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Article Summary: Hollingworth, an experimental psychologist, used science to solve problems. An embarrassing failure as a public speaker at an important event early in his career led him to write a book on the psychology of audiences.

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Photographs / Images: the Hollingworth family; Harry L Hollingworth about 1915; William Jennings Bryan; "The Traditional Spellbinder. Like the Ancient Mariner He Held His Audience With the Aid of a Glittering Eye." (pen and ink drawing thought to represent William Jennings Bryan and used to illustrate a Hollingworth article about public speaking)



A PLATFORM DISASTER

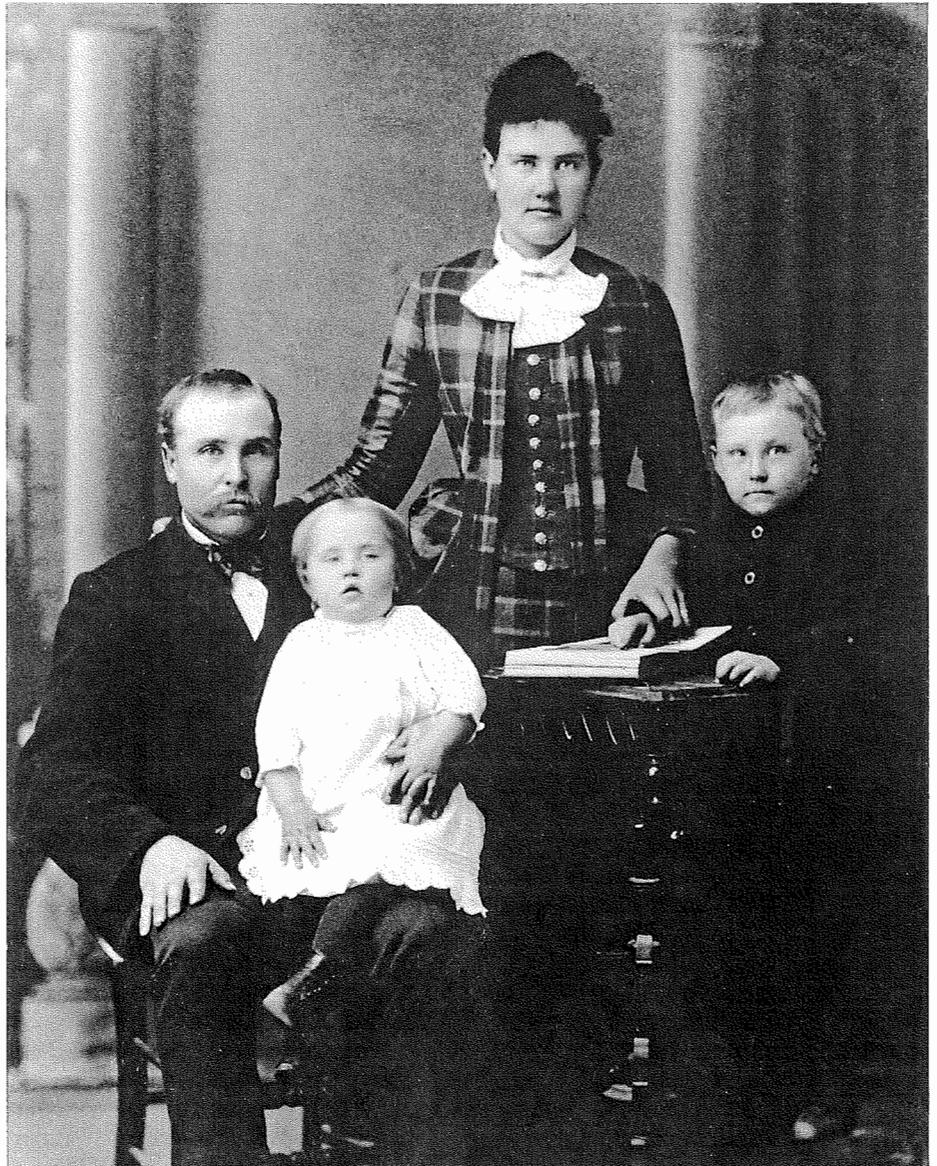
Harry Hollingworth

and the Psychology of Public Speaking

By Ludy T. Benjamin, Jr.

