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A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
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requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Speech

by
Francine Merritt
B.A., Hardin-Simmons University, 1938
M.A., Louisiana State University, 1943
August, 1953
MANUSCRIPT THESSES

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119-a
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PORTRAIT OF EDGAR S. WERNER</td>
<td>Frontispiece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. WERNER AND HIS JOURNAL</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. SPEECH CORRECTION AND SPEECH FOR THE DEAF</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. THE SPEECH SCIENCES</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. DELSARTE, GESTURE, AND PHYSICAL CULTURE</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. THE SPEECH ARTS</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. ORIGINAL SPEAKING</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. PROFESSIONAL RELATIONS</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUTOBIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABSTRACT

Werner's Magazine, also known at different periods as

The Voice and Werner's Voice Magazine, was a professional speech journal edited and published monthly by Edgar S. Werner at Albany and New York City from 1879 through September, 1902, and by the Werner's Magazine Company for the remaining months of 1902. With the exception of one month, the magazine was published regularly during its twenty-four years of existence. Particularly influential in the areas of speech and vocal music, it was at various times the official organ of the National Association of Elocutionists, the Music Teachers' National Association, and a number of parallel state organizations, for which it published proceedings.

This study presents a descriptive critical analysis of the magazine's contents and their contribution to nineteenth century speech education. It is limited to the speech field, thus excluding consideration of those articles in the magazine that treat of vocal music, history, literature, aesthetics, dress, and health. The primary source material has been the thirty complete volumes of the magazine and certain publications that were its contemporaries. The study has been correlated with a number of recent historical investigations.
of this period in the history of speech education.

A preliminary chapter presents basic information concerning the magazine, its editor and editorial staff, the editorial policies, and a comparison of the magazine with its contemporaries. The analysis of the body of materials considered in the study is organized by speech areas: speech correction and speech for the deaf; voice science, phonetics, vocal training, and pronunciation; Delsartian activities; reading, recitation, acting, and dramatics; and public speaking and debate. A separate chapter is devoted to the magazine's professional relations with the national and state speech organizations of which it was the official organ.

The magazine is a fruitful source of information for historical investigators, containing as it does theoretical and historical articles, news items, biographies, obituaries, and official reports, in which appear the names of most of the significant figures of late nineteenth century speech education. It also contains translations of a number of important speech works for which English translations are otherwise unavailable. In Werner's Magazine can be found the beginnings of many of our modern practices in most of the present speech fields.
INTRODUCTION

"We have at our command few adequate histories of specific disciplines in the United States--progress of knowledge in the natural sciences, for example, or in geography, history, or psychology,"\(^1\) observes Curti in the Introduction to *The Growth of American Thought*. Much of the history of our intellectual past is still to be written, histories of scientific thought, social thought, esthetic thought.

Historians within the speech profession have for several decades evinced an increasing interest in the backgrounds of their discipline. There have been many studies in the traditions stemming from classical antiquity. In addition to these, a considerable number of historical projects devoted to theories and personages much nearer the present time have been undertaken. For example, as early as 1887 the editor of the magazine under consideration published a volume in which eleven pages were devoted to a history and bibliography of elocution,\(^2\) as the speech discipline was then called. A decade later


the National Association of Elocutionists appointed a committee headed by S. S. Curry of the School of Expression, Boston, to write a history of elocution, but the project floundered amid quarrels over publication rights.

Evidence of increasing interest in the history of speech education during the twentieth century has been exhibited in national convention programs given to the subject. A projected history of American speech education, sponsored by the Speech Association of America, is due off the press in the near future, and a large number of theses, dissertations, and articles in learned journals have set forth various aspects of classical, English, and American speech education. These studies generally conform to one of the following classifications: (a) contributions or methods of a key figure in the profession; (b) analysis of an important textbook or other significant writing in the field; (c) development of a theory or opposing theories in a speech area; (d) growth of professional organizations; (e) history or contributions of institutions; (f) biography or criticism of an artist.

Source materials for these studies naturally vary with the subject. Textbooks, biographical materials, newspaper and magazine articles, school records, professional journals, proceedings of professional associations, and interviews have been utilized.

Under these circumstances it is surprising to observe the relative neglect of the earlier speech periodicals as sources of
information and as subjects themselves for study. Only very recently has an article about a pre-Quarterly Journal of Speech publication appeared. Still other periodicals are waiting their turn for a careful examination that will promote a better understanding of the past:

... Whether [a magazine] is kept for a day or five years, it becomes an important part of the written record of American civilization. The bound files of magazines maintained by libraries throughout the United States are invaluable to the investigator into the tastes, manners, habits, interests, and achievements of any period of our history. The social historian has no richer source. He can discover and check facts in the newspapers of the time. For contemporary opinion of that time, for comment revealing how the news of the day appeared to those who made or were first affected by it, for discovery of what was approved in popular fiction and art, he must go to the magazines. Our present will some day be the quaint past at which possible survivors of future wars can be amused or aghast, but which they cannot neglect, in the pages of our magazines.

It is the good fortune of investigators in the speech field to have available these comparatively untouched primary sources containing a wealth of pedagogical theory, speculation, controversy and historical data.

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Of these publications one of the earliest and perhaps the most deserving of the label "national speech magazine" was Werner's Magazine (1879-1902), otherwise known at various times in its history as The Voice and Werner's Voice Magazine. Unlike many of the twentieth century speech journals, it was not controlled or supported by a professional organization. Unlike most of its contemporaries, it was not a school organ but rather a full-fledged commercial educational publication. Nevertheless it agitated for, supported, and served as official organ for the first national speech association and numerous state and regional associations, becoming thereby a forerunner of professional speech journals of the present day.

The purpose of this study of the contents of Werner's Magazine is to provide a descriptive and critical analysis of the material, assessing its value in terms of its importance to nineteenth century speech education and to twentieth century investigators in speech areas.

The primary source material for the study is the thirty

5 The best known of these were Expression, quarterly of S. S. Curry's School of Expression, Boston, and Emerson College Magazine of the Emerson College of Oratory, Boston. Action and Utterance was published by the New York School of Expression.
volumes that comprise the magazine. These thirty volumes extend through twenty-four years, from January, 1879, through December, 1902. A complete file of Werner's Magazine was available to the investigator at the Louisiana State University Library, the last three issues of 1902 being reproduced on microfilm. The bibliography will indicate that the writer also examined the magazines which were its successors, parallel journals, studies that dealt with the same period, and other publications bearing the imprint of Edgar S. Werner, publisher of the magazine.

The vast quantity of material contained in the thirty volumes of Werner's Magazine has necessitated an extremely high degree of selectivity. A large number of the volumes have between four hundred and twelve hundred pages, more than half of the volumes are quarto in size, and the use of nonpareil type is extensive. The mass of material is far too large to allow the presentation of summaries of all major articles or even an index to them, valuable as such a contribution might be. Into this study have been incorporated references to those articles, departments, editorials, and news items that seem to have contributed most to the development of the magazine as a speech publication or that seem highly significant in anticipating, establishing, or maintaining trends in speech education.

Two principal types of material have been generally excluded. First, the largest amount of such material is that devoted entirely or
primarily to vocal music. Throughout most of its existence, *Werner's Magazine* served musicians and teachers as a professional journal, at times even an official one. Hence, many departments and articles designed to be of special interest to those groups were published. In general, no reference has been made to this material, since it falls entirely outside the scope of this study. The few exceptions are explained at the point of insertion of the material. Articles that fall on the boundary between singing and speech have also been omitted unless their inclusion has been dictated by the criteria enumerated below. Second, articles published solely for their cultural or entertainment value have also been excluded unless they too have some bearing on an immediate problem in one of the areas of speech education. The nature of this omitted material is largely literary, aesthetic, or historical.

The material that can properly lay claim to classification as speech material, on the basis of recognized areas in modern speech education, has been accepted or rejected for inclusion according to its conformity to the following criteria:

1. Is the author of the material known to be a key figure in this or subsequent periods of speech education?
2. Does the subject matter have historical significance or contemporary value?
3. Is the author or subject controversial?
(4) Is the author or subject important by virtue of the volume of material presented?

(5) Is information concerning the existence and location of the material likely to prove useful in further investigations?

(6) Is the item of information likely to stimulate interest in this area of investigation?

The materials selected for presentation are organized according to the following plan:

Chapter

I. History of the magazine; its place among contemporary periodicals; biographical data concerning the editor; editorial activities and policies.

II. Speech correction; speech for the deaf.

III. Voice science, voice training; phonetics, pronunciation.

IV. Delsartism; gesture, movement; physical culture.

V. Reading, recitation, acting; dramatics.

VI. Public speaking; debate.

VII. Professional organizations; professional relations.

A concluding chapter synthesizes the contributions of Werner's Magazine to the speech areas and to the speech profession as a whole.

Following general usage, the name Werner's Magazine (1893-1902) has been adopted to refer to the magazine in a generic sense. The other two titles under which it appeared, The Voice
(1879-1888) and Werner's Voice Magazine (1889-1892), are used in this study only in specific citations to call attention to the particular period of the magazine's history under discussion or to avoid confusing conflicts with titles appearing in quoted material.

In order to conserve space and simplify the reading, documentation of articles in Werner's Magazine has been restricted in this study to volume and page, inserted in parentheses, in the body of the text. For example, the reference to Volume XXV (March, 1900), 7-9, appears thus: (XXV, 7-9). With the exception of Volume XXX, the pagination of all volumes is consecutive. Information concerning the number of issues in each volume can be found in Chapter I. When reference to a cover, an advertising page, or other unnumbered pages is required, the volume, month, and description or location of the page have been given.
CHAPTER I

WERNER AND HIS JOURNAL

The Development of the First "Speech" Magazine

In January, 1879, a twelve-page journal called The Voice appeared in Albany, New York. Its editor, Edgar S. Werner, proclaimed it "A Monthly Devoted to Voice Culture, with Special Attention to Stuttering and Stammering" and thus gave it a reasonable claim to the title of "speech magazine" conferred upon it by Mott. 1 Its size was large (9" x 11-1/2"), its type small, and its paper inferior, but its contents were significant, often distinguished, and largely unobtainable elsewhere. A subscription cost one dollar; a single copy, ten cents.

The Voice might as suitably have been named the "Stutterer's Tongue," a title Werner rejected (I, 6) for psychological reasons. The predominance of material on stuttering and stammering in early issues led Kester and Schoolfield to refer to The Voice as "probably

the first speech correction magazine."\(^2\) By June, 1880, the editor was ready to claim a broader scope—"Voice Culture—Musical and Elocutionary"—and to prepare the way for selection of his magazine as the "Official Organ of the Music Teachers' National Association" (II. 172). By mid-1884 The Voice encompassed "Oratory, Delsarte Philosophy, Stuttering, Stammering, Voice-Building, Art of Singing, and Visible Speech." In August, 1884, the subscription price was increased to one dollar and fifty cents, the single copy to fifteen cents.

Throughout this period of expansion Werner maintained a standard number of pages (twelve to sixteen) and a regular date of publication, with the one exception of the combined May and June, 1882, issues.

For six and one-half years Werner continued publication from Albany, until the June, 1885, issue appeared with a New York address. From January, 1886, through December, 1890, both Albany and New York appeared as addresses for the magazine, the former apparently the mailing address and the latter the business address. In January, 1891, the New York address alone appeared, and there the magazine's office stayed until its removal to Chicago in October, 1902.

Ten years after he began publication, Werner found it

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necessary to alter the name of his magazine to prevent confusion of identity, "giving the public the impression that 'The Voice' is a politico-prohibition organ . . . . Unfortunately, the laws pertaining to copyright are too indefinite to grant us that protection which belongs to us. . . . Therefore, beginning with January, 1889, we shall be known, and our friends will please think of and address us, as WERNER'S VOICE MAGAZINE" (X, 200). At the same time the price of a single copy was increased to twenty cents. In September, 1892, a new increase to two dollars for subscriptions and twenty-five cents for single copies went into effect. The name remained unchanged for four years; then the word "Voice" was removed from the title of the fifteenth volume (January, 1893) to form the more familiar name, Werner's Magazine.

The first change in size came with the January issue of 1895 (XVII), when the publication was converted from the original quarto to a popular size (9-3/4" x 6-1/2"). The consequent increase in the number of pages in each issue and volume led to a complaint from a reader that the volumes were too bulky for convenient handling for oral reading (XIX, 78). The editor immediately responded to public opinion by closing out the nineteenth volume at the end of the eighth issue (August, 1897). Hence, the first eighteen volumes cover a span of twelve months each, the nineteenth includes eight months, and the twentieth and succeeding volumes, except the last, contain
six issues each, divided September-February and March-August, thus:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Volume (12 issues)</th>
<th>Begins</th>
<th>Ends</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I-XVIII</td>
<td>January, 1879-</td>
<td>December, 1879-</td>
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<td>(Exception: 11 issues in IV)</td>
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<td>Volume (8 issues)</td>
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<td>XIX</td>
<td>January, 1897</td>
<td>August, 1897</td>
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<tr>
<td>Volume (6 issues)</td>
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<tr>
<td>XX</td>
<td>September, 1897</td>
<td>February, 1898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXI</td>
<td>March, 1898</td>
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<td>Volume (4 issues)</td>
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<tr>
<td>XXX</td>
<td>September, 1902</td>
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In October, 1897, the editor announced the absorption of the lists of The Looker-On and The Musical Messenger, two small competitors, in a move that was familiar to observers of the endless struggle of the small magazines for survival in an over-crowded field.

A further reduction in the size of the magazine to a near pocket-edition (8" x 5-1/2") occurred in September, 1901 (XXVIII). At that time the editor noted that "the new form is better for binding, the
permanent value of the Magazine's contents making cloth binding desirable to many subscribers" (XXVIII, second cover). The September, 1902, issue (XXX) was the last of this size and was also the last issue published under the management of Edgar S. Werner.

Without warning to the subscribers, Werner's Magazine passed into the hands of a new management in October, 1902. The remaining three issues of that year were published in Chicago under the editorship of Edward Amherst Ott, who was prominent in Midwest and Chicago elocutionary circles, and an editorial staff almost completely changed.

Only the name remained the same. The size returned to near-quarto dimensions, the pages numbered 32 plus covers, as compared with 180 in the September issue. Editorially some pretense was maintained that connection with Edgar S. Werner had not been severed but it could hardly have deceived any one. The writing on the wall was apparent by December, at which time subscribers were told of the virtues of the Philharmonic in a full-page advertisement.

After the Chicago fiasco of three issues, little remained of Werner's Magazine except the name. In February, 1903, publisher Arthur B. McCoid and editor Charles E. Nixon attempted a "triple alliance" combining the Philharmonic, Werner's Magazine, and Music. A March issue also reached the subscribers. The April issue appeared under a new title as the Muse, combining the three mentioned above and adding Four O'Clock. The publisher of the Muse made an
attempt to re-establish with the National Association of Elocutionists relations comparable to those that existed between it and the magazine under Werner's editorship, but the association took no action. Shortly the Muse gave way to Rostrum and then disappeared, taking with it the last trace of Werner's Magazine, pioneer speech publication.

The Place of Werner's Magazine in the Magazine World

It is difficult to estimate the number of people that Werner's Magazine reached annually during its lifetime. Like most educational magazines, its influence was probably far greater than its circulation reports would indicate. The American Newspaper Directory, the American Newspaper Annual, and the American Newspaper Catalogue agree in placing the estimated circulation for 1883 at 3000 or more, as claimed by the publisher. Between 1881 and 1885 the circulation apparently ranged between 3000 and 2500. The publisher's claim as given in the Annual for 1888 to 1892 seems optimistic, if not exaggerated: 6500, 6867, 8300, 8100, 8300. The Directory states that the rating varied from 4000+ in 1891 to 2250+ in 1895 and 1896, after which time information was withheld and circulation was presumed to have dropped as low as 1000 by 1899 and 1900. It is doubtful if anyone, even the new editors who succeeded Werner, took seriously the October, 1902, slogan, "50,000 subscribers in 1903 for Werner's Magazine."
Although Werner was unable to build a circulation equal to that of a McClure's Magazine or a Ladies' Home Journal, the failure to do so does not imply failure as an editor. In some ways he even managed to keep ahead of his contemporaries in the popular field. From the beginning Werner gave his magazine the personal touch, making his readers acquainted with his objectives, his life, his personal opinions. Eleven years after Werner began publication of The Voice Edward Bok added "a characteristic Bok innovation" in the Ladies' Home Journal by making himself known to his readers, "in contrast to the anonymity of most magazine editors at the time."  

The "gossip" column Bok syndicated had its earlier counterpart in the news items of Werner's Magazine. The pages of sheet music that Bok featured in 1893 were of course more in accord with Werner's Magazine's purpose. Even in size and make-up Werner's and this fabulously successful home magazine were not far apart. Werner's began in 1879 with twelve pages, the Journal in 1883 with eight. In January, 1889, the former had twenty pages, the latter sixteen. By 1893 the former had thirty-six, the latter thirty-four. Five years later both were printed on superior paper, well illustrated, on forty-eight pages of the original size for the Journal.

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110 of reduced size for Werner's. The Journal published articles designed to improve taste in home furnishings; so did Werner's. However, the Journal's circulation in 1898 was 850,000, as compared with Werner's Magazine's estimated 1000.

To Lorimer, editor of the Post, goes the credit for establishing a group of contributors identified with the magazine (1899). An examination of consecutive volumes of Werner's indicates that this was its practice almost from the beginning. In a similar fashion Werner's conformed in advertising, carrying its share of pianos, Postum, Grape-Nuts, Sapolio, Pear's Soap, Esterbrook's Pens, insurance, railways, typewriters, and Vin Mariani, as well as Werner publications. So much house advertising appeared in the last volumes of the magazine that it served practically as a house organ, but that was not an unusual arrangement. In the fifties Harper's New Monthly Magazine had been maintained primarily for the same purpose by its publishing house. At that time a digest, Harper's was a pattern for the early Werner's in one other respect, that is, in its heavy reliance on the normal and financially successful practice of reprinting articles and books, especially foreign. Thanks to a law of copyright virtually promoting piracy until 1891, foreign material could be reprinted at will without legal redress. Werner's made good use of such an arrangement, although there is no indication that publication was carried out without permission.
The Chautauquan study circles had their counterpart in the courses designed for the "Werner's Magazine Study Club." Although Werner's never rivaled the extravagance of Cosmopolitan, which saw its ambitious Cosmopolitan University (1897-1898) killed by success, the former did offer correspondence lessons in reading in its declining years (XXV, August, vii).

In matters less commendable Werner's Magazine also emulated its contemporaries. The end-of-century fancy illustrated cover began to appear generally about 1896, culminating in the candy-box girl and the "symbolic female figures representing the months." In 1897 and 1898 Werner's experimented with cover designs and ran a "magazine calendar" frequently bedecked with Grecian-draped females. In 1899 reproductions of paintings and photographs began to appear regularly on its cover. On the special Christmas issues of 1897 and 1898 the covers were in color.

In spite of, or perhaps because of, these latter-year attempts to keep abreast of the times, Werner's Magazine and some of its rivals of equally small circulation could not maintain themselves financially. Consolidations were the order of the day among the estimated 1800

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5 Ibid., p. 366.
monthly magazines published in 1900. Werner's itself had acquired the lists of The Looker-On and The Musical Messenger in 1897 (XX, October cover). Competition for the limited clientele of a specialized magazine was intense, and attempts were made to lure the competitor's readers through the addition of departments. For example, Theodore Presser's Etude added a voice department in 1897, thus vying with Werner's for the patronage of the vocalist. However, the educational publications were not unique in their circulation difficulties. The Saturday Evening Post boasted only two thousand subscribers when Cyrus H. K. Curtis bought it in 1897 for a thousand dollars and Lorimer altered its editorial policy:

It would make its primary appeal to the intelligent businessman. To do this, it eschewed both the sensational and the intellectual. (If it had employed sensational tactics, it is conceivable that one of two things might have happened: either it would not have outlasted its infancy, or its present circulation would be even larger than it is.) Obviously it has not emphasized the cultural. There are not twelve to fifteen million intellectuals in the United States of today.  

That Werner's could not follow the example of the Post and extricate itself from its financial doldrums was due in part to the fact that, to paraphrase Wood, there were not half a million professional elocutionists in the United States at that time, either.

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7 Wood, Magazines, p. 147.
Edgar S. Werner, Editor and Publisher

Most of the available information on the life of Edgar S. Werner is contained in a series of nine articles entitled "The Editor. His Autobiography as a Stutterer" (IV, 24-25; VI, 125-126, 140-142; VII, 156-157, 188-189; VIII, 5-7, 22-23, 37, 69-70), relating events of slightly more than fifteen years of his childhood and youth. The second fifteen years are to a considerable extent a matter of conjecture. Werner's Magazine, which he began at the age of twenty-nine or thirty, reveals little of a personal nature in the later life of its editor, although his professional activities connected with the musical and elocutionary worlds are often a subject of comment.

According to his autobiographical articles, Werner was born into the family of a medical practitioner in an unidentified small rural community in or about the year 1850. He was the third child and second son, but the older son had died of croup about one year before the birth of the younger. The blind father was phlegmatic; the mother, of a somewhat nervous temperament, as was the sister.

At the age of three he began to stutter. In his autobiography

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8 The year is deduced from a presumably accurate statement of Werner's age published in a death notice in The Publisher's Weekly, January 25, 1919.
he chronicled many childhood occurrences with which he associated the etiology of his speech disorder. The usual maladjustments experienced by a sensitive stutterer plagued his youth. By the time he was fourteen, the severity of his handicap drove him to experiment with whatever remedy suggested itself, from the old wives' nine swallows of warm milk to a close brush with a "stutter-doctor" who promised results after one treatment and was revealed to be a "cancer doctor" employing caustics and the knife. As Werner commented, "Writing my autobiography is the same, nearly, as giving a history of contemporaneous methods for the cure of stuttering" (VI, 140–142).

In his search for assistance, Werner heard of a Dr. David F. Newton, himself a stutterer, who was reputed to have a successful method or "system" of treating stutterers. The fourteen-year-old set out alone for Newton's school in New York City. The man was a religious fanatic but apparently had a magnetic, almost hypnotic personality. Under his stern regime, described in detail by Werner, the boy showed improvement. Although he was committed to stay longer, at the end of three weeks he felt himself sufficiently far advanced toward recovery to return home. Unfortunately, whatever magic Newton's presence had invoked lost its power, and in six months the boy's problem was as great as ever.

At about this time Werner became acquainted with the method
of treatment used by Dr. Andrew Comstock, who had died in 1864. Possibly Werner's information came from Newton, who was said to have been a pupil of the Philadelphia physician. In any case, this was one of the earliest instances of Werner's gathering information concerning various practices in therapy. Moreover, he became interested in assisting others: "And here was a development which is characteristic of nearly every stutterer who is in search of a cure, viz.: I wished to turn teacher myself! I had the firm conviction that if I had others similarly afflicted under me, that in helping them I would rescue myself. I asked Mr. Newton's permission to use his method" (VIII, 37). He also asked Newton to accept him for additional treatment but Newton refused.

It was necessary to make some decision about a vocation. He wished to prepare himself for a career as a public speaker, but at the age of fifteen he entered a business college at Poughkeepsie to train himself to be a bookkeeper, whose duties could be performed silently. With the successful completion of the business course, related in the ninth installment, Werner closed his autobiography.

The events of the next thirteen or fourteen years can be supplied by conjecture and by the few personal comments found in Werner's biographies of elocutionists. At some time during that period, probably after 1870, Werner went to Detroit for a course of instruction from Robert M. Zug, a stutterer who had had some degree
of success in helping others. Of his experiences there Werner wrote in 1896 (XVIII, 72-74):

My evenings being free, I spent them in studying German. My teacher, by chance one day, picked up in a store a new book on the cure of stammering, by Edward Günther. . . . The Günther book whetted my desire to learn German. Not many weeks passed before I had read not only it, but also Dr. Klencke's book, which was mentioned by Günther, and which I imported.

Dr. Klencke's book convinced me that he knew more about stammering than did any other man. I saw my own case pictured as faithfully as if he were describing me. I must go to Klencke. The weary and torturesome interval between my resolution and its fulfilment will not be dwelt upon now. Even after all these years I cannot think of it without a shudder and a tear.

The trip to Europe was more than likely preceded by a period of financial struggle during which Werner probably continued his search for help at home. His biography of J. W. Shoemaker (XVIII, 322-324) related another episode in the story:

I met Prof. Shoemaker at a period of my life when I was deep in the slough of despond. I had just gone through several unsuccessful treatments for my stammering, and was sojourning in Philadelphia, trying to decide what to do next. I called upon him and was received very kindly. He frankly said that he had no "positive cure" to offer; . . . and while he would gladly do what he could for me, he advised me to go to a European specialist, which step I was then considering.

An editorial in The Voice, written after Shoemaker's death in 1880, dated these events (II, 92):

In 1872-4, while in Philadelphia under treatment for stuttering, we spent many a pleasant and profitable evening at the Wagner Institute, listening to his readings. On the eve of sailing to Europe, in quest of a cure, he bade us an encouraging adieu. While abroad his letters cheered us on.
On arriving in Europe, Werner probably went straight to Klencke's institute in Hanover. There a new problem arose (XVIII, 72-74):

Dr. Klencke received me kindly. The joy of meeting him, however, gave way to a sickness of heart by his deciding that he did not know English well enough, and I not enough German, for him to undertake my case at once. "Stay in Germany and learn the language," he said, "and come back again, and we will see what can be done."

In about a year's time I reentered Hermann Klencke's office an accepted pupil-patient.

Perhaps it was during Werner's year of enforced residence in Europe that he became acquainted with other German specialists in the field of speech disorders. For several months he received personal treatment from Kreutzer at his school in Rostock, Germany. He may also have visited E. Günther's institute at Neuwied. Where he went, how long he stayed, and how much reading and studying he found it necessary to do, is problematical. Fortunately, the outcome was a happy one:

I went to Germany a soured, despondent, hollow-chested, haggard-cheeked individual. I came away full of hope, upright in stature, rosy-faced, charged with humor that answered the wants of the editorial columns of a daily paper for several years—until I went into the more serious business of publishing Werner's Magazine.

Very little more of Werner's private life is revealed in the pages of his magazine. Much later, in April, 1891, he met Miss Melle Stanleyetta Titus at the time of her graduation from the Woman's Law Class of the University of the City of New York. She was a Quaker,
born in New York City to Joseph Richard and Ruth Amelia Titus. 9

Educated in the New York public schools and Normal College, she entered the Woman's Law Class in January, 1891, and graduated at its head in April. Werner summarized her accomplishments in his biographical series, "Teachers and Writers I Have Met," in December, 1895 (XVII, 916-918):

In October, 1891, she entered the Men's Law Class--consisting of one hundred and five men and five women--of the same University, and won the Faculty Prize of $100, being the first woman in the world ever to win a prize in a regular law school. During the senior year, October, 1892, to June, 1893, she was sick for eight weeks prior to the examination, but ranked with the first four of the class. She then served a year's clerkship in a law office. In June, 1894, she passed the examination--being fourth among eighty-eight candidates--before Charles H. Van Brunt, Presiding Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, being the first woman to pass the examination of this department, and be admitted to the Bar of the City of New York. Again, March, 1895, she was the first woman ever admitted to practice in the Circuit Court of the United States from the Southern District of New York, and also the first woman in the United States to be admitted to the Circuit Court of Appeals of the United States.

After a paragraph eulogizing her brilliance, beauty, etc., Werner continued:

In the early part of 1895 she delivered a course of lectures to women for the Young Friends' Aid Association on "Wills," "Intestate Succession," "Contracts," "Marriage and Divorce," "Rights." Last spring she was appointed lecturer to the

9 There is a record of at least one other child of this couple, Lizzie Irwin Titus, an "educator," who died April 15, 1896 (XVIII, 486).
Woman's Law Class of the University of the City of New York.

The biography also referred to Miss Titus' speaking ability and her philanthropy. Her varied activities were outlined thus:

... She is deeply interested in whatever concerns women. She is a frequent guest and speaker at gatherings where woman's welfare is considered. She believes that in all respects women should have equal privileges with men. ... She is secretary of the Alumnae Woman's Law Class, a member of the Woman's Legal Education Society, and of many other societies. The illustration in this article [a photograph of a figure in cap and gown] shows her as Portia, whom she twice personated at the Fifth Avenue Theatre, recently, for the benefit of the Potted Plant and Kindergarten Association, and for the Woman's Department of the Atlanta Exposition.

Unspoiled by the attention and flattery that have been hers ever since she was made an LL.B.; unaffected in manner and charming in conversation; with every prospect of a long and brilliant career, Melle Stanleyetta Titus carries with her wherever she goes, the aroma of ennobled womanhood.

On June 3, 1896, Edgar S. Werner and Melle Stanleyetta Titus were married. 10 There was no fanfare in the pages of Werner's Magazine, however. Reticence had triumphed.

It cannot be denied that Werner was admirably suited to his task of establishing The Voice in 1879. He had acquired the necessary journalistic experience, plus a style of personal editorializing frequently found in small newspapers of the period. He was personally

acquainted with many, perhaps most, of the American speech
specialists who were his practicing contemporaries. Moreover, he
knew from experience the type of treatment many of them were using.
He had not only read the books of eminent German authorities in the
field but had studied with them, establishing professional contacts that
would prove useful. In short, it is quite possible that by the time of
the establishment of The Voice in 1879 Werner knew more than anyone
else in America about contemporary methods of treating stuttering.

The project was not taken lightly by Werner. Before he
began, he apparently consulted his friends both at home and abroad
in order to get their reactions, advice, and support. He had the good
will of Zug, Shoemaker, Ashman, and others. J. E. Suitterlin of
the American Vocal Institute apparently never contributed to the paper
but did encourage it with large advertisements. An editorial in one
of the earliest issues referred to "many kind words from the press
and from correspondents," giving "much satisfaction and
encouragement."

The Voice was founded to provide (1) an outlet for the quantity
of information Werner had accumulated and (2) a channel of communication
through which stutterers might air their difficulties, and therapists
might describe their treatments, successful or not. During the first
four years of publication, a large number of the feature articles, as
well as editorials, correspondence, and some departments, were from
the pen of Werner. He was the author of as many as four major articles in the same issue besides the regular editorials and departments. Until 1883, he usually had one or more original articles or translations running in every number.

In addition to editing his magazine, he was serving as a speech consultant by correspondence. In 1880 he was obliged to print a notice: "Owing to our large and increasing correspondence, we are compelled to ask a remittance of $1 in all letters which require a special personal advice or treatment" (II, 108). He acted as a clinician before 1882, in which year he was said to be one of five reputable American teachers of stutterers to whom physicians might refer their patients.¹¹ His fee was reported by Potter to be $200.00 per student, a statement which he did not deny in his review of Potter's book.

That he took stutterers for training does not imply that Werner had found a cure for his own difficulty. He reported that he never completely freed himself from it, although he was able to make

speeches and engage in discussions. However, he believed that a cure was possible, given optimum conditions, and that certain methods he had observed were helpful. He was not an advocate of a "system," although editorially he did recommend Günther's exercises. His own clinical practices were eclectic but tended toward articulatory and breathing exercises. He also realized the importance of maintaining good health and emotional balance, possibly because he himself was not physically strong. As a child he had been sickly, perhaps tubercular. He partially accounted for his stuttering on this basis.

Although his writings and speeches rambled and tended toward garrulity at times, Werner was able on occasion to produce articles revealing considerable ability. He had acquired fluency in reading and translating German, the language in which much of the writing on speech defects and voice science was printed. Some of his papers on stuttering indicate his familiarity with extant sources and acquaintance with the methods of scholarly writing. Moreover, Werner had acquired from some source the scientific objectivity which manifested itself in a compulsion to examine all sides of a subject or controversy.

A list of some of his writings and translations reveals the extent of his interests:

"Deep Breathing, as a Means of Promoting the Art of Song and of Curing Various Diseases, Especially Consumption." Translated from the German of Sophia Marquise A. Ciccolini. (IV, 4-5, 18-19, 49-50, 128-129)
"Mutilation of Stutterers. Surgical Operations Which Have Been Performed for the Cure of Defects of Speech." (III, 127-128, 146; IV, 8, 39)

"The Tongue Not Essential to Speech. Instances of Persons Who Have Spoken without Tongues, or with Mutilated Tongues; Compiled from the Book Written by the Hon. Edward Twisleton." (IV, 54-55, 112-114; V, 40-42)

"Lisping and Its Cure." By Dr. R. Coën. Translated by the Editor. (VII, 73)

"Physiological Aesthetics." (X, 97-98)

"The Dentist," by Edgar S. Werner, in the department, "Recitation and Declamation." (X, 82)

"The Heroines of the German Stage." Translated from Die Gartenlaube. (XIV, 363-366)

"A Recitation Study Based upon Nora Perry's 'To-morrow at Ten.'" (XVI, 201-202)

"Goethe's Rules for Actors and Reciters." Translated by Edgar S. Werner. (XVI, 337-340)

"Teachers and Writers I Have Met," a series that included, at intervals, sketches of J. W. Shoemaker, Dr. Hermann Klencke, and others.

"History of the National Association of Elocutionists from its Inception to the New York Convention." (XVIII, 489-519)

If to these and titles like them were added the extensive writings on stuttering and the vast number of biographical sketches, critical reviews of performers, book reviews, contributions to symposia, rejoinders to criticism, editorials, replies to letters, reports of conventions, and miscellaneous items, the resulting bibliography would begin to suggest the almost boundless effort put forth by Werner on behalf of his magazine and the vocal professions. In the later volumes,
of course, it is impossible to determine absolutely the authorship of some of the unsigned material, but occasionally the forthright, sometimes belligerent style gives evidence beyond all reasonable doubt that "E.S.W." had a hand in the preparation of the copy. Especially is that true in connection with biographies and items on stuttering.

How much of the editorial writing came from the pen of Werner is difficult to ascertain. He did not ordinarily insert personal material, except in the case of details connected with stuttering. There is evidence that poor health may have kept him from his desk at times. He wrote in November, 1883, that his autobiography, begun in February, 1882, had been "delayed on account of physical weakness and the necessity of attending to other more imperative duties," and that "restored vigor" would permit his resumption of the narrative (V, 168-169). In the same editorial he referred to his absence of five months during 1883 and added that "during the past summer, we visited various voice and stutter-specialists in Great Britain, Holland, Germany and France, and hope soon to report our interviews with them." Apparently he also used his European journey to acquire translation and publication rights of works on voice and gesture and to build up a complete, virtually exhaustive library of professional books.

Aside from his editing and writing for the magazine, Werner developed a number of side lines connected with the elocutionary
profession. As early as January, 1882, he had established himself as a book dealer specializing in voice publications, both domestic and foreign. At that time he had in stock, among others, the following volumes (IV, 16):

"Players of a Century," a record of the Albany stage, by H. P. Phelps.
"Stammering and Stuttering; their Nature and Treatment," by James Hunt.
"Humorous Readings," "Miscellaneous Readings,"
"Young Folks' Readings," by Prof. L. B. Monroe.
Sprache und Ohr, by Dr. Oscar Wolf.
Phonetik zur Vergleichenden Physiologie der Stimme und Sprache, by Dr. F. Techmer.
Organism der Sprache, by Dr. Karl Fr. Becker.

Periodically he ran columns of advertising in Werner's Magazine listing rare and out-of-print books that he could supply, "speakers," as the collections of recitations were then called, and manuals on voice-training. Naturally, the publications of his own house took their place in the advertising columns. These collections of advertisements are unexcelled as bibliographical lists for nineteenth century elocution.

By making his firm a kind of clearing-house for professional writings, Werner provided himself with materials for republication in Werner's Magazine and acquainted professional people with those works
pertinent to their interests. On at least one occasion, however, his common practice of printing in serial form materials shortly to appear between hard covers led to protest from a reader identified as "J. W.,"

who wrote (V, 150):

I have, however, found much in The Voice that interested, and was instructive to me. Many of the articles that used to appear in its columns were very valuable, and I have preserved a complete file of the paper since I began taking it. But latterly . . . its value to me has undergone a considerable shrinkage. I miss the terse and pointed articles that I used to find in it, and in their place I have a number of serials; in the December (1882) number I believe there are eight, each containing matter enough for a volume, in which form it is perhaps destined to appear, if found sufficiently popular to justify that disposal of it. In short, The Voice seems now to be little else than a medium for the publication, simultaneously, in monthly parts, of a number of books. They are no doubt all good, and to a student who is giving up the present portion of his life to the study and practice of vocal culture, they are probably interesting and beneficial, but I have not the time to read them. Besides, if I had the time . . ., I should prefer to have the whole of each together . . . .

The letter appears to have made no appreciable change in Werner's schedule of serials arranged for the magazine.

One of the services of mutual benefit to the groups concerned and to the magazine was the handling and printing of proceedings reports. Werner's Magazine was appointed as official organ by numerous groups, including the Music Teachers' National Association, the National Association of Elocutionists, and several state organizations. Selection of a publication as an "official organ" did not automatically confer a subscription to that organ upon a member of the association involved, nor was a subscription obligatory. The function of an organ
was to carry announcements of approaching meetings and bulletins from presiding officers. Sometimes, however, the organ also was responsible for printing official programs and publishing and mailing the proceedings to the members. Werner performed these duties on a number of occasions, apparently at a very nominal cost. The value to the organ lay not in any monetary gain but rather in (1) increased numbers of subscribers, who were also potential contributors of articles and correspondence, and (2) access to stenographic reports of papers and addresses that could be used in the body of the magazine. Under the loose provisions and administration of the copyright laws of the eighties, such contributions to learning were fair game for any publication wishing to make use of them. In fact, it was ostensibly Werner's Magazine's publication of material from the N.A.E. proceedings that produced a substantial rift in the relations between Werner and members of the N.A.E. in 1896. Other organizations were more appreciative and gave him votes of thanks for his services.

Another useful project was the Werner's Magazine Bureau. Announced as early as September, 1893, it was described as "An International Employment and General Information Agency for the Assistance of Teachers, Pupils, Writers, Readers, Reciters, Singers, Lecturers, Delsartains [sic], and other Public Entertainers." The enrollment fee was two dollars for general information about schools, books, or artists. In November, 1899, an actual placement bureau
and booking agency for teachers and artists was put into operation. Lists of members affiliated with the agency appeared, the list for October, 1900, including in its total of 114 names some of the most prominent figures in the profession: Emily M. Bishop, S.H. Clark, Robert I. Fulton, F.F. Mackay, Dr. G. Hudson Makuen, Leland T. Powers, George Riddle, Francis T. Russell, F. Townsend Southwick, Henry L. Southwick, and Genevieve Stebbins. As late as August, 1902, the bureau was still in existence. 12

In August, 1898, Werner announced a "Leasing Department" to provide new and unpublished monologues, skits, and sketches. Among others, Mr. and Mrs. Leland T. Powers' monologues, in manuscript only, were handled by the Werner firm (XXV, May, i). A more personalized phase of his business activities began at least as early as May, 1899, when an advertisement for commencement exercises bore the line, "I will write you a special personal letter of suggestions," to which was attached the name of Edgar S. Werner (XXIII, May, xii). The same issue advertised a costume recitation by Anna Randall-Diehl, the purchaser being offered "a lesson free on its rendering from its author . . . who will be at the offices of Werner's Magazine on Saturdays for this purpose." Pauline Phelps

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12 In passing it might be noted that Mrs. M. Werner's Employment Bureau for Male and Female Servants was advertised in December, 1899.
was even more original in her April, 1899, offer to write material to order. These were in each case probably business inducements rather than extra services.

In August, 1900, those who wished elocution lessons by mail were urged to write Edgar S. Werner, Lesson Department (later called Correspondence Department), the terms for beginners being quoted at fifteen lessons for ten dollars (XXVI, October, 1). It should be remembered in this connection that John Howard had achieved an enviable reputation with his lessons by mail in the 'eighties. Furthermore, in the late nineties an era of correspondence instruction flourished. By mail one could obtain not only the usual types of courses but also instruction in journalism, playwriting, Spanish (by talking machine), and whatever is implied by the phrase "the Health-Culture Correspondence School of Breathing." Even the first vice-president of N.A.E., Cora M. Wheeler, advertised a course of fifteen lessons in elocution by mail.

In 1899, Werner's business entered a period of financial adjustment. The September issue carried an advertisement offering investors an opportunity to buy preferred stock at $100.00 a share in the Edgar S. Werner Publishing and Supply Company. The following financial details were given (XXIV, xvii):

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<th>Stock Type</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Capitalization</td>
<td>$150,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Common stock</td>
<td>100,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Preferred stock</td>
<td>50,000</td>
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According to the advertisement, Werner was transferring to the company more than $100,000 in property. The officers and directors listed included:

Edgar S. Werner, president
Fowler Merritt, vice-president
Melle Stanleyetta Titus Werner, treasurer
William F. Munch, secretary
Charles F. Bostwick, legal advisor
Edgar S. Ryder, director
James L. Wolcott, director

The firm was to be incorporated under the laws of the State of Delaware.

