath-Vawter Chautauquas, Cedar Rapids, Ia.
Redpath Chautauquas, Chicago, Ill.
Redpath-Horner Chautauquas, Kansas City, Mo.
Radcliff Chautauqua System, Washington, D. C.
Independent-Cooperative Chautauqua, Bloomington, Ill.
Standard Chautauqua System, Lincoln, Nebr.
Travers-Newton, Des Moines, Iowa.
White & Myers Chautauquas, Kansas City, Mo.
International Chautauquas, Bloomington, Ill.
All of the above Bureaus reported interest increasing with the exception of two. One Bureau did not report at all on this matter and another states it is undecided.

According to the figures compiled these Bureaus including the Independent Chautauquas, held the following number of assemblies in the United States and Canada:

- In 1920 - 8,581
- In 1919 - 6,352
- In 1918 - 4,947

In 1920 there were operated 93 Circuits.

Three Bureaus reported morning work.

These Bureaus employed a total of 511 lecturers.

46,368 lectures were delivered.

The number of people employed by all Bureaus was 5,757.

They employed 910 Crew men and own 525 Tents.

The aggregate attendance was 35,449,750. This was a stupendous figure, but it must be remembered that this represented an aggregate attendance and not the number of different people who attended.

The 93 Circuits were divided as follows:

- 33 - 3 Day Circuits
- 8 - 4 Day Circuits
- 11 - 6 Day Circuits
- 9 - 7 Day Circuits
- 32 - 5 Day Circuits
Some Bureaus did not state how many Chautauquas they held in each state in which they operated, so we have been able to get information by states only of 5,612 Chautauquas. These 5,612 towns are divided as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Number</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5,612</td>
</tr>
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</table>

AS TO THE LYCEUM

The following statistics have been received from these Bureaus covering Lyceum operations for the season of 1920 and 1921:

Alkahest Lyceum System, Atlanta, Georgia.
Antrim Lyceum Bureau, Philadelphia, Pa.
Brown Lyceum Bureau, St. Louis, Mo.
Coit Lyceum Bureau, Cleveland, Ohio.
Coit-Alber Dominion Lyceum Bureau, Toronto, Ontario.
Columbia Lyceum Bureau, Salina, Kansas.
Community Lyceum Bureau, Aurora, Missouri.
Ellison-White Lyceum Bureau, Portland, Oregon.
United Lyceum Bureau, Columbia, Ohio.
Dennis Lyceum Bureau, Wabash, Indiana.
Kansas Lyceum Bureau, Lyndon, Kansas.
Inter-State Lyceum Bureau, Chicago, Ill.
Midland Lyceum Bureau, Des Moines, Iowa.
Mutual Lyceum Bureau, Chicago, Ill.
National Alliance, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Redpath Lyceum Bureau, Columbus, Ohio.
Redpath Lyceum Bureau, Chicago, Ill.
Redpath-Vawter, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.
Redpath-Horner Lyceum Bureau, Kansas City, Mo.
Redpath Lyceum Bureau, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Redpath Lyceum Bureau, Dallas, Texas.
Redpath Lyceum Bureau, Birmingham, Ala.
Redpath Lyceum Bureau, Denver, Colo.
Royal Lyceum Bureau, Syracuse, New York.
Standard Lyceum Bureau, Lincoln, Nebr.
White Entertainment Bureau, Boston, Mass.
White & Myers, Kansas City, Mo.
Dominion Lyceum Bureau, Calgary.

Total volume of business for the season - $2,814,050.00.

Number of lecturers employed - 477.

Number of lecture engagements - 6,906.

Of these lecturers, 361 were reported as professional
or men who give their entire time to the platform, and 116
as non-professional or men who lecture a portion of the
time.

Total number of lectures delivered - 6,906.

Number of concert companies engaged - 455.

Number of concert engagements filled - 16,583.

Number of entertainers engaged - 212.

Number of people employed - 2,779.

Number of courses conducted - 7,675.
Only 6,629 Lyceum courses were reported by States.

They were as follows:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Courses</th>
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<td>Wyoming</td>
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Total: 6,629
APPENDIX E

FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE AND RHETORICAL DEVICES
FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE AND RHETORICAL DEVICES

1. Simile--A comparison made between objects belonging to different classes and using such a term as *like, as, similar to* (e.g., He shall be like a tree.)

2. Metaphor--an implied comparison between objects belonging to different classes (e.g., A mighty fortress is our God.)

3. Hyperbole--an overstatement or obvious exaggeration (e.g., I was scared to death!).

4. Personification--the attribution of qualities of human life to abstract or inanimate objects (e.g., The walls were listening as we spoke).

5. Synecdoche--the use of a part for the whole, the whole for the part, the genus for the class, or the like (e.g., Fifty winters passed him by).

6. Metonymy--the evocation of one thing by the naming of something which is closely associated with it (e.g., He keeps a good table).

7. Onomatopoeia--the use of words whose sounds suggest the sense (e.g., The buzz saw snarled and rattled).
8. Paradox—a statement which, at first, seems contradictory, but, when its sense is understood, is actually true (e.g., The last shall be first).

9. Oxymoron—a combination of two contrary terms forming a kind of paradox (e.g., Parting is such sweet sorrow).

10. Antithesis—a conspicuous contrasting of ideas in a balanced or parallel construction (e.g., Be not the first by whom the new are try'd/Nor yet the last to lay the old aside).

11. Alliteration—the repetition of identical initial consonant sounds (e.g., A little leaven leaventh the whole lump).

12. Allusion—a brief reference to a person, place, or event outside the immediate work of art which should be recognized by the reader or listener; may be of Biblical, mythical, literary, or historical origin (e.g., Down, down I come, like glistening Phaeton).

13. Climax—the arrangement of words or phrases in order of increasing importance (e.g., You may, you should, indeed, you must repent).

14. Anti-climax—the arrangement of words or phrases in order of decreasing importance (e.g., They
listened at his heart./Little -- less --
nothing! -- and that ended it).

15. Epithet--an adjective, noun, or phrase describing
one characteristic of a person or thing
(e.g., Rosy-fingered Dawn stretched its hand
across the East.)
APPENDIX F

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN
I, John Bolton Bartlett, was born on June 7, 1925, in Palmer, New York. I attended the public schools of Corinth, New York, completing high school in 1943. After a year of work I enrolled in Bob Jones University in Greenville, South Carolina, where I graduated with the B. A. degree in 1948. I was awarded a Graduate fellowship and began in a Master's program which led to the degree of Master of Fine Arts which was granted in 1950. For the next three years I remained there to teach in the School of Fine Arts.

When Theodore Mercer, Assistant to the President, was offered the Presidency of Bryan College in Dayton, Tennessee, he invited me to go to Bryan to serve as Dean of Men and to teach speech. I remained at Bryan College serving in this capacity until 1960. While there I began a graduate program in Speech at the University of Chattanooga.

In the fall of 1960 I enrolled at The Ohio State University where I completed, except for the thesis, the requirements for the Master of Arts degree with a major in Public Address. I remained at The Ohio State University to complete my doctoral program. In the fall of 1963 I was granted a teaching assistantship in the Department of Speech.