In 1935 Nebraska native and Columbia University Professor of Psychology Harry L. Hollingworth (1880–1956) published *The Psychology of the Audience*, a book on the psychology of public speaking based partly on the science of his day and a good measure of common sense and folklore. In the opening sentence of the preface, Hollingworth explained the impetus for the book: “This volume owes its existence first of all to the members of a college debating club, who invited the author to give them a lecture on the psychology of the audience.”¹ He continued with several other reasons for writing the book, including curiosity about the lack of scientific studies on the principles of public speaking and interest in the methods of appeal to an audience. Yet there is another motive for this book that is not mentioned, even though other sources indicate that it was the chief reason for the book’s existence. The precipitating event occurred in Philadelphia twenty years earlier, in 1915, when Hollingworth was invited to address the Poor Richard Club’s annual banquet, a meeting that proved to be a major embarrassment for him as a public speaker. The publication of the book twenty years later suggests that the sting of that incident would not go away.

Hollingworth was born May 26, 1880, in DeWitt, Nebraska, a village of approximately five hundred people at the time. His father was Thomas Hollingworth, a carpenter, and his mother, Libbie J. Andrews, a homemaker. From



The Hollingworth family. Harry Hollingworth is the older of the two children. Courtesy of the Archives of the History of American Psychology, University of Akron, Akron, Ohio.

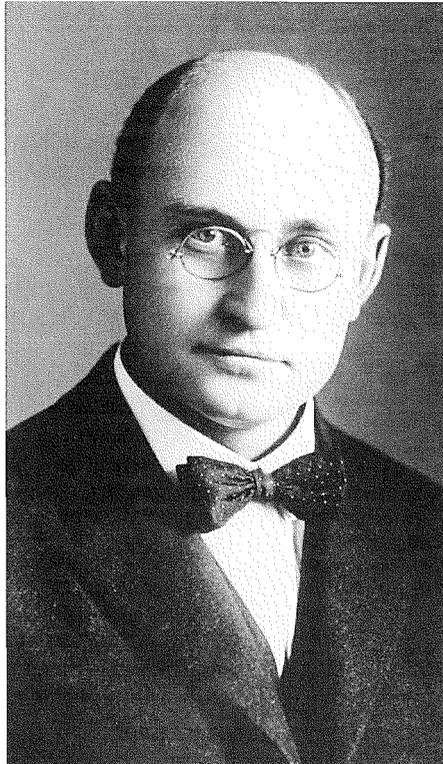
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the age of eleven, Hollingworth worked as a carpenter with his father. In his later teens he saw a mail order catalog from Montgomery Ward offering books for less than forty cents. He sent away for volumes by Emerson, Carlyle, Plato, Darwin, and others. Those books changed the course of his life, leading him back to school. He spent a year in the preparatory academy at Nebraska Wesleyan University and then enrolled at the University of Nebraska at age twenty-three where he received a baccalaureate degree in philosophy and psychology in 1906.

After graduation Hollingworth served for a year as principal of Fremont (Nebraska) High School, but left that post in the spring when offered a graduate assistantship with James McKeen Cattell at Columbia University, one of the pioneers in American psychology. Toward the end of his studies at Columbia, Hollingworth married a classmate from Nebraska, Leta Anna Stetter (1886–1939), who, like her husband, would become a prominent psychologist. Both were awarded honorary doctoral degrees from the University of Nebraska in 1938.²

When Hollingworth wrote his two-volume autobiography in 1940 he was sixty years old. He was a productive researcher and prolific author whose publications at that time included more than twenty books and approximately one hundred research articles and reviews. He was well respected as an applied experimental psychologist; indeed, he was recognized as one of the pioneers in applied psychology, having done research and published books on such topics as vocational psychology, educational psychology, advertising and selling, and clinical psychology in addition to the book on public speaking and the audience.³ Hollingworth was a member of the prestigious Society of Experimental Psychologists, and in 1927 he was elected president of the American Psychological Association, evidence of the esteem of his colleagues.⁴ Not surprisingly, public speaking was a frequent activity for Hollingworth.