Werner's Magazine does not reveal what response the advertisement evoked, but the corporation was formed. Alexander Melville Bell was a stockholder (XXIV, 668) in the firm, as well as an advisory editor for Werner's Magazine. In addition to the usual books, the supply company seems to have stocked miscellaneous items required by entertainers, the Werner's Magazine Make-Up Outfit, special price $3.25, being an example. The company could also provide spirometers. A more unusual project was Werner's Foreign Tours, scheduled to be under the supervision of Madam Lotta Harkness, British elocutionist recently removed to the United States. Advertisements appeared in April and May, 1902, presumably in preparation

13 There are indications that it was dissolved in 1904 or 1905. Beginning in 1905, copyrighted material by Stanley Schell bore the imprint of Edgar S. Werner & Company regularly until 1916. A book of monologues compiled by Stanley Schell and copyrighted by M. S. Titus-Werner was printed by Edgar S. Werner & Company, Belmar, New Jersey, in 1929, ten years after the death of Werner.
for a summer tour.

Several books that were favorite projects of the editor reached varying stages of development. Werner's Directory of Elocutionists, Readers, Lecturers, and other Public Instructors and Entertainers appeared in September, 1887. Published under the editorship of Elsie M. Wilbor, it purported to be of use to teachers looking for recitations, to entertainers looking for engagements, and to lecture committees in search of talent. A special feature was a short history of English elocution written by F. Townsend Southwick. Portraits and biographical sketches of a number of prominent elocutionists, lecturers, etc., were also included. There is evidence that the directory was intended to be annual, but no additional issues were forthcoming.

Another long awaited project was the dictionary of elocutionary terms, proposed as early as January, 1893 (XV, 29). Repeated calls for terms to be defined apparently did not produce satisfactory results, for in September, 1897, a call came for terms to be included in a Dictionary of Music and Oratory (XX, September, xviii). In November of that year a series of articles by Frederic Reddall was begun under the title "Music: A Handbook of Music, Musicians, Musical Instruments, and Musical Works." The following May, 1898, Reddall was announced to be the Musical Editor and F. Townsend Southwick the Elocutionary Editor of "Werner's Encyclopedia of Music and Oratory." A publisher's announcement in June set 1899 as the publication time and $6.00 as the
price of the 1,000 page volume, purchase of which was to be by subscription only. Advance orders were to be taken immediately. In September Werner issued another call for terms and phrases to be included in the dictionary of music and oratory. The Reddall articles ran on through November; then the whole proposal seemed to evaporate. It is difficult to account for the failure of this book to materialize. Werner had been writing editorials for years on the necessity of having an accurate terminology as prerequisite to the establishment of a science of voice and elocution. Perhaps the fact that the N.A.E. appointed a committee had some influence, or perhaps the list of subscriptions did not grow long enough.

Another project for which subscriptions were advertised was Werner's Cure of Stammering and Stuttering, consisting of "Practical Lessons Arranged for Self-Use and for Teacher's Use." The June, 1902, advertisement announced publication for August, 1902, set the price at $10.00, and explained:

Mr. Werner has been a speech-sufferer all of his life. In search of a cure he has come into personal relations with every speech-specialist of note, in this country and in Europe, of the last thirty years. He formerly had a school for stammers, and those he cured twenty years ago stay cured to this day. This book is the outcome of many years' research, experiments and experience.

The August issue announced the publication date to be August. The September, 1902, number of Werner's Magazine, the last to be published from New York, postponed publication to November and reduced the
pre-publication subscription price to $9.00. The advertisement was then dropped from the magazine and no mention of the book appeared again. If the material was ever printed, it was probably not considered sufficiently popular to protect by copyright.

Whatever may have been the date on which Werner went into the book publishing business, as apart from magazine publishing, the book that seemed to give the enterprise its start was a volume on Delsarte, announced as being in press in December, 1881, and published in June, 1882, under the title, The Delsarte System of Oratory. The promotion of Delsarte material seems to have been a specialty of Werner's firm, although it had no monopoly, since Boston firms could balance against Werner's Genevieve Stebbins and Elsie M. Wilbor the names of Moses True Brown and Anna Morgan. All four of these are now associated by name with Delsarte methods. By 1902 Werner had also published six editions of Stebbins' volume, Delsarte System of Expression.

The descriptive catalogue of Werner publications attached to the September, 1902, issue of Werner's Magazine numbered fifty-five pages and included elocution and voice textbooks, books on physical culture, and recitations, pantomimes, drills, tableaux, monologues, songs, plays, readings, lecture recitals, and mere "entertainments,"
many of which were reproduced from the pages of the magazine. The series known as "Werner's Readings and Recitations" had reached number twenty-seven in 1902 and continued to be published for years after the magazine itself was no longer in existence.

No account of the business and professional life of Edgar S. Werner would be complete without mention of his whole-hearted promotion of professional organizations, musical and elocutionary. Only a few general comments are suitable here, most of the material being reserved for another chapter. It should at least be said at this point, however, that Werner was an ardent believer in assembly and discussion. He thought exchange of opinion and the creation of professional rapport vital. Moreover, he had a theory that organization was the way to recognition and respect for a profession. Naturally it was

14 Mrs. Melle Stanleyetta Titus Werner was probably the author of some of these. According to Woman's Who's Who of America, she was a "writer (under nom de plume) of plays, pantomimes, drills, dances, monologues, recitations, verse, books for speakers." It is interesting to speculate about her unknown pseudonym. Could it be that she was the Stanley Schell whose voluminous contributions to departments of entertainments, recitations, and study clubs appeared in the last nine volumes and whose name appeared among the list of editors in January, 1900?

15 The Educational Number of the Publishers' Weekly for July 26, 1919, the year of Werner's death, listed this series as having fifty-eight numbers at that time.
to the advantage of his magazine to promote a flourishing profession, but so vigorously did he prosecute the fostering of organizations that he won for himself offices and resolutions of thanks and, for his publication, selection as official organ of those organizations. In some ways the most signal honor was the choice of The Voice as official organ of the Music Teachers' National Association, because of the fact that the choice was made out of gratitude for the promotional activity that Werner had carried on unsolicited in contrast with the lack of effort put forth by specialized music magazines.

In much the same way Werner was the foster father of the National Association of Elocutionists, agitating and editorializing off and on for ten years, urging the members of the profession to ignore their antipathies and their jealousies for the common good. Other organizations owed him a debt of gratitude for editorial support and publicity. Present day investigators in the field of speech have Werner to thank, also, for recording the histories of various organizations, professional and academic, that were forerunners of twentieth century associations.

Werner's personal relations with members of the elocution and music professions appear to have been cordial on the whole. Comments in the magazine suggest particularly warm relations with the Zachos family; with John Howard, who is known to have been
contentious;\textsuperscript{16} and with Alexander Melville Bell, George R. Phillips, J. W. Shoemaker, and Moses True Brown. Werner also had many close friends among professional people in the New York music world. Needless to say, his twenty-four years with Werner's Magazine resulted in many friendships with those who became part of a more or less formal staff of regular contributors. There were many of them through the years--Elsie M. Wilbor, Emily Bishop, Alfred Ayres, F. Townsend Southwick, Caroline B. Le Row, and many more. The names of most of them appear on the pages of this study.

Unfortunately little can be told about Werner's life and work after the Werner's Magazine Company of Chicago took charge in October, 1902. The opening article in that issue read (XXX, October, 5):

For over twenty years there has been one man who has given his enthusiasm, energy, very life to the interests of the profession. Mr. Edgar S. Werner, so long the controlling spirit of Werner's Magazine, deserves the credit which only the thoughtful and appreciative will be able to award him.

The task of holding together in one journal the interests of so many people, is stupendous [sic]. The selfish praise as long as their interests dominate every page, and regard the magazine as inferior if it does not reflect their opinion. The indifferent abound also, who practice or teach the art for a day and then disappear from the ranks.

After a long service the veteran needs some relief. The

\textsuperscript{16} A contributor to the "Letter Box" voiced a typical reaction: "I see Howard is disputing again" (VI, 30). On more than one occasion Werner went to his defense editorially: "Criticism of Colleagues," (III, 60); "The Passing of John Howard" (XXII, 59-62).
enlarged editorial staff will give Mr. Werner an opportunity to promote the publishing interests which have been of such value to the entire profession. The literature of the speech arts is not an ideal one, but it is certainly better developed than the literature of any other one art. Upon a comparison of the volumes written and devoted exclusively to painting, to sculpture, to music, this is apparent.

It is in recognition of all that has been done, and of the responsibilities involved, that the new management seeks the friendship of all who have been loyal to Mr. Werner, and of all who believe that the cultivation of the speech arts, in fact of all arts, is a means for the uplifting of the human race.

There is no internal evidence to indicate that Werner had any personal connection with the magazine during its last three months.

All three issues carried advertisements of Werner's publications, presumably in fulfillment of an advertising contract. The October issue announced that subscriptions could be sent to the New York (Werner) office, but the December issue severed all business connections.

In January, 1919, Publishers' Weekly summarized his remaining years in the following obituary note:

Edgar S. Werner, for many years senior member of the firm of Edgar S. Werner & Co., New York, publishers of and dealers in plays, died on January 12 at Silver City, New Mexico, where he had gone for a winter's vacation. He was in his sixty-ninth year. The business will be continued under the management of his wife, who has taken an active part in it for the past ten years. 17

17 XCV (January 25, 1919), 251.
Editorial Policies and Problems

The intentions of an editor are revealed through his publication and through his editorial statements about his policies. Neither is completely reliable without the other. Editor Werner made his readers fully conversant with his goals, and the extent to which he felt those goals were being attained, through editorials that appeared more or less regularly in *Werner's Magazine*. The editorial page was usually a compendium of information, opinions, criticisms, and expressions of attitude, and was almost never reticent. The majority of the editorials bore the stamp of Werner himself, and it is safe to assume that the remainder did not depart appreciably from his policies.

The editorial staff. -- The name of Edgar S. Werner appeared alone on the masthead during the first twelve years of *Werner's Magazine* (twelve volumes, 1879-1890). Elsie M. Wilbor, who had been contributing to the magazine as early as 1885, was added as associate editor in January, 1891, and remained in that position until her name was removed from the masthead in September, 1896. Actually she had been in Europe during 1896, ostensibly to establish a "European Bureau." In December, 1895, she was described editorially as "an associate who is perfectly familiar with the achievements and aims of this magazine, in the editorial management
of which she for years has been a potent factor. Miss Wilbor wrote criticisms of the conventions and may have penned some of the editorials. It was she who edited Werner's *Delsarte Recitation Book* and the Werner *Directory*.

F. F. Mackay, first president of the National Association of Elocutionists and eminent actor and elocutionist, was listed on the staff from October, 1895, through February, 1896. Fowler Merritt's name appeared on the masthead in January, 1896, after he had been with the firm about five years. Merritt appears not to have been an elocutionist, but he took part in the Werner Society deliberations and wrote for a department. Possibly he remained with the magazine until October, 1902. Louis Arthur Russell, well known in music circles, replaced F. F. Mackay in March, 1896, and remained through September. After that time Werner and Merritt were sole editors until September, 1899, when the names of editors disappeared from the masthead. In January, 1900, the names of a new editorial staff consisting of Werner, as editor-in-chief, Fowler Merritt, Stanley Schell, Emma Elise West, S. H. Clark, and Louis E. Van Norman, managing editor, appeared. These may have been on the staff during the last months of 1899 while the Edgar S. Werner Publishing and Supply Company was being formed. May, 1900, was the final month in which this group of names was listed.

It is strange that Werner's name disappeared from the masthead. It is apparent that he was still writing for the magazine and that he was
still in command when the Werner's Magazine Company of Chicago took charge in October, 1902. The new editors at that time, for three issues, were Edward Amherst Ott, managing editor; and William B. Chamberlain, Laura J. Tisdale, Elizabeth R. Walton, Robert J. Fulton, Cora M. Wheeler, Geo. W. Saunderson, and William F. Ross, editorial contributors. Virtually all of these people had been contributors to Werner's Magazine in earlier years. Elizabeth Woodbury headed the repertory department, Ott, the lyceum, and Mary Manning, the department of physical education (December issue only). Virgil Pinkley wrote to the new staff in the following complimentary terms:

Let me congratulate you on the appearance, the nature, and the arrangement of contents of the new Werner's. I think the beginning of the new regime bids fair to so commend itself to the educated and cultured members of the profession as to greatly increase the number of subscribers from that source. And I am optimistic enough to believe there are so many of that character in the profession, that their support will mean much to the magazine.

His message was published in the December issue. In January, 1903, there was no longer a Werner's Magazine.

The elocution-music dichotomy. --Werner's basic problem as editor was one common to all editors: he needed readers and paid-up subscribers. As long as the magazine was addressed to stutterers only, its lists were limited but its public was homogeneous. When, in July, 1880, the magazine was chosen as the organ for the Music
Teachers' National Association, the editor gained the advantage of a large number of potential readers and the disadvantage of a heterogeneous clientele. Even though the M.T.N.A. chose another organ shortly, Werner continued to publish material supposedly attractive to singers. Attempting to divide the magazine equally between the two groups, he was unable to satisfy either completely. Editorially he tried to combine them, but half a loaf merely whetted the appetites of some. A worried subscriber wrote in March, 1881, "I am afraid you will devote too much space to the musical world instead of to stammering." That the editor was the recipient of similar communications ten years later is revealed by the following editorial comment (XIII, 264):

It is rather curious to have elocutionists say that too much space is given in this magazine to singers, and to have singers say that, in their opinion, too much space is given to elocutionists. We have alluded to this before, calling attention to the interlacing of the one art into the other, so that it is impossible to separate them.

In 1893 the question arose at the N.A.E. convention as a contribution to the Question-Box: "Would not our Voice Magazine be more valuable if it were published in two separate issues, one for singers and one for elocutionists? Mr. Werner will please answer." Werner wrote editorially that several members expressed the opinion later that "a knowledge of both the singing-voice and the speaking-voice is necessary for anyone who would use his voice artistically and
hygienically, either for speech or for song" (XV, 283). Mme. E. de Louie of New York agreed with this point of view in a letter printed the following month. After 1900, however, the musical articles virtually disappeared.

**Materials for publication.** -- A second fundamental problem was the need for manuscripts and articles for publication. In 1879 Werner had available several German books that had never been printed in English. He had read some of them years before and may even have had old translations at hand. In addition he invited his old teachers and others interested in stuttering to contribute articles. He urged stutterers to correspond with him, adding considerable human interest in that way. An Albany woman provided stories for publication. Finally, he requested all those who were working with stutterers to share their experiences. From these early sources developed (1) serialized books, largely foreign, (2) "Correspondence" and "Question-Box" departments, (3) the story department, and (4) the featured articles of the magazine. Through the years, Werner exercised considerable ingenuity in locating and occasionally creating articles for publication. His sources included the editor himself; special contributions; lectures, addresses, and papers, especially those delivered before learned groups; proceedings of state and national elocutionary and music organizations; interviews; group discussions; and questionnaires. In particular he
seems to have combed New York, and to a lesser extent Boston and Philadelphia, for papers and addresses to learned societies. A complete listing of the associations from which papers were taken, impractical to include here, would be a veritable "Who's Who" of nineteenth century speech sciences and humanities. The contents of the July, 1899, issue, though possibly not typical, serve as an excellent illustration:


"What Can Be Done for the Drama?" by William Archer, address at Columbia University, reported stenographically especially for Werner's Magazine.

"The Use of the Voice in the Schoolroom," by Annie J. Bronson, address before the Brooklyn Teachers' Association.

"The Bete Noir of the Vocalist," by Dr. Edwin Pynchon, paper read before the Chicago Eye, Ear, Nose, and Throat College, specially revised for Werner's Magazine.


"Elocution and American Citizenship," by Elizabeth Mansfield Irving, extracts from a paper, Ohio State Association of Elocutionists.

"Interpretation," by De Keller Stamey.

"A Boston Singing-Teacher," interview with Mr. Charles A. White.

Feature articles alone do not usually make up and cannot maintain a magazine. It was necessary for Werner to establish regular departments of various types. Subscribers contributed to the earliest examples: the "Correspondence" department, later called "Letter-Box"; the "Question-Box"; and a very late innovation called
"Subscriber's Exchange." This group of departments is exceptionally valuable to an investigator in the history of speech education because of the fact that through these departments controversial topics were aired.

News departments were also filled with materials valuable to present-day investigators. "Readers and Singers," later called "Educators and Entertainers," contained personal news items sent in by subscribers. Lectures, programs, innovations, and changes in school personnel were noted there. The "News and Comment" department gleaned bits of information about those foreign and domestic activities likely to be of interest to the magazine's readers. New organizations, the latest inventions, necrology, vocal hygiene, dramatic criticism— all found their way into its pages. Regular foreign correspondents contributed to this section, Herr Otto Schmid, for example, being added to the staff in November, 1892, according to an editorial note (XIV, 335). The department called "School Doings" contained longer reports about the activities of professional schools; "Various Voices" contained extracts from different authors.

Exchanges and reprints appeared in the magazine almost from the beginning, but the "Current Thought" department, containing reviews of contemporary literature in the field, first appeared in December, 1895. Much earlier, however, Werner began calling the attention of his readers to titles of articles in other periodicals, both English and foreign. The lists enhance the present value of Werner's Magazine,
because many, perhaps most, of the items listed do not appear in

Poole’s Index to Periodical Literature.

A number of service departments appeared through the years. Recitations were added in November, 1885, and two years later were part of a full-fledged department that virtually usurped the magazine a year before it left Werner’s hands. At first drills and group recitations appeared as a part of the recitation department, but eventually they were grouped separately in an "Entertainments" department that also included suggestions for tableaux, pantomimes, and even parties and games, under the direction of Stanley Schell. The "Lecture Recital" and debate departments were later developments. Stories appeared in the magazine from the beginning, later became a department, and finally were suggested as possibilities for readings, thus joining, in effect, the "Readings and Recitations" group. The "Werner's Magazine Study Club" was an innovation introduced in the autumn of 1897, the two series of which were "The Fine Art of Poetry" (September, 1897-May, 1898), conducted by Florence P. Holden, and "Authors of the Nineteenth Century" (November, 1899-October, 1900), conducted by Stanley Schell.

In 1893 and 1894 there was an unusual number of feature departments edited by specialists. William H. Fleming conducted "Shakespeariana"; Livingston Russell, "Acting and Actors"; Mabel Wagnalls, "Stories of the Operas"; Genevieve Stebbins, "Delsarte
Expression, " and F. Townsend Southwick, "Topics of the Month."

At times these writers answered queries, reviewed books, criticized articles appearing in the magazine, and even, especially in the case of Southwick, engaged in controversy. All of them appear to have been given complete freedom to express opinions, and some of them wrote interestingly and amusingly on topics not always pertinent to the magazine's specialties. The following rejoinder from "Topics of the Month," commenting on an item appearing in the preceding month's "Shakespeariana," is illustrative of the flavor of occasional items (XVI, 258):

"I am delighted to learn that Bacon not only wrote Shakespeare's plays, but almost everything else. I have myself a strong predilection for such esoteric studies as Dr. Owen's, and his success in promulgating his theories encourages me in the hope that my own modest literary discoveries may be the means of advertising my unworthy merits to an extent hitherto unobtainable by the exercise of my elocutionary talents. I will here state, by way of whetting the appetites of the curious, that I have proof positive not only that George III. was the real author of our Declaration of Independence, but that Benedict Arnold was the unacknowledged daughter of Aaron Burr. At present, I am working very hopefully over a cipher which points distinctly to what I have always believed—that the Emancipation Proclamation, ignorantly ascribed to Abraham Lincoln, was, in reality, the joint literary production of Wendell Phillips and Jefferson Davis, who also wrote "Beautiful Snow."

Present-day investigators have a particular interest in the biographical material found in "Obituary," "Sketches," and "Teachers and Writers I Have Met." "Interviews" and "Writers of Recitation," the latter prepared by Fowler Merritt, also give additional insight into
personalities of the period. The notables of the nineteenth century appear in these departments, as well as many of their successors in the twentieth. Not all the material is accurate, to be sure, but at least it presents possible leads that an investigator may follow. It has been especially helpful in connection with this study in providing information by which the investigator determined, to some extent, the importance of a given author or teacher in his own time. Almost every one of any importance to late nineteenth century elocution found his photograph and life or personal evaluation on the pages of Werner's Magazine.

An additional comment should be inserted here concerning Werner's interest in publishing historical materials. Although two of the articles remained incomplete, the histories of the Music Teachers' National Association, the National Association of Elocutionists, and the Interstate Oratorical Association appeared. The profusely illustrated feature article of April, 1894, gave the details of "Song, Speech, and Physical Culture in New England," with accounts of the development of Boston's major schools of elocution. Although purporting to be a contemporary description, "Expression in the South" included historical matter. Special issues surveyed the status of "expression" among Jews (February, 1900) and Negroes (February, 1901). The "Personal Recollections" series, not always so entitled, added to the stock of information about Monroe, Murdock, Comstock,
and others of the period immediately preceding the *Werner's Magazine* era.

One of the most useful devices Werner used for gathering material was the questionnaire-discussion technique. Occasionally he published a list of questions on the editorial page or mailed lists to subscribers and published the results in an article or summarized them in an editorial. He also called together groups of specialists to consider some specific topic and published their discussion. In the "Werner Society," which met during 1896-1897, he combined the two techniques and printed both the letters and the oral contributions to the discussion. Had Werner lived during the twentieth century, he would probably have received great satisfaction from the development of discussion as a speech activity. As it was, he emphasized in every way possible the free exchange of opinion among professional people.

*Editorial policies.* -- Werner's policies have been implied in much that has already been said. Therefore, important as they are, they can be summarized briefly here. (1) Werner believed his magazine had a mission to improve the status of speakers and singers and the arts they practiced. That mission was objectified in editorial drives that succeeded in varying degrees. The first was a veritable crusade against "stutter-doctors," undertaken at the beginning of publication in 1879. He named names, described tactics, and mercilessly castigated the quacks and those who abetted them. His courage
received commendation from many quarters, and it is very likely that considerable good resulted from his efforts. How violent his indignant outbursts could be is indicated in the following excerpts from two editorials (III, 76-78) in the same issue:

The plain truth is that this self-dubbed "professor" is a bombastic, pretentious, illiterate, unscrupulous, pious fraud, who has deserted an honest trade to thrive by gulling unwary stutterers.

In conclusion we would say, let all stutterers who wish to be cured go to

"PROFESSOR GRADY"

and be--shamelessly fleeced!

Missionary objectives better dealt with in other chapters included the drive for organization of the elocutionary profession, insistence upon the necessity for a vocal science, the attempt to set up a standard vocal "terminology and nomenclature," and the plea for establishment of a code of ethics in the profession.

(2) In editing the magazine Werner maintained a reasonably consistent attitude of impartiality and objectivity. He claimed to champion no method or "system" (III, 60), to advance no pet theory (III, 180), and to publish all material, whether he agreed with it or not. Although the magazine was an official organ, it was not responsible to the N.A.E. nor the N.A.E. to it (XV, 316). To make certain that the duties of editor and publisher remained separate, Werner established a "Publisher's Department," in which he stated frankly his intention to
advertise (XV, 322).

These outward signs of objectivity and impartiality were not easily comprehended by many of Werner's readers. Over and over again he found it necessary to remind his readers editorially that his magazine disclaimed responsibility for the views of correspondents and contributors. That he was sincere in his efforts is indicated by the magazine's inclusion of materials criticizing the substance of Werner publications. Fortunately, in some quarters his efforts to remain impartial did not go unappreciated (XVIII, 610).

In connection with his advertising policy, Werner maintained a similar attitude. He accepted advertising from rival magazines and publishing houses and inserted advertisements on behalf of his own publications in S. S. Curry's Expression, which was possibly the strongest competitor that Werner's Magazine had in the elocutionary field after 1895.

(3) Werner made a special point of giving space to controversy and criticism. The former he thought livened the magazine; the latter he hoped would be valuable to the people involved and to the profession as a whole. It is quite likely that here he made a serious error that cost the magazine many friends. Elocutionists were possibly unaccustomed to being the objects of critical evaluation, especially of that couched in tactless language. Werner's Magazine may have suffered loss of good will by attempting to offer criticism
before the objects of that criticism were prepared to accept it and
before the writers of the magazine, including Werner himself, had
learned how to criticize without alienating. As to the controversies,
the volumes were packed with them, many of them being as interesting
as Werner had hoped.

(4) Werner attempted to keep abreast of the developments
in the elocutionary profession. That he was successful was due to
the papers and proceedings to which he had access and the writers who
contributed to the magazine. The changing subtitles of the magazine
ably demonstrate the shifting emphases to be found in it:

January, 1879: "A Monthly Devoted to Voice Culture, with
Special Attention to Stuttering and Stammering." (masthead)

June, 1880: "A Monthly Devoted to Voice Culture--Musical and
Elocutionary--With Special Attention to Stuttering, Stammering
and other Defects of Speech." (masthead)

March, 1881: "An International Review of the Speaking and
Singing Voice."

May and June, 1882: "Oratory, Delsarte Philosophy, Stuttering,
Stammering, Voice-Building, Art of Singing, Visible Speech
Specially Considered."

July, 1882: "Oratory, Delsarte Philosophy, Stuttering,
Stammering, Singing, and Visible Speech."


January, 1895: "A Monthly devoted to Vocal and Physical
Expression."
Giving Practical Suggestions
To Those Cultivating the Refinements of Social Life;
To Those Preparing for Public Careers;
To Those Seeking Greater Efficiency in Their Professions--
Teachers, Preachers, Lawyers, Singers, Lecturers, Elocutionists, Orators, and Actors." (First cover)

January, 1898: "Devoted to the
Arts of
Speech
Song
Drama
Music
Adornment
Decoration
and to Practical
Aesthetics
Taste
Interpretation
Grace
Etiquette
Effectiveness
Entertainment"

January, 1900: "Published in the Interests of Expression as a Fine Art." (Masthead)

(5) Werner's objective was the establishment of a cosmopolitan magazine. To that end he included foreign news, articles from foreign sources, translations, and contributions from American visitors abroad and foreign visitors in America. Some of the material he printed is not otherwise available in English. Even a few recitations in foreign languages were included.

(6) To a remarkable degree Werner remained responsive to opinion. He acted upon suggestions made in letters to the editor, raised questions that might provoke discussion, sent questionnaires, and invited constructive criticism of the magazine. There were instances in which he was highly responsive to subscribers' criticisms (XIX, 78). The following exchange of letters suggests the cordial
relationship that Werner had with his readers. The first is Werner's reply to an earlier criticism; the second, a rejoinder from the subscriber seven months' later (V, 150-151).

I thank you sincerely for your kind criticism of The Voice. This is just what I want. Sitting in my study, delving into, and experimenting with, voice, I fall into ruts in which I'm likely to continue unless aroused and drawn out. Please tell me . . . whether you are interested in The Voice as a speaker, singer or stutterer; also indicate the contributors and articles you like and those you don't like. . . . Don't fear to criticise and advise; for, so long as I know that you feel friendly toward my work, whatever you say will be duly considered as well as thankfully received.

The recipient replied:

. . . I have read the August Voice clear through, every bit of it—excluding some of the ads—except the portions relating to stuttering and dancing; but as I neither stutter nor dance, I of course do not take as much interest in such matter as I would if I were suffering from either of these misfortunes. I have, however, peeped through even these two articles. The result is that I like the paper very much indeed, all of it, except the screed of Miss Mulligan. . . . I can only account for her eccentricity by supposing that she is one of that class who always want to be on the off side.

Editorial style. -- Werner once rejected the suggestion that he adopt a "gossipy" style (VI, 144), but his writing was almost as personal as the letter quoted above. He appears to have expressed himself freely and without hesitation in most instances. Some of the comments appearing on editorial pages could serve as little "gems of wisdom" today (XXIV, 542; XIV, 335):
If a child rightly uses his speech organs one hour a day and wrongly uses them the remainder of the time, how long will it take him to acquire pure speech?

We sometimes think that one of the weaknesses of the day is the eagerness with which unqualified persons rush into print.
CHAPTER II

SPEECH CORRECTION AND SPEECH FOR THE DEAF

The area of speech that is generally known today as "speech correction" had not been formed, as such, when Edgar S. Werner began to publish his magazine in 1879. Speech disorders of supposedly organic origin were the province of the medical doctor and surgeon, who reported their methods of treatment to medical societies and medical publications. Less than a decade had elapsed since instruction of the deaf had been undertaken systematically by means of Bell's Visible Speech. Stutterers and those with functional disorders resorted to one of the rare "vocal institutes," in which someone could usually be found who would supply corrective drills. Cases unable to afford such institutes turned to the private teacher, who was usually a former stutterer (or still one), a minister, a doctor, or some combination thereof. The least fortunate were the gullible, who were fair game for the itinerant "stutter-doctor," who took the money and left behind a trick that eventually lost its efficacy and was perhaps as bad as the disorder. A few of the teachers of elocution developed an interest in working with special cases.

One of the most reprehensible, and typical, characteristics
of the situation was the common maintenance of secrecy as to treatment. Even otherwise reputable and ethical practitioners, by modern standards, withheld information about their methods, seeking in that way to establish a "system" and attract fame and fortune. It was not unusual for a "pupil" to be required to sign a statement to the effect that he would not divulge the system of treatment.

These were the conditions under which Werner began his paper. The material that he was able to collect on speech correction and speech for the deaf during the last two decades of the nineteenth century is given attention in this chapter.

Stuttering

In any study of the material on "stuttering," "stammering," and "speech-hesitation" in Werner's Magazine, one should never lose sight of the fact that Edgar S. Werner was himself a stutterer and that his magazine was established, first of all, for the benefit of stutterers. Toward the beginning of the fourth year of publication Werner recalled these facts to his readers: "Briefly restated, my motive is to ameliorate the stutterer's condition: first, by showing him that others suffer as much as, and perhaps more than, he; and, secondly, to enable him to avoid the mistakes I made and profit by whatever of value I have learned" (IV, 24). To accomplish these objectives, he published material of four different kinds: (1)
correspondence from stutterers, (2) poems, anecdotes, fictitious stories and autobiographies about stuttering and stutterers, (3) editorials and articles written by himself, and (4) instructive articles on the treatment of stuttering. Examples of these items appeared during the entire twenty-four years of the magazine's existence. The period during which the magazine could properly be termed a "speech correction magazine" or even a "stuttering magazine" extended through the first three and one-half years, the period during which articles on stuttering formed from time to time a majority or a substantial minority of the items in each volume. By the end of the seventh year the period of concentration on stuttering was, as the editor himself admitted, definitely over. The immediately following sections describe the contents of the magazine that pertained to stuttering during the first seven years.

*Letters to the editor, I-VII, 1879-1885.* --The columns of correspondence from stutterers or on the subject of stuttering, particularly abundant in the first four volumes and never completely disappearing, are of value to the twentieth century reader: (1) They personalize the readers for whom Werner first intended the magazine. (2) They are a source of timeless case histories, more or less incomplete, written in the stutterers' own words. (3) They throw light on the types of therapy, beneficial or otherwise, which the
stutterers of the seventies and eighties had experienced. (4) The editorial responses they provoked give insight into Werner's purposes and theories and a measure of proof of his professional integrity and his competency in the field of correction. (5) They provide to some degree a means of measuring the influence of Werner's Magazine during its earliest period.

The value of the correspondence to its nineteenth century writers and readers is perhaps better understood today than it was at the time of its publication. Werner's intention, as stated above, was to show the stutterer "that others suffer as much as, and perhaps more than, he." The device of printing letters of stutterers was a superior way of accomplishing that purpose. Moreover, the letters to the editor provided an opportunity for the stutterers to verbalize their emotional states, to communicate with a friendly "listener," and to become a member of a group of which they were typical. In other words, the correspondence department provided the nineteenth century equivalent of the modern clinical "stutterers' club."

As Werner put it (I, 6), "The Voice hopes to be a tongue to the thousands who are measurably deprived of one of the noblest faculties given to man. In it they may express their thoughts, tell of their wrongs and make an appeal which, perhaps, will bring relief."

Charles Lunn, vocal specialist of Birmingham, England, saw an additional value: "To me . . . the most interesting part of your paper is what stammerers say of themselves. . . . We shall, I
think, learn more from them than we ever shall from the men who undertake cases of the kind" (IV, 24). The year, it is to be remembered, was 1882, long before the era of psychological and sociological therapy for stutterers.

That the stutterers approved of the correspondence section is clear from Werner's remarks on its popularity and function (IV, 24):

[Lunn's opinion of the value of the correspondence] harmonizes with the testimony of speech-sufferers themselves. many of them assure me that "Correspondence" is the part of The Voice they read first. Hitherto they believed themselves alone in their affliction, which, on that account, seemed the harder to bear; but, on learning that many others have similar experiences, their burden became lighter, and they now await these monthly letters as eagerly as if they were communications written for, and addressed to, them personally.

The letters themselves were varied in length and in tone, ranging from the depressed and near-suicidal to the decidedly humorous. More often than not the details were pathetic. The writers gave reports of responses they encountered, quacks who fleeced them, remedies with which they had experimented, symptoms they had experienced, and their ideas about the causes of their disability and the probability of finding a "cure."

Some of the writers reported public and family reactions to their difficulty. One young girl who had lost her desire to live wrote, "My teachers are kind and considerate, but they tell me that I could talk if I would, but they know nothing about it; if they did they would never say so" (IV, 72). That this was a common reaction of the
unthinking public seems evident from another report: "People laugh at me and say I can stop it . . . ." (I, 103). Implying a causal relation to her stuttering, a young writer added this melancholy afterthought, "Father does not take very much interest in me" (IV, 44). The public's want of understanding of the difficulties involved was well expressed in a letter from a lawyer (III, 14), who wrote that "certainly a week's time should cure any one." Many of the stutterers accounted for their being deprived of positions, promotions, advancement in school, and the formation of friendships, on the basis of their speech handicaps.

The remedies that had been tried by the letter writers ranged from fantastic to sensible. One tried a cornbread and water diet; another suspended a lead bullet by a cord around his neck. ("One of the best remedies I ever tried," he reported!) A common exercise was reading with the teeth closed, but most of those who reported trying it had given it up. "It is so unnatural to keep the mouth closed in speaking," one complained. The brother of one writer was said never to have stuttered after he recovered from diphtheria. On the other hand, the adoption of a quiet, wholesome way of life was advocated in a comment that summarizes that point of view very well (III, 9):

The best course for stammerers to pursue is to live on wholesome food, move in cheerful, moral company, abstain from all intoxicating drinks and tobacco, try to be happy,
and make all others about them happy, try to go in society as much as possible, never over-exert themselves and eat very light suppers.

Incongruous reactions, accepted today as a familiar part of many stuttering patterns, were thought peculiar or unique by some of the writers. They gave the usual reports of the ability to read alone, to sing, to speak but not to read, to read but not to speak, to pray in public, to preach except with manuscript, to joke but not to talk seriously. One reported the onset of stuttering at moments of intense interest and concentration; another observed the opposite: "... strange to say, when I get warmed with my subject I never have the least difficulty in speaking" (III, 9).

The writers felt free to use the editor of the magazine as their clinician and poured out vivid details of physical sensations, mental agony, and despair. "I can often tell by an indescribable feeling, some seconds beforehand," wrote one, "that I cannot speak a word which is necessary to the completion of a sentence which I have commenced" (III, 122). Others reported sickness, weakness, and hoarseness resulting from the constant strain on abdominal and throat muscles during attempted periods of phonation. They described as best they could the embarrassing grimaces and convulsive actions, voluntary and involuntary, by which release of the spasm was obtained. Their feeling of isolation and loneliness was not neglected: "It seems as if I am shut out from the whole world because I cannot
converse freely with my friends" (II, 181). Over and over came statements the gist of which was "It is the curse of my life. I would give anything in the world to be rid of it."

The stutterers attempted to account for the presence of their curse in numerous ways. Some thought that they acquired it through imitation, or illness, or a weak constitution. The severity of a teacher was reported to have been a causal factor in one instance, while on occasion parents and other adults shared the blame. A remarkable number of the writers attributed their difficulties to a "nervous disability." For example, in January, 1881, three different correspondents wrote in almost identical terms (III, 9):

I am sure it has much to do in some way with the nervous system . . . .

I am convinced that mine is entirely nervousness.

I am almost led to believe that the whole cause of it lies with the nervous system.

One of the letters written during the first year went straight to the heart of the problem for which no one seemed to have the answer (I, 103):

I sometimes think that by comparing a man to a clock, and a man who stutters to a clock into whose machinery some one is putting sticks, you have the true condition of the stutterer. Teach a man how to control his nerves--how to control involuntary action, and then stuttering can be cured permanently.

A stammerer with a psychological turn of mind observed, "I do
believe if a stutterer would not think that he stammers, he could speak with perfect ease, but the whole trouble is in the thinking. If he would only make up his mind that he knows he can speak, then he would be cured!([IV, 53). Another reader, in an attitude of objectivity and detachment, speculated (III, 169): "I wonder sometimes if ever anyone entirely conquered stammering."

To the editor and to one another the corresponding stutterers reported their opinions of therapeutic devices and their experiences with "stutter-doctors." One wrote (III, 9), "Some time ago I purchased a set of Bates's appliances¹ for the cure of stammering; price $30. I would not advise anyone else to follow my example."

Many reported "cures" priced at $20 to $1000, most of which, needless to say, had lacked the proper salutary effect. The inducements of the itinerant quacks, who seemed to abound in surprising numbers, were described in detail by their victims and near-victims.

In a communication interpreted by the investigator as good-natured joking, a stuttering physician commented on a procedure seldom considered a remedial measure for stuttering (III, 168):

¹ These were described by Werner in his "autobiography" (VI, 141-142), although he did not use one himself. There were three instruments: a narrow silver tube to be applied to the roof of the mouth; a hollow silver disk with attached tube which projected between the lips; and a stout belt, with plate and spring, to be secured around the neck.
Mr. Ashman appears to think that falling in love is a good remedy for the disease. Poor fellow, I fear it will disappoint him. I tried that more than 30 years ago. I was at Dr. Comstock's at the time, writing and receiving love letters all the time, but it did me no good. I hope it will have a better effect on Ashman. Have you tried that remedy yet? What a splendid way it would be to get cured!

Mr. Ashman did not appreciate the joke (IV, 29): "I kindly advise this correspondent, as he states that his love he had fallen into did not benefit him, to arise, if he is not too deep in the mud, and try what a risen love will do for him." Perhaps Ashman was disturbed by the fact that in a column adjoining the physician's letter was another letter in a more serious vein, speculating about the same remedy.

To many of these correspondents the editor replied in attached editorial notes or else in his editorial columns, specifying that for lack of space only subscribers would receive his attention in the columns of the magazine. For personal answers involving professional advice, presumably answers requiring private correspondence, he required a remittance of one dollar.

The editorial answers were realistic in their approach to the problems involved. Being a stutterer himself, and only partially relieved, Werner made no promises and wrote no consoling platitudes. Often as not, he scolded his correspondents for their gullibility or their lack of perseverance, but behind his remarks ran an undercurrent of understanding and sympathy. He did not hesitate to place full
responsibility squarely on the stutterer (I, 102):

Of course, if stutterers will do nothing for themselves neither we nor any one else can help them. . . . It seems to us that we have already published enough to show that this bitter, annoying difficulty cannot be removed by any sleight of hand performance, or by any mysterious secret, or by any drug, charm, or medicine; but only by a rational persevering, thorough treatment, in which the afflicted themselves must do the "lion's part" and support the efforts of the physician, or teacher, by downright hard work, by undeviating adherence to the rules, and by the exercise of an unbending will. Nothing else will help.

The value of these opportunities for correspondence is a subject for speculation, but it seems reasonable to suppose that the provision of an outlet for the inarticulate stutterer was psychologically beneficial. He acquired a reader who exhibited sympathy but not pity. He learned that others shared his symptoms, his difficulties, his fears. Possibly he even established correspondence-friendships, if the following reaction of "young lady" is typical (III, 168):

A stutterer can do so little good, it seems to me. In the September number of The Voice, 1879, is a letter from a young lady. I should be much pleased to have her address if it is convenient for you to give it to me. I think it might be pleasant and profitable to correspond with some lady afflicted as I am.  

A large proportion of the letters expressed gratitude for the work of the magazine and its editor. The writer of the excerpt quoted immediately above continued, somewhat rashly, perhaps: "I would

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2 This writer was not, as her letter might imply, a solitary stutterer: her mother and four brothers "hesitated" in varying degrees.
not do without The Voice if I should wash clothes to pay for it."

"Your valuable paper is certainly accomplishing good. Encourage poor unfortunate stammerers to have confidence in themselves as much as possible," wrote another (III, 183), possibly not a stutterer himself. "R. T." subscribed to the magazine with this observation (III, 182): "Though I am now of an age . . . that will prevent me from receiving almost any benefit from your journal, yet I will send my dollar for the sake of a cruelly unfortunate, suffering part of humanity. . . . Such a publication as yours should be greatly prized by those for whom it is meant." A stuttering physician revealed the devious means by which copies of the magazine reached their proper destination (IV, 29): "Somebody has sent me a copy of The Voice. I am much pleased with it and gladly commend your effort." A "stutterer for eighteen years" wrote (III, 9), "The need of such a paper has been long felt, and it is my earnest desire that it may be a grand success . . . ." A clergyman assured the editor, "The Voice is a source of increasing comfort and encouragement to me (IV, 53). "W. J. S." even reported some progress (IV, 53): "The Voice has done me much good. I am almost relieved of my affliction through its teachings." It should be remembered, in connection with this last statement, that the editor warned that mere reading of the magazine would have no effect. Improvement would come only from
It is difficult to draw a line of demarcation between the correspondence items discussed above and the autobiographical material except on the basis of length and apparent intention. It is likewise difficult to determine in a given instance whether the article in question is a genuine autobiography or whether it is a composite of true experiences collected in a fictitious framework. That Werner thought of them as similar types of material, having the same function, is evident from his introduction to his own autobiography (IV, 24): "'The Unspeakable' . . . a pathetic narrative . . . founded on facts taken from the lives of a number of stutterers . . . and the correspondence department of The Voice are, so far as I know, the only contributions to this department of literature [in which the inner sufferings of stutterers is portrayed]." To supplement this material the editor wrote his autobiography and urged that others, notably Julius Ashman, do the same. Through these writings Werner hoped to lighten the burden of the stutterers by showing them that "many others have similar experiences." Later, in an editorial appeal for "stuttering stories" (IV, 153), he stated that these materials were designated for the non-stutterer, a fact that had merely been implied earlier.