As public awareness of the science of psychology grew in the first third of the twentieth century, so did opportunities for psychologists to speak about the relevance of their science for human affairs. Hollingworth noted that public



Harry L. Hollingworth, about 1915.
Courtesy of the Archives of the History of American Psychology, University of Akron, Akron, Ohio.

speaking opportunities for him were frequent, so much so that he could not accept them all. Because he needed to supplement his faculty salary in the early years of his career he tended to accept those that offered at least a modest honorarium. In addition to his classes at Barnard College and the courses that Hollingworth taught in Columbia University's graduate psychology and business programs, he was frequently sought as a speaker for a variety of business meetings. Sometimes he was asked to talk about his research, or more generally about the relevance of psychol-

ogy for the needs of the business world. Sometimes he was asked to give motivational lectures intended to increase employee morale or efficiency. One can assume that he must have performed satisfactorily because some companies invited him back for several years in a row. On occasion he testified in court, including an appearance at the famous Coca Cola trial in 1911 where he described the results of his research on the effects of caffeine on mental processes and behavior.⁵

Although public speaking was a frequent activity for Hollingworth, he apparently was never all that comfortable in his speaking appearances. He claimed that it was not the speaking that bothered him as much as it was the formalities of dress, particularly wing collars, and the social gatherings often attached to the speeches. He wrote:

I did not take to this sort of thing naturally, and never comfortably fitted into the receptions and entertainment provided for the visiting speaker by the program committees. If they had only forgotten me, left me immured in my hotel room until time for the banquet, and afterwards turned me loose, I could have been happier in my platform adventures.⁶

He developed several psychological demonstrations, such as bogus mind-reading exercises and a repertoire of "human nature stories," to use in many of his talks. But he noted, "[I] was always a bit awkward and forced in my use of them."⁷

Although Hollingworth may have had misgivings as a speaker, or at least with some of the accoutrements of public appearances, there is evidence of his early success in this domain. As a youngster growing up in DeWitt, Hollingworth participated in an oratory contest, the theme of which was abstinence from alcohol. In his account of this contest he did not give his age, but a best guess is approximately age ten.⁸

The early 1890s were a time of frequent public campaigns against alcohol. In 1884 the national Prohibition Party had been formed, and it grew in influence in the next decade. The party

Harry Hollingworth

was able to get a prohibition amendment on the ballot in Nebraska in 1890, although the amendment failed.⁹

The DeWitt contest was held in one of the town's lodge halls. The young temperance orators competed for three prizes. First prize was a medal and a chance to represent DeWitt in a regional temperance oratory tournament. The second prize winner would serve as alternate to the regional competition and would receive some merchandise from a local merchant. But it was the third prize that most interested the young Hollingworth, and it was that prize that he won. It was a twenty-five-cent haircut from the town barber. He wrote:

I considered myself fortunate when the judges gave me third place, for I had never had a barber's hair-cut and was quite set up about it. But I forgot to reckon with father. He personally visited the barbershop and claimed the hair-cut, since I was a minor. Then he came home and cut my hair in the usual way, with the family scissors and the edge of a pie-tin to guide him around the back of the neck. I expected him to offer me the "two bits," for I did not consider the home-made hair-cut a prize, but this was just a mistake on my part. Nevertheless I never forgave him.¹⁰

By the time of Hollingworth's public speaking disaster at the Poor Richard Club in 1915, the haircut would have been a wasted prize; he was largely bald.

The Poor Richard Club, an organization of businessmen involved in advertising, began in the city of Philadelphia in 1906, exactly two hundred years after the birth of Benjamin Franklin. The club took its name from the famous *Almanack* published by Franklin, honoring him as "America's first publisher, advertiser and advertising man."¹¹ The club's bylaws, adopted in 1906, indicated that its principal aim was the promotion of the scientific study of advertising. Initially, membership was limited to seventy-five individuals, men only. By 1911 membership pressures forced the club to expand that number to 350. The original draft of the bylaws specified that members were to be Philadelphia residents, but that too was quickly changed to allow membership to "ad-

vertising men" from other locales.

In looking at the activities of the club during its first fifty years, it is not evident that its scientific aim was ever a serious objective. Little was done in that regard beyond inviting the occasional advertising expert as speaker. Instead, the club provided frequent social occasions for its members, providing an "old boy's club" that no doubt aided the business interests of its members. By 1907 the group had purchased a large house to serve as its clubhouse, a place for regular social gatherings, including monthly dinners. Soon, in addition to the monthly dinners, there were biweekly luncheons and an annual banquet that was typically held on Franklin's birthday, January 17.

The reputation of the club grew so that by 1913 it could attract presidential candidate William Howard Taft as its banquet speaker. President Woodrow Wilson was the speaker in 1916. Subsequent years brought the appearances of such public figures as Amelia Earhart, Richard E. Byrd, Edward R. Murrow, George Gallup, Lowell Thomas, Walt Disney, Will Rogers, Bob Hope, Eddie Rickenbacker, Rudy Vallee, and Dwight D. Eisenhower. The reputation of the club and the size of its treasury were evidenced by the entertainment lineup for the 1948 banquet, which included Milton Berle, Bud Abbott and Lou Costello, Sid Caesar, and Robert Merrill.

Hollingworth arrived in Philadelphia on the day of the banquet of 1915 and checked into his hotel room. Unpacking his suitcase he discovered that although he had brought his dinner coat, waistcoat, shirt, and choker collar, he had left his dress pants back in New York City. The only pants he had with him were light gray, a color that would not do. He solved his problem by borrowing a pair of pants from one of the hotel waiters. Hollingworth was short, approximately five feet, four inches tall, so the pants were too long, and thus had to be rolled up at the cuff. They were, however, the requisite black.

The banquet was held in the Bellevue-

Stratford Hotel's principal ballroom. At either end of the enormous room was a stage where comedians and other vaudeville acts performed throughout the meal. Newspaper accounts estimated the crowd at around five hundred. As soon as the dinner entertainment ended, the master of ceremonies, Robert H. Durbin, president of the Poor Richard Club, announced the first of the evening's three speakers, Harry Hollingworth. His address was entitled "Advertising and Progress," the subject he had been given when contacted by the meeting coordinator. Hollingworth was pleased with the talk that he had prepared. He described it as "a first class presentation of the theme."¹² But it is doubtful that anyone in the audience would have agreed with him given his account of the reception of his speech:

[N]o one paid any attention to my presence. No one even seemed to know that I was talking. Everyone continued to joke with his neighbor, the waiters continued to rattle the dishes, and all eyes were on the vaudeville stages, where it was apparently hoped another clown or strip-tease would appear.

In the balconies sat the wives and sweethearts of these revelling males, looking proudly down on the antics of their relatives, and paying no attention to the speaker's table. And why should they? Even when I stood up I loomed no more conspicuously above the table than did [the other male speaker] when he remained seated. Apparently no one even knew I was on my feet, to say nothing of wondering whose pants those were I was wearing. I struggled on with sentence after sentence, making just no apparent impression on the din. Finally in despair I sat down abruptly, in the very middle of my speech, leaving Advertising and Progress to make their own ways in the world. No one even knew I had stopped.¹³

Hollingworth's experience was bad enough, but the contrast with what followed made it even worse.