3 See editorial, "Don't Expect Too Much" (III, 182).
Stories bringing in stuttering, stammering or other defects of speech are wanted for The Voice, not because we wish to introduce fiction into our columns, but because we believe that by this means to better portray the disadvantages and actual physical and mental sufferings of such afflicted persons. Outsiders have only a faint perception of the misery a speech-sufferer undergoes. Not understanding the cause, nature and effects of such an impediment, they, as a consequence, often ridicule, wound and injure (doubtless unintentionally) those who deserve better treatment. Fluent, normal speakers will not, and indeed cannot be expected to, read the elaborate, scientific articles which interest only sufferers themselves. Thus, while The Voice is doing a noble service, directly, by teaching the afflicted, it fails, to a certain extent, indirectly, in opening the eyes of the acquaintances, friends and even parents of speech-sufferers. To remedy this deficiency we should like short stories written by those who really know what stuttering, stammering, a squeaky, falsetto voice, cleft-palage, hare-lip, etc., are. The story . . . published this month may, when compared with the ordinary standard, possess little merit; but it is written by a stutterer who truthfully depicts some of the experiences which he and many others have undergone. . . .

Had the editor not written in regard to his purpose in including such material, one might have supposed it to be merely filler, without serious purpose. That he was correct in judging the temper of the non-stuttering reader is verified by the following editorial from The Times, Gundagai, New South Wales (1, 141):

We have received from the editor . . . a journal called The Voice, which is a monthly publication devoted to voice culture, and especially to the cure of stuttering. It contains many ably-written articles regarding the management of the voice, and some amusing sketches illustrative of the annoyances to which stammersers are exposed.

4 Italics are the investigator's.
For the purposes of this paper, it is unnecessary to examine in detail examples of this type of material. Some of the more interesting examples, other than the editor's autobiography, already cited, are listed below.

The Unspeakable; or a Stutterer's Struggles, Tribulations and Triumphs as Told by Himself was a reprint of a book by Canon Charles Kingsley. The story, a composite of actual happenings in the lives of stutterers, ran as a serial from December, 1879, through June, 1881.


"Galling Speech-Chains," a long letter to the editor, III, 130.

"J. T. Hamilton's History as a Stutterer," in three parts, beginning in III, 59.


"The Stutterer's Invitation," a humorous poem, II, 68.


"A Stammering Wife," a humorous poem, I, 68.


"Stuttering Story," a reprint, I, 81-82.

"The Stuttering Man," a humorous poem, I, 57.


Interestingly enough, by 1888 Werner was publishing an editorial entitled "Don't Laugh at Stutterers" (X, 160). On the same
editorial page he announced that he had written to the editor of the New Orleans *Picayune* asking him to explain the "joke" printed in that paper under the heading "Mirth for the Melancholy." The subject of his inquiry was the item "Stuttering men have the most poor relations."

**Material from the editor's pen, I-VII, 1879-1885.** The extent of Werner's contributions on stuttering was apparently limited only by his time and his imagination. Reference has already been made to his editorials, his answers to stutterers' letters, his autobiography, and his criticisms. A number of the works in translation to which reference will be made in the next section carried the by-line "Translated by the Editor of The Voice." In addition, he wrote articles on treatment of stuttering and certain other articles more difficult to classify.

Numerous editorials in the earliest issues were part of an anti-"stutter-doctor" campaign, reported in some detail in the section on general editorial policy. Other editorials were designed to foster better understanding of stutterers by those with whom they came in contact. Werner on occasion addressed the medical profession, the parents and teachers of stuttering children, and those who gave testimonials too freely. He commented on the inadvisability of taking medicine for stuttering and invited contributions to supplement his own speculation as to the effect of study of
foreign languages on stuttering. He recommended, indirectly, the adoption of Klencke's distinction between stuttering and stammering. These items were in addition to the usual editorial duties of inviting additional subscriptions, stating periodically the purposes of the magazine and the goals attained, and making capsule comments on articles contributed and their authors.

Perhaps to catch the attention of the non-stuttering readers or perhaps because he was interested in the history of the treatment of stutterers and the oddities connected with it, he wrote a series of four articles called "Mutilation of Stutterers," beginning in September, 1881, in which he gave an account, the first to his knowledge, of the history of surgical treatment for stuttering. In an editorial he promised a historical account and an explanation of the treatment involved in the "Yates's Method," otherwise known as the "American system" and "Mme. Leigh's system" of treating stuttering. To Christopher C. Yates he assigned the honor of "originating a treatment for stuttering which was the first of modern cures to attain celebrity" (II, 150). Werner had obtained the address of Yates' daughter, a stutterer, and had been promised the exercises from her.

Measured by its total effect, the most important article Werner wrote about stuttering may have been a paper read by invitation before the Albany Institute, apparently a professional or learned society. Entitled "Stuttering. Its Causes, Manifestations,
Effects, Cure and Early History" (I, 73-77), it appears to have been
designed to stimulate the interest of a learned audience in stuttering
and especially to appeal for a more compassionate understanding of
the stutterer's woes. Of his address Werner wrote editorially (I, 78):

It is worthy of mention that the paper read before the
Albany Institute and published in this number, is the first
that has ever been brought before an American society.
The debate showed that the speakers, unless they themselves
had been afflicted, knew very little about the malady.

Even though the remarks of five members of the Institute were
attached, it is difficult to say what immediate result the paper had on
its local audience. Its influence lay in a different direction, for the
issue in which the article appeared was given world-wide circulation,
probably as part of a subscription campaign. In November, 1883, an
Ohio physician into whose hands a copy of the July, 1879, issue had
just come wrote a letter complimenting the article and asked for ten
additional copies. To this request Werner replied (V, 169),

That issue of The Voice has long been exhausted. The paper
read before the Albany Institute attracted wide attention, receiving
favorable notices from papers as far off as New Zealand and
Australia. Inasmuch as that and other numbers are out of print,
we intend soon to publish a pamphlet containing our writings on
stuttering.

Werner's reply was not an idle boast; the complimentary letters had
been reprinted earlier in the pages of The Voice.

In January, 1881, the editor wrote, under the title "A Case
of Stuttering" (III, 1-2), a case history of a patient he had treated,
devoting sections of the paper to the patient's condition, the treatment, the results, and Werner's conclusions. In his report Werner emphasized his opinion that a cure could not be effected in less than six months or a year of treatment and that relaxation, good physical condition, and the absence of mental strain were the key to the success of remedial drill. He continued by inviting criticism and urged J. E. Suitterlin of the American Vocal Institute, New York, and T. G. Sutherland of the Stammering Institute, London, Ontario, to join John Howard in presenting their views. "The columns of The Voice are open to them and to all others who have anything to say on the subject," Werner concluded.

One of the most striking impressions to be gained from the editor's case study and similar articles (III, 125-126; V, 33-35) is his humility as compared with some of the other writers. Unlike many, Werner laid no claim to an infallible "system." He appeared to be working as a student, searching, experimenting, and always admitting the possibility that somewhere was an answer he had not yet learned. The exercises he gave, drawn from sources to be named in the following section, were respiratory, phonatory, and articulatory, the products of his time. However, he went beyond them and gave advice on physiological and psychological matters that was very much in keeping with modes of treatment prevalent decades later.
Instructive articles and serialized books, I-VII, 1879-1885. --

Authoritative opinion in the eighties had dismissed surgical treatment and mechanical devices for the treatment of stuttering, discounted medicine and electricity except in cases indirectly beneficial to the general health, recognized the value of prophylactic and hygienic measures, and admitted the benefit of "tricks" until the novelty wore off. They were generally agreed "that the only rational and efficacious method of treatment is disciplinary exercise of the respiratory, vocal, and articulating organs; conducted unremittingly and patiently, until a correct habit of speech is established, and aided by the use of the utmost degree of will-power of which the patient is capable." The work of one specialist was different from that of another largely in his selection of a point of emphasis from among the factors of respiration, vocalization, articulation, and strengthening of the will. So nearly identical were some of their methods that Kreutzer was constrained to say of Kussmaul's book, "On reading the exercises recommended for overcoming this disorder, I was, in the instant, led to exclaim: 'Either I have taken them from him or he has from me,' so closely do both methods accord. Thus science and practical experience had found the same means to be the right ones" (IV, 28-29).

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An index to articles on stuttering in Werner's Magazine, particularly for the first twelve volumes, would read like a "Who's Who in Stuttering," foreign and domestic. It is not within the scope of this study to present the theories and techniques used by these nineteenth century authorities, most of whom have been considered individually in comprehensive studies in the area of speech correction.

The following list of specialists whose writings appeared in The Voice (I-VII, 1879-1885) will give some notion of the ambitious nature of Werner's plans for his magazine. Titles cited are those used in the magazine rather than those supplied by the authors, in cases of divergence. The citation includes the numbers of the volume and first page on which an item appears. The number of installments is indicated in lower case roman numerals.

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Dr. Hermann Klencke, Hanover, Germany, "The Cure of Stuttering," xiii, (I, 1). (Werner received great personal benefit from Klencke's training.)

Edward Günther, principal of the Deafmute Institute at Neuwied, Germany, "Gunther's Method," v (I, 13). (Editorially Werner recommended the Günther "respiratory and voice formation exercises" as being "considered one of the best in Germany" for the treatment of stuttering and claimed to have seen good results from them.)

Kreutzer, "Kreutzer's Method. As Used in His Institute for Stutterers at Rostock, Germany," iv, (III, 157). (Werner stayed for a time at this school. An account of his experiences appeared in "Stuttering" [I, 100-101], written by the editor.)

M. Chervin, Sr., Lyons and Paris, "Stuttering. A Consideration of It as a Defect of Articulation," vii (II, 129). (Chervin, a teacher of elocution according to Potter [cited above], especially emphasized education of the will.)


Albert Gutzmann, Berlin, Germany, "The Cure of Stuttering," v (incomplete), (IV, 109). (Gutzmann was a teacher in the City School for Deaf-Mutes in Berlin.)

Dr. Adolph Kussmaul, Strasburg, Germany, "Stuttering," ii, (IV, 33). (Dr. Kussmaul was himself a stutterer. The material used by Werner was reprinted from Ziemssen's Cyclopaedia.)

Dr. Rafael Coén, Vienna, Austria, "Stuttering. Its Nature, Causes, Manifestations, Heredity, Prevention and Cure," v, (VI, 161). (Coën relied primarily on elocutionary drills. Werner also published articles by Coën on "Cluttering" [VII, 56-57], "Lisping" [VII, 73], and "Stammering" [VII, 169-170]. The

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Voice carried an advertisement describing Dr. Coën as "Principal of the First Institute for Vocal and Speech Diseases."

Among the contributors of lesser stature, or at least of a reputation narrower in scope during the period (I-VII, 1879-1885), were the following: John Howard, vocal teacher of New York City and author of a long series of articles criticizing Klencke's method; Julius Ashman, a stutterer of Philadelphia; Dr. William A. Hammond, professor of nervous diseases in New York and a self-cured stutterer; Robert M. Zug of Detroit, a stutterer with a good local reputation for treating others; H. B. Ward of Kingsville, Ohio; C. C. Ellis of Washington, D.C., who contributed information about Andrew Comstock's method in addition to his own remarks; Dr. Edward Warren, a stutterer, whose out-of-print article from the American Journal of the Medical Sciences for 1837 was reproduced; Prof. George Delson of Paris, France; Charles Lunn of Birmingham, England,

Delon presented before the Cincinnati Academy of Medicine, March 27, 1882, a paper on "Stammering," which he closed with the following statement (IV, 138):

"Laudable efforts are also being made to call the attention of those whom it may concern to the feasibility and necessity of [the stutterers'] cure. A monthly paper, published in Albany, N.Y., The Voice, is entirely dedicated to the remedy of defective speech. The valuable articles in that paper are of course inefficient to bring about a cure, but are highly interesting to those afflicted, in showing them the way to procure it. That paper denounces with energy all frauds and the ignoramuses who swindle credulous people, in which the publication renders very good service."
vocal specialist, who wrote to "incite" correspondence; Dr. Samuel O. L. Potter, from whose book, *Speech and Its Defects*, articles were drawn; Frederick Helmore of London; Charles J. Plumptre of London, eminent lecturer on elocution; Dr. E. B. Shuldham of London; and the Reverend James C. Findley, M.D., a stutterer of seventy years.

**Later developments in stuttering, VIII-XXX, 1886-1902.**

At the end of seven years of publication, Werner had printed a sizable portion of the backlog of significant writings on stuttering and had surveyed the opinions of many, perhaps most, of the American "specialists" of the time. As might be expected, the amount of material on the disorder began to level off. With the exception of the years 1894-1895, the number of articles, editorials, letters, etc., devoted to stuttering averaged about six items a year until 1900, when the magazine ceased to give attention to the subject. Hence, the amount of material published in these years is insufficient to give a complete picture of changes in theories and practices of stuttering.

In spite of the reduction in the number of articles on stuttering, *Werner's Magazine* published during this later period (1886-1902) certain items, often seemingly insignificant in themselves, that foreshadowed twentieth century developments in the area of stuttering in particular and in speech correction in general. These items suggested the possibility of (1) new approaches to therapy for
stutterers, (2) a trend toward psychological and neurological explanations for the onset of stuttering, (3) a transfer of attention from the adult defective to the child, (4) extension of interest in speech correction to the elementary education and medical professions, (5) expansion of the speech correction area to include more types of cases under the term "speech defect," and (6) increased interest in correction on the part of elocutionists, indicated in school advertisements and convention programs.

(1) The suggestion of possible new approaches to therapy for stutterers appeared in several items, of which the following are representative: (a) A short discussion of the subject at the Convention of Public Readers and Teachers of Elocution in 1892 (the first N.A.E. convention), in lieu of a scheduled paper that did not appear, elicited this contribution (XIV, 292-293):

I knew a young man who stammered badly. . . . The man who did him the most good was the one who lived in Berlin. . . . "My trouble," he said, "was more from embarrassment, and to cure me of this the teacher would send me to different parts of the city to buy things. By this means we would have to meet strangers and converse with them."9

(b) Another suggestion of purposive social therapy appeared in a letter

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to the editor, entitled "German Stammering Methods" (XV, 250),

from a patient at Kreutzer's school at Rostock:

Mr. Kreutzer seeks opportunities for his pupils to speak outside of his institute. They are sent on errands, and made to call upon fellow-teachers, all educated gentlemen, who understand Mr. Kreutzer's method, and who have the pupils read to them and converse with them. Then these gentlemen report to Mr. Kreutzer how the pupils have done. In this manner I have made a number of desirable acquaintances, besides having social intercourse and opportunity for practice.

Whether these were new techniques or whether they had been employed regularly by German teachers without observers being aware of their value is not indicated. (c) The importance of the stutterer's cultivating a favorable mental attitude was emphasized by C. C. Ellis, himself a stutterer (IX, 13):

From my experience . . . a training of the mind in right channels of thought, together with proper living and care of the general health . . . will do more to help the timid, despondent stammerer . . . . Let him cultivate a self-consciousness amounting almost to insolence, and then when he begins to feel that he can talk as well as the next man he meets, he will look him square in the face, and deliberately talk to him and almost marvel at his own success. I know it's so, try it!

(d) The possibility of negative practice suggested itself to F. Townsend Southwick as an afterthought in his department of criticism, "Topics of the Month" (XVI, 178-179):

The cure of stammering is a problem which yet remains to be solved. . . . The cause is, after all, in the lack of coordination somewhere. . . . I have sometimes wondered if it were not possible in some cases to overcome the defect homoeopathically; that is, by the judicious practice of the defect itself. We all know that the average victim does his
worst when he tries his hardest not to stammer. Might he not do better by reversing the current and really trying to stammer? I have never dared to try the experiment, but it might be worth the while of some one with courage to do so.

(2) Parallel to the apparent emergence of new techniques in therapy was the drift toward psychological and neurological explanations for the onset of stuttering. In one of his "Talks on Stuttering" (XI, 86-87) in 1889, Werner asked:

Why is it that the stutterer, when alone, has no trouble, but the very moment that some one enters his presence he becomes helpless? The answer comes with irresistible force, because of fear. This is the kernel of the whole matter; and strange to say, no writer has touched adequately upon the subject.

Ten years later in an editorial, Werner took exception to Mrs. E. J. E. Thorpe's theories concerning breathing-patterns in infancy as a causative factor in stuttering: "... We incline to the theory that the contraction of the throat... is an effect whose cause lies still deeper, perhaps in some brain-centre" (XXII, 386-388). It is even more surprising to read Dr. F. A. Bryant's answer to the question, "But what are the occasions of stammering? What brings it on?" His reply was:

... Somebody remarks: "Did you hear him stutter? He stuttered like everything." The child is impressed with the fact that he did stutter, and if the warning is given: "Better be careful or you'll do that before strangers," it will not be an improbable thing that he will stutter." (XXII, 353-356)

(3) There were further omens presaging a transfer of attention from the adult stutterer to the child and from cure to prevention. In
1894 the N. A. E. passed a resolution "that in the opinion of the
Association every city having 25 or more stammerers in her public
schools should arrange for a separate school, where these sufferers
could receive the attention that their condition merited. This resolution
was the result of the profound impression created by the paper on
'Speech Defects'" (XVI, 275-277). In that paper, which also
attacked the traditions that disorders would be outgrown by children
and that specialists must necessarily cure every case, E. J. E. Thorpe
focused attention on the child, concluding, "To cure is the voice of
the past and the necessity of the present; to prevent must be the
wisdom of the future" (XVI, 277-280). The same author had been
heard from earlier in the year in the pages of Werner's Magazine, in
an article containing equally wise comments; e.g., "There is really
no dividing line between those who stammer and those who do not,
for shading into this class are those who stammer now and then,
but not enough for serious inconvenience" (XVI, 132-133).

Another indication that remedial measures at a stage earlier
than adult life would eventually assume importance was suggested by
the appearance of a statistical report on stuttering in the Boston
schools, incorporated in a larger report made by Edward M.
Hartwell, director of physical training in the Boston public schools
(XVII, 17-22, 101-104; XVI, 364, 380). Asserting that educators
had neglected the topic, Hartwell cited the German movement to
attack stuttering in the elementary schools, a drive that grew out of
the work of A. Gutzmann between 1886 and 1889. Hartwell's two
censuses had revealed an incidence of 0.78 percent of stuttering, two-
thirds of which he diagnosed as slight. He advocated no type of
training other than breathing exercises and Swedish gymnastics
administered by the physical education instructor to improve coördination.
However, he did suggest that a severe case would need recourse to
special and technical forms of drill. That Werner was cognizant of
this trend toward earlier treatment of stuttering among children is
indicated by his announcement in the January, 1895, prospectus
(XVII, 53-55) that the magazine planned to discuss "Stuttering and
stammering in the public schools."

(4) Hartwell's report was indicative of a fourth direction
that the future course of stuttering might take, in that he represented
a group outside the elocutionary profession. Highly significant also
was the appearance of the name of Dr. G. Hudson Makuen of
Philadelphia. Although doctors and surgeons, as individuals, had
interested themselves in speech problems in earlier years, Makuen
made a special place in the medical world for those problems and
for himself, occupying a special chair, "the only one of its kind
in the world," in Polyclinic Hospital. Werner published Makuen's
paper presented to the 1896 meeting of the Pennsylvania State Medical
Society on the subject "Speech-Defects: Their Causes and Treatment"
which was limited to anatomical anomalies, and his paper on "Defective Speech: Its Diagnosis and Treatment" (XX, 672-678), read before the science section of the N.A.E. To the latter group Makuen remarked, "For some years I have been trying to bring the two professions [elocution and medicine] nearer together."

In that same speech he utilized the medical demonstration technique of bringing patients before the group as examples, a procedure familiar enough today. Makuen's personal importance can hardly be overemphasized, both for his work in its own right and for the impetus he gave to the future alliance between speech correction and the medical profession. In June, 1900, a news note reported him to be paying special attention to defects of speech as president of the American Academy of Medicine and referred to a free clinic for stutterers and other defectives. A year later the department of "Current Thought and Events" (XXVIII, 480-490) called attention to his article on improvement of speech in backward children in the Journal of the American Medical Association.

The acceleration of interest by members of the medical profession and the elementary education group may have been instrumental in producing a fifth development: the expansion of the problem to include

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Kester asserts (p. 150) that speech correction owes whatever scientific direction it has to pioneers like Gutzmann, E. W. Scripture, Makuen, Kenyon, Blanton, and the neuropathologists.
more types of speech difficulties and the adoption of the more general term "speech defects." The words "stuttering" and "stammering" had long been subject to disputes about terminology. To some writers publishing in Werner's Magazine, they included virtually everything from indistinct articulation and lisping to palsy, if descriptions of cases can be believed. To others, they were restricted to the point of differentiating the location of the sensation of spasm—at the larynx or at the articulatory mechanism. The elementary education and medical professions found problems that the "old-time elocutionist" had not observed in his adult patients: the educators saw cases of delayed speech; the physicians saw cases of palsy, paralysis, brain damage, etc., too severe or seemingly too hopeless ever to have reached an elocution teacher. It is small wonder that a new term was adopted to replace the broader usage of the older terms. "Speech defective" and "speech defects," terms infrequently found on the pages of Werner's Magazine in the eighties, were common in the nineties.

Members of the elocution profession, aroused to the realization that about them were others interested in the new developments, saw their opportunity, if one may judge from the advertising pages of Werner's Magazine. For example, the advertisements in the December, 1897, issue directed the stutterer to the Philadelphia Institute; the New York School of Oratory, headed
by George R. Phillips; Minnie Swayne, for "Defects of Speech"; Mrs. E. J. E. Thorpe of Newton Centre, Massachusetts ("Speech Hesitation Corrected. No Tricks--No Drawling--No Enforced Breathings"); and Dr. F. A. Bryant for "treatment of stammering and nervous affections," who added, "N.B. A commission to teachers will be allowed upon all cases sent by them." Detroit boasted George Andrew Lewis' Phonometric Institute; and Pittsburgh had King's School of Oratory, where cure of stammering, stuttering, and all defects of speech took place alongside dancing and fencing. To what extent these newly founded schools were able to benefit their pupils is an open question, but they do suggest that a type of professional activity heretofore of minor interest to the elocutionists would some day assume major proportions.

Another evidence of growing interest in the subject was the gradual appearance of papers on convention programs. In 1892 the discussion on stuttering at the N.A.E. convention had been a stop-gap measure in the absence of a prepared paper. In 1894 the same group heard a paper of some length and were stimulated to act upon it by resolution, although its inclusion on the program was not indicated in pre-convention publicity published in the magazine. In January, 1897, the first Michigan convention of elocutionists heard a paper prepared by George Andrew Lewis of the Detroit Phonometric Institute on "Curable and Incurable Forms of Stammering." It
provoked a short discussion that might have been longer and more
fruitful had Lewis been present himself. The following summer the
Makuen paper referred to above was presented before the "Science
and Technique" section of the N.A.E. The second convention of the
Michigan Association of Elocutionists heard a paper on "Child
Stammering" by George A. Lewis (XXI, 158-162) in December, 1897,
and the third heard a paper on "Elocution for Stammerers" (XXII,
256-257) by Frank A. Reed in October, 1898. The latter told the group
that they should leave stutterers in the hands of specialists, the
subject being "too broad and too deep to occupy a secondary place in
any school." Reed also provided in his opening remarks what is
probably an accurate summary of the status of speech correction at
the turn of the century:

My subject at first thought may not seem to have a legitimate
place in this convention, but the correction of speech-defects is
each year becoming more and more of a problem for teachers of
the voice. . . . Scientific and practical specialists are needed
to give their life-work to one of the most unfortunate and least
understood of any class of beings upon whom the sun shines . . . .

In all of these later developments Werner took an active but
not a dominant role. In 1889 he wrote three "Talks on Stuttering"
(XI, 24-25, 67-68, 86-87) dealing only with etiology. Two years later
he contributed an article of interest to the speech historian, "Stuttering
and Stammering. A Historical Glance at Their Treatment in America,
and a Description of the Workings of a Contemporaneous Institution"
(XIII, 113-115). He was probably also responsible for the idea behind "A Case of Defective Speech" (XVI, 311-313, 343-344), an article in which a letter describing the symptoms and circumstances of a case was published together with diagnoses and recommendations by five "specialists": Dr. J. Solis-Cohen and Dr. George Frederick Laidlaw, throat specialists; F. F. Mackay, actor and teacher of elocution; Edgar S. Werner, "speech-sufferer"; and E. J. E. Thorpe, specialist in defective speech. His attempt to plan a conference on stuttering (XVIII, 1171-1172) in December, 1896, apparently failed to kindle an enthusiastic response.

One of the most profitable exchanges of opinion in the entire magazine, in the realm of stuttering, was that which began with Werner's "The Visualizing of Stuttering" (XXIII, 514-518). His article was probably intended to be provocative. However, it demonstrated so clearly how far Werner had moved in his theories from his earlier and more popular, conservative position that it drew a response from Henry Gaines Hawn. To that reply, "Stuttering: Its Nature and Treatment" (XXVI, 101-109), Werner attached a

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11 There is a discrepancy in the implication that Dr. F. A. Bryant, the head of the "contemporaneous institution," was cured of stuttering by following the methods advocated in Werner publications. Years before, in an article entitled "Broken Speech Chains" (II, 23), Bryant had claimed himself a pupil of Sutterlin's American Vocal Institute, where he had been pronounced cured in less than three weeks. Years later (XXII, 353-356) Bryant said, "I kept on stuttering till I went to a school for stammerers and was cured in two months."
rejoinder, in which, step by step, he accepted or rejected the premises, arguments, and conclusions of Hawn. The value of the articles and rejoinder is two-fold: First, they demonstrate with unusual clarity the unsettled questions and points of disagreement among those whose interest was stuttering. Second, they carry something of the personality of Werner in them, showing how he was able to disagree vigorously within the profession and at the same time appear to maintain a spirit of amity. He was also able to recognize and admit points scored against him in the argument (a rare quality among the contributors to Werner's Magazine).  

The following chronological series of quotations taken, with the exception of the first, from Werner's writings of the later period, typify with reasonable accuracy the progression in theories of stuttering immediately before the turn of the century:

1881:  . . . Stuttering is contraction, is the expenditure of too great force in the attempt to speak. (III, 1-2)

1889:  The stutterer's difficulty seems to be in . . . the coordination of the thought-act and the utterance-act. Just where the defect is I am not prepared to say . . . . (XI, 67-68)

1892:  Oddly enough, most speech-specialists deal with the mechanical side of stammering only. . . . The mechanics of speech are easy enough. It is in the psychic part of speech that the trouble lies. Fear, in any of its phases, is what tumbles the stammerer's vocal organs topsy-turvy. Give to him the means to counteract the effects of fear, and we guarantee to cure the worst case of stammering inside of a month. (XIV, 336)
Stuttering is mainly, if not wholly, a wrong relationship between the breath and the vocal cords. . . . One person's stuttering may come from the one cause, while another person's stuttering may come from the other cause. (XV, 62)

The visual act of stuttering then is a forced inactivity of the vocal cords as the first factor; but the other factors are unknown. Whether the so-called false vocal cords approximate too much or not enough, whether air through the oesophagus from the stomach comes down or does not come, whether the tongue is too far from or too near the walls of the pharynx, whether the soft palate is too low or too high, whether the air-chambers above the pharynx are too open or too contracted, whether the tongue is too low or too high in the mouth--none of this is positively known, and perhaps it makes no difference anyway. All these manifestations are probably no more important than are the more external manifestations already described, to which may be added drumming a tattoo on the thigh or wiggling the ear. They are most likely peripheral manifestations all coming from one and the same central cause.

Suppose this "cause" is found to be in inharmony between the sensor and motor nerves, the question still remains what is the cause of the "inharmony." (XXIII, 514-518)

The stammerer's chief difficulty is not a physio-functional so much as a mento-functional disturbance. Unless this fact is recognized and provided for, there can be no radical cure for stammering. (XXVII, 442)

Defects Other Than Stuttering

In the preceding section reference was made to the fact that the term "stuttering," as employed in the nineteenth century, was ambiguous, sometimes having a meaning narrower than its present one, sometimes wide enough to encompass almost any type of
ineffective speech. It is to be expected, then, that some of the articles labelled "Stuttering" contain material on several different types of speech defects. Albert Gutzmann's second installment of "The Cure of Stuttering" (IV, 145-146), in which he inserted a subdivision called "Other Defects of Speech" (stammering, lalling, lisping, nasal tone, mumbling, and cluttering) of less than one column, was representative of the disproportionate amount of attention given to other types of difficulty. _Werner's Magazine_ reflected that prevailing lack of attention, at least until the time when the terms "speech defects" or "impediments" replaced the broader meaning of "stuttering."

Of the speech problems not related to stuttering, one of those more frequently discussed was that resulting from incapacitation or surgical removal of the larynx. Descriptions and pictures of artificial larynxes occurred with some degree of regularity (I, 45; III, 132; IX, 157; XVI, 193). In 1894 Robert I. Fulton wrote to the magazine from abroad that he had been privileged to see a demonstration of an interesting type of artificial larynx in London (XVI, 301-302).

There is no indication that serious thought had been given to the possibility of training for speech after a laryngectomy except by use of an artificial mechanism. However, two accounts of self-training on the parts of patients who had undergone tracheotomies were reprinted from reports to the American Laryngological Association. The first was an account by Dr. Carl Seiler of the speech
of a child who could talk intelligibly, although without "vocalizing,"

after a tracheotomy for stenosis of the larynx (XI, 89-90):

I found it no easy task to unravel the mystery of the production
of these strange sounds without the aid of an air-current from the
lungs, but I finally succeeded.

Having directed my attention first to the production of the
consonants, I found that the boy filled his oral and pharyngeal
cavities with air by opening the mouth. He then forcibly
contracted the pharyngeal constrictors and raised the back of
the tongue quickly, simultaneously sending the air forward into
the anterior portion of the oral cavity . . . .

As to the intelligibility of the product, Dr. Seiler reported:

If you imagine the grunting noise made by a small pig, the
purring of a cat, and low clucking of a dreaming hen combined
with a semblance of syllables and words, you will get a faint
idea of the boy's speech. And yet even strangers, after the
first astonishment at the peculiar sounds had passed, could
understand him, and he found no difficulty in communicating
with his friends and the shopkeepers in the neighborhood . . . .

The story had a happy ending in that Dr. Seiler removed a papillomatous
growth from the larynx and restored normal breathing and phonation.

The second account, by Dr. J. Solis-Cohen, involved speech
by an adult after removal of the larynx (XVI, 27):

Some months after the operation I found that the man was able
to make a clucking sound. I encouraged him in this as a factor
in making himself understood, and he has succeeded to a
wonderful extent. I will ask this man to speak to you [the A. L. A.]
in a few moments, and you will notice then that he swallows the
air and a little bag of skin is formed in the neck just above the
tracheal orifice, which is utilized as the motive power of
phonation. Where his voice comes from I do not know positively.
He says it comes from down here, below, just above the bag of
air in the neck. . . . He can produce the sounds while the
laryngoscopic mirror is in position, and the voice does not come
from the region of the larynx. His voice is modulated much better
than it would be by any artificial instrument,
Whether one is willing to apply the term "esophageal speech" to the process described, or not, it does indicate that some victims were able to develop speech successfully without training and to the mystification of the medical profession. The articles were included in the magazine, not because there was any thought given to the possibility of working with these cases, but because their peculiarly developed abilities had some bearing on established theories of voice production. The editor's interest was scientific, not humanitarian, in this instance (XVI, 150).

Reprints of articles on surgical treatment of the larynx or trachea were usually abstracted from medical journals, as were those dealing with aphonia and hoarseness. Items relating to surgery of tonsils, uvula, and velum were taken from similar sources. An examination of this material leaves the impression that, although the era of surgical treatment of stuttering was past, surgery was markedly popular as a radical treatment for all types of vocal anomalies.

Relatively few articles on defective articulation appeared, probably because articulatory drill was so much a normal part of training for singing and speaking that the magazine's readers and contributors would hardly have considered it necessary to include special articles on the subject. The few exceptions include the discussion of correction of "The Uvular R" (II, 10, 22) and of the substitution of _l_ for _r_ (II, 67).
In January, 1888, an article on "Impediments Among School Children" (X, 5-6) written for The Voice by a lecturer on elocution at Aberdeen University, one Alfred MacLeod, gave a statistical report on the incidence of speech defects among ten thousand children in sixteen schools. In addition to numbers and percentages of cases, he presented statements of obstacles to improvement and advantages to be derived from the utilization of regular statistical reports. An appendix of unusual cases included the account of a boy who seemed "mentally at a standstill" since his being kicked by a horse, and that of a "boy with surgically-closed cleft-palate, speaking well."

MacLeod's survey was made in approximately the same period during which German schools were conducting similar surveys, according to the historical background given in the Hartwell report previously cited. Hartwell's own survey of Boston stutterers followed the work of MacLeod by five years.

It is not to be expected that much attention would be given, at this early period, to serious speech cases involving damage to the nervous system or the brain. The fact that some speech specialists did give attention to such disorders is indicated largely by articles and letters describing cases. One of the earliest came from Charles Lunn, a vocal specialist of Birmingham, England, who set down the condition and treatment of a seemingly hopeless case: a twenty-two-year-old man who had a peculiar type of deafness, a deformed and
palsied tongue, and a mind that "had never been organized or developed" (V, 133-134). Lunn reported his use of musical therapy and other types of treatment until "with the development of the will and the understanding, the tongue gradually became steady, and the indentation down its centre lessened— it almost vanished, in fact." At that point training in the production of speech sounds was begun in the final stages of the "gradual unfolding of what was an infant mind in an adult body." Lunn concluded: "And so we went on from the known to the unknown, building up mind on known psychical laws; sorting, arranging, and guiding various mental actions, locating nerve-energy, and thus helping a prisoned soul to undreamed-of freedom," a general but fitting description of the complicated process of rehabilitation.

In a much later instance, the editor quoted a stuttering specialist's experience (XVI, 64-65):

Finally, someone knowing of my work urged me to go to the hospital and see some children there. One boy in particular, seven years old, had no use whatever of legs or hands, could not sit up, had difficulty in swallowing, and had other symptoms of weakness. He had never spoken; his jaw and tongue were in constant motion. I sent a pupil there to experiment six months ago, and now the boy is learning to walk, sit up straight, uses his hands about as well as any child, and is beginning to talk.

Material on speech correction appearing in Werner's Magazine after 1894 consisted for the most part of the general articles on speech defects and stuttering mentioned earlier in this chapter. The few specialized articles included one on "Aphasia" (XVIII, 425-428).
reprinted from the *Psychological Review*, and another explaining "How Children Acquire Their Mother Tongue," an account of speech development, by C. Le-Vert (XVIII, 633-638).

The Speech of the Deaf

The amount of material on hearing and the training of the deaf for oral speech was extremely limited, as compared with that on stuttering. However, some of the articles were of high quality, and even those that were inferior appeared frequently enough to prove the interest of the editor in problems of the deaf. That interest first became evident with the publication of an editorial in April, 1879, in which he noted the improvement in the condition of the deaf and the possibility of lip-reading. It is apparent that he was unfamiliar with practices of the time, because he speculated (I, 42):

> With the great strides made in the various sciences, is it too much to expect that a time will come when even the dumb shall be made to speak? . . . It does not appear so unreasonable to believe that there is a possibility of teaching deaf-mutes to talk so that others can understand them. The subject is indeed worthy of the most careful consideration, and he who makes the discovery will deserve the everlasting gratitude of a large class of persons who are now deprived of one of the greatest blessings given to the rest of mankind.

At that time Werner had already published an article by Dr. Charles A. Robertson of Albany, New York, on physical and physiological aspects of "The Voice and the Ear" (I, 26-28). Shortly afterward, in August, 1879, David Greenberger, principal of the Institute for the
Improved Instruction of Deaf-Mutes at New York City, contributed a long article describing the method, German in origin, used at that institution for teaching articulation and lip-reading to deaf children (I, 85-88). His school proscribed artificial or methodical sign-language for its pupils (II, 134).

In May of the sixth year of publication, 1884, The Voice carried a notice "To the Friends of the Deaf" (VI, 78), a call for teachers of articulation in schools for the deaf to convene in New York in June of that year, exactly ten years after their first convention, in Worcester, Massachusetts. It was estimated that there were about 125 such teachers in the United States and Canada. The call, presenting a list of suggested topics for papers, was signed by a committee of which Alexander Graham Bell was chairman.

The editor attended the meetings of the articulation teachers and gained recognition for his "progressive paper" from the presiding officer, Bell, who described it as an "organ of communication between teachers of articulation . . . who are engaged in the correction of detective speech . . . ." Bell explained that the group had an official organ in the American Annals of the Deaf and Dumb, a quarterly, but he recommended the paper as being of interest.

Beginning with the August, 1884, issue, The Voice reproduced a number of the sessions and discussions of the convention, including a discussion on ear-trumpets (VI, 120), the discussion relative to the
adoption of resolutions (VI, 129), and a detailed report of the proceedings (VI, 130-133). Succeeding issues of The Voice carried principal addresses and papers, including the president's address (VI, 145) and some of the discussions that followed. Articles taken from the convention proceedings continued to be published each month through December.

The following year several reprints in which teachers of the deaf might be interested were published from such sources as the Auralist and the Deafmute's Companion. A paper on "Voice and Hearing for the Deaf" (VII, 76-77), by Mary McCowen, read before the Iowa State Teachers' Association, was the principal contribution of the year to the literature of the deaf. An interesting editorial note in the April issue was quoted from the Deaf-Mutes' Journal in defense of Alexander Graham Bell, who seems to have been mistakenly under attack in some quarters because of his reported support of a proposed law restricting the marriage rights of deaf-mutes.

For two years, 1886-1887, nothing further of importance appeared. Then, beginning in 1888, the magazine took up the practice of printing a limited number of items each year on lip-reading, deafness, the physiology of the ear, or speech for the deaf, and continued with a fair degree of regularity until 1901. However, most of the selections were short and did not occupy a prominent place in the magazine. The few exceptions included the following titles, listed
by year of publication:

1888: "Teaching the Deaf to Speak. The Method Employed by the Western New York Institute for Deaf-Mutes at Rochester." (Unsigned)


1895: "The Oral Education of the Deaf," by John Dutton Wright, from the Medical Record.


"Teaching the Deaf to Speak," by S.E. Bengough.

"Reading as a Means of Teaching Language to the Deaf," by Alexander Graham Bell.

1898: "The Deaf Hear: the Dumb Speak." (Unsigned article describing techniques of teaching used by Lillie Eginton Warren of New York City)

1899: "The Language of the Deaf. An Account of the Life-Work of Isaac Lewis Peet, LL.D."

1901: "The Founders of the Volta Bureau."

Only one other attempt was made to report fully a meeting of the Articulation Teachers of the Deaf. The 1892 convention was summarized by Elsie M. Wilbor, associate editor, in "Speech for the Silent" (XIV, 229-230), the two-page article being far from equivalent to the 1884 coverage. The magazine carried announcements of the meetings of other years but made little use of the results.

Some of the magazine's most interesting material related
to the subject of deafness can be found in the various news departments, "News and Comments," "Readers and Singers," etc. There the editor inserted miscellaneous items on such subjects as the history of the training of deaf-mutes (XVII, 956), the history of the Louisiana Institute for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb (XVIII, 477), the addition of a new department to the National Educational Association to include instruction of the deaf and blind (XXI, 552), plans for the Bell-Volta fund (XIII, 110), and a quotation from a recent lecture by Alexander Graham Bell on his invention (XXIII, 38):

The telephone arose from my attempts to teach the deaf to speak. It arose from my knowledge, not of electricity, but as a teacher of the deaf. Had I been an electrician, I would not have attempted it.

There appears to have been some attempt on the part of the editor to add to the stature of Lillie Eginton Warren, whose name and advertisements appeared frequently and whose comprehensive book, Defective Speech and Deafness, was published by the Werner house. The book was small but received favorable press notices (XVII, 794). Sharing the attention devoted to speech for the deaf were stammering, lisping and careless speech, and cleft-palates. In 1902, Werner's advertising in connection with this book summarized the total situation: "The literature on this subject is meagre, making any and every contribution of value."
CHAPTER III

THE SPEECH SCIENCES

In December, 1884, Werner wrote an editorial letter "To Our Readers":

An editor likes to take his readers into his confidence, now and then. Frankness is an excellent way to accomplish desirable results in nearly every profession, vocation and purpose in life. . . . In such a spirit we would like to say a few words to our readers.