The second speaker to be introduced was Katherine B. Davis, commissioner of corrections for the city of New York. Hollingworth reported that she was accorded some degree of respect, "at least people began to turn their chairs around and to face the front." By the



This photograph captures William Jennings Bryan's dynamic speaking style.
RG3198:47-9

time she finished "the audience had quieted down to just about the level where it would be at all polite to introduce any speaker."¹⁴

At that point the main speaker was introduced. He strode to the lectern as the audience cheered wildly. He was a large man, standing nearly six feet tall, clearly commanding in his presence. Like Hollingworth, he too was from Nebraska. He was known by many names: the Black Eagle, the Silver Tongued Orator of the Platte, and the Great Commoner. He had been the Democratic Party's nominee for the presidency of

the United States three times, the first time in 1896 when he was only thirty-six years old. At that July 1896 convention in Chicago he had won the nomination on the fifth ballot after delivering what is acknowledged by historians as one of the greatest speeches in the history of oratory. It closed with the famous words, "You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."¹⁵ The speaker was, of course, William Jennings Bryan, who was then serving as President Woodrow Wilson's secretary of state. His reception

by the Poor Richard revellers was quite different than that experienced by Hollingworth, who wrote: "Every one of his references to 'Old Glory' brought down the house, and I was a little ashamed, in the light of my own dismal failure, of having announced to him earlier in the evening that I also was born in Nebraska."¹⁶

Such an important event in Philadelphia was certain to get coverage in the local newspapers. Indeed, it was the lead story in the financial section of the *Public Ledger*, where fully 80 percent of the lengthy article was about Bryan, detailing his speech on the war in Europe. There were several references to ovations for his remarks. Mention was made also of the applause for Katherine Davis when she was introduced, and three paragraphs were devoted to the text of her remarks. In contrast, the coverage for Hollingworth was a single sentence in which his name was misspelled, "H. L. Hollingsworth [*sic*], professor of psychology at Columbia University, telling of the progress of advertising, related how the history of advertising had been the history of the human race."¹⁷ If he needed confirmation for his feelings of failure at the banquet, he only had to read the morning newspapers.

In his autobiography, Hollingworth acknowledged that Bryan was a much better speaker, and surely he must have known that before their Philadelphia encounter. Still, the contrast in their experiences was difficult for Hollingworth to handle. He wrote:

The taste left in my mouth after this expedition to Philadelphia was unpleasant enough. It seemed to me wise to avoid such public appearances so far as possible thereafter, so that instead I shortly began to accumulate material for an authoritative book on 'the psychology of the audience.' And why not?¹⁸

We don't know when Hollingworth actually began to collect material for his public speaking book which, as noted earlier, did not appear until twenty years after the ill-fated banquet. We also do not know if the experience led him to reduce his public speaking engage-

Harry Hollingworth

ments as suggested by the above quotation from his autobiography. What is clear is that the memory of that night did not go away.

In 1926 Hollingworth published a brief magazine article entitled "What a Public Speaker Should Know about Audiences." It is not evident why the article appeared at that time. Perhaps it was stimulated by the memory of William Jennings Bryan, who died the previous year. Or maybe Hollingworth felt he had accumulated enough information and that he finally had something meaningful to say on the subject. Or maybe it was prompted by the invitation from the college debating club to speak on that subject. The article described five tasks that the successful speaker must perform, the first of which was to catch the attention of the audience and the second of which was to hold that attention, tasks at which Hollingworth had failed in his Poor Richard lecture. Although the article was written for popular consumption it did draw on a few psychological studies of attention and memory.

One of the most interesting aspects of the article—and a touch of irony—is the pen and ink drawing on the first page showing a man in a tuxedo standing at a lectern. The figure almost certainly is William Jennings Bryan. Probably inclusion of that drawing was the idea of the editor; it could have come from Hollingworth but that seems doubtful. Likely he never saw the drawing until the article appeared in print.¹⁹

Hollingworth published no other articles or books on the subject of public speaking until his 1935 book, a book that drew on the meager scientific literature that addressed principles of public speaking and that identified audience characteristics as they related to the psychology of public speaking. Public speaking was often about persuasion and appeal, subjects that were quite familiar to him from his research on the psychology of advertising and his publication of two books on the subject.²⁰

In the opening chapters of his 1935

book Hollingworth once again stressed the five tasks of the public speaker. In a subsequent chapter entitled "A Typical Example," he offered a lengthy example of public speaking as a way to analyze the achievement of those tasks. He argued that a concrete example was the best way to see degrees of success or