Six years ago we began the publication of The Voice. Our original purpose was to make it a journal devoted to the interests of persons with defective speech, and especially for stutters and stammers. . . . We own that, at first, we had a contracted view of vocal science and art. We imagined, like many others doubtless do now, that speech-defects have little or nothing to do with the other phases of the vocal function. But, as time went on, we saw that the whole field of voice was involved; that he who could remedy faults of speech, would also be able to solve problems which have engaged the attention of and which do now perplex the workers in other departments of vocalism. In order to cure stuttering, stammering, etc., the teacher must have a thorough knowledge of vocal physiology; must know the structure of every organ concerned, --its physiological function, and what it does and how it acts in the production of normal voice and speech. Necessarily, this requires a knowledge of everything pertaining to the voice.

Thus Werner explained the process by which he, and his magazine, moved from speech correction into the realm of the speech sciences.

In one respect the situation was unfortunate: there was little justification for applying the name of "science" to most of what was being taught and written in the fields of vocal music and elocution.
It is true that in the scientific world larynxes had been dissected and models constructed; laryngoscopic examination was not uncommon; and the phonautograph, manometric flame, stroboscope, and phonograph were available to the scientist in his laboratory. The laws of sound were being determined; the vocal cords were being photographed. But these activities were going on in fields alien to the teachers of voice and elocution. Moreover, that which was being discovered could not be applied directly to voice production in many cases, for the simple reason that muscular adjustment of vocal processes could not be controlled as directly as would-be users of vocal science apparently believed.

In the absence of any positive knowledge of certain of the vocal processes, the voice teacher, urged on by the call of science, resorted to "speculative science" with weird and wonderful results. This chaotic no-man's-land between the scientific laboratory and the music and elocution teacher's studio was the field of exploration open to Werner's Magazine.

Voice Science and Vocal Training

The Vocal Mechanism. --The year 1884, according to Werner, was the year for voice science, the magazine being "particularly devoted" to the subjects of elementary vocal anatomy and physiology (XIV, 306). The gross anatomy of the vocal mechanism had been
reasonably well determined by that time, so that the editor and others could write learnedly of "false vocal cords, the pocket ligaments, the epiglottis, the pharyngeal muscles, the soft-palate, the nasal cavities, etc. All of these have something to do with speech," the editor said, "and until each cavity, each muscle, each cartilage, each bone, is fully understood, both as to its organic formation and to its functional design, the questions now vexing the vocal profession will remain unanswered" (VI, 208).

In the very first volume, Werner's Magazine's readers had had the opportunity to become acquainted with the anatomical structure of the vocal mechanism through the reproduction of a sketch showing a gaping oral cavity and the reflected image of the vocal folds viewed through a mirror. Subsequently, during its twenty-four year span, the editor printed drawings or articles informing vocalists about "The Larynx" (III, 40), the "thyro-cricoid" muscles (V, 174), the nerves of the vocal organs (VI, 11), the extrinsic muscles of the larynx (VII, 45), the laryngeal valve (VII, 54), the lower jaw (XI, 245), the oral cavity (XV, 40), the nasal canals (XVI, 375), the false vocal cords (V, 6, 52), the pneumogastric nerve (VII, 62), the diaphragm (XVI, 307), and the respiratory muscles (V, 182), with varying accuracy and detail.

The majority of these articles on a specific anatomical structure appeared in the first sixteen volumes. More comprehensive articles, usually entitled "The Mechanism of Voice," appeared in the same issues.
The use of the laryngoscope was brought to the readers' attention (I, 139) because it was thought important to examine the transition points of the "registers" of the voice in singing. There was debate in the musical world as to the value of laryngeal observation for voice training (III, 3), the argument continuing long enough for Werner to call a conference of music teachers in 1896 to attend a Werner Society meeting for the purpose of discussing the subject, "What Have the Laryngoscope and Photography Done for the Art of Singing?" (XVIII, 997-1023, 1137-1145; XIX, 7-13).

The preoccupation with laryngoscopy resulted from the fact that, unlike anatomy, the physiology of the voice was the subject of dispute. Investigators were handicapped because the structures controlling breathing, phonation, and resonance could not be seen in action. Laryngeal models and the dead larynx (XIV, 299) were insufficient to reproduce accurately the complex adjustments necessary for producing sound. The outcome was that vocal physiology became a "speculative science," i.e., no science at all, in the hands of those who taught singing and speaking. Most of the theories they developed are of interest primarily as oddities. The fact that some of them still appear in mid-twentieth century textbooks is indicative of the tenacity of vocal myths and the mystery which continues to surround vocal physiology.

The question as to the function of the false vocal folds was
taken up at the request of the editor, who called for views of specialists on that subject in December, 1881. Within a year John Howard and Charles Lunn obliged by engaging in controversy on the subject (IV, 114-115, 183-184; V, 6-7, 52). The discussion was continued at various times by others, including Dr. T. Lauder Brunton and Dr. Theo. Cash of London, whose research (VII, 54-55) confirmed results of experiments reported by Dr. John Wyllie in 1865. Wyllie's paper, reproduced in *The Voice* during 1884 and 1885, presented the results of some experiments and observations on the movement of the epiglottis, the valvular action of the glottis, and the adjustments made by other parts of the vocal mechanism.

The action of the crico-thyroid muscles was the subject of a dispute between Howard and Dr. C. R. Illingworth, who made important contributions to vocal anatomy and physiology. The "forward and downward tilting of the thyroid" by the crico-thyroids, as described by Howard (VI, 14-15, 75, 213), was vigorously denied by Illingworth (VI, 42, 167-168; VII, 177). These exchanges, although not persuasive, were enjoyed by the disputants. Illingworth wrote (VI, 167-168):

> It gives me great pleasure to see a letter from Mr. John Howard in answer to my arguments . . . because it is the first attempt at refutation by means of argument, which has appeared. Seeing that my views are totally antagonistic to those of Mr. Howard, it will be interesting to all lovers of truth to watch the discussion between us; and I think it would be well if expressions of opinions upon the questions at issue were freely given by persons other than Mr. Howard and myself, who may take an interest in vocal matters.
To this letter Howard replied (VI, 213):

Let me thank Dr. Illingworth through your columns for his courteous letter. Discussion is to me a source of enjoyment, and I trust that the severe strictures to be made upon his statements and deductions will be read by him in the same friendly spirit in which they are written.

The argument itself settled nothing. Whether the thyroid cartilage moved downward or the cricoid moved up was still unsettled long after the turn of the century.

Breathing. -- The titles "How to Breathe" and "Right Breath-Taking" appeared frequently in Werner's Magazine, warning readers that, in the opinion of many, simple breathing for maintenance of life and "Artistic Respiration" (II, 174) were not identical. The most popular theory held that abdominal breathing was far superior for voice production. To those who supported the abdominal "system," Warren Davenport's remarks smacked of heresy (IV, 30-31). "Discard the practice of 'abdominal,' 'diaphragmatic,' or any other form of enforced breathing," he wrote. "Breathing exercises are not only useless, but are injurious to the health, and often bring about fatal results." In reply, Charles J. Plumptre, Lecturer on Elocution, King's College, London, invoked the voices of authority, "Dr. Morell Mackenzie, Dr. Gordon Holmes, Dr. Shuldhams, Mr. Lennox Browne, and the late Sir Henry Holland; and . . . Herr Emil Behnke," to condemn the radical (IV, 72). Davenport remained unawed by the eminence of the opposition (IV, 87): "I am well aware that my theory
is unsupported by 'eminent authorities,' but, nevertheless, I have practically demonstrated its truth for years, and have relieved many victims suffering from the practice of the fallacies of these 'eminent authorities'. . . ."

Not to be outdone, John Howard took the unpopular side in his usual fashion, that is, he supported clavicular breathing (IV, 111-112, 153-162). The advantages claimed for his system were the "largest volume of breath," and equalized lung pressure during the entire musical or dramatic phrase. Naturally Howard was hard pressed by his opponents and had many occasions to defend his point of view in Werner's Magazine.

Even while the breathing controversy was raging, there were those who thought to reconcile the so-called opposites. Among them was George W. Hoss, who wrote for Werner's Magazine an article called "Chest or Abdominal Breathing--Which?" He answered his own question thus (XVIII, 76):

This is the old file on which the rats have been gnawing for generations. My apology for presenting so trite a theme is that I have a thought that I have not seen in print. So, when we say "Which?" chest or abdominal breathing, I am compelled firmly to answer, both. When in action, chest; when in repose, abdominal. This I firmly believe to be nature's law.

The extent to which discussions of breathing were engaged in is indicated by the following excerpt from "European correspondent"

Robert I. Fulton (XVI, 301-302):
Here as in America, the question of right and wrong breathing is claiming the attention of elocutionists and singers. I am giving a patient hearing to both sides of the question. One day I had quite an extended interview with Lennox Browne, who advocates abdominal breathing, and the next evening I accepted Dr. G. E. Cathcart's invitation to dine at the Junior Athenaeum Club to meet Mr. George E. Thorp and Mr. Charles Lunn, both of whom condemn abdominal breathing. We discussed the matter until a late hour. I have since had several lengthy discussions with these gentlemen; but as my letter is already long enough for this issue I shall have to give you the results of the sediscussions [sic] next time. Meanwhile, I shall try to breathe sufficiently well to sustain life in health and happiness and with good will toward all men.

Toward the end of the century still other questions came to the fore. Emil Sutro supported the theory that the fraenum linguae was a voice-producing apparatus, a notion that was received with scepticism in most quarters. A list of problems not fully solved included questions as to (XXII, 60):

Whether voice is produced by ingoing as well as by outcoming air;
Whether cavities other than the lungs (like the stomach, for instance) furnish air for vocal and speech purposes;
Whether the disturbance of speech known as stammering or stuttering is not mainly a condition caused by the putting out of gear one air-chamber in its relationship to other air-chambers . . .

The brief discussion presented here is not designed to exhaust the material on the subject of breathing in Werner's Magazine. It does, however, suggest the central issues with which most of the writing dealt. Many of the articles were written primarily for the teacher of singing, but the elocutionists also had an interest in "abdominal breathing" and "mouth breathing" or their opposites. The seriousness with which they occupied themselves with these theories, and the
concomitant breathing exercises, varied with the individual. It is highly probable that in the opinion of the majority some type of training in breathing was necessary for the highest achievement in vocal art.

Resonance.--The subject of vocal resonance as such received not one-fifth the attention devoted to breathing. The music teachers wrote about "tone" but discussed it most often in terms of either laryngeal movement or "registers"; the elocutionists took some interest in nasality and the action of the soft palate. Many writers who presumably were speaking of resonance used an unidentifiable terminology.

In October, 1884, came an announcement that a new invention—the greatest for voice science "since Garcia devised the laryngoscope"—had been made by Dr. Harrison Allen of Philadelphia (VI, 180) for the purpose of investigating the soft palate. The object was the palate-myograph, which would pass through the nose, leaving the "larynx, pharynx, soft-palate, tongue and lips free to perform their functions." Exactly how the invention operated was not explained.

The member of the staff responsible for answering inquiries addressed to the "Question-Box" in 1894 recognized two types of nasality. Questioned as to remedial procedures for nasal quality, he answered that the difficulty might be a nasal obstruction requiring the services of a physician. If that were not the case, then either an
inactive (relaxed) or a constricted (tensed) velum could be the cause.

The exercises he prescribed are for the most part familiar ones today.

The question of chest resonance came to the fore in an exchange between George G. Cathcart, laryngologist and student of singing, and Dr. Floyd S. Muckey, a scientist of considerable stature.

In an article called "The Chest Not a Resonance-Cavity" (XIX, 614-616), Muckey took the occasion to comment on Cathcart's language, which he could understand:

Most [other] writers on this subject are so indefinite and obscure in their assertions that it is almost impossible to tell what they are driving at, and thus profitable discussion becomes very difficult.

He closed in the same vein:

I am sure if those interested will investigate this subject of resonance in a common-sense (synonymous with "scientific") way by experimenting with resonators, that such expressions as "flexible, pliable, bodily movement," "coordination of the whole body," "chest-tone," "pharynx-tone," "spinal resonance," "vibrated breath," and a host of others of a similar nature will be expunged from the vocabulary of the writers on voice as being "names which have no meaning applied to phenomena which are not understood."

Muckey's criticism was entirely applicable to many of the writers for Werner's Magazine.

Vocal hygiene.--"Take care of your voice" was an annual theme from 1882 to 1896. Although most of the articles were probably intended for singers, some of the suggestions were applicable to speakers. Werner published three long series of articles on the

The proffered advice included recommendations of the following:

- rest,
- "proper" tone production,
- adequate diet,
- "breathing-gymnastics,"
- non-restricting clothes,
- a daily bath,
- nasal breathing,
- and self-control.

Dr. Thomas F. Rumbold's "The Hygiene of the Voice" (XVI, 179-181, 205-207) treated of colds, coughs, the condition of the mucous membrane, the uvula, gargles, mouth-washes, inflammation of the nasal passages and the Eustachian tubes, and vocal strain. A bit of advice on vocal hygiene even appeared as a news item from a foreign source (XVIII, 689):

> Pineapple juice is very efficacious in incipient sore throat. The fruit should be freely eaten and held in the mouth some time so as to allow the juice to penetrate to the hard-palate. It is not necessary to have the raw fruit; the canned form will answer.

Many of the articles, attempting to describe proper vocal usage as part of the hygienic measures, gave instructions that would be very difficult for the untutored to carry out:

> The speaking voice in class-work should be placed forward but not high, the form should be deep but not spread, the tone should be reenforced by the low rather than the high resonance cavities, and sustained by the strong muscles of the body.

Such was the nature of Annie J. Bronson's advice on "The Use of the
Voice in the Schoolroom" (XXIII, 417-418). The article immediately following Miss Bronson's, and almost exactly opposite in approach was Dr. Edwin Pynchon's paper on hoarseness, read before the Chicago Eye, Ear, Nose, and Throat College. Dr. Pynchon enumerated causes, recommended treatment, and prescribed medication in the pages of his paper, which had been specially revised for Werner's Magazine.

The physics of sound. --Although many of the articles on vocal physiology refer to certain phenomena of sound, some of the information must necessarily be classified as pseudo-science. Whatever else they may have been, the writers for Werner's Magazine were not, with few exceptions, physicists. One example will suffice to illustrate the point.

In April, 1880, Dr. B. B. Perkins of Philadelphia wrote:

My theory is that we talk with force, and not with air. For example: When we speak through a telephone is it air that vibrates through the wire or is it force? When listening to the ticking of a hunting-case gold watch, heavy and perfectly air tight, does the air in the watch vibrate through the case, or is it force? Can the vibration of air carry emotion, and cause the marked individuality of each human voice? I think not. Force and air are distinct; air is material substance, force is immaterial. The thought is at least worthy of examination.

One of the exceptions was Dr. Carl Seiler of Philadelphia, the son of Emma Seiler, a prominent voice teacher, who added to his work in surgery various experiments connected with voice and speech. His lecture on "Vocal Acoustics" (II, 85-87), delivered to the Music Teachers' National Association in 1880, was an elementary lesson in the physics of sound, with special application to the sounds of speech.
It probably surprised no one that John Howard took exception to some of Seiler's statements (II, 131-132). Unlike the majority of Howard's opponents, Seiler refused to continue the exchange of opinion (II, 147).

An example of applied acoustics was to be found in an article by Elsie M. Wilbor, "Sounding-Boards: How They Are Made and Their Effect on the Voice." The "sounding-boards" in this instance were acoustic shells or reflectors attached at an angle above the pulpit to project sound in the direction of the congregation (X, 87-90).

Science or empiricism?--Edgar S. Werner was very much in favor of the development of voice science. Through his own experiences with therapy for stuttering, he had been made particularly aware that many of the practices of vocal instruction were sheer guesswork. Believing as he did that the spasm of stuttering was the simultaneous innervation of opposing muscles, he began to fear that exercises customarily given for vocal or articulatory improvement might strengthen the wrong muscles. How, he thought, was one to know as long as the exact functioning of the vocal mechanism was in doubt?

With that motivation, Werner wrote editorial after editorial urging that more attention be given to the development of a vocal science. The following quotations emphasize the earnestness with which he pleaded the case for science:

1880: . . . No teacher of singing can, at this day, ignore the laws of physiology. There should be no groping when science can light up the way, and thus make progress far more easy, certain and rapid.
1881: We have felt and do still feel the great need of more trustworthy knowledge of the vocal organs and their cultivation and use. The anatomical examination of lifeless organs will not suffice; something more is required, and it is an encouraging sign that intelligent inquiry is now turned, more than ever before, to this important but too little explored field. He who would be a competent voice-trainer--musical or elocutionary--must know something (and the greater his knowledge the greater will be his success) of anatomy, physiology, acoustics, music and psychology.

1884: Who dares argue that empiricism is preferable to science? An empirical teacher cannot tell with certainty how he has formed a singer. He simply knows that he has used exercises which, in this one instance, have produced satisfactory results. But what of the ninety and nine cases where he has failed . . . !

1889: Vocal physiology is still in a chaotic state. Notwithstanding the progress made of late years in laryngology, and the many works written upon it, the larynx, in its vocal function, may be called terra incognita. We may dissect it; we may count its muscles and cartilages, and become familiar with their length, their size and their form; but how they act in actual living speech, --this no man has ever seen.

1894: Advance is needed in vocal science. Where is the Moses that will lead us out of the dark ignorance that prevails in regard to vocalization and out of the bondage that keeps us following the dictates of our supposed masters? What progress has been made in the last ten years? . . . As yet no one has told us absolutely just what organs are necessary for speech, and just what these organs do in speech.

In the same year, 1894, Werner also wrote, prophetically, in another vein (XVI, 64):

We have been in the midst of an anatomo-physiological period of voice-culture. This was necessary in order to have a firm
foundation on which to build. • • • We are on the threshold of the psychical period. • • • We think we may for the present safely stop arguing whether the thyroid cartilage draws the cricoid cartilage up, or whether the cricoid cartilage draws the thyroid cartilage down, or just what is the amount of infra-laryngeal expansion of the trachea, during phonation, and direct our energies to the aesthetic side of voice-culture and of elocution.

The Psychology of Speech. --Werner was correct in his analysis of the trend in elocution. It was still too early, however, for a body of principles to have been built up in connection with his special interests. He did manage to print "Some Applications of Psychology to the Art of Teaching," a paper read before the National Educational Association by W. H. Payne (VI, 122-124). Some items that may have passed for psychology, e.g., "Voice-Culture and Mind-Cure" (VII, 13) and "Psycho-Physical Voice Culture" (XIII, 224-225), were nothing more than Delsarte reinterpreted. Two of the few serious attempts to deal with the subject were the paper on "Psychology and Expression," read by F. Townsend Southwick at the 1892 elocutionists' convention (XIV, 256-257), and a short article by Caroline B. Le Row on "Psychology and Elocution" (XIX, 14-15). General recognition of the vital connection between psychology and the speech field was not to come during the nineteenth century.

The Reproduction of Sound. --A minor item, but an interesting one for present-day readers, was the gradual appearance of information about and advertisements of "talking machines." "A Visit to Edison's Phonograph," written for The Voice, appeared in November, 1888.
In June, 1893, Dr. J. Mount Bleyer read a paper on "The Phonograph as a Teacher of Elocution and Singing" at the Chicago Convention of Elocutionists in which he said (XV, 266):

> It may excite ridicule to say that the phonograph may do away with letter-writing, teach us elocution, singing, music, language, and record for us plays, operas, oratorios, but it must be remembered that it is still in its infancy, and already promises much. Our prophecies are no more absurd than seemed those of the inventor, who, some years ago, proposed to talk from New York to Chicago, and yet the telephone is an established fact.

In 1895 another progressive step was foretold (XVII, 529):

> At a recent meeting of public school teachers in Philadelphia, the introduction of the phonograph into schools where elocution is taught was considered. The idea was favorably received. One instructor said that nobody was familiar with the tone of his voice; therefore, mistakes could go on indefinitely . . . .

In 1897 A. L. Leubuscher pronounced the phonograph to be "The Latest Invasion of Machinery" in his article, "The Phonograph as a Teacher," (XIX, 454-456). In the same year the Graphophone was being advertised at twenty-five dollars (fifty dollars with an electric motor) and the Eagle at ten dollars (plus two dollars for a carrying case).

June, 1898, brought an article on "The Reproduction of Sound" by Harry P. Godwin, with figures illustrating the action of a cutting stylus and the magnified sound-patterns produced on the recording surface. Advertisements portraying the phonograph as educator ("Make records of your own voice!" and "Learn Spanish by talking-machine." ) continued to appear. The story ended with a very modern news note in June, 1902 (XXIX, 598):
Dr. John R. Scott, professor of elocution in [the] University of Missouri, teaches with [the] aid of the graphophone whereby the student may listen to the defects in his own voice. The possibilities in this line of work are great.

Phonetics and Pronunciation

"Dear Voice, behold your mission enlarged!" wrote C. W. Sykes of Buffalo, New York, in March, 1880. "Turn from the stutterers occasionally to the many others whose offences are many and monstrous through carelessness; so shall you be great in the eyes of the good."

The plea was the conclusion of an item entitled "Pronunciation of Words" (II, 44), one of the earliest articles to call the attention of the magazine's readers to a fundamental division of elocution, the production of speech sounds.

An immense quantity of theoretical and practical material in this area found its way to the editor's desk. Moreover, the topic of the production of speech sounds was treated quite as extensively in the articles on singing, although there was some question in the minds of certain authors as to the similarity of these two activities. However, it will be remembered that the material on singing has
been excluded from this study.  

The information on the production of speech sounds in the magazine falls into the following classifications: (1) explication or advocacy of a phonetic system, (2) physiological and physical explanations and descriptions of certain sounds, (3) guides to the improvement of articulation and pronunciation, and (4) miscellaneous articles on dialect and language. Many articles were sufficiently comprehensive to be classified under several of these headings.

Visible Speech, phonetic system of the Bells. —Midway in the fourth volume of The Voice (May-June, 1882), "Visible Speech" appeared immediately under the nameplate as part of a long phrase descriptive of the magazine's contents. There it remained until 1889. Apparently this phonetic system devised by Alexander Melville Bell, a "grand old man" of elocution, was intended to be a specialty of the magazine. The first article on the subject appeared in the second volume (II, 101-102) under the by-line of L. Alonzo Butterfield, formerly a teacher in the Boston University School of Oratory, where

1 Those interested in pursuing this topic are referred to the following suggestive list: "Articulation in Singing" (V, 90-91); Karl Formes, "Pronunciation in Singing" (V, 192); Alexander J. Ellis, "Speaking and Singing Contrasted" (VII, 18-19); A. S. Thompson, "Does Pronunciation in Singing Differ from That of Speech?" (IX, 65-67); "Pronunciation in Singing" (IX, 130-131); Frederic S. Law, "Enunciation in Song" (XIII, 115-116); F. W. Wodell, "Pronunciation in Singing" (XVIII, 698-700); A. Melville Bell, "Articulation in Singing" (XIX, 679-683), a paper read to the combined conventions of National Association of Elocutionists and Music Teachers' National Association in 1897; and many others.
he had been a colleague of Alexander Graham Bell. Butterfield explained the system and discussed in some detail its value for the teaching of foreign languages and elocution, for the correction of defects of speech, for the improvement of primary instruction and the teaching of deaf-mutes, for the possible preservation of pronunciations in a visible form, and for its potential value in the mission-fields. He concluded with a moot point: "It is at once apparent that the discovery of the principles of Visible Speech has made possible the construction and establishment of a universal language." This was a line of thought that Alexander Melville Bell was to pursue in the columns of The Voice.

The proponents of Visible Speech exhibited missionary zeal in spreading information about the system. Butterfield related that at the annual meeting of the National Educational Association, Department of Superintendence, in that same year, Mrs. Butterfield, who knew the system, pronounced accurately from the blackboard, without having heard members of the audience pronounce the original, sounds from "Hindoostan," sentences in Russian and Bohemian, and some material in Gaelic, all of which had been transcribed into Visible Speech symbols by Butterfield. The following year, an article by Benjamin Cutter, also of Boston, suggested the possibility that the young nation might, by achieving through Visible Speech, a universal pronunciation, acquire unity and a "distinctive national coloring" (III, 37-38). Thus, directly
and by indirection, supporters of Visible Speech sought to widen its application.

In its fifth and sixth years, the magazine published in five installments a lecture on "Visible Speech" delivered by Bell before the American Association for the Advancement of Science (V, 187-188; VI, 6, 28-29, 67-68, 103). A special font was employed for a more accurate reproduction of the symbols used in the system.

Thereafter Visible Speech was lost to the readers of the magazine until May, 1900, when the principal article was "Visible Speech" (XXV, 213-221), delivered as a lecture by Bell at a reception given him by the New York Teachers of Oratory. The May issue also carried an excellent portrait of Bell in the place of honor on the frontispiece.

In November, 1900, a news item announced (XXVI, 277):

"Miss Mary S. Thompson has established in New York 'The Bell School of Speech,' endowed and named by Alexander Melville Bell. It is Miss Thompson's intention to apply the principles of Visible Speech." The following January (XXVI, 453) it was announced that Miss Thompson had organized a Visible Speech Club, "the purpose being 'to establish an oral standard for language and to promote the attainment of euphonious, refined and correct English in speech and song. . . . Lectures will be given on Visible Speech in its various applications to language, dialects, etc. Visible Speech, as here
considered, is not for the deaf." It was during this period of Miss Thompson's special effort on behalf of Visible Speech that she took S. H. Clark to task (XXVI, 360) for referring to the subject in the following way: "Put less time on frills, like Visible Speech (which is very well in a school for deaf-mutes), physical culture . . . and the like, and we shall have more time for those great essentials—literary interpretation and voice culture" (XXVI, 20-21).

No other phonetic system of symbols had the following of, or was presented as extensively as, Visible Speech. The semblance of a vowel chart appeared occasionally, but respelling and diacritical markings were ordinarily used when discussions of sounds were involved. Even Alexander Melville Bell used something of the sort in an article entitled "Phonetic Syllabication: A Cure for Speech-Defects" (XIX, 93-98).

Physiological and physical aspects of sound-production. -- Articles on the production of speech sounds and sound-groups abounded. John Howard took considerable interest in the _ (II, 10, 22; IV, 184), as did one "W." in his article on "Four R's" (III, 10). Alexander Melville Bell's essay on "The Sounds of R" (XV, 15-16), read before the Phonetic Section of the Modern Language Association in 1891, was reproduced with the phonetic symbol [ə] denoting certain glides. Even the editor had a word to say about "Burring" of _'s (XII, 77).

A series of articles on sound-groups was contributed by
Samuel Porter of the National Deaf and Dumb College, Washington, D.C., beginning with "The Mute Consonants" (VI, 166, 214) and "Vowel Formation" (VI, 191). He had discussed both before the Convention of Articulation Teachers of the Deaf in 1884. A later article discussed "The Sonant Fricative Consonants" (VII, 195).

Probably the earliest item of this type to appear in the magazine was a reprint entitled "Consonants: The Bones of Speech," by Richard Grant White (III, 178-179). Another interesting article taking issue with John Howard and others on the subject of "Consonants" (IV, 58) was contributed by W.G. Waring, Sr., of Tyrone, Pennsylvania, who was probably the "W." responsible for "Four R's," if parallel references to an alphabet of "Homography" are not coincidental.

Alexander Melville Bell's lecture on "Syllabic Consonants" (XVII, 262-264), presented to the Modern Language Association, was also reproduced for Werner's Magazine readers. All of the writers of articles listed above were more or less preoccupied with physiological adjustments and processes. Alexander Graham Bell presented a sharp contrast in his serialized article on "Vowel Theories" (VII, 57-58, 74-75, 87-88), in which he reported the results of his experiments with the phonograph and phonograph he was attempting to verify Helmholtz's theory of vowel composition and to determine in particular whether the upper partials were always fixed or whether they varied with the pitch of the fundamental. The article is of special interest.
because of its historical value, exemplifying as it does an extremely well-constructed report of a series of experiments conducted by a remarkable scientist.

Several other articles could be classified as either elementary or pseudo-scientific works. Professor William Hallock's "The Acoustics of Articulation" (XIX, 379-382) gave the magazine's readers and his audience at the Brooklyn Institute a very simple lesson in voice science and the physics of sound. A badly translated--or else badly written--article on "The Nature of Vowels" (XXII, 173-174) from "La Monde Illustré" [sic] presented the result of a study of photographs of the fluctuation of a manometric flame during production of sung and spoken vowel sounds. Finally, the ultimate in fanciful teaching aids was presented by the exposition and photographs of "Browns' [sic] Prismatic Charts of Music and Elocution" (XXIV, 121-130), explained by Frederic A. Metcalf of the Kansas State Agricultural College. After consulting the charts, "even children" were supposed to be able to comprehend the complicated physical and acoustical data pictured there.

The improvement of articulation and pronunciation. --In spite of the generally accepted value of improvement in articulation, Werner's Magazine was not as heavily weighted with articles on the subject as might be expected. The more practical ones, excepting those written by and for musicians, were reprinted from textbooks,
or else were soon to be included in textbooks. For example, exercises for producing flexibility of the articulatory mechanism and drills for vowels and consonants were a part of F. Townsend Southwick's "Primer of Elocution and Action," published in installments during 1889 and 1890 and subsequently made available in book form. The fact that many, perhaps the majority, of the textbooks on elocution stressed this subject may have led authors of articles to avoid it as the central theme for writing. Nevertheless, two articles on the improvement of articulation deserve special mention. Robert McLean Cumnock came directly to the point in an article entitled "How Can I Become a Distinct Speaker?" (XII, 13-14), and Alexander Melville Bell listed as one of "The Fundamentals of Elocution" the ability to make oneself understood without effort on the part of the hearer (XXIII, 433-436). Editor Werner pointed out a less obvious value to be found in the study and proper execution of the sounds of English (XV, 98):

Phonetic drill at the proper time in the ordinary school course effects an immense saving of time and labor when, later, the pupil needs to acquire a foreign language. French, German and Spanish combinations can hardly fail to be stumbling-blocks to those who cannot properly articulate the sounds of their own tongue.

Whatever the magazine lacked in articulation drills pure and simple, it made up with lagniappe in pronunciation drills and instructions. The magazine's chief orthoepist was Alfred Ayres
[Thomas Embley Osmun], elocutionist and drama critic. Many of his works appeared in *Werner's Magazine* before they were published in book form. From 1888 through 1892 he supplied approximately twenty columns on "How to Pronounce," listing words frequently missed. Some of his comments make interesting reading, because he not only consulted all the dictionaries available to him but occasionally drew upon stage practices as well. For example, he called attention to the necessity of a shift in accent in the word Barabbas in *The Merchant of Venice* for the preservation of meter.

Similarly, the discussion of *either* and *neither* referred to usage at the Lyceum theatre and at Daly's. In connection with *construe*, he pointed out the dissimilarity of usage at the Lyceum and at the Union Square: "Miss Dauvray sides with the dictionaries, Miss Coghlan boldly sides with general usage and analogy. . . . Sooner or later the dictionary-makers will have to do as Miss Coghlan does—yield to usage and sanction *construe*" (IX, 45).

Ayres frequently disputed with other elocutionists, one choice topic involving the use of unstressed forms, which horrified his more pedantic colleagues. In a long article critical of Ayres' book, *The Essentials of Elocution*, in general and of his analysis of Portia's "Quality of Mercy" speech in particular (IX, 25-26), Virgil Pinkley took him to task for "beheading" unemphatic pronouns beginning with *h* and sanctioning the use of obscure vowels in other pronouns, including
"th'r" and "th'm." The lines of battle formed immediately, with E. J. Wheeler writing, ". . . I felt and still feel profoundly grateful to Mr. Ayres for courage in saying what he did about th'm" (IX, 63). Ayres, however, was perfectly capable of self-defense (IX, 115):

Not an hour ago, I heard a person with a cultured utterance ask this question: "What did you do with the key when you came out?" Yet not more than six of the eleven words received their full sound; the other five were slurred—and properly so, too. . . .

A few nights ago, I heard Mr. John Gilbert . . . , at Wallack's theatre, speak these two sentences: "Let me look at you. Yes, it is you." . . . How stilted Mr. Gilbert's utterance would have been had he given you its full sound, in both sentences! . . . Reader, heed not Prof. Pinkley, unless you are ambitious to become the pedant of PEDANTS, or pedant OF pedants, as Prof. Pinkley would have it.

In the same letter appeared a sentence that was one of the keystones of his teaching: "Mr. Ayres will give his sanction to almost anything sooner than to pedantry." The extent to which anti-pedantry became Ayres' watchword is indicated by an excerpt from a testimonial letter (X, 202), one of a series on "Teachers of Elocution: Their Qualifications as Testified to by Their Pupils": "Mr. Ayres deserves the thanks of the profession for his unrelenting and vigorous attacks on the pedants in our noble art, and for his struggle to obtain a thoroughly natural style in pronunciation and delivery." The letter was signed: "S. H. Clark. Late Teacher of Elocution, Queen's University, Kingston, Canada."

In April, 1902, when original articles on pronunciation no longer appeared in the magazine, Alfred Ayres was still waging his
war against "Pedantic Utterance" (XXIX, 287), the distant echo of which reached the "Current Thought" department of the magazine via Dramatic Mirror:

"I went a few evenings ago to see 'The Honorable John Grigsby'. . . . The most captious would discover nothing to find fault with, if one and all, had not seen fit continually to mar their utterance with a suggestion of the pedantic. All seemed possessed with the delusion that they were doing quite the proper thing in giving to the pronouns, find them where they might, their full name sound. The articles, the prepositions, the conjunctions, the auxiliary verbs, and the pronouns—the demonstrative excepted—are, all of them, slurred, when not emphatic. . . . The non-slurrer is always, to a greater or less degree, stilted, hard, wooden, mechanical; in other phrase, he is more or less unreal and non-natural. We all slur the. In like manner we should slur all the personal pronouns.

"The actor that is solicitous to pitch the full name-sound of the pronouns at his auditors, instead of being, as he supposes, nicely correct, is simply pedantically wrong."

Ayres' contributions on pronunciation were most heavily concentrated in two years, 1891 and 1892, at the end of which period the magazine's editorial progress report (XIV, 373) pointed out: "We have awakened an interest in orthoëpy, and have the satisfaction of seeing pronouncing-matches . . . taking place in various parts of the country, and of knowing that in nearly every instance the prizes were taken by those who had studied the columns of our magazine." Of course, agencies other than Werner's Magazine were also working in that direction. In September, 1900, the magazine published lists of words used in the spelling and pronunciation matches held annually at Chautauqua. The procedure was also reported, thus (XXVI, 19):
The Amphitheatre was filled and the greatest interest shown. The contestants were seated on platform, twenty-five representing New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and twenty-five the rest of the world. Professor S.H. Clark was master of ceremonies. The words were thrown on the screen, and the contestants pronounced in turn.

The remarkable thing about the match was the speed with which the contestants went down, only 150 words being required.

Editorially the following comment was made (XXVI, 27):

The pronunciation list . . . is splendidly chosen. Almost every word is heard in common conversation, and the fact that but 150 words were necessary to complete the match, in which fifty contestants took part, is a striking, though by no means pleasant, commentary on the lack of attention to this feature of education. Of no other civilized nation can it be said that no regard whatsoever is had, and even among the well educated, for accurate and refined pronunciation.

The magazine also took an editorial interest in the subject of pronunciation. In April, 1890, the editor, referring to the number of elocutionists who pronounced English correctly, asked, "Are There More Than Five?" During the entire decade that followed, critical attention was given to pronunciation, some reference being made to its quality in almost every summary of the activities of elocutionists' conventions and almost every review of a reader or reciter. The following comment, appearing as part of a report of the 1900 convention of the New York State Association of Elocutionists (XXV, 305-316), was typical of the magazine's criticism in its milder form:

These "familiar" words included: afflatus, flageolet, holvenast, monadic, nescience, objurgatory, oxalic, and paresis.
One of the rules of the convention was that all criticism should be given and accepted for the purpose of bettering conditions. We shall be governed by this rule in this report. If errors are not pointed out, reforms can not follow.

Not a few of the members of the convention themselves showed faults which it is their business to correct in others. There were many mispronunciations. Here is a brief list picked from the readings alone:

Comment for com'-ment; per'-is-style for per'-i-style; wuz for was; ull for all; forum for form; ask for ask; fast for fast; listluss for listless; girl for girl; kur-tes-ly for cour-te-ous-ly; sha-da for shad-ow; sawr for sore.

Interest in training for better articulation and pronunciation was wide-spread among the contributors to Werner's Magazine, elocutionists in general, and those less directly connected with the subject. In addition to Ayres, other writers whose discussions were printed or reprinted in the magazine included Robert McLean Cumnock (XI, 133-134), Caroline B. Le Row (XI, 64-65; XII, 322), John C. Zachos (XVII, 843-844), and William T. Ross (XVII, 359-363).

Readers of the magazine used the "Question-Box" to inquire about general principles of pronunciation and about the pronunciation of proper names found in recitations. Tongue-twisters and recitations loaded with specific sounds or sound-combinations were provided, especially during the years between 1892 and 1898.

It should not be assumed that this interest in matters of pronunciation was peculiar to Werner's Magazine and its readers, however. The magazine was accurately reflecting both individual and organizational interests. The American Society for the Improvement of Speech, organized on June 18, 1885 (XVII, 535-536), was actively
engaged in maintaining standards of pronunciation (XVII, 957).

Alfred Ayres gave a talk on essentials of correct pronunciation at the first public meeting of the organization. As representative of the attitude of certain groups within the N.A.E., President Soper's remarks, extracted from his presidential address on "What Elocutionists Should Be and Do" (XXVI, 297-298), are significant:

Permit me also to urge the importance of a committee on pronunciation. . . . Can we not, as a body, unite upon a rational, national standard of pronunciation that shall command respect? . . . Shall we not call a halt and help to protect the country against a constantly changing pronunciation that varies with every shifting breeze of fad and fancy?

Dialects, languages, and philology. --Attempts to standardize and improve pronunciation directed attention toward and stimulated an interest in dialects, as did the vogue for dialect readings in the nineties. At this time the American Dialect Society was compiling a dictionary of "eccentric forms of speech" and giving its attention to a "system of speech-maps . . . devised by Prof. Hempl, of the University of Michigan, for the purpose of determining what may be called the habitat of different variations" (XVII, 453). The following titles with years of publication suggest the extent of the material presented in the magazine:

1883: "How Englishmen Pronounce English."

1885: "English as She is Spoke."

1886: "Negro English." (excerpt)
If critical writers in Werner's Magazine are to be believed, dialect grew more false, more in bad taste, and more popular in the entertainment world as the century passed. Volumes XXVIII and XXIX of the magazine kept step with the times by providing, during the twelve months between September, 1901, and August, 1902, recitations in Irish, French-Canadian, Scottish, Negro, Hoosier, and "Child" dialects. A note in the "Educators and Entertainers" news department reported (XXIX, 162-165), "'Foreign Views of the Statue' and 'Foreigners at the Fair' are two popular vaudeville selections, bringing in English, Irish, Scotch, Jew, and Italian impersonations." A subscriber wrote a testimonial (XXIX, 876) in the next-to-last issue published by Edgar S. Werner, saying, "I enclose a circular with a few press notices showing how well pleased the public seem with child dialect."
It was evident that at some time during the course of twenty years, at least for the elocutionist, dialect had left the realm of philology for that of entertainment.

Of the few articles related to languages other than English, two are worth mention here. "French Pronunciation. A Scientific and Practical Method of Acquiring It" (VII, 181-183) was contributed by Professor J.D. Gaillard of Gaillard's School of Languages in New York. The article included five anatomical diagrams showing the positions of French vowels. Alexander Melville Bell wrote the second, a short article on "The Hottentot Clicks" (IX, 115), in criticism of a newspaper clipping sent to him by the editor of The Voice.

Several linguistic campaigns occurring during the existence of the magazine were reflected in its pages. One was the drive for construction or adoption of a world language. In 1888 Werner reprinted an article by Alexander Melville Bell on the synthetic language "Volapük" (X, 42-43), which was making its bid for recognition. Bell chose to believe that "the most hopeful direction in which to look for universal language" was "a new and simple tongue in the form of what may be called 'world English.'" A paper delivered before the Nineteenth Century Club of New York City by Dr. Daniel

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3 The spelling and capitalization of this name were not regularized. The form used here is, in each case, the one used in the source material.
G. Brinton on the subject "Aims and Traits of a World-Language" (XI, 7-10, 27-30) made a good case for the need of an international language but denied the possibility that Volapük could meet that need. The Bell and Brinton articles provoked a reply from Charles E. Sprague in the article "The World-Language Volapük" (XI, 107-108). This controversy was, of course, not peculiar to Werner's Voice Magazine but raged through philological societies on both sides of the Atlantic. Two years later (1891) the probable future of Volapük was hinted at in a news note (XIII, 109):

The inventor of volapük has so altered its form that the Volapük Academy will not accept the alterations, thus making a broad split that is injurious to the cause. Formerly 20 journals in Europe and America were published in the interest of the language, now less than half of them exist.

In June, 1893, confirmation came (XV, 220): "Volapük, once a popular fad in Europe and America, has at last taken its place with the dead languages."

It probably should be noted here that the arguments put forth by those who advocated a world language, Bell and Brinton among them, included a positive statement of the need for establishing a standard scientific terminology to facilitate exchange of experimental data, medical discoveries, etc. It is quite possible that these arguments, extremely common in learned societies, influenced Werner as much as did his study of divergent terms for stuttering in his belief that a standard terminology was necessary in elocutionary circles.
"English as a Universal Tongue" (XVI, 371-375), a paper read before the Social Science Association in 1894 by D. G. Porter, suggested the possibility of pronunciation reform as a prelude to orthographic reform, if English aspired to universal adoption.

Spelling reform had been suggested by the editor of The Voice as early as December, 1879, in announcing a series of articles for the following year. The series of four was contributed by J. W. Barnes of Lafayette College, Pennsylvania. J. H. Brown of Belleville, Ontario, Canada, added to the list an article on "Irregularities of English Spelling" (VI, 204-205). The editor did his bit by advocating program for programme (XIII, 232, 264).

A few articles of general linguistic import were also published by Werner. Because most of the titles are self-explanatory, the items that follow are listed without extensive notes about their contents:

1879: "The Beginnings of Speech."
1880: "The Linguistic Tree." (with cut)
1886: "The Origin of Human Speech."
      "History of the Alphabet." (reprinted from a book)
1890: "Words and Their Abuse." (semantic change)
1891: "The Phonograph among the Zuñians." (reprint)
1896: "How Children Acquire Their Mother Tongue."
      "Speech: How Affected by Pulpit, Bar, and Newspaper."
The last four articles listed above are interesting because of the implications involved. One was concerned with psychology and developmental processes, two provided examples of a type of linguistic change less familiar to readers of the magazine, and one recognized the value of a new mechanical device for making vocal effects relatively permanent. These were some of the signposts to the future.
CHAPTER IV

DELSARTE, GESTURE, AND PHYSICAL CULTURE

At first glance the appearance of articles on gesture, pantomime, and gymnastics in a publication supposedly devoted to vocal training seems incongruous. However, the connection can be accounted for on both historical and practical bases: Historically, the use of treatises on gesture had customarily paralleled or had been incorporated into those on voice. Austin's Chironomia had been used as a companion volume for Walker's Elements of Elocution, for example, and in the more immediate past Murdoch and Russell's Orthophony; or Vocal Culture in Elocution had emphasized gymnastics. From a practical standpoint, it did not require profound thinking to recognize that the audience was affected by visual as well as auditory stimuli. Still other developments focussed attention on the physical: Physiological and psychological investigation and speculation in the late nineteenth century were revealing the close relationship between mental and physical function. Theories concerning the origin of language connected speech to bodily action and gesture in various ways. New concepts in the field of health and medicine emphasized the importance of maintaining the general health of the body as a
means of overcoming specific physical weaknesses. A vigorous American populace, deprived of its frontier and its strenuous pioneer life, turned to sports and other available means of expending physical energy. Finally, there prevailed an insatiable thirst for learning and culture, especially that which provided an outlet for self-expression.

What significance did these trends have for the readers of Werner's Magazine? Stutterers saw some advantage in maintaining good general health at all times. Vocalists, speakers, and readers accepted the premise that a healthy vocal mechanism was more likely to exist in a sound, vigorous body. Speakers, readers, reciters, and actors welcomed training that would give them, supposedly, an improved technique for conveying thought and emotion to the audience through visual channels. Last of all, some elocutionists who were desirous of becoming public entertainers saw an opportunity to express themselves in a new art form. For all these reasons and perhaps others, systems of gesture, courses in physical culture, pantomime, tableaux mouvants, and statue-posing took a firm grip on the elocutionary profession. Werner's Magazine aided and abetted that phenomenal development.

Werner's Magazine and the Delsartians

A discussion of the so-called Delsarte philosophy could be assigned with good reason to chapters other than the present one.
It cut across the speech areas, rather than confining itself to one specific phase as the Rush philosophy had done to the voice. The decision to treat the subject here was dictated by the fact that the application of the Delsarte philosophy to bodily action was almost universal among those elocutionists who adopted the "Delsarte system." In fact, the word Delsarte came to refer not merely to the name of a person who originated the philosophy but to those activities performed in connection with it. One could say that he took up Delsarte in much the same way in which today one is said to take up modern dance or finger-painting or golf.

The advent of Delsartism. --One of the earliest references to Delsarte occurred during the second year of The Voice in an article called "True and False Elocution" by Edward Barrett Warman of Detroit (II, 74-76). Warman had formerly been in Boston, a center of Delsarte philosophy during the seventies, and probably came in contact with it there. His reference was an anecdote referring to "Del Sarte[^1]--the great master of expression" and his pedagogical technique that required absolute mastery of the fundamentals of voice and gesture.

In October, 1881, more than a year later, the following editorial comment (III, 152) was prefixed to a long article: "At the

[^1] "Del Sarte" is the earlier, "Delsarte" the later spelling; similarly "Delsarcean" and "Delsartian" appear. For a discussion of the forms see editorials (XIV, 23, 76).
solicitation of many of our readers we have concluded to publish a translation of Delsarte's system of gesture and expression, and now give, as a sort of introduction, a biographical sketch of him written by F. A. Durivage and published in the Atlantic Monthly, in 1871."

According to the article, Durivage had attended a "seance" in France at which Steele Mackaye, the "favorite disciple," had explained the Delsarte system and recited a monologue. Afterwards Delsarte had said a few words and had given a pantomimic demonstration:

He depicted the various passions and emotions of the human soul by means of expression and gesture only, without uttering a single syllable; moving the spectators to tears, exciting them to enthusiasm, or thrilling them with terror at his will; in a word, completely magnetizing them. Not a discord in his diatonic scale. You were forced to admit that every gesture, every movement of a facial muscle, had a true purpose—a raison d'être. It was a triumphant demonstration.

The life of this great master and teacher, hereafter to be known as the founder of the Science of Dramatic Art, crowded with strange vicissitudes and romantic episodes, forms a record full of interest.

Then followed a somewhat romantic account of the personal and professional life of the French singer and actor. The last third of Durivage's article, an explanation of the Delsarte system, was drawn in turn from an article "from the authoritative pen of A. Guéroult" in the Gazette Musicale. Guéroult was said to have referred to Delsarte's systematization of both gesture and voice and to have asserted, "I believe that whoever makes the external interpretation of the sentiments of the human soul his business and profession, whether painter, sculptor, orator, or actor, that
all men of taste who support them will applaud this attempt to create
the science of expressive man . . . . " Thus was the reader of The
Voice introduced to Delsarte.

The reprint of the Durivage article appeared ten and one-half
years after Boston, and America, had first heard of the Delsarte
system from Steele Mackaye on March 21, 1871. After that time
Mackaye had lectured extensively, acquainting many elocutionists,
including the Boston group--Monroe, Alger, Curry, and others--with
the Delsarte philosophy. These, and Mackaye himself, were the
potential sources of information about Delsartism from whom Werner
might reasonably expect articles that would enable him to satisfy the
desires of his readers. Another possibility, and one characteristic
of Werner and The Voice, presented itself--the publication of some
translated work. That such a work had already been found was
indicated by the note prefaced to the Durivage sketch.

The introduction of material on Delsarte into the magazine

2 The limited scope of this study does not permit the inclusion
of biographical data on Delsarte and his successor, Steele Mackaye,
or an exposition of the Delsarte philosophy in its original form. Such
information is available in a series of unpublished theses based on
original materials in the possession of the Department of Speech of
Louisiana State University. The best condensed presentation of this
subject is found in a paper by Claude L. Shaver on "Steele Mackaye
and the American Delsartians," which will shortly become available
as a part of the projected volume, Background Studies in American
Speech Education, edited by Karl R. Wallace (New York: Appleton-
Century-Crofts Company, tentative publication date, December 15,
1953).
began rather slowly. In December, 1881, there appeared an article (III, 176-178), consisting of two parts, first, a reprint of William R. Alger's comments relative to Delsarte from Alger's biography of Edwin Forrest, and second, Werner's interview of Mrs. Henrietta Crane, a former pupil of the Boston School of Oratory and of the son of Delsarte. Both parts are of considerable interest, Alger's because of his reference to Delsarte's "aesthetic gymnastics," "Delsartean drill," and "gamuts of expression," Mrs. Crane's because of her accusation that the Delsarte teachings had been "so applied as to produce bad results." The point is that even before Werner and The Voice began exploiting the system, Delsartism already had within it the seeds of its own destruction.

One of the editor's questions to Mrs. Crane, "Should all work for expression or voice culture be preceded or connected intimately with physical gymnastics?" evoked a highly significant answer:

... I find that everything that has any connection with the physical part whatever gets its development by means of gymnastics. My theory of the perfect development of a man is, that if we wish to develop his mind we should set him thinking until his mind is developed by use. If we wish him to have fine, strong muscles, we must develop those muscles by use. If we wish a man's nerves so educated that he will make expressive motions, so that his body will serve his mind and

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3 According to the heading of the article, Alger had been a pupil of the elder Delsarte, but the statement was erroneous.
soul according to his desire, we must develop this power in him, by what we call an aesthetic gymnastic. In short, that which teaches the nervous centres of the body to do the work without the aid of the brain, that is to say producing automatic motion, leaves the brain free to act alone.

Her last statement revealed the point that was soon to be under attack—the Delsartian practice of simulating an unfelt emotion.

In February, 1882, the leading article was another biographical sketch of Delsarte (IV, 17-18), this one being an extract from "the advanced sheets of 'The Art of Oratory; System of Delsarte.'" The advertisements of this book had begun appearing in December without mention of the author of the material. In March a three-quarter page advertisement announced the work to be from the French of M. l'Abbé Delaumosne, translated by Frances A. Shaw. A condensed table of contents in the advertisement revealed the organization of the book to consist of parts on voice, gesture, and articulate language. The April issue of The Voice bore no advertisement, but the May-June issue proclaimed the Delsarte System of Oratory to be "NOW READY!" for those "Who Wish to Give Expression to their Work." The full-page spread reproduced the "Criterion of the Legs," i.e., the nine attitudes of the legs: "Childhood, Force, Vehemence, Terror, Transitive, Ceremony, Intoxication, Hesitation, Defiance."

With the same issue Werner began seriously to promote Delsartism. The new subtitle read, "Oratory, Delsarte Philosophy, Stuttering, Stammering, Voice-Building, Art of Singing, Visible Speech
Specially Considered." The issue also included a reprint of Moses True Brown's "The New Philosophy of Expression" (IV, 67-68) from the New England Journal of Education. The emphasis of the article was on Delsartism as the application of "the scientific method' to the investigation of the phenomena of speech and gesture." Four months later, Werner printed Brown's lecture delivered before the National Educational Association on "The Del Sarte Philosophy of Expression" (IV, 125-127), in which the speaker had optimistically predicted, "And this analysis, to the thoughtful student, will become a New Philosophy and clothe with real living flesh the dry bones of that wearisome skeleton of detail and technique, which we call our Elocution." Werner remarked editorially (IV, 153), as well as in a news item (IV, July, second cover), that Brown was probably doing more to popularize Delsartes than was anyone else, "(except The Voice)." Others, Werner continued, were either hoarding their knowledge or else doling it out when it suited their purposes. It is safe to assume this was a direct criticism of Mackaye, the July issue having already carried an extended editorial (IV, 88-89) about Mackaye's refusal to contribute any material on the subject to the columns of The Voice.

August of the same year saw the beginning of the "Del Sarte Philosophy," translated from the French of Angélique Arnaud by M.E. Perry and presented in irregular installments for a year. This was to be a major item in the later editions of Werner's first Delsarte
publication. Thus did The Voice end its first year of Delsarte.

The following January, 1883, the press notices of the Delsarte System of Oratory were inserted (V, 10-11). Of it the Boston Globe said, "Delsarte has given aesthetic science of our day the same precision as mathematical science." The New York Democrat was more specific: "The best book that has yet appeared for the guidance of students and those ambitious to become public men," In the same issue Steele Mackaye ("Sole successor to Delsarte"), Mrs. Katharine Westendorf's School of Elocution in Cincinnati, and the Boston School of Oratory announced Delsarte training programs.

Aside from the Arnaud series, the major Delsartian items were few in 1883. Some questions were raised (V, 164) and corrections were made (V, 180); but the only articles of significance were Thomas M. Balliet's "The Delsarte Philosophy a Branch of Aesthetics" (V, 70-72), and another on "The Delsarte Philosophy" by Moses True Brown (V, 120), the latter in reply to a correspondent of the New England Journal of Education who had requested an explanation of the Delsarte System of Gesture.

Three of the remarks made by Brown are especially interesting. The first reveals the general or universal aspect of Delsartism, as contrasted with the individual or particular:

In conclusion, we beg our readers to note the sharp antagonism between Delsarte and the empiric teacher who says to the student, "Now notice me, and do this as I do it. See me, hear me, and then
imitate!" Delsarte would say, "Take no type or form of individual expression, but synthetize your expression from human nature." And is he not right? Human nature is man generalized. And the general expressions of man are the same the world over. Types of expression come from differentiation from the general. So we have types of the vital, the moral, and the mental man, from the general or universal man.

The second remark reveals the attitude that was destined to grow because of the personal excesses of practitioners of Delsartism:

... A prominent educator said to the writer, with the utmost seriousness: "This Delsarte system consists of this sort of thing doesn't it?" What he meant by "this sort of thing" he illustrated by a flourish of the arms, like an animated windmill.

Now let us say, Delsarte taught what he was delighted to call "The Science of Expressive Man." So he taught both a philosophy and an art. And it will be found, when the thought of this great master shall be written out, that the Delsarte philosophy is a branch of that division of human knowledge called psychology; and that this branch of knowledge can with propriety be called the science of manifestation.

The latter portion of the preceding quotation is included here as a third point because it possibly explains the claims made by Werner in the late nineties that his magazine had been among the first to advocate psychological methods of elocutionary training. The name of psychology has been invoked to justify many peculiar activities but none perhaps more strange than those performed in connection with Delsarte.

"Delsarte made simple."—Perhaps the paucity of articles on Delsarte during 1883 was the result of Werner's European visit or the pressure of other matters. In any case, an appreciable increase in the number of items on Delsarte philosophy, including
letters, appeared during 1884 and 1885. Most of the material concerned
the interpreters of Delsartism, Mrs. Crane, Alger, and Brown, who
had already been represented on the pages of The Voice, and Mrs.
Frank Stuart Parker, Genevieve Stebbins, and Dr. Jirah D. Buck.

The newly installed "Letter Box," beginning in January, 1884,
began to carry remarks pertaining to the magazine's new interest, some
of which are indicative of popular attitudes:

I have read carefully Miss Shaw's translation of "Delaumosne,"
and must confess that I find myself wholly unable to understand it.
Do you know anyone in the United States who can explain it? When I saw this work advertised, I hoped for something that would
be a guide, but this can hardly be called that, it is so indefinite.
Is there nothing else you can recommend? (VI, 30)

An old pupil of Prof. L. B. Monroe, I must say that the wordy
battle over the Delsarte System greatly amuses me. (VI, 78)

The Delsarte book is a matter of fog and moonshine to me,
There seems to me nothing tangible or practical in it. . . . I
am open to conviction, but mysticism and rhapsody don't reach
my needs. I shall stick to Rush and Murdoch, until something
better has vindicated its position. (VI, 78)

Before these letters had time to appear in print, the common
plea for a practical application of Delsarte principles had been heard
and acted upon. In February, the third installment of Samuel E.
Wells' "Practical Elocution. Concise and Plain Instruction Designed

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4 Werner spoke of 1884 as the year for anatomy and physiology
(XIV, 306). He could as reasonably have called these the years of
Delsarte. Possibly he thought the "science" of Delsarte was a suitable
accompaniment for voice science.
for Teachers and for Students" (VI, 23-25) gave attention to Gesture "according to Delsarte," including "Gestures of the Hand" and "Descriptive Gestures of the Hand and Arm." The article, available as a reprint, was not the original "Delsarte philosophy" but was rather the Delsarte system as interpreted by Wells. However, its content was so nearly identical with that of later works by Delsartians that its details should be noted here.

The article was introduced by the nine laws of gesture:

1. The eye precedes the gesture of hand or arm; 2. gesture precedes the voice; 3. the more extensive the gesture, the slower the movement; 4. gesture from the body is eccentric; 5. gesture toward the body is concentric; 6. gestures of force move in straight lines; 7. "Beauty, love, affection, sympathy, and especially address to Deity should be described in curved lines"; 8. generally, gesture should be made across the body; and 9. the arm should move in sections. Also included were the instructions for practicing the "feather movement," about which Wells remarked, "When this movement is mastered, the greatest obstacle in the way of graceful action will be removed."

The instructions read:

5 It should not be assumed that only the eccentric teachers made use of techniques such as this. A recent biography of Thomas Clarkson Trueblood reports that his students were initiated into the rites of the "feather movement." See Loren LaMont Okey, "A Descriptive Biographical Study of Thomas Clarkson Trueblood" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1951), p. 106.
Let the pupil take standing position, and gradually raise the arm from the side, letting the hand droop perfectly lifeless, and the arm remain rigid. Let the arm ascend nearly as high as the shoulder.

In the descent of the arm, commence slowly to raise the fingers, AT THE SAME TIME LET THE WRIST SLOWLY DESCEND, now draw the arm slowly backward toward the body as it descends. When the hand is within six inches of the hip, repeat the movement, and the result will be the floating of the arm up and down as a feather. After this movement is mastered, practice fifteen minutes each day for three months.

Practice the same movement with the other hand, and when mastered use both together.

Describe the figure 8 with the whole arm, being careful to lead with the wrist, so that the hand trails.

Then use both hands in the same manner.

To enable the pupil to master this movement, let him draw an imaginary 8 upon the wall, being careful that the hand or hands move freely upon the wrists. IN ALL GESTURE THE WRIST SHOULD BEND LIKE A WILLOW.

The "Purely Delsarte" gestures of the hand are listed here only by the combined descriptive titles: "The hand defines, indicates, molds, detects, inquires, acquires, holds, surrenders, caresses, assails, affirms, denies, conceals, reveals, accepts, rejects, supports, and protects." The descriptive gestures of hand and arm were entitled: "The painting or orator's gesture; limiting gesture; tyrants; prophets; impatient bigotry; saints; gesture of attention; gesture of distribution; salutation; exaltation; grasping, lust or assailment; forgiveness; and repose."

Wells also included in his article some examples of the

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6 How long this phase of Delsarte training survived is an interesting subject for speculation. As recently as 1936-1937, the investigator was a student in a class that received instruction in hand movements that were referred to by these identical phrases. No mention of Delsarte was made, according to the class notes still in the possession of the investigator.
practical application of these movements to selections. The following is a sampling of his instructions:

**Example.**

Air, earth and sea, resound His praise abroad.

**Analysis.**

Air—right hand to the left, draw out and upward; Earth—let hand descend with palm downward; and sea—hand raised to the level of the shoulder keeping palm down, and sweeping across in front of the body; resound His praise—turn the hand over and raise upward; abroad—let the hand sweep outward.

**Example.**

All that I have, and all that I am, and all that I hope, in this life, I am now ready here to stake upon it; and I leave off, as I began, that live or die, survive or perish, I am for the declaration.

... 

**Analysis.**

All that I have—both hands well out in front and opened wide; and all that I am—let the hand come vigorously against the chest; and all that I hope for—both hands raised and well outward; in this life—lower the hands, palms downward; I am now ready here—hand pointing downward in front at an angle of forty-five degrees; to stake upon it—repetition of the same movement two or three times rapidly; and I leave off as I began, that live—hand raised above the head; or die—lowered with force, palm downward; survive—hand raised above the head; or perish—hand down with force; I am for the declaration—hand out in front and closed with force.

Wells prefaced these selections for practice with a paragraph of sensible advice that, had it been followed by all Delsartians, might have prevented the excesses for which they became known;

The following selections are for practice only, and every

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7 The peculiar system of italics presumably indicated the timing for the "stroke" of the gesture.
line and word, should be gesticulated. In private study gesticulate as much as possible (being sure that you are expressive). When before the public use the hands but little.

In the March issue, Wells continued with an exposition of "The Dramatic Passions" (VI, 37-39), attitudes or poses to be practiced without reference to literary material. He also issued a warning:

In the practice of the Passions, a person should never allow himself to speak until he genuinely feels what he proposes to utter and has assumed the appropriate physical expression, otherwise mouthing and [sic] empty sound will be the result, and the pupil will become a declaimer, in no sense an artist.


The "Delsarte controversy."--The Wells article intensified the storm of both approbation and censure that apparently had arisen after the appearance of the first edition of Delsarte System of Oratory. In the same number in which the "dramatic passions" appeared, Werner published the letters he was receiving from Delsartians and presented his own defense of his, Wells' and others' rights to publish material on Delsarte. Because the points at issue became the source of
dissension between Werner and a segment of the elocutionists, they
are sufficiently important to require attention here. Werner's
editorial (VI, 40-41) in March, following the February article by
Wells, began:

Denunciations and thanks fall upon us because we put in
print what various persons write about Delsarte and the system
bearing his name. Very probably, we deserve both censure and
gratitude for forcing discussion of this subject—censure (1)
from those who wish to monopolize the system and dispense it in
portions and at times as best suits them; and (2) from those who
really have the good of the cause at heart, and therefore are
pained to see mutilated and false expositions, which necessarily
bring discredit upon a great philosophy and a noble art—gratitude
from the general vocal and dramatic public, who have long waited
in vain for light upon a system which has been highly extolled
by the few who were supposed to comprehend it, and who have
promised to reveal its mysteries and expound its principles.

The opportunity to explain the Delsarte System has been
given to the more prominent expounders . . . . Their refusal
we offer as an excuse for whatever mistakes we have made in
our efforts to promote the Delsarte System.

The publication of Mr. Wells's article in the February number
has created quite a breeze among Delsartians. We expected and
desired this result. We look for much practical good as the
outcome. For this end we invite every one, who knows aught
of the subject, to take part in the discussion . . . . We shall
give fair treatment and impartial hearing to all.

Long excerpts from Franklin S. Sargent of New York, Mrs.
Laura J. Tisdale of Chicago, "Anxious," a Delsartian student of New
York, and Moses True Brown, followed. Sargent objected strenuously
to the Wells article, questioning its factual accuracy. Mackaye, he
said, was the only "authorized and competent expositor of Delsarte's
teachings," and, according to his understanding, Mackaye had been
requested by Delsarte not to publish anything fragmentary. Mrs.
Tisdale waxed eloquent: "O, the dead come not back again or François Delsarte would have appeared long ago to avenge himself on such disciples!" The New York student asked questions about discrepancies between the Wells article and information he had from other sources; in tone his article was much like that from Sargent. Moses True Brown wrote:

The last *Voice* is an excellent number. Mr. Wells's Delsarte treatment is good. I find one error (or what I take to be an error) of statement and only one that I should question. ... I think Delsarte never wrote Mr. Wells's analysis of the fingers! The analysis of the hand, however, is good Delsarte which ever way you may look at it, whether through structure or correspondence. I find nothing else in Mr. Wells's articles that conflicts with Delsarte as I interpret him.

Werner thanked Sargent for the correction of supposed errors, but asked whether others like Delaumosne and Arnaud might not be competent to write of Delsarte, and rebuked Mackaye for bringing about the publication of distortions by remaining silent himself. Of Mrs. Tisdale he inquired whether the exercises given by Wells were not the same as those used by the late Monroe of Boston, or at least by his successors. "We are glad Mrs. Tisdale puts herself thus boldly in opposition to the exercises published in our February issue," he wrote. "This is something tangible. Having pronounced them wrong, will she not give us the right ones?" To this Mrs. Tisdale replied, a month later (VI, 56): "I do not find myself sufficiently imbued with the missionary spirit so to do."
Werner's invitation to discuss the subject and his promise of fair treatment to whoever participated brought replies for the April issue, including a long rebuttal addressed to his critics by Wells, the director of the Albany Conservatory of Elocution. It also won for The Voice a position as advocate of free discussion and free publication of Delsarte materials. The same issue carried a half-page advertisement announcing the second edition of the Delsarte System of Oratory (VI, 58) to which were added material by Arnaud and a fragmentary essay on "The Attributes of Reason" by Delsarte. "Personal Paragraphs," a news column, contained personal information to the effect that Alger and Mackaye were planning to "elaborate a full exposition of the Delsarte Science and Art of Expression," and that Brown was arranging for the publication of a book on "The Philosophy of Expression as Applied to the Art of Speech," portions of which had been delivered as Delsartian lectures. For the moment it seemed as though The Voice might actually have broken the official "monopoly" of Delsarte.

To what extent Werner had actually stirred up a violent controversy and had embittered some elements can hardly be conceived without careful reading of the correspondence sections of each issue. Mary A. Wetmore wrote (VI, 92): "I have noticed, with much pleasure, your successful endeavors to bring about a discussion which tends to lift Delsartism into a prominence it has never before attained in this country." Moses True Brown doubted publicly that Delsarte had left
anything more than fragmentary knowledge to anyone, even Mackaye (VI, 91-92). And a lawyer who signed himself "Justice" warned of the "attempt to form a Delsartean aristocracy" (VI, 90-91). A portion of the lawyer's correspondence is reproduced here because it silhouettes the professional practices of the time and because it suggests the possibility that Werner's Voice had become a menace to those who had formerly rested secure in a private "system":

Now, Mr. Editor, I argue this question from disinterested motives. I am not, nor do I expect ever to be, a teacher of Delsarte System. But I am a friend of progress, and heartily approve the course The Voice has taken. I was amused as well as indignant when I heard in Boston, the other day, certain teachers censure you severely for publishing what they termed a "garbled, fragmentary, distorted, mutilated exposition of the Delsarte System." They referred not only to the series of articles by Mr. S. E. Wells, but also to the translation of the Abbé Delaumosne's and Mme. Arnaud's books. That you may know that I speak understandingly, I will say that at sundry times and in divers places I have heard lectures by, and have taken class or private lessons from, --

Rev. WM. R. ALGER,
Mrs. HENRIETTA CRANE,
Prof. and Mrs. S. S. CURRY,
Prof. R. R. RAYMOND,
Mrs. FRANK STUART PARKER,
Prof. MOSES TRUE BROWN,
Prof. C. W. EMERSON,

and other teachers who did not claim to have special knowledge of the Delsarte System. I still vividly remember how some of these teachers brought from its guarded seclusion a roll of manuscript and, with a look of mysterious awe, imparted to me the startling intelligence that it was the Delsarte System that they, with a very few other highly privileged mortals, exclusively possessed; that Delsarte was dead, and that this was all of his literary remains. I was permitted, at so much a lesson, to copy certain parts.

All this, I repeat, is still fresh in my memory; recalled now,
especially, because of the hostility of some of these very teachers to The Voice's course. I have read the Delaumosne and Arnaud translation and Mr. Wells's articles, and I find in both the book and in the articles principles, rules and exercises that I received for $2 or $3 a lesson from the afore-mentioned teachers. Very likely these teachers have improved their methods since then, but in view of the facts a less hostile attitude would be more becoming.

I do not wish to be understood as endorsing all that Mr. Wells has written. . . . But many [of the exercises] resemble so closely those in vogue in Boston a few years ago, that I am surprised that the teachers should now repudiate them.

One of the most significant events of 1885 was the appearance of "Delsarte and Mackaye" (VII, 42-44), an article written by S. S. Curry, whose advertisement in The Voice for several months during the preceding year had included the statement, "'Mr. Curry has gone further and more thoroughly into the subject of Expression with me than any other student I ever had.' [signed] Steele Mackaye, Collaborator and successor of Delsarte." The article was a direct attack on Werner's policy, the Delsarte System of Oratory, and the Wells articles. The Delsarte translation he referred to as the "weak little book." Of Wells he said, "Some, who put themselves forth as great expounders of Delsarte, I learn from good authority, have obtained a little smattering from copying the note-books of Mr. Mackaye's pupils' pupils. These facts came to my knowledge from the rubbish that was printed as 'Purely Delsarte.'" With reference to Moses True Brown and others he said, "I was never more surprised in my life than to find many, who pretend to be expounders of the method, write and say that 'this was essentially the same as their exposition of
In regard to Werner's editorials, Curry commented, "Mr. Mackaye has been sneered at for keeping the great work of Delsarte secret, and doling it out by little bits at an extraordinary price. This is most unjust." He went on to make an oblique reference to The Voice. "Mr. Mackaye is not blamed by anyone acquainted with the magnitude of the undertaking. It is not a work for some little circular--it is the work of a lifetime." In his own defense Curry added, "I learn that some people have done me the honor to criticise me in connection with Mr. Mackaye, stating that I have tried to monopolize him, and am trying to keep his work to myself in order to dole it out and make money. Of course, no one who knows anything of me or my work would make such a remark." An early statement in the article credited Mackaye with originating much of what was being taught: "Indeed, half the work of completely evolving and applying the principles is Mr. Mackaye's own. Some of the exercises and principles are wholly his work."

This remark was of significance later when it became important to Delsartians to determine what principles were actually Delsarte's. Another accusation made by Curry was that Delsarte's teachings were being perverted:

... Anyone who attends the exhibition of a lot of pose positions, can see at once that the teaching is in direct antagonism to all the principles and methods of Delsarte, for it was always his aim to get at fundamentals, out of which positions will form spontaneously, and one of the worst violations of nature is to externally fix a position for each emotion.
In a remark probably not intended to be fundamental to his discussion, Curry may have put his finger on the basic problem from which the whole Delsarte controversy arose:

In all other branches of knowledge, a master is acknowledged and all seek his council; but in elocution it is too often considered a disgrace to acknowledge anyone as greater than ourselves, even in any part of the work. Each teacher must have his system and be a star of the first magnitude in antagonism to all others.

Aside from the appearance of the Curry article, the other important event of the year was the publication of Genevieve Stebbins' "Delsarte System of Dramatic Expression" in serial form beginning in June, 1885. The first installment was prefaced by a letter to the author from Steele Mackaye, in which he said in words reminiscent of the Curry advertisement, "You are the only one of my pupils now living whom I can conscientiously recommend or gladly authorize to teach what I teach myself." This work contained the highly controversial "decomposing exercises," which would be called relaxation exercises today, the "chart of the ninefold accord" with its specialized Delsarte vocabulary, the divisions of the body, the attitudes of the legs, and other teachings identified with Delsartism.

After 1885 the articles on Delsarte came in a steady stream. If there were those who did not wish to see Delsarte principles in print, there were others ready to contribute to the magazine, directly or indirectly. In 1887 Werner reproduced a lecture by Steele Mackaye
on "Expression in Nature and Expression in Art" and published Mackaye's biographical article on Delsarte in 1889. In the ranks of those whose articles appeared in the magazine were the earlier contributors, Moses True Brown, Dr. Jirah D. Buck, Mrs. Frank Stuart Parker, Genevieve Stebbins, and the Reverend William R. Alger, and the later group consisting of Anna Randall-Diehl, author of the Practical Delsarte Primer, F. Townsend Southwick, Mary S. Thompson, Emily M. Bishop of the Chautauqua School of Expression, Fred Winslow Adams, Franklin H. Sargent, and Colonel F. W. Parker.

Approximately forty-five issues of Werner's Magazine carried major articles or departments containing Delsarte theory and practices between its advent and 1895. The extent to which Delsarte had a hold on elocution is indicated by the fact that in 1893 Robert I. Fulton presented a "Harmony of the Rush and Delsarte Philosophies" before the Chicago convention of elocutionists (XV, 344) and included the same effort in the Fulton-Trueblood textbook, Practical Elements of Elocution.

The tendency to dilute Delsarte with materials from other sources grew as time passed and as it became less and less important to the Delsartians to have obtained pedagogical techniques at or near the source. During the nineties many of those whose work had borne
the label "pure Delsarte" began to admit to a certain originality of thought. These admissions appear to have resulted in part from the American visit of Mme. Géraldy, a daughter of Delsarte, who disowned in the name of her father much of the Delsartian activity that she saw. Immediately the term "American Delsartian" came into use (XIV, 59-63) in the pages of Werner's Magazine. A typical reaction was probably that of Emily M. Bishop:

If what has been given to us by Mme. Delsarte Géraldy, as the "real, original Delsarte teaching" outlines the scope of what was taught by François Delsarte some twenty odd years ago, then the "American invention," as Mme. Géraldy calls our Delsarte teaching, seems to me far more desirable than the French original.

The American Delsartians were also dismayed at the competition resulting from Mme. Géraldy's presence. Comments in Werner's Magazine indicate that "hundreds of persons, after attending a lecture or two," announced themselves as Delsartians (XIV, 49) and even pupils of the father (XIV, 112):

A word of advice may not be out of place to those pupils of Mme. Géraldy who have formed an association, viz.: In our opinion, it is unwise, as well as misrepresenting, to advertise yourselves as the pupils of "M. Delsarte." You are the pupils of Mme. Géraldy, and not of M. (Monsieur) Delsarte, who died in 1871, when some of you were in your infantile apparel. You will gain nothing by misrepresentation.

Accessories to Delsarte

The scope of this study does not permit an analysis of the multitudinous reinterpretations of Delsarte in the articles the
American Delsartians contributed. Instead, it is important to examine briefly those ideas and activities bearing the name of Delsartism, yet by almost no stretch of the imagination originating with Delsarte himself.

The following articles and series of articles appeared in Werner's Magazine while Delsartism was still in the ascendancy. Because most of them dealt with visible manifestations of "expressive man," it is likely that they were seized upon by teachers in need of specific ideas for bolstering the appeal of the abstract portions of Delsartism. Some of the authors claimed to be Delsartians; others apparently had no connection with the "system." Most of the titles cited below were not single articles but books printed as serials continuing over a period of twelve or more months.


1895: "Mantegazza on Expressions in the Face."
There were also less extensive articles in which the work of an individual teacher was examined or the "physical culture" of a particular school or gymnasium was discussed. In this manner a connection was formed between "Delsarte physical culture" and physical education.

**Gymnastics.**—The practices of the pseudo-Delsartism of the nineties probably was borrowed extensively from at least one of the books listed above, Guttmann's *Aesthetic Physical Culture*, twice presented in serial form (see list above) in Werner's *Magazine*. Even while he was virtually conducting a publicity campaign for Delsartism, Werner was publishing a possible rival in the Guttmann articles. Oskar Guttmann, actor, orator, and vocalist, had published in Germany in 1864 a work, the translated title of which was *Aesthetic Physical Culture*. Werner pointed out in 1884 that Guttmann's book contained much that the Delsartians were claiming for the Delsarte system (VI, 42). "Guttmann had never heard of Delsarte," he said, "but who can say if Delsarte did not know and use 'Aesthetic Physical Culture?'"

The book to which Werner referred had been published in *The Voice* in 1882 and 1883 in serial form, beginning in the same month that saw the publication of the Delsarte first edition. The first installments presented the anatomy and physiology of the human body and exercises for training the muscles. The activities included head and neck, torso and arm exercises, "hand and wrist practice," and "leg and foot
practice." A section on "aesthetic gymnastics" followed, its divisions being the purely subjective or "plastic," and the objective or "mimic."

"By plastic we understand not repose alone, but the transition from repose to movement, and from one position to another; that is, beauty in movement, or the 'animated plastic'" (V, 17). The topics taken up included standing, movement of arms and hands, walking (walking in general, walking of ladies with trains, turning to the right, walking sideward, turning around, etc.), opening a door, seating oneself, kneeling, holding a hat, carrying a cane, falling on stage, the use of the handkerchief, the hand-kiss, the carrying of the fan, and other bodily activities supposedly engaged in by polite society. Like the Wells version of Delsarte, it was a practical treatise.

It is highly probable that Guttmann, rather than Delsarte, was responsible for the "aesthetic gymnastics," "tableaux mouvants," and "statue-posing" that a portion of the elocutionists welcomed enthusiastically. At least, the terminology he employed in discussing aesthetic gymnastics, and his concept of moving from one position to another were echoed by later writers who specialized in this form of entertainment.

"Tableaux mouvants and poses plastiques."--In December, 1890, Werner's Voice Magazine published four photographs of a group of girls, pupils of Margaret Virginia Jenkina, dressed in "Greek robes" and arranged in various attitudes and poses to form tableaux representative
of "familiar repose, ceremony and respect, indecision, reflection, defiance, despair, animation, suspense, and vehemence." The following December another series appeared, this time accompanied by an article written by Mrs. Clara Power Edgerly of the Boston School of Oratory, sometimes credited with the origination of the "art-form" described. She reported that the program had evolved from a class in gesture and pantomime and was representative of public performances of the preceding five years. How extensively such "art" was already being cultivated in 1891 is not clear, but group and individual performances of this type took elocutionists by storm. Genevieve Stebbins became the exponent of "aesthetic" statue-posing, giving recitals in New York City that were duly publicized by Werner's Magazine.

The activity became a handmaiden to reading and recitation, the movements and poses being assumed by a visible performer while an invisible one read the words of which the movement or pose was symbolic. The poses were used as illustrations of poems and readings for Werner's Magazine, particularly after 1900. E. V. Sheridan's name appeared as the director who posed a given elocutionary artist for the photographs supplied to the magazine. It became popular in connection with the elocutionary training of children to pose young children in coy positions illustrating adult activities and religious themes, and some of these, too, Werner's Magazine reproduced.
Although there was little or nothing of Delsarte in such artificial products, the name apparently was associated in the public mind with slow, graceful gestures, "feather movements," and unnaturally assumed positions. Whatever value the original adherents may have seen in Delsartism, the distortions with which its name became linked drove it from favor. The following reply by Virgil A. Pinkley to a communication from Edgar S. Werner in 1896 was characteristic of the ridicule heaped upon the practitioners of pseudo-Delsartism (XVIII, 1109-1112):

What you say about spectacular elocution and pupils of elocution consisting almost wholly of women whose training embraces little else than calisthenics and posing is pithy and timely. There are a number, like unto the sands of the sea, who have been taught what their teachers call "feather movements," and who in public exhibition feather themselves all over, regardless of reason or sense; who have been taught serpentine movements (surely Satan must be at the bottom of that!), and who publicly writhe and wriggle, regardless of the demands of the thought; who have been so superficially spiralized until they so spirate (coined) publicly in the expression of the simplest truths that it is not surprising that people of education and of good common sense turn from it with disgust. Such reciters, in telling you to see how that bird flies, would spend so much time in feathering their hands, and serpentinizing their bodies and spiralizing their arms, that the bird would be lost to view ere they finally indexed their finger in the direction in which the bird was flying. And then to label themselves with the libel "Delsarte," and to call such ridiculous exhibition, Delsartism! Well, Delsarte is dead. However, his heirs might have grounds for suits for damages.
"Elocution," during the period of Werner's Magazine, was often defined by its contributors as "speaking out," that is, delivery. In addition to being a teacher, the elocutionist was usually a practitioner of his art; that is, he might be an amateur or a professional public reader, reciter, monologuist, or actor. These activities he believed to be "artistic," and he studied his specialty assiduously in order to perfect himself as an "artist." Werner's Magazine devoted much space, especially in the nineties, to these arts. This amateur-professional reader-reciter-monologuist-actor found in its pages prose, poetry, and drama for reading, recitation, and acting, as well as articles on technique, aesthetics, literary criticism, and new schools of thought in oral interpretation. As the years passed, Werner's Magazine became more and more his publication.

Reading, Recitation, and Acting

It is easy to understand how reading and recitation, rather than original speaking, became the principal activities of those who trained themselves in elocution. In the first place, the actual practice a student of elocution engaged in, even in the study of oratory, was
usually the delivery of a memorized selection. And second, his
training in the mechanics of voice quality, inflection, pause, and
gesture all but demanded the use of standardized material to which
they could be applied, rather than the fluctuating, ever-changing
content of speaking.

It should be remembered, also, that there was a market
for the elocutionist's talents. He was the amateur entertainer of a
community which was without benefit of moving pictures, radio, or
television. He was the professional entertainer of a community that
was situated too far from the centers of group dramatic art to share
in that product or that condemned it for moral reasons. His was not
a new art or a new form of entertainment, however. He had behind
him the authority and prestige of two eighteenth century "schools"
of elocution--the so-called mechanical and natural. More immediately
he had received the attention of the Rush-Russell-Murdoch "school" and
had very recently heard of the new system of Delsarte. He had
a model in Charles Dickens, who had, as recently as 1867, crossed
the Atlantic to display this very art (XIV, 119). He was soon to
witness scores of American authors attempting the same thing at
home and abroad. It is no exaggeration to assert that the elocutionist

1 These schools have been too widely discussed in studies in
the history of speech education to warrant descriptive treatment here.
The study most readily available is Mary Margaret Robb's Oral
Interpretation of Literature in American Colleges and Universities
was a very important person in the cultural development of this period.

Nineteenth century elocution made little or no distinction between the training of reader, reciter, and actor. The art that was performed and taught cut across the boundaries of these activities, so that it was possible for an elocutionist to perfect himself in one or a variety of styles of presentation. He might, for example, read from a book while sitting at a table, recite from memory while turned toward or away from the audience, or enact on a stage a role or even a group of roles while costumed and in makeup. In any case, he was most often an individual artist rather than a member of a group.

_Werner's Magazine_ offered to the elocutionist whose primary interest was reading and recitation: selections to enlarge his repertory; articles on technique to supplement his textbooks and his own elementary training; articles on aesthetics, literary, and dramatic criticism; and discussions, articles, and correspondence dealing with theories, with new objectives, and with criticisms of certain practices of doubtful "artistic" value.

_Selections for reading and recitation._—It is highly probable that the department of readings and recitations was the first section of _Werner's Magazine_ to which many of its readers turned. Such a department is of interest to investigators in the field of elocutionary history because the lists of recitations and authors are likely to be a good index to the literary standards and the interpretative practices
of the period.