"The Traditional Spellbinder. Like the Ancient Mariner He Held His Audience With the Aid of a Glittering Eye." This sketch appears on page 680 of an article by Harry L. Hollingworth entitled "What a Public Speaker Should Know About Audiences," published in *The Western Christian Advocate*, July 22, 1926.

failure at the tasks. His description of the incident is both familiar and instructive:

A young college teacher was once called on to address an organization of prominent publishers and business men. On the program with him were a famous political orator and a woman of conspicuous local publicity in social and political affairs. The topic assigned the professor was "Advertising and Progress." He anticipated a fairly homogeneous group of intelligent men, assembled in the form of an ordinary informal lecture audience, and oriented beforehand toward the appearance of the speaker and the topic of discussion. He prepared a careful and sober historical

and interpretive account of the field . . . calculated to explain and instruct . . . Arriving at the scene of the session, he was dismayed to find an enormous banquet hall, with miscellaneous invited guests in the balconies, tables spread with food, drink, and souvenirs, many of the latter of a noisy variety. . . . Local vaudeville artists on a side stage contributed their share to the festivities. In the midst of this excitement the chairman arose and, with much effort to make himself heard above the din of dishes, bottles, and voices, announced that the professor had come from a distant city to address them on "Advertising and Progress." In the tentative lull that came at this moment, the professor arose as the first speaker of the evening. . . . He began his serious [remarks] . . . As the din increased, he raised his voice so that he could always at least hear his own words. . . . Lacking the physical advantages, the native eloquence, the established platform prestige, the contemporary public interest, and the ready versatility of his fellow speakers, he struggled on until he could no longer endure the futility of his performance. He ceased speaking and sat down, without having, in any perceptible way, affected the conduct of the banqueters.²¹

Next Hollingworth provided a brief account of Katherine Davis's talk, showing how she succeeded where he had not.

The second speaker . . . was also favored by the reluctant accession of courtesy accorded a woman orator by a group of reveling males. With a ready adaptability she abandoned entirely the topic for which she had been announced, and for which she had prepared. She set out at once upon an anecdotal account of her inside knowledge of certain local events of public importance, and concluded with a few generalizations on the subject she had originally intended to discuss.

The first speaker had completely failed to win the audience. The second speaker succeeded . . . her success was . . . due to her readier perception of the nature of the audience and her greater versatility in shifting her performance in terms of this perception.²²

Hollingworth's comments about Bryan are the briefest in his lengthy example. He argued that the settling down of the audience and the reputation of the famed orator meant that Bryan never had to obtain the attention of his audience.

The third speaker was the internationally famous political orator. He found the audience, by the time he arose, quietly digesting its food, with chairs turned toward the speakers' table. Supported by his dominating voice, his eloquence, and by the natural physique and the prestige which were his, he began at that point in the series of tasks at which the second speaker had retired, and which the first speaker had never reached.²³

Hollingworth's 1935 book was his final say on the psychology of public speaking. The book received good reviews from the popular magazines that lauded its scientific base and the many practical suggestions offered by the author. The reviews in the scientific journals, however, were less kind. One reviewer labeled the book interesting but noted that it must be viewed as "exploratory."²⁴ Another concluded that the book should be "very helpful for students of public speaking, but it is hardly a significant contribution to psychological literature."²⁵ In truth the book had little impact on the psychological literature on public speaking and persuasion. Its subsequent citations were mostly in the popular literature. Of Hollingworth's many books, it certainly is not one of his better known works. After the publication of this book, Hollingworth moved on to other subjects. There are no further publications from him on public speaking, there is no evidence that he gave addresses on the subject, nor is the topic mentioned in the remainder of his autobiography.

Psychologists and historians are typically interested in the motives that underlie an individual's behavior. A biographer for Hollingworth would want to be able to explain his writing of a book that was so different in subject matter from the rest of his applied research. Hollingworth's autobiography leaves little doubt that the failed speech at the Poor Richard Club was the driving force behind his decision to research and write the book. Had he been the only speaker at that banquet he could have blamed his poor performance on the failure of the master of ceremonies in quieting the audience, or on the incivil-

ity of the "revelers" in attendance, or perhaps on the circus-like atmosphere of the evening. However, there were two other speakers, both of whom did far better than Hollingworth. One of those showed an adaptability to change topics in midspeech that led to her success. The other enjoyed a resounding success, perhaps because of his reputation, stature, or presence, or more likely by his gifts as an orator that may have been unsurpassed in America in his generation.

Hollingworth knew well in advance that Bryan was going to be the featured speaker of the evening. He referred to Bryan and Davis as "formidable running mates" and said that because of that he "prepared the best possible talk, in a serious vein."²⁶ Therefore he had probably worked harder on that banquet speech than he typically did for most of his public addresses. To have prepared so diligently and to have fared so poorly must have made the experience even more bitter. Although he acknowledged that Bryan was a better speaker, he found it difficult to be entirely charitable in his judgment. He wrote:

Just the same, when he was through, it was not easy to tell what he had said, and it seemed to me his remarks contrasted unfavorably enough with my sententious speech on the things that publicity had done for the march of civilization. I was not at all sorry that in the flambeaux parades in 1896 I had "marched for McKinley," worn a McKinley button, and been a member of the "Republican Quartette."²⁷

Given the apparent importance of this event in Hollingworth's life (it is the subject of an entire, albeit brief, chapter in his autobiography), it is interesting to note that when the 1935 book was published he did not mention the episode as one of the reasons for his writing the book. Its salience for him was demonstrated once more, though, as he recounted the evening in excruciating detail as a chapter-length example in the book illustrating what can go wrong in public speaking. Perhaps to identify himself as the "young college teacher" of the example would have undermined his authority as expert on public speak-

ing. Perhaps stating that the Poor Richard Club experience was a principal motive for writing the book would have had a similar effect. Or maybe its omission was just denial. Whatever the reasons, the power of that public speaking failure as a central event in his life is evident. Did the book serve as some final catharsis for him? Perhaps. Still, he did return to the event in considerable detail in writing his autobiography five years later.

Harry Hollingworth was an excellent experimental psychologist who made his reputation using his science to solve problems outside of the academy. As a psychologist he wanted to understand what had happened that evening in Philadelphia and, likely, how to prevent it from happening to him again. He was able to provide a very plausible analysis of his own failure and the contrasting success of his platform partners. Perhaps his book helped others to avoid a similar experience. More important it likely helped him avoid a reprise of his "most embarrassing platform adventure."

Notes

¹ Harry L. Hollingworth, *The Psychology of the Audience* (New York: American Book Co., 1935), vii. The only earlier book on the subject written by a psychologist was Walter Dill Scott's, *The Psychology of Public Speaking* (Philadelphia: Pearson Brothers, 1906), a book void of any scientific research on the subject.

² In 1940 Harry Hollingworth wrote a two-volume autobiography that was never published. The first volume was entitled "Born in Nebraska" and the second was "Years at Columbia." The original manuscript is part of the Hollingworth Papers at the Archives of the History of American Psychology at the University of Akron, Akron, Ohio. A copy of both volumes can also be found in the collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society in Lincoln. Harry Hollingworth's biography of his wife, *Leta Stetter Hollingworth: A Biography* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1943) was reissued in 1990 by Anker Publishing Company, Bolton, Mass. A briefer treatment of Leta Hollingworth can be found in Ludy T. Benjamin, Jr., "The Pioneering Work of Leta Hollingworth in the Psychology of Women," *Nebraska History* 56 (Winter, 1975): 492-505.

³ Ludy T. Benjamin, Jr., "Harry Hollingworth: Portrait of a Generalist" in *Portraits of Pioneers in Psychology*, ed. Gregory A. Kimble, C. Alan Boneau,

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and Michael Wertheimer, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association, 1996).

⁴ For a description of the Society of Experimental Psychologists see C. James Goodwin, "On the Origins of Titchener's Experimentalists," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 21 (1985): 383–89.