In November, 1885, almost seven full years after publication of The Voice began, a single selection for recitation appeared. It was adapted from the French by Genevieve Stebbins especially for the magazine and was entitled "The Eve of Marriage." To the selection was attached an explanation of its nature and a brief footnote:

A monologue, as the name implies, is a drama acted by one performer. This monologue requires the following stage-setting: A table on which should be placed a card-basket containing wedding cards, a certificate of confession, a necklace of pearls in a box, a decanter of water, and a glass; a hand-mirror, a chair, and a stool complete the arrangements. The performer enters with a lamp which she places on the table. *

*The adapter has found these monologues very entertaining when listened to in France. They have since proved her most effective selections when recited in New York. She offers them to the public, knowing how welcome is anything new to the student of elocution.

Within the selection were stage directions such as "turns down lamp," "prolonging e," "repeats same tone," "clock strikes" "head falls on chair," "opens window," and "laughs joyously but hysterically." A note following the monologue promised that a series of these and other pieces of recitation would appear regularly in The Voice.

December's lone recitation was a humorous poem of three stanzas, to which was attached an analysis by Edwin Drew, the editor of the London Elocutionist, a publication postdating the establishment of The Voice. The third selection, appearing in January, 1886, was "The Legend of Van Bibber's Rock," by Mrs. Emma Dunning Banks of
Bridgeport, Connecticut, whose name became familiar to purchasers of Werner's books of readings and recitations. Mrs. Banks attached a "little talk" in which she explained the character of the narrator and described the vocal effects and physical movements most desirable. She mentioned Delsarte and employed Delsartian terms; a "moral" gesture, for example, being allowed to illustrate "floating, golden hair." The following month a two-act play appeared: "The Two Roses," a farce by Marguerite W. Morton, including set and stage directions and positions of the curtain tableau. In March, Mrs. Banks contributed an encore, "Aline's Love Song," and provided a musical phrase for use with it, plus a cautionary note: "Don't overdo this business. If you do, you will be pretty apt to lay yourself open to the imputation of attempting to suggest a 'song-and-dance artist'."

"Lenora," translated from the German of Gottfried August Bürger by Alfred Ayres, was featured in the April issue. April, May, and June also brought selections from Mrs. Banks, Thomas F. Wilford, and Alice C. Jennings. August saw the appearance of an "Analysis of Poe's 'Bells, '" although it was not numbered as a selection. Mrs. Banks completed the year's list of authors with one contribution each month.

In 1887 new names appeared but the general effect was the same. April brought two selections destined to become popular with elocutionists: 'Mrs. Banks' "Mein Katrine's Brudder Hans,"
and "Wild Zingarella, or the Gypsy Flower-Girl of Spain," by Ed. L. McDowell. The same issue had an inset of words and music for song and recitation: "The Fairy Revel" and "The Fable of the Rainbow," supposedly done in costume with marching and "appropriate motions and gestures." In May, Mrs. Anna Randall-Diehl began a series of "Methods of Teaching Reading," applied each month to a different selection. She recommended "Little Hugo" as "an excellent recitation. It can be made very pretty and effective by being given by a girl in French peasant costume." Her June contribution was a study of Longfellow's "King Robert of Sicily," the selection itself not being reproduced. One of the October selections was unusual: an unpublished poem, by Sir Walter Scott, entitled "The False Brother." Robert G. Ingersoll's prose graced the December recitation department.

In 1888 the recitations varied in number from one to eight. Some familiar names appeared among the authors: James Whitcomb Riley, David Belasco, Edgar S. Werner, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Chauncey M. Depew. Many of the selections were already well-known or became so: "The Low-Backed Car," "The Kitchen Clock," "The Drunkard's Death" (for temperance occasions), and two different cuttings of "Ben-Hur's Chariot Race." Elsie M. Wilbur provided a cutting from F. Marion Crawford's novel "The Massacre of Zoroaster" in February; a duologue comedy appeared in June and another duologue in August. Indicative of what was to come in future
The year brought two significant expressions of opinion as to the suitability of certain materials. One, written by Wilbor, condemned parodies as unsuitable, having "no place among refined and educated people--and they are the only class that really see and understand the point that it is supposed to contain." The other was a quotation from Parker's *Order of Exercises in Elocution* to the effect that the average elocutionist, though supposedly perfectly capable of interpreting Shakespeare or Browning "in order to adapt himself more nearly to what he judges to be the average capacity of his hearers, ... usually confines himself to 'Curfew Must not Ring To-night,' 'The Seminole's Defiance,' 'The Gambler's Wife,' 'The Polish Boy,' 'The Raven,' 'The Beautiful Snow,' and similar classical selections." It is apparent from the list compiled by Parker that adverse criticisms of the quality of the elocutionist's selections were already well founded before *The Voice* entered the field with its contributions.

In 1889 the recitation department opened the year with six selections and doubled its size by December. Riley, Whittier, Ingersoll, and, of course, Mrs. Banks, were represented. The elocutionist could give full rein to any desire for special vocal effects, for he was given the opportunity for bird calls in "The Bobolink," a baby cry in "Emma Dunning Banks's Medley," songs of
sparrow and hen in two short selections, and a whole forest of birds in "Mary's Singing-Lesson." "Mariquita, the Bandit's Daughter" was supposed to be accompanied by a tableau at the end of each stanza; and a drill, "Daughters of the Regiment," appeared as a part of the department in May.

The preceding month Werner had issued a call for articles on the elements of a successful recitation and names of ten or more "best recitations." Literary, "artistic," and popular value were to be considered. More than twenty answers to the call for an article appeared. As might be expected, the answers varied in their approach, some of the more interesting points being: a distinction should be made between material read to an audience and material for study (XI, 41); a recitation should not be more than fifteen minutes long (XI, 42); "Those readers who can introduce 'bird-calls,' 'baby-cries,' and similar vocal gymnastics always take" (XI, 72); "Thoroughly memorize, and leave your book at home" (XI, 83); "I often think that a recitation depends more upon the reciter than what he recites" (XI, 84); one of the best selections "is a medley which I arranged, introducing 'Shandon Bells,' Poe's sleigh-bells and fire-bells, a dinner-bell, cow-bells, and a part of 'Creeds of the Bells'" (XI, 136); "Public reading has been and still is, a substitute to many for what they long to find upon the stage, but are debarred from such enjoyment by religious scruples or by other hindrances" (XI, 136); "Adapt the selection to the
occasion and to the appreciative capacity of the audience" (XI, 136); "A recitation should not be didactic or abstract" (XI, 137); "narrative style is unquestionably the most satisfactory" (XI, 155); "There are always some in an audience who 'enjoy a good cry'" (XI, 155); "Should we lower our standard to suit the public taste, or seek to elevate the latter?" (XI, 156). The series of responses is a remarkable one in that virtually all the topics on the subject of recitation due to be brought up for consideration during the next decade were stated or implied by the correspondents. J. C. Zachos, soon to become an honorary member of the elocutionists' association, sent one of the most succinct replies (XI, 84):

The elements of a successful recitation are:
First, a successful reciter.
Secondly, a receptive and intelligent audience.
Thirdly, a recitation that is short.
Fourthly, let the recitation be witty and humorous, or dramatic, pathetic, fiery, passionate and personal; but deal with no abstractions nor science.

In March, 1889, Werner began a series of contests for contributed "best recitations" yet unpublished. He offered one dollar in Werner publications for each losing contribution that he retained, in addition to the winning prizes. This method of acquiring recitations was continued for many years.

Two relatively insignificant articles, one a reprint, appearing during the year throw additional light on certain trends viewed as unfortunate by the writers. Ida Hayward Johnson wrote
for Werner's **Voice Magazine** some "Suggestions to Would-Be Elocutionists," among which was the recommendation to limit one's repertory and use standard selections (XI, 163):

It is better to make fewer selections, well studied, say 30 or 40, than 75 not so well prepared. If every reader would learn his pieces a year before rendering, . . . he would be surprised how much they would improve by seasoning. Except for special occasions, it is not always the latest pieces that are the strongest or most effective. Take, for an example of an old piece, Browning's "How They Brought the Good News from Ghent to Aix." A pupil has been known to study it for two weeks, and never say it without shedding tears at the heroic situation at the end. It is the intensity of the piece that tells on the audience, when the reader feels his words and it makes little difference how old the selection, if well rendered.

The other item was a criticism of "Costume Recitations" (XI, 233):

Among the latest and least rational freaks of the "sweet girl-graduate" from some conservatory of elocution, is that of giving recitations in costume. . . .

Here, for instance, comes an account of a young person of prepossessing exterior, who has been studying with those two opposites in instruction, Mr. Mackaye and Mr. Boucicault, and is now about to go out reciting Tennyson's "Elaine," in an array "especially designed for her by Mr. Hamilton Bell, the archaeological artist costumer." Whose costume will she wear? That of Elaine, Queen Guinevere, Launcelot or bluff Sir Torre? One is just as appropriate to a reciter about them all as another; and, in point of fact, the only possible deviation from the damsel's own regular clothes would be a make-up devised by the peripatetic reciter who used to imitate John B. Gough and got herself up with a suit of man's gear and a beard like his. An imitation of Tennyson's slouchy dress, shaggy hair and stubbed pipe might not be pretty, but it would be defensible, whereas a costume fit for a fancy ball is not.

When a monologue is to be recited, the dress of the character may be properly assumed; but to put on the costume supposed to belong to one of the personages in a narrative is bad art, and the acceptance of it as the "right caper" shows a dreadful want of appreciation of the fitness of things.
The year 1890 added new names to the list of authors whose works had found their way into the recitation department: Robert Browning, H. C. Bunner, the Reverend Joseph Parker, Mary Tucker Magill, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Bayard Taylor, Sam Walter Foss, Thomas Nelson Page, Fred Emerson Brooks, Margaret E. Sangster, Edward Everett Hale, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, and Cora S. Wheeler, a prominent member of the elocutionary profession. A pantomime called "The Dog's Funeral" was included in the July recitation department, and the November issue contained Aldrich's "The Artist's Model," arranged by Mme. E. de Louie, with music. An increasing number of timely recitations began to appear one month ahead of the period of usefulness, to give readers a chance to prepare them for special occasions and holidays. October saw the inclusion of a "Delsarte entertainment" and a short poem called "The Orphans," concerning which the "Readers and Singers" column announced (XII, 267): "It is translated by a young Baltimore girl from the Hungarian, her native language, being written by Eotvos, a popular poet." Among the more interesting directions for "rendering" recitations was the suggestion attached to Edwin L. Barker's "The Beautiful Snow (XII, 1890): "I have found the most effective way of rendering this piece is to assume a bashful character, allowing a full rest between each line; using very few gestures, and turning the head from right to left with each sentence."
The editor took the occasion, in May, 1890, to comment on a marked trend in the choice of elocutionary materials, one that has never completely disappeared, in his editorial, "Morbidness in Elocutionary Art" (XII, 132-133):

With too many elocutionists an opportunity for personal display is the first consideration, and a high estimate is placed upon their power to surprise or shock an audience. With such the "Polish Boy," "Rum's Maniac," and "The Drunkard's Delirium" are favorite selections. The opportunity to roll the eyes, tear the hair, and foam at the mouth, is utilized to the fullest extent. It is a compliment to the audience to say that it seldom enjoys this sort of exhibition; as a rule, it tolerates it while looking to see what is the next piece on the program. To be sure, the janitor of the building who, from the wing, has seen the convulsive writhings and overheard the frantic ejaculations of the wife and mother, turning over the imaginary dead bodies of slaughtered men upon a three-ply carpet by the light of an imaginary lantern, hesitates, owing to his active imagination, to step upon the supposed sanguinary platform, and this hesitation is considered a tremendous tribute to transcendent genius. But by what standard is genius to be estimated? . . .

It is women who are most largely given to this phase of art . . . .

In the repertoire of many public readers there are pieces which are as unwholesome as decayed vegetables, distressing as a nightmare, and as revolting as a gutter drunkard, yet which, giving vast scope for extravagant gestures, varied qualities, pitch and force of voice, are seized upon as elocutionary treasures by the eye quick to see opportunity for sensational effect. "O Art! what crimes are committed in thy name!"

As was sometimes the case, the editor's comments evoked an anecdotal response (XII, 162):

. . . I was reminded of an incident which occurred in an Illinois town about ten years ago. A young lady elocutionist rendered an elaborate program, upon which were the two selections, "The Maniac" and "Searching for the Slain." The last named was given first, with the regulation groans and convulsions. An old man in the audience watched the performance intently, muttering at the
close of one of the most expressive stanzas, "Can't find him, hey? Better speak to the sexton. Mebbe he toted him off 'long with the minister's table." The auditor appeared better natured as he learned "How the Old Horse Won the Bet," but frowned again heavily as the young lady began to assert in distracted tones, "I am not mad! I am not mad!" He listened to about half of the poem, then rose suddenly, exclaiming in no muttered tones, but in a voice as loud as that of the temporary lunatic: "Who said ye be? But ye'll drive everybody else mad ef ye don't shut up!" and taking up his hat and stick, he tramped up the main aisle to the door of the church. There was a ghoulish silence for an instant, then a shout of laughter, and the young lady retired discomfited.

Among teachers the advisability of requiring or allowing students to choose their own materials was, and remains, a discussion topic. In "Pieces for Pupils" (XII, 76), the editor invited comment on the subject after expressing his own essentially modern views:

There is a radical difference among teachers in regard to the selecting of pieces for pupils. Some insist upon dictating to the pupil exactly what he shall learn, and utterly refuse to allow him to make his own choice. It is a question whether this is the best means of advancing the student. Of course, the teacher should direct the pupil's artistic judgment. Within reasonable limits, however, is it not better to leave the selecting of pieces, especially after the pupil has attained a fair degree of technical skill, to his own taste? Let[the teacher] say to the pupil, "Bring me a specimen of such and such a style," rather than name a particular piece. The teacher can easily guard against one-sidedness by insisting on variety.

Give a pupil a selection that in your judgment is the very one needed, and if he take a dislike to it you may as well give up the task of getting any good from him out of any amount of work upon it. It is better to put it aside and use something that he can and does feel interested in, even if it be a little out of the line in which it is most desirable that he should be working.

The editorial evoked responses essentially in agreement with the point of view expressed, although one teacher added that she refused to teach a selection provided by the student if it was "coarse, or minus literary
merit" or a "string of foolishness" (XII, 136). Two months later, a letter appeared from a teacher whose pursuit of this policy of free selection had produced a problem she was unable to solve (XII, 191):

Occasionally, by way of varying the program of regular lessons from the reading-book, I request my pupils, all young ladies from 16 to 20 years of age, to make their own selection of something to be prepared for the reading-lesson a week later; it is to be practiced at home, and finally given as a specimen of the best work they can do.

Under these circumstances one of my pupils electrified me by announcing, "Extract from 'Poems of Passion,' by Ella Wheeler Wilcox," and proceeded to read with much unction and in dramatic style suited to the piece—for she had great elocutionary talent—a poem of half a dozen stanzas, each one of which is calculated to make the hair of a moralist stand on end.

. . . The class listened attentively, as was customary. Upon their faces there appeared no surprise or question. . . .

Horrified I asked myself, shall I let her go on? But she was allowed to go on simply because I could not decide whether or not it would be wise to stop her. Secondly, what shall I say to her concerning the selection? What ought I to say to the class?

. . . What did the circumstances demand of?

A WELL-MEANING TEACHER

During 1891, the number of recitations published each month reached fifteen. A play, "Sappho," by Jessie Norton, with illustrations, filled the pages of the department in November. New names on the list of authors included Eugene Field, Kate Douglas Wiggin, Andrew Lang, Robert Southey, Livingston Russell, an elocutionist, Mrs. Mary L. Gaddess, Will Carleton, and Austin Dobson, with F. Townsend Southwick a new contributor of lesson-helps and Elsie M. Wilbor conducting the department. The number of costume-recitations was noticeably up, as were tableaux, and several of the
recitations were set to music. The "novelty" (XIII, 300) of musical recitations, far from wearing off, was attracting more and more reciters. As early as August, 1889, Werner had listed on the second cover thirteen recitations for which music was available. Caroline B. Le Row, in November, 1891, offered a suggested list including "Midsummer Night's Dream" with Mendelssohn's music, "Rock of Ages," Longfellow's "Christmas Bells," Bryant's "Song of the Star," and "Robert of Lincoln," and Drake's "The American Flag," the last-named to be accompanied by national airs.

The concern expressed during the previous year in connection with the selection of improper recitations was apparently destined to continue for some time during the nineties. In March, 1891, the magazine carried a reprint of a signed editorial from the Boston Globe entitled "An Expurgated Longfellow." Its motivation had been a reported agitation among school commissioners of Brooklyn as to the advisability of expurgating portions of "The Building of the Ship." The writer, Sam Walter Foss, suggested additional deletions, giving the following humorous explanation (XIII, 80):

That Longfellow led a wild and disorderly life is amply attested by his own admission. In one of his poems he states, without any limitation or any extenuating circumstances, that he

Stood on the bridge at midnight.

He furthermore states, in the same poem, that he "often" stood on the bridge at midnight. What sort of poetry could we expect from a poet who kept such late hours as this? A man who was frequently out till after twelve o'clock at night, and who was so
careless of the proprieties of life that he actually stood on the bridge, aimlessly loitering about, instead of hurrying home to his family, cannot be expected to write poetry that can be read promiscuously among the people in unexpurgated form.

In 1892 Werner had well under way a project that survived Werner's Magazine by many years--the publication of Werner's Readings and Recitations, a series that ran to fifty-eight numbers before his death. The four announced in April were: "English Classics" (No. 1); "All-Round Recitations," compiled by Elsie M. Wilbor (No. 2); "Original Character Sketches," a humorous collection by George Kyle and Mary Kyle Dallas (No. 3); and Wilbor's "All-round Recitations" (No. 4). Among the selections were "Her Laugh in Four Fits," some pathetic selections, and a number requiring "bird-notes." The "English Classics" offered "The May-Pole," a "light and airy piece affording opportunity for jig-steps and musical accompaniment," Carlyle's "Marie Antoinette," Thackeray's "Miss Pinkerton's Academy for Young Ladies," Milton's "On His Blindness," and Aytoun's "The Heart of Bruce." Some of the selections included in this series had already appeared in Werner's Magazine, a duplication of material that continued during the magazine's history.

2 "The publishing of recitations is our special business," Werner wrote in 1898 (XX, 698).

3 "At ten years old a maid laughs 'Haw, haw, haw;' at twenty 'Ha, ha, ha;' at thirty 'He, he, he;' at forty 'Who, who, who.'"

4 The appearance of this presumably obscure selection at the interpretation division of the High School Rally at Louisiana State University in recent years suggests the possibility that some of the older Werner publications are still in use.
In the same issue that carried the three-page advertisement was an editorial in which Werner announced that he detected a tendency toward "light recitations" and away from "blood-curdling pieces," a trend that he thought to be in some respects a good sign. "We cannot emphasize too strongly the great good resulting from children's memorizing good literature. There should be more work done on this line," he said (XIV, 112). Although he was probably echoing a common observation he had heard from teachers of elocution, Werner anticipated a theme that was to resound loudly in the future convention halls of the National Association of Elocutionists, whose first organizational meeting was held this same year.

It was some time before the selections in the magazine improved appreciably. During the next six years (XIV-XX, 1892-1897), the number of recitations averaged twelve to fifteen each month, with an occasional omission during the months of special issues. Short plays, duologues, and tableaux continued to find their way into "Recitation and Declamation." Most of the plays were apparently intended as readings rather than for actual production by a group. Among the selections familiar to the modern reading public were: "Crossing the Bar" and "Wreck of the Jule Le Plante" [sic] (1892); "Little Boy Blue" (1893); "Locksley Hall," "The Blessed Damozel," "The Duel," and "Mr. Fezziwig's Ball" (1894); "A Musical Instrument," "Prospice," "Incident of the French Camp," and "The
Sands o’ Dee” (1895); and “O Captain! My Captain!” and “The Tell-Tale Heart” (1896). In April, 1895, a trend toward better literature seemed to be well established, for the moment, with the following roster of authors: Chancey M. Depew, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, T. B. Macaulay, Robert Browning, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, Alfred Tennyson, and Austin Dobson. A correspondent in Illinois reported evidence of a growing taste for ”the higher class of readings” (XVIII, 380).

Unified subject matter in the monthly department of recitations appeared in May, 1895, the explanation being (XVII, 395): “The great interest that is manifested in everything connected with Napoleon and the numerous requests which have come to us for recitations pertaining to him and to that period, have led us to make the recitation department this month a Napoleon number.” A call for guest editors for the department in this month (XVII, 375) revealed that the literary merit in evidence during the preceding month resulted from the choices of M. Helena Zachos, guest editor. A group of selections compiled and arranged by Kate Weaver for August included only Southern authors.

In April, 1896, the editor called for the names and addresses of readers of Shakespeare and Browning, and those who made up an entire program from one author. The same editorial section (XVIII, 350-351) discussed the difficulties encountered by these readers of ”better” material:
Anyone who essays Shakespeare must expect the gauge of first-class criticism to be applied to him. We should include also in this list of first-class writers, Milton, Browning, Tennyson, Goethe, Hugo, Racine, Molière, Dante, and Poe. At first thought, we are apt to say that a reader's task is unfulfilled unless he conveys the author's meaning to the auditor. But is this always possible? How many readers are there—is there one—who can read a Shakespeare play or Browning's "Count Gismond" or "The Last Duchess" to a person of average intelligence, who knows nothing about the play or poem, never himself has read it or heard it read, so that this person will understand it? Should not the reader, then, arrange his program to fit the mental calibre of the audience? Certainly the receptivity of the audience is a vital factor in the problem.

The names of readers of one-author programs and their selections began to appear in September, 1896, the list of readers including George W. Cable, S. H. Clark, Mrs. Frances Carter, Mrs. Sidney Lanier, Virgil Alonzo Pinkley, Leland T. Powers, George Riddle, Sidney Woollett, Hannibal A. Williams and Mrs. Jean Stuart Brown Williams in September; Edward P. Perry and "Leotta," granddaughter of H. W. Longfellow, in November; and Austin H. Merrill in December. The authors represented included Matthew Arnold, J. M. Barrie, the Bible, Boucicault, Browning, Bulwer-Lytton, Dickens, Dryden, Eliot, Homer, Horace, Hugo, Ibsen, Irving, Kipling, Lamb, Milton, Rossetti, Scott, Shakespeare, Sheridan, Sophocles, Tennyson, Twain, and Lew Wallace. The "Letter-Box" brought approval for the attention given to this phase of program building (XVIII, 954).

A list of "The Ten Best Short Poems in the English Language,"
as selected by the New York Sun, with the poems published in full (XIX, 397-400) was printed in May, 1897, together with the editor's invitation for reader's choices. Replies with additional lists soon appeared in the "Letter-Box." The September, 1897, recitation department printed, with the exception of one addition, only those selections read at the N.A.E. convention of the year: the closet scene from Hamlet (acted), the bower scene from "Becket," Owen Meredith's "The Artist," three poems by Margaret Deland, Alfred Austin's "Ave Maria," George Eliot's "Armgart," and Browning's "Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister." Two additional N.A.E. readings appeared the following month. In keeping with the dictum of literary authority, Werner advertised in February, 1898, the publication of "Readings and Scenes from 'David Copperfield,'" including "Full Descriptions and Complete Stage Business." An offer of $175 in cash prizes for the "three best collections" of recitations appeared in May, 1898. The war in Cuba brought a flood of nationalistic and patriotic selections, making possible whole issues of such material: "Farragut to Dewey," "Loyalty" (by S.S. Curry), "Viva Cuba Libre," "The Annexation of Hawaii," and many others, most of which were inferior in quality to the standard that had been established earlier.

A decided change took place in the recitation department in March, 1899, at the beginning of Volume XXIII: encores were attached in a special section, and suggestions for "Special Day
Exercises" were included. In the next month's issue, criticisms of the recitations of the first three months were included in the department and were continued through August. "Entertainments," drills, monologues, concert-recitations, and other special forms multiplied rapidly, most of them being the work of Stanley Schell. The name of the department was changed in May to "Parlor, Platform, School, and Stage" for a period of three months, after which an independent department of "Entertainments" drew off the "sociables," parties, festivals, tableaux, drills, "motion songs," pantomimes, luncheons, skits, juvenile plays, and pose-and-dance combinations. With the resumption of its old title, the "Recitation and Declamation" department returned to normal.

In November, 1899, the department announced a plan, already inaugurated:

It is the aim of this department to present each month:
(1.) Selections arranged for dramatic readings from a popular, artistic play; (2.) Selections appropriate to the season; (3.) Selections touching some topic of the day; (4.) An oration of value; (5.) Three selections, one dramatic, one humorous and one pathetic, suitable for a concert program; (6.) Encores.

Having already suggested that the narratives in the story department could be used as readings (XXIII, 80-85), the magazine began listing, in January, 1900, selections suitable for recitation in other magazines. Some longer selections also began to appear outside the department of recitations, among them an arrangement of Dickens' "Christmas Carol" (XXIV, 343-354) and "The Drama of the Babylonian Captivity" (XXIV, 592-597). A condensation of Hauptmann's "The Sunken Bell"
However, was retained in the recitation department.

The entertainment department began presenting "evenings" with various authors, the forerunner of the lecture-recital, in November, 1900. The first, a Tennyson program, suggested "The Brook" as a musical recitation. In quick succession, programs of Burns and Dickens followed. The recitation department suggested an evening with Paul Laurence Dunbar: "A little realism may be introduced by using a real cornstalk fiddle when reciting 'The Cornstalk Fiddle.' Special costumes may be worn in reciting some of the poems." (XXVI, 512).

In June, 1901, Werner's Magazine published its first "Lecture Recital." The subject was Eugene Field, the editor Grace Faxon. The editorial note read (XXVII, 258-260): "Lecture Recitals, by which the principal incidents in the life of an author are brought out together with the rendering of those of his works that lend themselves to effective recitations, are popular with readers. A series of such recitals, the first of which is here presented, will be given in the next six months of Werner's Magazine." The following month the recital on "American Songs and their History" bore this admonition (XXVII, 376-383): "The reciter should acquaint himself with the facts concerning the origin of the songs here given, and tell, not read them, in simple everyday language." The August program, on Alice and Phoebe Cary, included both readings and songs. Subsequent
programs took for their subjects: "Three Women Poets of New England" (Lucy Larcom, Celia Thaxter, and Helen Hunt Jackson), Bret Harte, and Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

The response to these recitals appears to have been favorable. A letter from Mrs. May Donnally Kelso, whose attitude toward the magazine's enterprises had sometimes been less than enthusiastic, read (XXVIII, 659): "I have been giving authors' sketches similar to those you are now publishing in your magazine for about five years, and prefer them to any other form of reading. They are more dignified and educative, and can be made quite as entertaining as miscellaneous programs."

The repertory department was maintained by Elizabeth Woodbury after Werner's Magazine was moved to Chicago. The character of the recitations changed radically, the issues including cuttings from "Sentimental Tommy," and William Allen White's "The King of Boyville," as well as the original German and two translations of Goethe's "The Parting." Had the magazine continued, it is possible that the department would have won back many of those who must have found the number of trivial and sentimental miscellaneous selections published in 1901 and 1902 cloying and unpalatable.

This detailed examination of the trends in selections presented through the channels of Werner's Magazine suggests the changes in taste, literary value, program organization, and techniques of
presentation through which the elocutionist's art passed during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Actually, all these different practices and points of view continued to coexist long after the turn of the century.

The "new elocution."--The choice of material for reading and reciting is essentially a practical problem. There are, however, problems that rest upon a fundamental theory or philosophy. The conscious recognition and establishment of a new philosophy of "interpretation," as it is currently called, began during the period of Werner's Magazine and, for want of a better term, was called merely the "new elocution." A brief survey of that development is presented in the following pages.

One of the earliest appearances of the term "new elocution" was in the title of an article by Moses True Brown called "The New School of Elocution. The Philosophy of Human Expression as Formulated by François Delsarte" (V, 1-3). The acceptance of the term was implied in S.S. Curry's use of its opposite, the "old elocution" (VII, 42-44), to apply to the "system" represented by Engel and Austin of the "mechanical school" of gesture. Scarcely a year later, in February, 1886, The Voice published a synopsis of Moses True Brown's lecture at the Boston Y.M.C.U., to which Werner attached the headline, "The New Elocution" (VIII, 30). The terminology was possibly intentional, for Werner wrote in connection
The part Mr. Steele Mackaye has taken in developing and popularizing the Delsarte System is too well known to need any explanation or defense. He, the late Prof. Lewis B. Monroe, and the Rev. William R. Alger were the great American trio to whom the expressional arts owe an immense debt of gratitude. They are the founders of the "new elocution," and were in the most intimate professional and personal relations with Delsarte.

However, the term came into prominence in the National Association of Elocutionists at a time when Delsartism had passed its peak and the word most often fell from the lips of those who were never identified as Delsarte adherents. The extensive use of the term preceding from its adoption by S. H. Clark represented a new approach to elocution. Clark himself had difficulty in defining the term. In a lecture delivered before the Chautauqua Assembly (XIX, 104-109), Clark made the following observations:

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... The old elocution aims simply at entertainment...

What does the new elocution claim to be? First, not merely an accomplishment; second, truly educative. It aims to develop self-expression. It aims to make of its students ministers of literature, extempore speakers, public orators, and, I repeat, lastly and only incidentally does it aim to make entertainers.

Just now I said that the new elocution was educative. How? By the most careful and critical analysis which it demands of every selection. It develops, first, the power of concentration in the student...

... The new elocution develops power of discrimination.

... Thirdly, the new elocution develops the power of emotion.
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Clark found it easier to demonstrate the new elocution by reading than to define it. The difficulty was not his alone. The Ohio
State Association of Elocutionists, meeting to discuss Mrs. Laurie Marie Pinkley's paper on "The New Elocution" in the same year, were hard put to define the concept in terms other than the very specific. One member thought that the old was more imitative; another noted the tendency toward simplicity, with less gesture and less superficiality; still another found the difference between old and new to lie in "suggesting" rather than acting out the "impersonative possibilities" of a selection (XIX, 357-358). Although each of these ideas was applicable within limitations, none of them defined the idea to the satisfaction of everyone. "To be candid, I do not believe that there is a New Elocution," Virgil A. Pinkley had said (XVII, 458-459).

Of all the letters and questions on the subject to appear in the magazine, the most interesting is probably one printed in the "Letter-Box for September, 1897 (XX, 80a):

To Prof. S.H. Clark: I have just gone quite carefully through the interesting paper you read, a few days ago, at the N.A.E. convention. Much as your paper interests me, it would have interested me--and I doubt not many others--much more had you told us something of the genesis of the new departure that is the subject of your essay. This assurance will, I hope, suffice to induce you to answer this question: If there is a new elocution, and if that elocution had a father, who is, or was, that father?

New York City. Alfred Ayres.

Ayres' remarks deserve more than a passing glance: It is quite possible that he had recognized his own progeny.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the influence of Ayres on the art of elocution during the eighties. His were the articles that
commanded attention, and his were the criticisms that were heeded.

In February, 1888, Werner had written an article on "Alfred Ayres. An Analytical Study of the Principles and Method of his Teaching and of his Criticisms" (X, 33), in which the following excerpts appeared:

Entertainer and elocutionist are not synonymous terms. An elocutionist may be able to sing, but a mere singer is not an elocutionist. An elocutionist may be able to whistle, but a mere whistler is not an elocutionist. An elocutionist may be a pantomimist, but a mere pantomimist is not an elocutionist. An elocutionist may be able to ventriloquize, but a mere ventriloquist is not an elocutionist. An elocutionist may be able to contort, but a mere contortionist is not an elocutionist.

An elocutionist may be able to imitate the sounds animals make, but a mere bleater, squealer, grunter, neigher, mooer, brayer, cackler, crower, quacker, hisser, screecher, hooter, warbler, busser, croaker, growler, howler, roarer, gobbler, cawer, mewer, barker, squeaker, chirper, is not an elocutionist.

The elocutionist belongs to a higher order. He must use not only pantomimic language and vocal language, but he must also use verbal language, and his degree of skill in the use of verbal language determines his rank as an elocutionist.

Mr. Ayres realizes and acknowledges that pantomimic language and vocal language are indispensable to an elocutionist, but maintains that verbal language is the highest of all, and that in attaining to proficiency in it the student will cultivate necessarily the first two. In other words, much time and much effort are saved by starting at once with oral expression of thought, which arouses and develops mental activity; and the mind being master compels the body its servant to make the proper manifestations.

The elocutionist's first and chief business is to grasp the author's meaning and convey it unshorn of its strength and beauty to the mind of the listener. Judged by this standard—and nothing less than this entitles anyone to the name of
elocutionist—Mr. Ayres is prominent among elocutionists. He contends strenuously for intellectuality in elocution, maintaining that unless the author's meaning be grasped, much of the prevailing preparatory elocutionary training . . . will be found to be unnecessary . . . for it proceeds from a wrong basic principle, and substitutes the shell for the kernel, shallowness for depth, mechanicalness for spontaneity, artificiality for naturalness.

Mr. Ayres is original in his views and original in his language. He is not an imitator, and is uncompromisingly hostile to the imitation-process of teaching. He will not permit a pupil to imitate him; but insists that he shall first grasp the thought that the language contains, and then express it in his own way. 5

The fact that Ayres wrote numerous articles in which the principal point was the selection of the emphatic word should not be allowed to obscure his influence. During the entire existence of Werner's Magazine letters continued to pay tribute to his unorthodox point of view. In the light of the development of the "new elocution" in the nineties, the following letter, appearing in the December, 1888, issue is important (X, 202):

... I want to acknowledge ... the vast amount of benefit I have received through the media of the personal and published criticisms of Mr. Alfred Ayres.

It is not necessary that one should endorse every one of his ideas and methods of imparting them, far from it; but of all the works extant on elocution there are none which lay the amount of stress on the thought and its interpretation that does Mr. Ayres.

5 Portions of this analysis appeared in the introduction written by Werner for Ayres' Acting and Actors, Elocution and Elocutionists; A Book about Theater Folk and Theater Art (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1894), pp. 9-14.
Gesture, facial and vocal expression are of no avail to a pupil unless he have the thought; and no rules can be devised for getting at that. . . .

Mr. Ayres deserves the thanks of the profession . . . for his struggle to obtain a thoroughly natural style in pronunciation and delivery.

I think that Prof. Roberts, of Philadelphia, is the only prominent teacher of elocution who has publicly acknowledged the value of Mr. Ayres's work; but one cannot have followed closely the train of thought in several recent contributions to your paper without noting the unacknowledged tribute to the work of Mr. Ayres. I am aware that Mr. Ayres is not the only teacher who lays stress on the thought, and who refuses to teach according to a code of rules; but I think I am correct in saying that no one has been so bold and uncompromising in his endeavors to root out of elocution anything which would tend to its deterioration.

The author of this letter, who also paid his respects to J. E. Frobisher and Legouvé in passing, was S. H. Clark, the proponent of the "new elocution."

Coincidentally, a letter similar to this one in theme appeared in January, 1897, its writer being one whose name would be associated in years to come with that of Clark in connection with a textbook. Miss Maud May Babcock wrote (XIX, 78):

The article on "Emphasis" by Alfred Ayres in the September No. was very good. His ideas are so much needed by elocutionists that I would you found room for more from his pen. The more I teach, the more I meet elocution teachers, the higher is my regard for Mr. Ayres. My work with him has been of more use than all my other work put together.

Ayres' capability as a teacher was also attested by Minnie M. Jones of Philadelphia (XII, 108), whose students reportedly had been delighted by his talks on "How to Read Shakespeare" and had progressed rapidly under his tutelage.
Although the Ayres articles are interesting, some of his beliefs are expressed more vividly in his letters to the editor. In one such communication he stated (XII, 294):

Voice taxes the brawn; elocution the brains.

Any muscular gump can easily have a big voice, while it requires great natural aptitude to be a good reader. A bad voice, with intelligence behind it, is a thousand times to be preferred to a good voice with nothing behind it. . . .

Voice is a mighty good thing to have, but it's not the thing first in importance; no, not by a long shot!

Ayres' definition of elocution in the article "What Is Elocution?" (X, 128), is very close to the current definition of oral interpretation in many modern textbooks:

"It is the art of speaking language so as to get out of it all there is in it; of speaking it so as to convey its meaning clearly and forcibly; of speaking it so as to produce the effect with it that the author intended to produce with it."

In the same article Ayres revealed the possible source of his ideas or else a strong influence in that direction:

There is something that for a hundred years, more or less, has been scissored and paraphrased from one book to another, and has been called "elocution."

It is elocution, too, if . . . elocution is "a mode of utterance accompanied with gesture;" but it is not good elocution, if Whately is right when he says that elocution, to be good, "must convey the meaning clearly, forcibly and agreeably;" for this elocution, instead of occupying itself with the meaning of the words, occupies itself with the tones in which the words are spoken.

The June and July, 1894, issues of Werner's Magazine gave eleven pages to the criticism of Ayres' new book, Acting and Actors, Elocution and Elocutionists, for which Werner had written an
introduction. The reviewers were F. Townsend Southwick (XVI, 216-218); John R. Scott, disciple of Murdoch; C. E. Russell; Caroline B. Le Row; and S. H. Clark (XVI, 239-248). Ayres' blunt, dogmatic style received considerable criticism, but there was general recognition of his value to the elocutionary field. Clark's contribution, entitled "The New Elocution not Mechanical but Psychologic," made the following significant statements:

Mr. Murdoch contends that the great lack of elocutionists is voice; Mr. Ayres, that it is brains; and I think Mr. Ayres is right.

The school of elocution that Mr. Ayres deprecates is that which mistakes the criteria of expression for expression; which loses sight of the end in the means. He attacks the mechanical teaching of all schools, Rush and Delsarte included, and justly so. But he certainly fails to see that Rush and Delsarte give us valuable criteria based upon scientific generalization. There are qualities of voice which stand for emotions; there are forms of stress which reveal conditions of being; there are melodies of speech showing the speaker's motive, Mr. Ayres and many of the impulsive school to the contrary notwithstanding. The New Elocution owes a debt to Mr. Ayres for drawing it from externals to internals; but it goes further than Mr. Ayres.

Clark went on to explain that the teacher, but not the student, needed to know the "science" of elocution. The teacher would use, not mechanical drills, but psychological laws to evoke from the student the necessary effect. Finally he adds a summation:

In a word, in his just wrath at the tonists and ventriloquists, posers and voice-chasers, he has failed to see the growth of the new school, which, not rejecting the entire past because much of it was bad, takes what science proves to have been good and true, adds thereto the best results of modern pedagogics and psychology, and goes forth to build up a true art of expression.
Here, it seems, was one of the clearest statements defining the "new elocution" to appear in print.

One final excerpt is enough to dispel any doubts as to the influence of Ayres on Clark’s theories:

When I began teaching elocution I was foolish enough to believe that it was useless to do much in the way of reading until I knew just what quality of voice, just how wide the inflection, and just the melodic sequence, necessary to the expression of the thought and feeling in a given selection. When Murodch’s "Analytic Elocution" was announced, I felt sure it would contain the magic word . . . . At this moment I chanced upon a criticism by Alfred Ayres; it was a revelation to me: "Throw away your rules of emphasis; never mind your inflections; the melody and transitions will take care of themselves; get the sense." It was just the advice I needed. I continued along the lines laid down by Mr. Ayres, looking for new meanings where I had sought new inflections, new melodies, new qualities of voice. I cite this experience because I think it a typical case.

This was the genesis of the "new elocution," which flowered in the nineties and of which contemporary practices are the fruit.

Reading techniques and criticism of readers. --Aside from the more general articles on theory, Werner’s Magazine offered an

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opportunity for exchange of opinion on techniques of teaching and reading. Ayres' discussions of emphasis, mentioned above, were one such contribution. The advisability of combining music with recitation held the attention of elocutionists for a long period of time and resulted ultimately in a Werner Society gathering (XIX, 122-137, 225-230, 313-316, 413-419) at which the subject was discussed and demonstrated by those present and considered also by those who corresponded with the society. There were differences of opinion as to whether the reader should sit or stand (XII, 136-137), whether lesson-talks were desirable or not (XII, 251-252, 294; XXV, 197), and many other similar issues. The fact that many such questions arose at convention sessions meant that the magazine's readers also received the benefit of exchanges of opinion in large groups. Teachers themselves were likely to pass along helpful procedures like the following (XII, 78-79):

Pupil (Reading words): Listen my children and you shall hear Of the midnight ride of Paul Revere--
Teacher: What did you ask us to do?
Pupil (Starting in desperately): Listen my children--
Teacher: I don't understand; how can I "listen children?"
(Try to avoid allusions to active and passive verbs and grammatical relations generally.) What do you really want us to do?
Pupil (If by this time he has grasped the situation--not all do so so quickly): To listen.
Teacher: Tell us again, you want us to--
Pupil Listen (this time with decided emphasis).
Teacher: That is the right expression; now read it in that way.

Two activities often thought to be of more recent origin appear in the pages of the magazine. "Reciting in concert" was said to be a
"striking feature" of Miss C. W. Towles' work in Oregon (XII, 267).

Her work was not an isolated instance, for Caroline B. Le Row contributed an article on "Reading in Concert" to the June, 1891, issue (XIII, 139-140). Le Row pointed out the difficulties, listed suitable materials for concert-reciting, and suggested possible arrangements:

A very pleasing feature of an elocutionary entertainment is found in the arrangement of pieces to be recited by one individual with occasional concert-recitation by the whole class, or an equal division of the selection into alternate solo and concert parts.