⁵ Ludy T. Benjamin, Jr., Anne Rogers, and Angela Rosenbaum, "Coca-Cola, Caffeine, and Mental Deficiency: Harry Hollingworth and the Chattanooga Trial of 1911," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 27 (1991): 42–55. Harry L. Hollingworth, "The Influence of Caffeine on Mental and Motor Efficiency," *Archives of Psychology* 3 (1912): 1–166.

⁶ Hollingworth, "Years at Columbia," 79.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁸ The Harry Hollingworth Papers at the University of Akron contain a document entitled "Memorial Day Address" that was delivered on May 30, 1940, in DeWitt, Nebr. In that address he indicates that he began his public speaking there "about 50 years ago."

⁹ Robert E. Wenger, "The Anti-Saloon League in Nebraska Politics, 1898–1910," *Nebraska History* 52 (Fall 1971): 267–92.

¹⁰ Hollingworth, "Born in Nebraska," 109.

¹¹ Jack Lutz, *The Poor Richard Club* (Philadelphia: The Poor Richard Club, 1953), 2.

¹² Hollingworth, "Years at Columbia," 82.

¹³ *Ibid.* In the Hollingworth Papers there are four, three-by-five-inch index cards titled "Poor Richard Club." They are the outline for his address on "Advertising and Progress." Each card contains about twenty-two lines of type, with each line serving as a cue to some principle, phenomenon, technique, or study to be described. The full text of Hollingworth's Poor Richard Club address was published the following month: Harry L. Hollingworth, "Advertising and Progress," *Judicious Advertising* (February 1915): 103–5, 109.

¹⁴ Hollingworth, "Years at Columbia," 83.

¹⁵ William Jennings Bryan, *The First Battle: A Story of the Campaign of 1896* (Chicago, 1897), 199–206. Publication of the "Cross of Gold" speech.

¹⁶ Hollingworth, "Years at Columbia," 83. Note that Bryan was born in Salem, Ill., in 1860 and moved to Lincoln, Nebr., when he was twenty-three years old.

¹⁷ *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia), Jan. 17, 1915, sec. 3, pp. 1–2. There was also coverage in other newspapers such as the *Philadelphia Press*, *Philadelphia Record*, and the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*. Only the latter made a brief mention of Hollingworth as one of the three speakers. All accounts, of course, mentioned Bryan.

¹⁸ Hollingworth, "Years at Columbia," 83. Apparently Hollingworth was a much better speaker than this experience would suggest. His most famous student, Anne Anastasi, a distinguished psychologist and recipient of the Presidential Medal of Science, has described him as "a fascinating

lecturer" in a 1976 oral history housed in the oral history collections of the Archives of the History of American Psychology at the University of Akron. She repeated her praise for Hollingworth as a lecturer in her autobiography in *A History of Psychology in Autobiography*, ed. Gardner Lindzey (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1980), 7: 1–37.

¹⁹ Harry L. Hollingworth, "What a Public Speaker Should Know about Audiences," *The Western Christian Advocate* (July 22, 1926): 680–81. The other three tasks were impress the audience (they should carry away some message in memory), persuade the audience toward some desired belief, and direct the audience toward some desired action.

²⁰ Harry L. Hollingworth, *Advertising and Selling* (New York: D. Appleton, 1913). Harry Tipper, Harry L. Hollingworth, George B. Hotchkiss, and Frank A. Parsons, *The Principles of Advertising* (New York: Ronald Press, 1920).

²¹ Hollingworth, *The Psychology of the Audience*, 34–35.

²² *Ibid.*, 35–36.

²³ *Ibid.*, 36.

²⁴ Herbert Blumer, "Review of *The Psychology of the Audience*," *American Journal of Sociology* 44 (1938): 309.

²⁵ Forrest H. Kirkpatrick, "Review of *The Psychology of the Audience*," *Psychological Bulletin* 33 (1936): 132–33.

²⁶ Hollingworth, "Years at Columbia," 81.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 83.