Le Row's students were reported to have engaged in a sight-reading contest, an activity in which they proved to be quite competent (XVIII, 279). Drew Ladies' Seminary made an annual event of this activity, with prizes for the best elocutionist and also for the best sight-reader (XVII, 542).

A valuable record of practices in reading exists in the criticisms of readers, especially in the nineties. Critics for Werner's Magazine examined the performance of Hannibal A. Williams, Sidney Woollett, 7 Locke Richardson, George Riddle, Ida Benfey, S. H. Clark, Mrs. Mercedes Leigh, May L. Browning, Mrs. Harriet Otis Dellenbaugh, Mrs. Waldo Richards, Jessie Alexander, Lily

7 Woollett was much displeased by a review of his work published in March, 1890. Six years later, when Werner's Magazine's representative sought an interview, the editorial column reported: "Mr. Woollett made an appointment, but launched out into such bitter invective against Werner's Magazine that out of mercy for him we suppress the interview" (XVIII, 260).
Hoffner Wood, Charles Roberts, Charles F. Underhill, and Mrs. Bertha Kunz-Baker, all of whom were prominent in the elocutionary world. Some were readers who used books, some were reciters and monologuists. Williams and his wife spent years travelling outside the United States, reading to audiences in Australia and India. Riddle and Mrs. Kunz-Baker were generally conceded to be superior performers in this period.

The criticisms of these readers are valuable in that they are sufficiently detailed to permit an investigator to judge with considerable accuracy the techniques involved in the performance. They are also useful to biographers of those members of the elocutionary profession who were performers as well as teachers, both as reports in themselves and as means of comparison with other readers and reciters.

Dramatics

Werner's Magazine did not pretend to be a magazine of dramatic art, even though it did include articles on acting and actors, dramatic criticism, dramatic literature, and theatre history. Articles

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8 Lee Emerson Bassett reminisced in "Elocution Then, Oral Interpretation Now," Western Speech, XIII (March, 1949), 3-8: "Among the notable readers of the last half century were George Riddle, W. T. Chamberlain, Robert McLean Cumnock and S. H. Clark. Among the women, Isabel Gargill Beecher and Bertha Kunz Baker deserve special mention. All of these, and others who might be named here, were interpreters of good literature and were heard gladly and repeatedly by general and select audiences everywhere."
on all phases of drama were almost nonexistent before 1883 and were seldom featured before the nineties. Most of the articles in this area fall within the cultural and literary classifications that are excluded from this study. Practical information for the actor was slanted toward the reader-reciter to such an extent that it is difficult to determine whether a given analysis of a role was intended for solo-acting or for actual play production.

The reader of Werner's Magazine had the opportunity to enjoy articles similar to those appearing in less specialized magazines. The great figures of the theatrical world, Rachel, Bernhardt, Coquelin, Henry Irving, Booth, Barrett, Cushman, Fanny Davenport, and many others were the subjects of anecdotes or the objects of critical analysis. At times their performances in particular roles were examined, but whatever instruction the reader of such articles received was incidental.

Alfred Ayres contributed occasional dramatic reviews of current plays, as well as a number of analyses of famous roles or familiar dramatic speeches. In 1886 and 1887 he engaged in an exchange of opinion as to the proper analysis of Portia's "Quality of Mercy" speech. Like most of his contributions, these articles related to techniques applicable to either form of art—acting or reading. The "Shakespeariana" department, conducted by William H. Fleming in 1893 was almost totally literary in concept.
The articles that approached practicality were in some instances translations and foreign works; many of them were reprints. Typical of these was Sydney Chidley's "Stage Make-up" (IX, 40-41), which dealt with makeup, wigs, and costumes in only two columns, less than one page. By contrast William Archer's "Anatomy of Acting," appearing in 1888, was a genuine contribution to the magazine's literature on drama.

"Acting and Actors," a dramatics department appearing in the issues of 1893, did not vary from the types already described, but the fact that a department had been established indicated that the editor was becoming interested in the field. In 1894 the number of feature articles and news items increased rapidly, with several different departments also making occasional contributions. October of that year saw the publication of Werner's translation of Goethe's "Rules for Actors and Reciters," a far more practical treatise than the magazine's readers were accustomed to seeing.

The December issue carried F. F. Mackay's article on "Reading, Recitation and Acting," in which the techniques of the three were compared (XVI, 402):

Gesture and pose may be entirely dispensed with by the reader, save that his pose, whether sitting at a table or standing at a desk, must be so easy and graceful as to attract no attention from the author. The gestures of the reader should be few and merely suggestive. For expression he must depend wholly on the voice . . . .
The reciter is supposed to make perfect physical pictures of his mental conceptions. The addition of pose, gesture, and memory gives the reciter quite an advantage over the reader.

Acting in the theatre has not alone the advantage of scenery and costume, but the gesticulations present realistic results.

With Mackay's addition to the editorial staff in 1895, a new department of dramatic reviews was announced (XVII, 686-688). This department would, according to Werner, "point out the difference between dramatic art based on true principles, and tricks of voice, gesture and pose made for show."

Thus far the educational and amateur theatres had received virtually no attention in the pages of the magazine. As early as April, 1893, the editor had observed that "Elocutionists lack business qualifications. The producing of plays, ancient and modern, is an educational factor that should be fostered" (XV, 146). However, the magazine was doing little to remedy the situation. A news note in 1895 had announced that the craze for amateur dramatics had almost disappeared (XVII, 956). However, Tufts College reported a production of Ralph Roister Doister in that same year (XVII, 528).

As the turn of the century approached, the articles on drama became more and more numerous and many took a practical turn, the following being examples of the material offered:


"Stage Effects in 'Ben-Hur'," reprinted from the Scientific American (XXVI, 161-166).

The "Entertainments" department of October, 1900, offered a list of one hundred plays "recommended for performance or for study" (XXVI, 176). Skits and plays for children began to appear regularly in this department. In March, 1901, an article appeared on "The Children's Theatre" (XXVII, 25-31), and the following month Elizabeth Barrett Browning's translation of Prometheus Bound was included (XXVII, 83-95). Frank Lea Short reported his production of "An Elizabethan Play at Yale" in June, 1901, and July brought the readers Oedipus at Colonus with directions for costuming and staging. The last two volumes offered skits and articles on dramatic history to bring to a close a period during which an increasing interest in educational drama had been in evidence in Werner's Magazine.
CHAPTER VI

ORIGINAL SPEAKING

The material on original speaking presented in the pages of Werner's Magazine falls into three periods. The first, extending through the first fifteen volumes and an equal number of years, could be termed the "pulpit period," because the authors of the material, the orators who were frequently their subjects, and the topics of the more general articles, were more often than not associated with the ministry. Though the number of articles amassed during this period was large, the material was usually filler and reprint, giving the impression that its inclusion was an afterthought. Very seldom did a feature article on the subject appear.

The second period, consisting of nine volumes from 1894 through 1899, was the interval during which the elocutionary profession, especially its academic members, stimulated by realization of their own deficiencies and by a desire for academic recognition, began to formulate a new and more practical concept of public address, and a body of pedagogical techniques for its application. Many of the articles printed during this period were convention papers advocating the new trend. However, the magazine did not ally itself editorially with
either faction but instead published materials representative of both old and new schools of thought.

The third period, from 1900 through 1902, included six volumes containing negligible amounts of material inferior in quality. Unsigned articles dealing with the history of oratory or techniques of debate predominated.

Volumes I-XV, 1879-1893

Public speaking, debate, and conversation were never the primary concern of *Werner's Magazine*. During the years that "Oratory" appeared in the subtitle, the term was limited, in practical application, to techniques of voice and gesture. The processes of thought, composition, and diction (i.e., choice of words) were the province of the teacher of rhetoric and composition, who was an English instructor rather than a vocal specialist or elocutionist. The latter felt his work to be allied with the arts of singing and acting, neither of which required originality of thought.

It was to be expected, therefore, that any orator who became a reader or subscriber to *Werner's Magazine* would be one who wished to avoid or to eliminate some deficiency of a vocal nature. By implication the stutterer was a speaker whose conversation and public speaking were unsatisfactory, but in actual practice he spoke in public so seldom that the term "speaker" hardly fitted him. The logical
candidate whose support the magazine might solicit was the minister. In the first place, he suffered from two complaints, "clergyman's sore throat" (III, 65-66) with occasional aphonia, and "ministerial tone" (I, 89), the latter being more distressing to the audience than to the speaker. In the second place, many teachers of elocution were ordained clergymen, and vice versa. Under these circumstances, the suitability of publishing original articles, editorials, and précis on the subject of "pulpit oratory" seemed obvious.

A natural consequence of the editorial policy of welcoming correspondence and articles from readers was the publication, at irregular intervals, of original articles and reprints contributed by clergymen themselves. These articles usually contained admonitions to protect the voice or to study delivery, or criticism of influences unfavorable to effective speaking. For example, the Reverend Edward P. Thwing of Brooklyn classified as "Oratorical Impediments" (I, 137) the influence of the press, "wretched acoustics," and architectural handicaps.

Although most of the material on speech-making published by the magazine during these early years appeared infrequently and had relatively little significance, several articles merit special attention.

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1 The frequency with which the topic was treated is indicated by the following references: I, 89; V, 171; VII, 59; VIII, 24-25; 35-36, 62, 74; IX, 174-175, 194; X, 49-50; XI, 209, 219-220; XIII, 122-124; 293, 294.
One of these was Thwing's discussion of "Naturalness in a Speaker" (II, 28). Having declared in "Oratorical Impediments" that the orator's "style of speech must be modified" because of changes in social conditions, he continued, in the second article, in a vein that is remarkably modern:

Honesty, straightforwardness and truthfulness will lead one to act naturally . . . . Thorough preparation contributes to self-possession, and so to naturalness . . . . When one is full of his subject he forgets himself . . . . Let the speaker be master of his theme and he will be master of himself, and so be natural.

The same issue contained an unsigned item reprinted from Appleton's Journal and entitled "The Pulpit and the Stage" (II, 28). Although the article urged the preacher to learn from the actor a mastery of "emphasis, inflection, pause and tones," it counterbalanced any undue emphasis on the mechanics of speaking with a point of view suggestive of Whately and Winans:

But, in order to be master of the art, simple as it is, the speaker must grasp clearly and distinctly the full meaning of the sentence he means to utter. No man can think in a slovenly or loose manner and be a good elocutionist. A clergyman, in order to read a chapter of the Bible with that use of elocution that shall bring out with great distinctness all the meaning, must first comprehend with great clearness what that meaning is.

In March, 1882, the fourth year of publication, the editor applied his much used formula for success; he began serial publication of a translation, in this case M. l'Abbé Bautain's "The Art of Public Speaking" (IV, 41-42). Here at last was the promise of something
more than generalities and discussions of delivery, for the writer
said of his subject, "Here, then, it is solely a question of improvised
discourse, not written, not committed to memory, but one which the
orator is obliged to make at the instant, without having prepared and
arranged his language in advance." He addressed the work to the
extemporaneous speaker, who necessarily

... must possess two things: (1) The foundation of the
discourse, or the thought and train of thoughts which one would
express; (2) The means of expression or the language one
should use, in order not to seek both words and ideas at the
same moment, and not to risk being embarrassed or cut short
in the composition of a sentence. In other words, it is
necessary to know what we would say and how to say it.

Extempore speaking supposes, then, some particular
aptness which one should have for speaking. Our aim is not
exactly to teach the means of acquiring these qualifications,
for the majority are the gifts of nature; but to point out the
way to cultivate and develop them.

This was both the initial and the final appearance of Bautain's work
in the magazine. Two years elapsed before a project of this
magnitude was again attempted; many more passed before the subject
of extemporaneous speaking was reconsidered in the pages of
Werner's Magazine.

Between February, 1884, and February, 1885, there appeared
seven articles serializing Ernest Legouvé's The Art of Oratory,
translated by Abby L. Alger. In spite of the title, these were
concerned with reading rather than speaking, the author's theory
being "that if we are to learn to read we should also learn to speak;
and the curious point is that there is but one true way to learn to speak, and that is to learn to read. . . . We cannot learn to think and to speak at one and the same time" (II, 126). To Legouvé speaking meant the vocal technique for effective expression of thought, rather than the formulation of ideas and subsequent voicing of them that represented the point of view expressed in Bautain.

Mention is due two prominent figures in the field of oratory and elocution who contributed to the magazine's early material on speech-making. The Reverend Francis T. Russell's The Use of the Voice in Reading and Speaking: A Manual for Clergymen and Candidates for Holy Orders provided three excerpts for reprinting, all of which are cited in connection with pulpit oratory. Russell had considerable influence in his own right and also as the son of William Russell, who with James E. Murdoch did much to popularize and to spread the teachings of James Rush.

The second figure, truly a giant in his field, was Professor J. W. Churchill of Andover Theological Seminary, editor of the Andover Review, who provided Werner with original articles and reprints, including critical studies of Wendell Phillips (VII, 4-5), John B. Gough (VIII, 87-88), Matthew Simpson (IX, 10-11), George Whitefield (X, 11-12), and Canon Liddon of the Church of England (XIII, 45-46). The outstanding contribution to oratory in Volume IX (1887) was Churchill's three-part biography and criticism of
Henry Ward Beecher in the last three issues. The article on Gough deserves special mention because it was a particularly happy example of the indirect method of teaching principles of public speaking through a critical analysis of an outstanding orator. In this instance Churchill evaluated his subject's personality and audience-appeal, described his physical appearance and vocal effects, and pointed out his unusual ability to adapt his material to his audience, his imagination, his dramatic appeal, and his simple, extemporaneous style.

Special attention to the lecture platform in the last three issues of 1886 resulted from Werner's acquisition of George Wallace Williams' paper, The Platform. Notes about lecturers and their subjects and announcements of lecture courses appeared. In "The Platform" (VIII, 185) Belva A. Lockwood urged the lecturer to prepare himself well, to plan to amuse his audience, to arrange his stage tastefully, to dress appropriately, and to come before his audience "fresh, cheerful, healthful and magnetic." M. L. McQuown addressed himself to community leaders in a short article, "How to Organize a Lecture Course" (VIII, 199), in which he pointed out the advisability of certain business procedures and physical arrangements.

An interesting sidelight in the June, 1889, issue was the

2 Mrs. Belva Ann Bennett Lockwood was the first woman admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of the United States and the first woman candidate for President of the United States (1884, 1888).
survey of eminent preachers (X, 90-91), who were asked to state
their opinion as to the value of elocutionary training, presumably as
it applied to their own vocation. The answers varied, but a
significant number qualified their affirmatives by insisting on the
term "judicious training." Many had not received elocutionary
lessons themselves.

Several articles appearing during the first ten years of
publication are of interest for their attempts at critical analysis of
social and educational forces affecting oratory. "Where Are the
Orators?" (VI, 180), reprinted from the Chicago Herald's comment
on the National Democratic Convention of 1884, concluded: "The
athleticism of our colleges should be given some diversion in the
direction of elocution and extempore debate, with coachers and
critics and contests and prizes, if we are not wholly to lose one
of the noblest, most useful and most charming of arts." From the
London Standard came a reprint of "The Decline of Political Oratory"
(VI, 197), in which these astute observations were made:

. . . It may be not that the men themselves are inferior, but
only that they stand on a platform less elevated above the
general public.

In the second place we must remember that political
elocution rises and falls with the occasion; and that prolific of
great events as the nineteenth century may have been, it has
produced none which have stirred the passions of Englishmen
so deeply as the French revolution. . . . It will only be
events of equal magnitude with those which surrounded William
Pitt which will give us back the same degree of eloquence.
Such events may even now be impending,
A similar point of view was expressed by Churchill in "The Decline of Academical Oratory" (XI, 268). The decline in the importance of the commencement address he attributed to widespread lecture courses, the growth of professional societies, the increasing number of religious and social addresses, and quiet times during which no external danger and no internal moral issue stirred the nation. The oration had not disappeared, he thought, but had "sought a broader platform." He continued:

It may perhaps be a question whether the educated mind is becoming weary of public speech and less responsive to it. . . . It is undoubtedly true that there is increasing impatience of display in public address. There is a demand for directness, simplicity and conclusive argument. This demand is banishing the formal, ornate, pretentious type of oratory. But such a change is an improvement, for it is in response to a demand for reality.

Churchill's emphasis on simple delivery was significant because it was contrary to the excesses with which elocutionary delivery became identified during this period. Nor was he alone in expressing this opinion. In a reprint (XIII, 122-124) from the Chautauquan, Robert McLean Cumnock of Evanston and Chautauqua declared, "Oratory is simply elevated talk, and the same intonations that are used in common reading or conversation should be carried into this style of address."

Extemporaneous speaking, to which Werner's Magazine had given virtually no attention for ten years, reappeared in an interview
with Bourke Cockran reprinted from the New York Herald. An outstanding speaker, Cockran's pertinent comments to Julian Hawthorne revealed a modern philosophy of public address (XV, 215):

"The effective speech is the extempore one. . . . You may forecast your topic, and of course you must have adequate familiarity with it, and know what special phase of it you are to present, but any further preparation than this is of little avail. For you can never tell beforehand in what humor your audience will be, nor what circumstances may arise to modify the situation. To succeed, the first need is to be at one with your hearers. . . . A true speech is the creation of the moment, but it is so created, not, as one might suppose, by the orator, but by his audience."

With the publication of the fifteenth of the thirty volumes of Werner's Magazine in 1893, the half-way point in its twenty-four years of existence was well past. Thus far its contributions to the field of public address were few in number, seldom original, general in subject matter, and descriptive but not instructive. Most of the material had to do with delivery. The notable exceptions were a number of good critical studies of orators, some reprints that focused attention on changing attitudes toward oratory, and a few isolated comments pleading the cause of extemporaneous speaking or that of conversational delivery.

Volumes XVI-XXIV, 1894-1900

The early issues of 1894 gave few hints that a transition was imminent. Then suddenly in mid-1894, as if by signal, the advocates of a new type of training in public speaking became vocal. The
earliest of these was George W. Hoss of Wichita, Kansas, who delivered an address at the convention of the National Association of Elocutionists on the subject, "Oratory and Its Relation to Universities" (XVII, 13-17). In it he concluded that there was a vocational demand for speech and that the university curriculum had a place for it, but that the universities were not convinced of its importance or practicability, and especially were not willing to accept elocution for oratory. This was not the first mention of the subject for either Hoss or the N.A.E. In his speech at the 1892 convention, Robert I. Fulton had said, in passing, that teachers of elocution were losing their most fruitful field by ignoring oratory, because college students wanted that type of training (XIV, 290-292). Hoss had emphasized the point, in August of the same year, by writing to the "Letter-Box" a six-point outline of reasons why public speaking should be taught more extensively by the elocutionary profession (XIV, 240).

While his 1894 address to the N.A.E. was waiting its turn for publication in Werner's Magazine, Hoss wrote a short but very important article for the September issue. "Elocutionists as Speakers" (XVI, 329-330) was his answer to a question raised by Elsie M. Wilbor as to the reluctance of the members of the convention to engage in the discussions which followed the papers. Miss Wilbor had written in criticism of "The Elocutionists' Convention" (XVI, 275-277):
Miss Alice Maude Crocker . . . gave a most excellent extempore talk, proving herself to be one of the very few delegates who could or would speak on the spur of the moment. The lack of ready extempore speakers among trained elocutionists was marked throughout the entire convention. Teachers with years of experienced trembled like schoolgirls at the bare thought of rising and addressing their fellow-laborers for three minutes on topics that, presumably, were of vital interest, and with which they should have been so filled that five times the allotted period would hardly suffice. On the contrary, the discussion period bore little fruit. It was with difficulty that the President eked out the time set aside for general remarks. . . . What is the reason? Is it that the speaking of other persons' words, which forms so large a part of the elocutionist's professional life, unfits one for the formulating of one's own thoughts, or is it that there are no thoughts to be spoken?

Hoss charged that experience in recitation hindered the speaker by channeling his time into memorizing rather than into gathering material and developing style, and by making him distrustful of his own ability to speak. Hoss felt that the highest aim of elocution was not pleasure or culture, but the cultivation of speaking ability. His reasons were (1) that the United States was in a materialistic period rather than a fine arts period, (2) that the people were of a practical turn of mind, (3) that a "free people are preeminently a speaking people," and (4) that consistency and honesty demanded that schools of "oratory" should teach what they profess to teach. "Let it be the ambition of our schools," he concluded, "to make speakers as well as reciters."

The following month F. Townsend Southwick took up the cudgel in his regular department, "Topics of the Month" (XVI, 353-355), in which he quoted a letter from a teachers' agency asking for
a graduate of a reputable school of oratory who could "make a speech as well as recite." Townsend asserted that such requests were not uncommon, adding:

It would seem to be self-evident that a teacher of "oratory" should give at least a fair proportion of his attention to the subject which he professes to teach; yet it is a fact, too well known to require demonstration, that not one teacher, school or "college" of oratory out of a dozen gives enough instruction in the art to enable their graduates to take part in an ordinary discussion or even to put together a reasonably well-constructed essay. For the most part such schools are engaged in teaching recitations and gymnastics; both very necessary branches of education, but neither having aught but a secondary place in the preparation for public speaking.

There is a vast field here that is literally going to waste for lack of laborers. Elocution, useful and admirable as it is, is not in itself sufficient for the purpose. There must be systematic training in extemporaneous speaking; no amount of repetition of the thoughts of others will make orators of our pupils. In ten years from the date of this, the "teacher of oratory" who cannot prepare his pupils for public address will find himself reposing in lonely grandeur on the topmost shelf among the pedagogical curiosities of the nineteenth century.

Since writing the above I have received the September number and am glad to note Mr. Hoss's interesting remarks on this very subject. They should be pasted in every elocution-teacher's scrap-book.

That perfect agreement on the subject was not reached immediately by the teachers of elocution is scarcely surprising. The older concept of oratory (delivery) and the new (extemporaneous address) seemed irreconcilable. Individual attempts to compromise the two easily lead to contradiction and sheer confusion, as Edward P. Perry of St. Louis exemplified in a convention paper on "Prescribed Instruction in Elocution in Colleges and Universities" (XVI, 376-378):
Let us impress the fact upon the student that public address is conversation magnified. If the student's conversation be faulty, he must first correct the motives, feelings and ideas which cause the error, then get his vocal organs free and under control. . . . All physical and vocal training has the purpose to make effective speakers.

After that somewhat unorthodox comment, his thinking reverted to the older order:

We must have good judgment enough to know our limitations, and not attempt to include in our instruction psychology and logic, together with all the rhetorical rules for constructing a discourse, when our attention should be given to high literary interpretation and effective oratorical delivery.

Without seeming to ignore the controversy, Werner's Magazine continued to publish articles similar to those to which it had formerly given space. For example, the two papers by George W. Saunderson on "The Philosophy of Oratory" (XVII, 711-717, 829-839) dealt with "the elements of oratory, pronunciation, emphasis, gesture, and emotional effects." At the same time, the magazine's editorial column was used to call the attention of the profession to the report of the N.A.E. Committee on Colleges. This report disclosing the inferior and discredited position of elocution in institutions of higher learning was used as a weapon by the extempore faction.

Judging from the number of articles cited in Werner's Magazine's "Current Thought" department, other periodicals were exhibiting a marked upswing of interest in oratory. For example, in two months the following items were listed: "Women in Oratory,"
"The Great Orator Is a Voice," "How to Become a Public Speaker,"
"New Fields for Lecturers," "Extemporaneous Speaking," and "Revival
of College Debating." In the same two months Werner's Magazine
carried only two articles (XVIII, 19-22, 114-118) even remotely
connected with the newly developing concept of instruction in public
speaking.

In March, 1896, almost two years after the Hoss and Southwick
articles, Werner's Magazine began publication of "First Steps in Public
Speaking," an early version of the modern public speaking textbook,
under the by-line of George W. Hoss. The article was serialized in
seven consecutive issues containing topics of which these are typical:
"Preparation of the Address," "Language," "Oratoric Divisions of
the Discourse," "Divisions of Oratory," and "Extempore Speaking."
Some attention was also given to debate and parliamentary procedure.

The magazine's delay in acting upon the apparent existence of
a new trend in the elocutionary profession can be explained only by
conjecture. There is no evidence that the editorial staff was opposed
to the trend. Southwick, who supported it, was very closely associated
with the magazine in both an editorial and advisory capacity. It seems
more likely that the search for instructional materials was not
productive and that the editors found themselves in the position of
having to publish articles like the Saunderson papers while waiting for
material to develop. It is a fact that in 1900 a book review noted the "dearth of treatises on public speaking" (XXVI, 89).

In contrast, there was no dearth of good articles available to the magazine after the Hess textbook was serialised. Their sources were most often the papers and addresses prepared for presentation before the N.A.E. and the state organizations, for many of which Werner's Magazine was the official organ. Public speaking had become sufficiently important as a subject to merit sectional meetings, the proceedings of which were occasionally published in their entirety. Because it is impossible here to take up every important article on these subjects, only the most interesting or meaningful items are given consideration below.

A long report of the "Proceedings of the Second Annual Convention of the Iowa State Association of Elocutionists" (XXI, 278-309) indicated that public speaking had received a full share of attention there. An address by Dr. Tilden on "Art of Oratory" was apparently well received by the audience. Afterwards a lecture by Edward Amherst Ott on "Our Profession," and two addresses by professional people on "The Elocution of the Bar" and "The Elocution of the Pulpit" emphasized the importance of effective speaking.

The October, 1897, issue contained J. M. Buckley's N.A.E. convention address on "Ineffective Oratory" (XX, 192-202) and a subsequent discussion to which Trueblood and Churchill contributed,
with Chamberlain as chairman. Among the causes of ineffectiveness listed by the editor of the Christian Advocate were inaudibility, lack of progression in organization, and defective elocutionary training. Trueblood, who had started out originally as a teacher of elocution, followed with his "elements of success": knowledge of the subject, conviction that the subject needs to be presented, directness or "high-bred conversationalism," knowledge of men, and character. After picking up the term "high-bred conversationalism" for comment, Chamberlain introduced Churchill, who agreed with Trueblood by defining the standard for good public speaking as "idealized conversation." He added, "One reason why elocution is regarded in many quarters with so much disfavor is that teachers of the art do not give attention to the intellectual, emotional, and moral elements that lie back of vocal utterance and inspire and shape it." Buckley's address and the discussion by two of the most prominent leaders in public address highlighted an important development in the speech discipline. The terms they used to epitomize their points of view passed current into the general vocabulary of speech teachers.

One auspicious event was the appearance of an article stressing the importance of the speaker's study of and adjustment to his audience. In "The Study of Character Essential to Success in Oratory" (XVIII, 830-838), Caroline V. Dorsey expressed ideas almost entirely foreign to earlier writers for Werner's Magazine:
"... I am fully convinced that we teachers have too long made the preparation of the orator's self the only subject of careful consideration, and have neglected the study of the people to whom they speak," she said, and added,

The trouble with most sermons and orations... is that they do not fit the audience. Too many speakers shoot at random and hit either above or below the heads of their hearers. For instance, a lecturer discourses upon "The Institutional Laws of Shakespeare's Dramas" before the audience of miners, while an orator thunders upon the "Uses and Abuses of the Ballot-box" to an audience composed largely of women.

This interest in adaptation of subject and material to the specific audience was paralleled by interest in directness of communication and awareness of the audience at the time of speaking. The subject was pointed up in connection with an often-delivered address by J. P. Silvernail on "The Elocution of Jesus" (XXIV, 131-133), which was delivered before the N.A.E. and subsequently appeared in the October, 1899, issue together with the discussion that followed its presentation. In particular, the contributions made during the discussion focussed attention upon the fact that members of the N.A.E. were becoming less concerned with speech-making as a performance before an audience and more interested in it as a communicative process.

From an academic point of view, the importance of experience in public speaking for the college student received due consideration from H. F. Covington in an N.A.E. convention paper, "How to Teach Extempore Speaking" (XX, 553-554). During a short question-and-
The Chairman: Is it fair for the president of a literary society in college to call upon a student for an extempore speech, giving him five minutes' notice to speak upon a subject about which he knows nothing?

Answer: No.

A Voice: It may not be wise.

The Chairman: How many think it unwise? The whole class. Will Prof. Raymond give us in one sentence a definition of extemporaneous speaking?

Prof. Raymond: That is the best illustration of the previous point that you could possibly have.

The Chairman: We know that you have had an experience of over thirty years. You are thoroughly prepared.

Representing the field of secondary education, Laura E. Aldrich, in a paper read before the Ohio State Association of Elocutionists on the subject "Elocution in the High Schools" (XXIII, 38-40), questioned the practical value of the extensive reading and recitation advocated at the N. A. E. convention in 1894. She reported that exercises assigned to her students included three-minute talks founded on personal experiences, prepared addresses limited to five minutes, and story-telling, of which she said, "Of course, many write these out and memorize them, but I am doing all I can to secure the beginning of extemporaneous discourse . . . ."

Thomas C. Trueblood's N. A. E. presidential address of
June 26, 1899, on "The Educational Value of Training in Public Speaking" (XXIII, 528-536) might be called a landmark in the ascendancy of original speaking. Altogether, it contributed nothing to a philosophy of speech that had not been said in the preceding five years, but the prestige of office gave it added weight.

A new and important contribution to rhetorical criticism occurred with the appearance of Victor S. Yarros' summary of orators and issues in "Oratory in the Present Campaign" (XVIII, 941-943), which could be considered the prototype of several twentieth century studies in political speaking. In the volume which followed, interviews with Robert G. Ingersoll and Chauncy M. Depew, published as one article under the title "Public Speaking" (XIX, 493-498), gave considerable insight into the theories and practices of two eminent speakers. Both men commented on the method of and the amount of time necessary for preparing a speech.

Among the useful, informational articles appearing in Werner's Magazine was one by Milton M. Bitter, who explained "How to Construct a Speech" (XIX, 304-306) in terms familiar to students of modern public speaking texts:

Never begin your speech by an apology . . . . Your first object is to win their attention and excite their interest.

. . . . Your object is either to convince or to persuade. You must have a clear conception of the end for which you strive, and of the methods you use . . . .
Stay on the earth. Talk to the people as human beings, and not as archangels or deities. A flowery discourse is offensive to good taste.

... First, choose a subject with which you are familiar, or in which you are interested.

And the speech-maker, even though he speak extempore (which is the very best method of speaking), should follow some regular order of argument.

The never-ending problem of stage fright was treated in a two-page analysis of "The Relation of Speaker and Audience" (XIX, 215-216) by Alfred MacLeod, Lecturer on Elocution at Aberdeen University, Scotland, whose purpose was to provide useful hints that might possibly counteract the effects of anxiety.

* Werner's Magazine also took notice of current practices in public speaking. The following note from "News and Comments" (XIX, 441-444) presented the solution to a problem that is common in the twentieth century:

Public men who are called upon to speak frequently on widely different subjects sometimes find it necessary to employ someone to do a lot of discriminating reading for them, and there are men and women who support themselves by just that kind of work. Their business is not to write the speeches, but to prepare a mass of data from which the speaker may select such facts as he chooses to use in his speech. For instance, if a man is going to make a speech on the Armenian question, and he has not time to gather data, he may employ one of these professional readers to prepare his notes. Two or three days' work in a public library by a discriminating reader will supply a speaker with all necessary facts. If required, the reader often writes the speech also.

During this period attention began to turn to forms of original
speaking other than public address. The subject of conversation and the flourishing collegiate debate programs provided articles and news items of considerable interest. Both of these activities found space in Werner's Magazine. In January, 1897, there appeared an interesting informal article by Rossiter Johnson on "The Art of Conversation" (XIX, 31-34) that had been delivered as an address before the American Society for the Improvement of Speech. The material was clear, reasonable, and suited as much to a general magazine as to a professional journal.

The March, 1897, issue carried an announcement of the formation of the Central Debating League by representatives of the Universities of Michigan, Chicago, Wisconsin, and Northwestern University (XIX, 271). A schedule of semi-final meetings through 1903 was provided, the finals to be held in Chicago. Thomas C. Trueblood and S. H. Clark were the representatives of Michigan and Chicago respectively. In the same issue were portraits of three young ladies, students of Emerson College of Oratory, who had met and conquered three representatives of the Boston Y. M. C. A. Congress in a debate in which they proved, according to the caption, that "oratory is more powerful than poetry."

An interesting account of the founding of the Interstate Oratorical Association appeared in the November, 1897, issue (XX, 223-239, 320). The author, Thomas C. Trueblood, inserted a
judging chart, not the first to appear in Werner's Magazine, however, and added the names of winning contestants and titles of their orations. Portraits of the winners included R. M. La Follette of Wisconsin and Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana. In the inevitable reaction, the year 1898 saw the publication of a critical examination of contests, particularly of oratorical contests, by Frank S. Fox (XXI, 40-43).

The important position to which public speaking was assigned was indirectly emphasized by two items: the picture of a speaker, Roscoe Conkling, in the place of honor on the frontispiece of the April, 1897, number; and the extensive coverage given to a review of James M. Buckley's textbook on "Extemporaneous Oratory" (XXIII, 100-110). The reviewer's quotation of Buckley's definition of extemporaneous speaking is currently appropriate: "The delivery, in an arrangement of words, sentences, and paragraphs, entirely the birth of the occasion, of ideas previously conceived and adopted with more or less fulness and precision, together with such thoughts and feelings as may arise and obtain utterance."

Any impression that a new school of thought in public address had entirely supplanted the older treatment of oratorical delivery in the pages of Werner's Magazine is offset by the fact that in October, 1898, the first installment of a translation of "The Art of Oratory" by M. Chervin, Sr., appeared. This work was a return to the older practice of equating oratory and delivery. Only the fourth and final
installment (XXII, 341-348) approached the type of activity represented by the term "public speaking." The magazine accepted impartially the practical pedagogy of Duncan Campbell Lee's "Exercises in Extempore Speaking" (XXI, 498-501) and the abstract philosophy of George W. Hoss' "Eloquence--What?" (XXII, 28-29). An indication of the confused state of affairs was reflected by the fact that the Columbia School of Oratory placed in bold-face type on its half-page advertisement for July, 1897, the pointed phrase, "A School of Oratory that Teaches Oratory." 3

In spite of the confused situation, a lecturer by the name of Richard E. Mayne, in surveying oratory "From Demosthenes to Depew" (XVIII, 1086-1087), optimistically proclaimed it to be "purer, truer, and more truly representative of thought than it was at any previous time."

In September, 1899, Werner's Magazine reprinted "The Art of Oratory," by the Hon. Thomas Brackett Reed, and thereby ran afoul of the copyright law. The extract from Great Orations, one of the World's Great Books series, was reprinted without the authority of D. Appleton & Company, the copyright owners. An oddly worded

apology appeared three months later (XXIV, iv):

Mr. Werner would not have reprinted said article had he believed it would have been in opposition to the wishes of Messrs. D. Appleton & Co.; and he therefore makes this announcement so that others will not reprint the article, or in any other detrimental way use material that is owned and copyrighted by Messrs. D. Appleton & Co.

Among the lesser items and filler present in almost every issue of Werner's Magazine, the following, labeled "Elocution Gives Place to Oratory" (XXIV, 653), merits reproduction here:

"The old elocution is dead," says Frederick Mason Blanchard, in an article on public speaking in colleges in the Emerson College Magazine.

"Some few of his nearer relatives bend sadly over the grave and supplicate for a resurrection, but it is in vain; the old liar has gone to his everlasting punishment. Oratory as a man-maker is now recognized and welcomed, and we sincerely trust that, standing for character development, for power to think, to feel, and to lead others into active cooperation with us in service of humanity, we may do something for the cause of education that shall not be without a blessing from the future."

Volumes XXV-XXX, 1900-1902

Even more suddenly than it had appeared, the material on original speaking disappeared again from the pages of Werner's Magazine. Schools continued to attach the "Oratory" label to their names; advertisements of books of orations continued to appear; and other publications, according to their mention in the "Current Thought" department, continued to give attention to public speaking. But for Werner's Magazine the heyday was over.

One final vigorous blow for the new public speaking was
struck in an article called "Enemies Inside the Elocution Profession".

(XXVI, 203-205). Its author, Edward Amherst Ott, asserted:

No large or permanent place will be given to the oratorical profession until it develops more fully the stern and dignified air characteristic of real oratory. The teacher of oratory who can make an address, . . . who feels the needs of his age and time, . . . will have a dignified position in the faculty of which he is a member, and the educational world will accord him the same honor that it gives the teacher of mathematics, philosophy, biology, and theology.

He expressed what many were realizing fully: "... The ranting elocutionist must go; every honest teacher is his enemy, for he is the enemy of the profession."

A recovery seemed to be in the making with the appearance of two departments, "Talks on Oratory," beginning in December, 1901, and "Hints on Public Speaking and Debate," beginning in January, 1902. However, the contents of these unsigned departments did not suggest that they were designed for the same subscribers who had been reading Werner's Magazine five years earlier. A new department presenting a monthly question and briefs for debate began in January, 1902, but did not offset the general impression of deterioration.

During the last three months of 1902, after the magazine had passed from the hands of Edgar S. Werner's New York staff into the hands of Edward Amherst Ott, new "Oratory" and "Lyceum" departments were added, but the contributions of each were negligible. Nor were the huge half-page slogans, "LIFT YOUR AUDIENCE" and "A GREAT
ORATOR MUST HAVE A GREAT THEME, " that appeared in these last issues, effective substitutes for the valuable articles that had filled the pages of Werner's Magazine only a few years before.
CHAPTER VII

PROFESSIONAL RELATIONS

Relations with Professional Organizations

The era of Werner’s Magazine was the era of increasing professional consciousness and mushrooming professional organizations. Until after the Civil War most professional groups had been either comprehensive in scope or local in membership. Now "the organization, professionalization, and specialization of scholarship through learned societies went on apace. At least seventy-nine local and national learned societies were formed in the eighteen-seventies, 121 in the 'eighties, and forty-five in the 'nineties."¹ Among them were the Modern Language Association (1883), the American Historical Association (1884), and the American Psychological Association (1892).

In this tendency toward organization . . . the traditionally American way of effecting through mutual and voluntary association larger purposes than individuals alone could achieve found expression . . . .

Learned societies broke down the isolation of scholars by bringing

them together for annual meetings. But they promoted investigation in many other ways. They stimulated the preparation and publication of specialized monographs and papers in transactions, proceedings, and journals.²

Werner's Magazine was consistent in its editorial policy of fostering the development of organizations among its readers. It offered free space for announcements and the general conduct of business by these organizations. Editorially it agitated for their establishment, upbraided its readers for their apparent lack of support, suggested improvements in program and policy, and was seldom reluctant to criticize.

To what extent this policy was helpful to the members of the profession is difficult to determine, but it provided some of the most interesting and amusing portions of Werner's Magazine. For example, the eighth annual meeting (1899) of the National Association of Elocutionists provoked the following comments, selected at random from "Chautauqua Convention Notes" (XXIII, 511-513):

Mispronunciations were too frequent.
None of the New England States was represented at the convention.
Wandering from the point characterized too many of the extemporaneous speeches.
Discouraged at the long waits at the railway connections, several members turned back before reaching Chautauqua.
The clergyman that made the opening prayer omitted the N. A. E. entirely from the things he prayed for. The convention was a success.

² Ibid., pp. 327, 588.
Hopefully at the future meetings all of the visiting members can be at one hotel. This adds greatly to the enjoyment and profit of a convention.

President Trueblood's address was educative rather than executive. He declared that the teaching of oratory was the chief work of the elocutionist.

Mrs. Laura J. Tisdale, one of the first in this country to become a Delsartian, was displeased with the attitudes of some of the essayists. She expressed surprise that those whose business it is to teach physical strength and grace should themselves not learn to stand properly.

Miss Cora M. Wheeler is the first member daring enough to bring a pupil to a convention to give a recitation for the purpose of criticism. She as well as Miss Frances Schermer, the pupil, are to be commended and congratulated. A scene from "King Lear" was used.

Prof. J. P. Silvernail uttered the choicest epigram, which Prof. Trueblood declared was worth attending the convention for, namely, that the chief aim of his teaching was to enable a pupil "to give a sit-down tone in a stand-up position."

Prof. J. P. Silvernail, who was called upon at the last moment before the convention to fill a gap in the program, took as his theme "The Elocution of Jesus." It is said that several members left the hall, shocked at the title. His address . . . followed the orthodox creed too closely to be an impartial, dispassionate discussion of the subject. . . . A satisfactory treatment of the elocution of Jesus has yet to be written.

It should not be supposed that this material was merely filler for the magazine. Everything that occurred at a convention was grist for Werner's mill. Although the editor was apparently quite sincere in his support of and interest in the welfare of these organizations, he was also fully cognizant of the value of conventions as a source of gratuitous papers of high quality. At times most of the important articles of an issue would be drawn from convention proceedings.

Moreover organizations provided potential subscribers as well as contents for Werner's Magazine. With official quarterly journals,
financed by the professional groups themselves, still hardly visualized, organizations needed inexpensive (gratis, if possible) ways of communicating with members between issues of the annual Proceedings. Yet this advantage did not accrue unless a large number of the members subscribed to the publication carrying the information. Becoming an "official organ" was a sensible way for a specialists' magazine to acquire a dependable group of subscribers.

The Music Teachers' National Association, --The first important professional organization to affiliate itself with Werner's Magazine was a music education organization. During the second year of publication (1880), the June issue carried an editorial on "The Music Teachers' National Association" (II, 80) in which qualified musicians in the United States were urged to affiliate themselves with the organization for both the "welfare of musical science" and self-interest. In keeping with the editorial and the enlarged scope of the magazine, the subtitle on the masthead was altered from "A Monthly, Devoted to Voice Culture, with Special Attention to Stuttering and Stammering" to read "A Monthly, Devoted to Voice Culture--Musical and Elocutionary, --with Special Attention to Stuttering, Stammering and Other Defects of Speech." On the back page a program of the fourth annual convention at Buffalo, New York, listed the addresses, discussions, and recitals arranged for the members. Topics and names appeared that would later grace programs
in the speech field. W. B. Chamberlain, Professor of Vocal Culture at the Oberlin Conservatory of Music, was scheduled to open the discussion on "Form and Phrasing in Vocal Study" (II, 153-154). An address on "Vocal Acoustics" (with illustrations) (II, 85-87) by Dr. Carl Seiler was listed. A cordial invitation was extended by Charles W. Sykes of Buffalo, the Vice-President for the New York M. T. N. A. division and a recent contributor to The Voice.

The following month The Voice gave four full pages to the proceedings of the meeting of the M. T. N. A., including summaries of addresses and discussions and announcements of new officers and committees, among which appeared the name of Edgar S. Werner of Albany, New York, chairman of the publications committee. One item of business was given as follows (II, 91):

On motion of Dr. Mathews, the following was adopted:

Whereas, Of all the musical papers The Voice is the only one that has given us a warm support and practical aid; and whereas, it is the only musical paper that will publish a full report of the proceedings, including all the papers read, therefore

Resolved, That The Voice be considered and is hereby made the organ of the Music Teachers' National Association.

In that same issue, in compliance with the arrangement, the Seiler lecture and the presidential address appeared. The other papers appeared during the remaining months of 1880.

The story has been related here, in spite of the fact that musical activities and articles lie outside the scope of this study, because it reveals the pattern that Edgar S. Werner set in the early years and maintained consistently in his relations with professional groups. Even though The Voice did not long remain the organ of the M. T. N. A., Werner continued to take an interest in it and to publish
announcements of its meetings, advance programs, and general business. Papers pertaining to vocal music found their way from its conventions to the pages of Werner's Magazine. State music organizations and irregular music organizations received space impartially.

Because of his interest in the organizations, Werner exercised the privilege, and to him the duty, of offering suggestions and criticism. If, in his opinion, the convention program was unbalanced, the ethics of the piano manufacturers questionable, or the place or time of convening ill-chosen, he did not hesitate to express his opinion, by request or otherwise. This, too, was typical of his concept of the obligations of the publisher of a professional journal.

**Toward the founding of the National Association of Elocutionists.**

Werner had an excellent claim to the title of "father of organizational movements among elocutionists." Believing as he did that a profession to be respected must be organized, he set about encouraging the idea of an elocutionary organization. He himself wrote an account of the process for the N.A.E. convention number of the magazine of June, 1896 (XVIII. 489-519):

In the fall of 1882, the status and needs of the elocutionary profession were discussed by Miss Kate S. Hamlin and the present writer. It was agreed that Miss Hamlin should write a letter to The Voice (now Werner's Magazine), which she did.

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Miss Hamlin's letter, published in November, 1882 (IV, 163), and supported by a strong editorial (IV, 152-153) that all but planned the program for the first convention, was followed by a series of letters in response to the editor's question, "Shall the elocutionists form a national association and meet in annual convention?" In general the idea was favorably, sometimes enthusiastically received. The replies indicated that Werner's impulse toward professional organization was shared by many elocutionists and that efforts had already been made, in some instances, to form organizations smaller in scope than that envisioned by Werner. Miss Lydia Bell of Lincoln, Nebraska, wrote (V, 57): "Feeling the need of cooperation in the work, in December last I corresponded with the working elocutionists of this State, with the idea of forming a State association, but found the number so few that the idea was not feasible." Charles Carlisle of Detroit wrote that the call "brings to mind a meeting of that sort conducted by Mrs. [Edna Chaffee-] Noble, in the State of Maine. It was quite largely attended and continued several days" (V, 122).

Robert L. Fulton of Kansas City and Ohio Wesleyan wrote (V, 121):

Two months ago while spending some very pleasant hours with my old teacher, Mr. James E. Murdock, at his home in Cincinnati, he casually mentioned an article entitled "Loneliness in Elocutionary Work," written by Miss Hamlin, and published in The Voice. Upon inquiry, I found that The Voice is just the paper our profession has felt the need of for some time. I sent for all the back numbers, and have read them with profound interest.
In response to your request for a letter on this subject, I would say that I most heartily approve of the plan. It is the same that my associate, Mr. T. C. Trueblood, and myself agitated three years ago in the West. Chicago was decided upon as the place, and we prepared the circulars for the press, but owing to the fact that some of the leading spirits could not agree upon the time of meeting, the matter was dropped. . . . I move that The Voice fix the date, and publish it in its next issue.

William T. Ross of San Francisco not only endorsed the suggested association, but also listed the advantages to be derived by the elocutionists' profession (V, 25): acquaintance with other teachers, exchange of ideas, discussion of disputed points, and education of the public. Nothing came of this correspondence, published serially in 1883, although the reaction had been predominantly favorable.

Nearly six years later an editorial made "A Plea for Organisation" in May, 1889. A letter from Clinton Burling, published in September, proposed the formation of the "Elocutionists' Union and Mutual Benefit Society of the United States," to be incorporated under the laws of the State of New York. Again Werner added editorial support to the letter by writing, "The real obstacle in the way is the indifference or jealousy of elocutionists themselves."

October and December brought responses from a number of professional people, among them Walter V. Holt of Brooklyn, F. Townsend Southwick of New York, and S. H. Clark of Canada. An editorial in February, 1890, commented on the later contributions, and there the matter rested until early in 1892.
As Werner told the story, "Mr. Hannibal A. Williams took hold of it in his thorough and energetic manner. In February he issued a circular to the elocutionists of New York and vicinity." In March the magazine carried an editorial, "A Call for a Convention of Elocutionists and Public Readers," inviting "all persons engaged in the professions of elocution and of public reading" to attend a meeting in New York City from June 27 to July 2. At a committee meeting held before the time of the convention, Werner announced that he would submit a plan for a permanent organization, a plan he published in Werner's Magazine in 1896 (XVIII, 519). Apparently the spirit of convention was abroad in the land, for the same issue that carried Williams' call also quoted a suggestion from James H. Brownlow of the University of Illinois (XIV, 76):

"I take the liberty to write to you regarding the propriety and the feasibility of arranging for a convention or a congress of elocutionists and teachers of oratory, to be held in Chicago during the coming World's Fair. . . . I write hastily, but still trust I have said enough to interest you in the subject. Will not the Voice Magazine present the matter to the profession?"

The editorial in which the letter was reproduced continued:

Prof. Brownlow's suggestion is an excellent one. It comes in the same trend as that of, and supplementary to, the convention announced elsewhere in this issue . . . . Why will not Prof. Brownlow take the initiative and associate with him, as a preliminary committee, other representative teachers of Illinois? We offer our columns for the project, which we consider an admirable one and worthy of the support of the elocutionary profession of the entire country.

Werner's Magazine, official organ. --At the convention
Werner's Voice Magazine became the official organ of the newly named National Association of Elocutionists and remained in that capacity as Werner's Magazine until the magazine ceased to exist in 1902. Werner himself participated in the first convention, giving a reception for the group in the name of the magazine and taking part in the business sessions. He became chairman of the literary committee, charged with the responsibility of planning the next year's program, and a member of the board of directors. There is some evidence that Werner originally had been assigned a place on the program to read a paper on "The Inadequacy of Expressional Terms" but that, as he put it, "We were not ready with the paper" (XV, 316).

Werner was also entrusted with the publication of the convention's Proceedings, for which he retained the copyright. A most important development was the selection of Werner's Voice Magazine as the official organ of the association. It resulted from a series of events much like those of the M. T. N. A. in 1880, in that Werner offered space in the magazine without cost to the organization, after which S. H. Clark moved the adoption of the magazine as the official organ.

Werner's Voice Magazine gave the convention extensive

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coverage in its August issue, which contained a special report of the proceedings, the Murdoch and Trueblood papers, a critical review by Elsie M. Wilbor, a full-page series of convention notes, a list of officers, a list of more than thirty recitations given at the convention, a report of the Werner's Voice Magazine reception, and a group of editorial paragraphs concerning the convention. This was the formula applied to succeeding conventions.

One of the editorial paragraphs referred to above indicated the editor's dissatisfaction with the organizational composition of the board of directors, of which he was a member. Foreseeing possible complications, he wrote (XIV, 241):

Never before in the history of the elocutionary profession have its interests been confided to so few persons as is now the case with the Board of Directors of the National Association of Elocutionists. True, there must be a mastermind or masterminds in every enterprise. Yet it should not be forgotten that this organization should not be made a close corporation for some time to come, but should keep as near to the pulse and to the needs of teacher and pupil and public reader as possible. The convention idea should not be lost sight of. If feasible, the organization should be a delegated body rather than a close corporation. The fraternities of public readers and teachers of elocution need to pass through a simmering process before they will be prepared to form themselves into an "academy," a "seminary," a "college," a "university," or whatever it may be called--the meaning being an exclusive and close organization, controlled by a few persons. . . . There is danger in making a mistake in this direction, and we call attention to it ere it is too late.

In October, 1892, Werner wrote an editorial calling for suggestions for the program of the second convention, to be held in Chicago, the location Brownlow had desired. Summing up the
achievements of 1892 for a December editorial, Werner congratulated himself and his readers (XIV, 373): "We have seen our efforts to organize elocutionists result in the forming of a national association. Werner’s Voice Magazine first proposed and advocated such a movement, and in the successful outcome we think we may claim some share of the credit."

The August, 1893, issue reporting the Chicago convention adhered to the formula set up a year earlier, with the addition of a questionnaire for convention members to use in reporting to the magazine their impressions of the convention (XV, 291). A month later Werner declared (XV, 316):

While this magazine is the official organ of the National Association of Elocutionists, yet the Association is not responsible for what the magazine says, neither is the magazine accountable for what the Association does. Official communications from the Association will be signed by the proper officials, so that our readers will have no difficulty in knowing what is and what is not authorized by the Association. We deem this statement necessary so that there shall be no misunderstanding, and so that both the Association and the magazine shall have full freedom in their respective spheres.

The motivation for this announcement is not revealed. The possibilities are: first, that Werner was merely establishing the magazine’s editorial position as a free agent; second, that a reader or subscriber had confused the N. A. E. and the magazine policies; or third, that the officers had requested a definite separation of the magazine’s functions. The following months brought other editorials analyzing the problems of a national organization, drawing parallels with the
M. T. N. A., and predicting at least ten years of useful life for the organization under any circumstances.

Werner was again program chairman for the third meeting of the association, held in Philadelphia during the last week of June, 1894. The June issue of the magazine carried a pointed editorial observation as to the weakness of the association and its needs:

A national association composed of regularly appointed delegates is a dream that this decade will not see realized. This being the case, the N. A. E. can go on only in the way it has begun. In new enterprises a masterhand is needed. The N. A. E. needs a masterhand to shape its policy and to carry it to a successful issue. There are masterhands already in the Association. The question is, will they, and can they afford to, give the time and labor necessary? This is a large country and distances are too great to have a large Board of Directors scattered about. . . . Concentration of power and of responsibility would seem to be desirable; but there is danger in centralization. Perhaps the Board of Directors will yet be convinced of the necessity of their outlining a course of procedure and then appointing one person, say the Secretary, to carry out their plans. If this course should be taken, the person doing this work should be paid a salary sufficient to compensate him for his time and labor. . . . The N. A. E. also should have permanent headquarters in a large city, say New York or Chicago. . . . Another view of the problem is to let matters take their own course; that is, to let the Association take care of itself, upon the survival-of-the-fittest theory. Certain it is that associational activity is in the air. Elocutionists are bound to form organizations, and it is not safe for any elocutionist, no matter how secure he may feel his position and reputation to be, to stand aloof in lofty and scornful indifference.

The August issue carried its usual reports, including one on the "Werner's Magazine Reception." A cryptic comment on the editorial page read, "Intrigurers may capture associations, and block the wheels of progress in that particular field of activity, but advance is sure to
be made in other directions" (XVI, 298). Whether the comment referred to the N.A.E., or to one of the music organizations, or to no specific referent, cannot be determined on the basis of available evidence. At least one step was taken by the convention in accordance with Werner's convictions: a terminology committee was appointed, thus initiating a project that was dear to Werner's heart.

Elsie M. Wilbor's critical report of the convention (XVI, 275-277) contained one item of unusual interest, the appearance of Furness, the eminent Shakespearean scholar and reputedly excellent reader, on the convention program.

The recital by Mr. Leland T. Powers of "David Garrick" and the reading by Mr. Horace Howard Furness of "A Midsummer Night's Dream" were the star events of the evening entertainments. Mr. Furness is one of the most genial of men, the very picture of good-nature and health, with no trace of the student that he is. Unfortunately, he is hampered by severe deafness, and can hear only when spoken to through an ear-trumpet, which is his constant companion. Thus far his voice through it comes to him, he says, only as a far distant echo, has not been affected by his lack of hearing. He prefaced his reading by a talk, all too brief, on the controversy as to what royal marriage the play is supposed to commemorate and on the fact that while midsummer comes in the latter part of June, the time of the play is a month earlier. Throughout the reading he made many interesting explanatory remarks, and the evening will long be remembered by those fortunate enough to enjoy it.

In June, 1895, Werner suggested the possibility of holding national meetings in alternate years in order to avoid breaking up summer vacations annually and also to foster state and local organizations (XVII, 449). The Boston convention, held in the same month, was given
special coverage with eight pages of inset photographs of prominent members. Werner's editorial hinted at political difficulties within the membership (XVII, 607-611):

The chief element of progress is the increased cohesion of the organization, whose existence no longer depends upon the activity of any one member. . . . The friends of elocutionary progress who were among the formers of the Association, are, to a certain extent, relieved of the burden that rightly rested upon them as long as the Association was in the experimental period, and they can now turn their attention to other departments of the elocutionary movement.

An element of the Association's strength is the forming of parties, each of which aims to further its own interests. At first thought, it might seem that cliques were harmful, but we believe them to be desirable features whose tendency will be to infuse more life into the Association and to increase its cohesiveness. For instance, if the X school of elocution sees that its rival, the Y school of elocution, is getting members who will work for the advantage of their alma mater by taking part in the program, by controlling the election of officers, etc., the X school will strive to counteract the influence of its rival by similar efforts, all of which benefit the Association. True, such cliques are not without danger, but this danger at present is so slight that no alarm need be felt. The most dangerous clique would be that composed of a few persons who should gain exclusive control of the Association, and who should make attending the annual meetings their business. Then each meeting of the Association would be in reality a local affair . . . .

The convention notes contained a statement that Werner was obliged to retract later to the effect that "W. H. Baker & Co., the principal New England elocutionary publishers," did not want elocutionary business (XVII, 611).

The fact that Werner was beginning to have professional disagreements with the governing members of the N. A. E. was revealed a month later, in the September issue (XVII, 688):
Is the elocutionary profession in existence for the National Association of Elocutionists, or is the National Association of Elocutionists in existence for the elocutionary profession? This question is occasioned by the protest that has come to Werner's Magazine against its publishing a full account of the Boston convention of elocutionists. . . . Most emphatically do we answer that the National Association of Elocutionists has been called into being, and has a good reason for its being, for the good it can do to the elocutionary fraternity. The moment that the interests of the National Association of Elocutionists conflict with the interests of the elocutionary profession, that moment the Association will cease to have a reason for its existence and its doom is sealed. The alleged reason of the protest is that the official report of the convention will have less value, if a full account of the proceedings appears first elsewhere, and that, therefore, there will be still less reason for elocutionists to join the Association. We offer a prize for the discovery of any person who has not joined the Association because Werner's Magazine gives a full report of the annual meetings. The real animus of the protest, however, is of a character different from what appears on the surface. We do not care at this time to go further into the matter, but will simply repeat, what we said last month, that the time has gone by when the N.A.E.'s destinies are in the hands of any one man, no matter who he may be. The Association has outgrown any one man or any clique. There were, according to the Board of Directors' report, 181 members of the Boston convention. Most of these 181 members were present at and participated in the proceedings. If the report of the convention is to be confined to these 181 persons, the majority of whom will not read the Report after they have received a copy, then the great bulk of the elocutionary profession of this country will remain in ignorance of what the Association did at Boston, and the excellent papers read there will have been prepared almost wholly in vain. No one who has the cause at heart wishes such a thing to happen. The light shed by the leaders of the profession should be disseminated as widely as possible. This is what Werner's Magazine has done, and will continue to do. It was the first to suggest the forming of a national association, and has done more than any other agency in making such an association possible. It does not propose now to relax its efforts, but will continue them for the good of the entire elocutionary profession.

With this combination of self-justification, flattery, and defiance, Werner rejected the complaint that presumably came from the officers, directors,
or board of trustees. An editorial in an adjacent column commented that "associational activity abounds" and noted the "cooperative efforts" soon to be "the rule with the members of the professions."

In spite of the disagreement about the publication of proceedings, Werner continued to write editorials supporting the policies of the association, among them the drives to raise the educational level of the members of the profession and to gain recognition of the discipline in institutions of higher learning. As the time approached for the Detroit convention of 1896, the June issue brought to its readers a special N. A. E. issue including Werner's account of the history of the N. A. E. and twenty-one pages of portraits of organizers and prominent members of the organization and the profession.

The August issue, usually filled with articles and news about the convention, contained slightly less than two pages of "Notes from Detroit" (XVIII, 797-799). The September issue made no reference to the convention but did inform its readers that a plan was in view to hold conferences in New York during the winter for the purpose of "developing the science and the art of singing and of speaking" (XVIII, 382). It was November before the editor revealed to his readers that the "directors of the National Association of Elocutionists do not wish us to publish a full report of its meetings." He continued, "The association is doomed if its directors insist that its chief prop shall be cut-and-dried essays, and that a knowledge of
all its proceedings shall be confined to the handful of elocutionists
constituting its membership. . . . We leave it to the elocutionary
profession at large to decide whether or not such a policy is narrow,
harmful, and unlike the policy of other educational and scientific
bodies" (XVIII, 1050-1051). The same issue contained reports of
meetings of the New York Teachers of Oratory and the American
Society for the Improvement of Speech.

The report of the first meeting of the Werner Society, to
which the September editorial had indirectly referred, also appeared
in the November issue. The participants were primarily members of
the music profession. In December, however, the proceedings of
the November meeting on the subject "The Future of the Elocutionary
Profession" appeared, together with letters from those who had been
invited to send opinions of a questionnaire devised by Werner. Some
of the letters spoke approvingly of the formation of the new society
for purposes of conference. However, a number objected to certain
quotations that Werner had taken out of context of the speeches members
had made at the Detroit convention of the N.A.E. As these comments
were presented by Werner, the effect was one of pessimism, they
thought, misleading and misrepresenting the original intentions of
the speakers. That Werner's motivation in inaugurating his society
at this particular moment was also suspect, at least by some, is
indicated by this paragraph from the letter of Thomas C. Trueblood
of Michigan (XVIII, 1108-1109):

Now, in so far as The Werner Society has for its aim sectional work in a professional way for the betterment of its members and that Werner's Magazine may have absolute control of its deliberations, we bid the new local organization welcome; but if its purpose be to injure rather than help to build up the national organization, then it does not deserve to succeed.

Werner immediately attempted to allay any suspicion and fear as to his objectives (XVIII, 1164):

We supposed that the fact that The Werner Society had no organization, no members, no constitution, etc., would have been sufficient to keep any person from imagining that the Society was intended to supplant any organization. . . . Its meetings are conferences . . . . The persons who attend one meeting may be entirely different from those who attend another meeting. . . .

The National Association of Elocutionists, The New York Teachers of Oratory, The American Society for the Improvement of Speech, the various state and city elocutionary associations, already formed or in contemplation, are movements in the right direction. They should be encouraged. They have no more sincere well-wisher, no firmer and no more enthusiastic supporter than is Werner's Magazine.

During the spring of 1897, Werner's Magazine, as the official organ, published long reports of the first Ohio State Convention of Elocutionists and the first convention of the Michigan Association of Elocutionists. The organizations using the pages of Werner's Magazine were numerous and varied during the entire decade of the nineties. There were local organizations, like the St. Louis Association of Elocutionists and the Grand Rapids Society, state associations that were distributed from New York to California, and a Southern regional association.

When the 1897 convention was held, the situation became
normal again with Werner publishing the papers delivered there much as usual. The Werner Society was allowed to die. The May, 1898, Werner's Magazine published as the official organ the proceedings of the Iowa State Association of Elocutionists, thus continuing the policy of giving attention to the smaller organizations. The years 1898, 1899, and 1900 saw a continuation of the practice of printing convention papers, the Chautauqua and St. Louis conventions of the latter years being especially well covered, pictorially at least. In 1901 and 1902, however, there was no utilization of convention materials in the magazine.

Werner's Magazine continued to remain the official organ, however, until the end of 1902. At the Denver convention in June, 1903, the question of selecting a new organ brought this remark from President Henry Gaines Hawn: "We need a magazine badly, but how to get it I don't know. . . . I should not like to take the monetary risk of editing or publishing it myself." After the convention had received an offer from the Muse, Henry M. Soper, a former president, said, "If we could get enough representation in that magazine to make it representative of our profession and make a stand for what Werner's stood for in its palmy days, or something better, I believe it would be the greatest thing in the world for us to unite in supporting this magazine . . . ." After Mrs. Denig remarked, "I miss Werner's very much," Hawn took the floor:
Who will supply, from month to month, material for this magazine? Not I for less than three cents a word. I cannot imagine any man or woman so inane, with so little to do, as to supply a magazine free with any amount of material. . . . I don't think there is a man or woman in the Association who would be willing to keep tabs on us personally all over the country, to fill the offered space in the magazine. Besides, having had a good magazine in the old days, to me it would be [better] to have nothing than to be included in a magazine as a part or department . . . .  

It seems apparent from the discussion quoted above and subsequent discussions in later years that the N.A.E. was finally becoming aware of the contributions made by a "professional" journal to the speech field.

Other Professional Relations and Testimony

Throughout this study, contemporary professional evaluations of Werner's Magazine have been included. These statements usually appeared in letters to the editor or in speech publications other than the magazine. It is reasonable to believe that prominent leaders in the elocutionary field were sincere in their statements of approval and disapproval. In his relations with them, the editor appears to have conducted his business according to ethical standards.

An incident occurring during the early years of The Voice, reveals Werner's interest in maintaining sound professional relations:

5 Proceedings of the National Association of Elocutionists of 1903, pp. 194-197.
In September, 1881, Werner had reprinted an article from the St.
Louis Eclectic Medical Journal on Julius Ashman's ideas concerning
stuttering. To the article Werner had prefixed the title "Unfathomable
Bosh!" and a severely critical editorial comment. The following
January there appeared in the "Correspondence" column a statement
from Ashman, saying in part, "I am neither acquainted with [the St.
Louis journal's] editor, nor did I suggest or understand that rather
senseless article." No further word was necessary from Werner,
since the title and editorial note clearly had referred to the journal
article rather than to Ashman's ideas. Yet, probably because Werner
had raised an objection to some of Ashman's ideas in earlier articles
printed in The Voice, he added to Ashman's letter an editorial postscript
that exemplified a high standard of professional ethics:

We have not intended, at any time, to reflect personally
upon Mr. Ashman, but only have taken the liberty to criticise
his theories, where we differed from him. We desire to
remain on friendly terms with an earnest investigator in a
common field of labor.

Most of Werner's relations with schools and with individual
members of the profession seem to have been amicable. When such
was not the case, the editor was usually quite frank in stating the
situation. For example, in his biography of the late Jacob W.
Shoemaker (XVIII, 322-324), Werner commented on his relations
with Shoemaker's successors:

I am sure that had he lived the institution he founded would have
had fewer elocutionary sins to answer for, and that there would have arisen no friction between its managers and me. In my calmer moments I deplore the dissonances that now and then jar the relations between his successors and me, and I would gladly go as far as self-respect would permit to resolve these dissonances into harmony.

He continued with an observation that may explain equally well the "dissonance" present in his relations with S. S. Curry:

The school [National School of Elocution and Oratory] has been handicapped by trying to conduct a publishing business. I am aware that I lay myself open to the charge of carping critics that I say this because I am a rival publisher. Well, they may say so, but it is not true. My opinion is the outcome of long experience and much thought. An educational institution is one thing and the publishing business is another. They will not and cannot amalgamate. They are in opposite pans of a scale--when one goes up the other goes down. Dr. S. S. Curry, of Boston, is making the same mistake. The time will come--it may have come already--when he, too, will have to decide which he will be, a teacher or a publisher. No one person can be both and succeed as either.

Werner's relations with Curry were exceedingly complicated.

In the spring of 1895 plans for Curry's contribution of "Articles on Practical Subjects, and 'The History of Elocution'" were announced (XVII, March, ii). The history did not materialize, and in June of that year Curry began publication of his own Expression, a quarterly school organ.

Two years later, in 1897, Curry's name reappeared in connection with an N. A. E. program to which he contributed a paper on the importance of studying the history of elocution and vocal training. As a result he was appointed chairman of an N. A. E. committee assigned to the task of collecting material and writing such
a history. Curry was determined to have his own Expression Company publish the work, contrary to N.A.E. policy, rather than allow its publication first in the Proceedings and, presumably, afterwards in Werner's Magazine. The N.A.E. took a disapproving view of Curry's plans, attitude, and failure to give a committee report in 1898 and 1899. Before the opening of the 1900 convention, President Soper investigated the situation, dismissed the committee, and reported his action to the convention, which upheld his decision.

Apparently believing that the best defense was a good offense, Curry presented his side of the case in his school organ, Expression, before the N.A.E. convened:

. . . The history of such a subject, with any scholarly presentation, could never be published in an obscure and wholly forgotten report of . . . [those] who hold that all papers must be the property of the Association. . . .

I never could believe that a set of men could be ignorant enough to think that a history . . . must be entirely the property of this Association, and must be published in their annual report.

. . . I never dreamed that men would be so narrow and small as to think that such a history could be put in a few little essays in the forgotten report of a convention! I certainly, not for one minute, would ever waste my time on such an idea.

We had a sample of the scholarly work of the Association in the reports on terminology [sic] and definitions. I have had an article of criticism on this monument of folly written for some time, but I do not desire to find fault with the work of others. Certainly I should never assist in a similar plan of folly on the history of elocution. I was not present when the appointment was made, and received no official notice for twelve months of such an appointment. 6

6 "Should the History of Elocution Be Written?" Expression, [VI] (Spring, 1900), 435-437. The article is unsigned.
Curry was evidently somewhat piqued. His criticisms, direct and implied, of the N.A.E. Proceedings were unjust, for the papers were quite as scholarly as the Curry publications and no more obscure.

The terminology project was one long sponsored and supported by Werner, in and out of the N.A.E. As to the last statement Curry made, the Proceedings show his appointment to have been made immediately after his paper and the discussion which followed it; consequently Curry was either present or had absented himself after his contribution to the program.

In reporting the dissolution of the committee to the N.A.E. convention in June, President Henry M. Soper, of the Soper School of Oratory, Chicago, declared:

Last year the Board of Directors instructed me to investigate the condition of the Committee on the History of Elocution, which has not reported for three years. I wrote to the Chairman, who replied that he didn't desire to have the matter come before the Convention, that he wanted the committee to report to him, and that the Convention and members of the committee help him in preparing a report, or a history of elocution. He stated that a certain company of a certain school would publish that report on their own responsibility, and in nowise connected with the Association proper.

With one remark he voiced the sentiment of the convening members:

If there is any one thing I desire to stand for, and want this convention to stand for, it is this, that we do not lend our influence to the building up of any one person, any one school, or any one publishing company. (Applause)  

Proceedings of the National Association of Elocutionists for 1900, pp. 176-177.
This little skirmish, in which Werner was hardly engaged at all, presaged what appears to have been an open conflict between Werner and Curry. Werner's Magazine had been accustomed to reprinting excerpts from and digests of lectures, news stories, and magazine articles in its "Current Thought" department, which had exactly the same function as its present-day equivalent in professional journals. Material reprinted from Expression had appeared as recently as January and July, 1900. Emerson College Magazine was also occasionally represented. Moreover, in July, material from both Emerson and Curry had received a prominent place in the front of the magazine. In October Werner's Magazine ran the obituary of Moses True Brown (XXVI, 173), another of the outstanding Boston elocutionists, who had contributed the early articles on Delsarte to Werner's Magazine. The editor referred to the magazine's cordial relations with Brown and made this comment, open to many interpretations:

Probably it will never be written, but a full and frank history of the work and relations of Professor Brown, Dr. S.S. Curry and Dr. Charles Wesley Emerson--three conspicuous, contemporaneous Boston elocutionists--would make an interesting chapter in the history of American elocution.

Then, in the Autumn, 1900, issue of Expression, which came from the press after the November number of Werner's Magazine, Curry wrote a scathing article on "Professional Honor" in which,

8 The article, like most of those in Expression, was unsigned, but Curry admitted to writing about four-fifths of them. See "The Mission of 'Expression'," pp. 528-531, in the same issue.
after describing Professor Moses True Brown as a model of propriety in this respect, he continued with the following:

The real cause of the lack of professional feeling is the fact that there are so many humbugs, so many pretenders whom no self-respecting teacher can approve. Among the leaders who really think and work, there is very great courtesy, and occasionally sympathetic criticism of each other's work. . . .

[But there are] demagogues, who use the needs of the hard working teachers as an opportunity for business schemes, wholly unworthy to represent any professional body of men claiming disinterested devotion to education and to art. . . .

Certain customs are obtaining in the ranks of the profession—harmful to professional honor—some of these the result of thoughtlessness, but no less deplorable. It seems to be necessary to call the attention of the public and the profession to the most crying of these. This task Expression will undertake, always protecting the individual from publicity, but with the avowed purpose of setting the serious teachers to thinking of opening the eyes of the public to note signs of fraud.

As an illustration of this, four articles from the last number of "Expression" were copied by a magazine whose editor has done more harm than anyone to the work of Vocal Expression, and the articles copied with the authors' names, or supposed authors' names, attached, but totally ignoring this periodical. Now, among all classes of newspapers this would be considered utterly below the dignity of any reputable publisher or editor. It was put in such a way as to make it appear that these people were writers for his magazine and endorsers of it, not only using their ideas to pad out the poor, tenuated thought of the magazine, but using them in such a way as to imply that these were regular contributors to his magazine.9

The last statement was patently untrue. "Current Thought," in which the four articles had appeared (XXIV, 271-276) was an old, well-established department making no claim to originality. Any fault of which Werner could justly be accused lay in his assumption that

9 Expression, VI (Fall, 1900), pp. 526-528.
unsigned articles in *Expression* were written by Curry (and they probably were) or in his failure to name the magazine, an oversight that happened occasionally in other issues but not usually four times in a single number.

One wonders to what extent coincidence operated in the appearance, in the December issue of *Werner's Magazine*, of a newly renamed department of correspondence bearing the title "Voices from the Elocutionary Battle-Field," in which the opening communication was "A Protest against Dr. S.S. Curry's Criticism on the Late Professor Austin H. Merrill" (XXVI, 359). The Merrill article had been one of the controversial four in the November issue of *Werner's Magazine*. One also wonders whether the presence of a considerable number of references to and pictures of *Emerson College* in the early issues of 1901 was entirely the work of an ambitious publicity agent.

The investigator is reluctant to conclude from this patchwork of information that Werner and Curry were inimical, although circumstantial evidence points in that direction. Nor is there any intention of implying that possible unfriendly relations between the two had any connection with the imminent demise of *Werner's Magazine*. The account is given space here in order to give proper perspective to Curry's criticism of (1) the magazine and (2) the editor's influence on "the work of Vocal Expression." A contrary evaluation of the magazine, expressed with less emotional bias, can be found recorded
in the N. A. E. Proceedings of 1903, quoted earlier in this chapter.

That some of the members of the profession recognized
the difficulties involved in publishing a professional magazine is
indicated by the following communication from the Reverend Francis
T. Russell (VI, 46-47):

. . . I admire your pluck and energy in carrying on so
successfully for so long a time, such a superior work.
Those who may be disposed to criticise the paper unfavorably
must be of that number who know nothing of the difficulty of
conducting such an enterprise without large capital or an
immense list of subscribers. The casual reader does not
consider the tremendous mental strain, the anxieties and the
financial dangers, the discouragements and the thanklessness
which the editor in a new field of science and art must inevitably
experience. But fight on, you are pushing your work in the
right spirit of determination, and also of consideration, and
you will have the satisfaction of pointing to your monument of
work thus far achieved. This is the greatest reward for
pioneers, reformers and proto-martyrs in any worthy cause.

Not all of the members of the profession were equally under­
standing, of course. In the yearly summation presented in his
editorial of December, 1894, the editor presented his case in this
manner (XVI, 438):

We salute our friends--and, oh! what staunch and
steadfast friends we have had all along!--on the threshold
of a new year and at the beginning of an epoch in our history.
It is with no little satisfaction and with no less gratitude that
we recall your sufferance with our infirmities and your support
of our enterprise through these dreary and drudgeful years. We
are yet too near those struggles to feel strong enough to tell
you of the deprivations and heartburnings that are interwoven
with the one hundred and ninety-two numbers of this magazine.
Just now, at least, we are not in the mood to dwell upon them. . . .

We likewise salute our non-friends. We hesitate to use
the harsher word "enemies." Why you should be unfriendly,
we cannot understand. Why do you not judge by motives rather than by externalities? Why do you forget that, in erecting an edifice, scaffolding must be used; and that débris will be around until the structure is completed . . . . In struggling for existence, one should not be criticised too severely for clutching at anything. Forget not that we have had to do creative work from the beginning; that we have had no model; that we have had to deal with a heterogeneous lot of people--from those scarcely able to read, to those who have reached the heights of culture, and who wear international laurels; that we have had to provide nutriment for babes as well as for giants; that we cannot provide for giants only, for the giants are too few; and that neither can we be content to provide only infantile pabulum.

He closed with a theme that was repeated throughout the volumes of the magazine: "We like to get criticism. . . . In no better way can you contribute to the cause you certainly must have at heart."
SUMMARY

Werner's Magazine was a professional speech journal of the eighties and nineties. A private enterprise, it was edited and published by Edgar S. Werner in Albany and New York from January, 1879, through September, 1902, and by the Werner's Magazine Company of Chicago for the remaining months of 1902. During its existence it developed from a small paper into a magazine comparable in format and content to literary magazines of the same period.

Begun as a magazine for stutterers, it offered to its readers translations from the best foreign authorities on stuttering; writings of American speech specialists, including the editor; and fiction devoted to the subject. By inviting and publishing the extended correspondence of stutterers, it provided for them a type of psychological therapy prophetic of more recent developments in the treatment of stuttering, and for investigators a body of case histories setting forth in considerable detail the experiences and attitudes of stutterers. The vigorous editorial campaign against fraudulent practices by itinerant "stutter-doctors" is reported to have produced considerable benefit by disseminating information to the public and by calling attention to the stutterers' problems.
Although the material on speech problems other than stuttering is less extensive, the magazine does contain articles and medical reports concerning them. The publication of the magazine extended over a period of sufficient length to reveal initial developments in speech correction that were to come to fruition in the twentieth century: the increased attention to prevention and treatment of speech defects in young children; the union of the interests of the speech specialist and the medical specialist; and the recognition and development of the speech correction field itself.

The editor's belief that stutterers, other speakers, and singers had problems in common led to the inclusion of contemporary scientific writings on the subjects of breathing, the operation of the vocal mechanism, and the articulatory processes. Editorial eclecticism permitted the inclusion of articles elaborating contradictory theories and resulted in controversial exchanges of opinion among disputing contributors. The articles on voice science are valuable so far as they reveal the confused state of vocal knowledge of the period.

To make the magazine of practical value, articles on vocal training and pronunciation were also included. Many of the former were designed for the singer rather than for the speaker and were naturally in harmony with the vocal theory that individual
authors advocated. The articles relating to pronunciation and phonetics were largely the product of Alfred Ayres (Thomas Embley Osmun) on the one hand and Alexander Melville Bell, inventor of Visible Speech, and the adherents to that phonetic system on the other. Ayres' work is of particular interest in that he vigorously opposed the current pedantic practice of giving full vowel value to unstressed syllables. Although the magazine purported to specialize in articles devoted to Bell's Visible Speech, little actual instruction in the system was presented, most of the articles being evaluative or persuasive in nature.

In 1882 Werner's Magazine began the presentation of information concerning the Delsarte philosophy of expression, then in its twelfth year of development in America, and remained the spokesman for Delsartism until that "system" was repudiated by members of the speech profession. The writings of Delsartians were so voluminous at times that the magazine was accused of being controlled by their faction. However, the evidence seems to indicate that the magazine was, instead, a representative of the times and that its content changed as the concepts of the profession changed.

An editorial stand was taken both for the publication of material on Delsartism and for the right of others than Steele Mackaye to express in writing their theories on the Delsarte philosophy and the application of those theories to speech training.
The magazine can probably be held responsible to some extent for later developments in pseudo-Delsartism, in that it made readily available to the profession a considerable amount of material on the physiological aspects of expression. It also gave publicity, through photographs, reports, and reviews, to popular entertainments sometimes identified with Delsartism—statue-posing, tableaux-mouvants, and pantomimes.

The speech activity receiving by far the greatest amount of attention in the pages of the magazine was oral interpretation in its various aspects of reading, reciting, declaiming and solo-acting. Not only did the magazine present theoretical and practical articles on the subject, but it provided recitations in increasing numbers from 1885 through September, 1902. The recitations were in keeping with the theories and modes of the day, vacillating between good and poor taste and between objective and subjective material. The magazine reflected the general interest and concern in improving standards both in selection of material and in performance. It aired conflicting opinions on specific techniques and problems arising from newly recognized principles of art and psychology.

It is possible not only to trace in the pages of Werner's Magazine the early development of the "new elocution," a philosophy of speech on which much twentieth-century speech education is based,
but also to find the probable source of that philosophy in the writings and teaching of Alfred Ayres, many of whose articles were written especially for *Werner's Magazine*. Ayres' influence on S.H. Clark and some of his associates appears to have a direct connection with contemporary teaching in the field of oral interpretation.

During its more than two decades of activity, the magazine reflected a noticeable change of emphasis in the field of public address from the polished delivery of the memorized oration to the practical persuasion of the extemporized speech. Although the magazine exhibited no editorial bias in the matter, it carried in its pages numerous pleas for a fuller development of the area of original speech for the purpose of increasing the possibility of extending the study of elocution to institutions of higher learning. In this field the magazine revealed a trend away from the artistic and toward the practical.

The era during which *Werner's Magazine* was published saw the development of the first professional organizations in the field of speech. The editor used the magazine as an instrument to convince the profession of the advantages accruing from the exchange of opinion and the union of effort that organization would make possible. In 1882-1883 and again from 1889 to 1892, the time of the organization of the National Association of Elocutionists, the idea of an organization
was brought to the attention of the readers of the magazine, many of whom were the outstanding figures in the profession.

Immediately upon the organization of the National Association of Elocutionists, Werner's Magazine became its official organ and remained in that capacity until the magazine ceased to exist. At various periods in its history it was also the organ of the Music Teachers' National Association and of a number of state organizations, including the elocutionists' associations in Ohio, Michigan, and Iowa. For all of these and others it carried notices, announcements of programs, and official business as a service to the organizations. It reprinted numerous articles taken from proceedings of annual conventions, when permitted to do so, and at times carried news items and criticisms of the conventions themselves.

Letters and comments taken from the magazine and from other sources indicate that Werner's Magazine occupied an important place in the professional lives of its readers. Testimonials interspersed throughout this study reveal that the magazine was respected at home and abroad for its articles and its editorial policies and campaigns. Although the editor recognized that his insistence on presenting all sides in a professional issue, making available in print all types of material, and offering criticisms, made enemies for the magazine, the fact did not deter him in his enthusiasm for promoting what he
felt to be the best interests of the discipline of speech education.

The editor recognized his problems to be numerous. His was creative work; he had no model of a speech magazine after which to pattern his publication. His subscribers, he saw, were a heterogeneous group, often antagonistic to one another, filled with petty jealousies, completely disunited. The financial difficulties involved in the publication of a professional magazine frequently led to disaster. Moreover, the editor had no professional group interested in contributing articles for either the benefit of the speech profession or professional recognition of the individual. Despite all of these handicaps, Edgar S. Werner was still able to publish a magazine that, through most of its period of existence, presented valuable material that reflected accurately, for its time, the state of the discipline and the profession. In that sense, Werner's Magazine was a professional speech journal comparing favorably, as a pioneer in its field, with the twentieth century professional publications of which it was the forerunner.
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AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Francine Merritt attended the public schools of Santa Anna, Texas, and was granted a Bachelor of Arts degree from Hardin-Simmons University and a Master of Arts degree from Louisiana State University. She also did graduate work at the University of Wisconsin and the University of Missouri. She has been a regular member of the faculty of the speech departments of Hardin-Simmons University, the University of Missouri, and Louisiana State University.
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Francine Merritt
Major Field: Speech
Title of Thesis: Werner's Magazine: Pioneer Speech Journal

Approved:

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Major Professor and Chairman

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Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

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Date of Examination:
July 30, 1953