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# Tercentenary of an Oration: The 1672 Commencement Address of Urian Oakes

Leo M. Kaiser

ON 13 July 1672, Dr. Leonard Hoar (A.B. 1650) was elected third president of Harvard College by the Board of Overseers, but for reasons that can only be conjectured declined to be installed in time to preside at the Commencement of 13 August.<sup>1</sup> The Reverend Urian Oakes (A.B. 1649),<sup>2</sup> returned from England in July 1671 and appointed pastor of the church at Cambridge in November,<sup>3</sup> consented to serve in his place and to deliver the usual Latin address.

Oakes was an experienced speaker. Cotton Mather states that he had given his first sermon shortly after graduation at Roxbury, and that in his seventeen-year sojourn in England he had shown himself a lively preacher.<sup>4</sup> His earliest surviving sermon, *The Unconquerable, All-conquering, and more-than-Conquering Souldier*,<sup>5</sup> he delivered only a short time before the Commencement Address on the occasion of the Artillery Election, 3 June 1672. It gained him an invitation to deliver the next year's sermon.<sup>6</sup> Together with his other English prose of a later date it induced Moses Coit Tyler, the classic historian of American literature, to state: "[His English] furnishes the most brilliant examples of originality, breadth, and force of thought, set aglow

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Samuel E. Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1936), II, 396.

<sup>2</sup> On Oakes, see Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (Hartford, 1852), II, 114-118; Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, II, 418-439 et passim; John L. Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University* (Cambridge, 1873-1885), I, 173-185; Moses Coit Tyler, *A History of American Literature, 1607-1765* (New York, 1880), II, 15-18; *Dictionary of American Biography*.

<sup>3</sup> See Sibley, I, 175.

<sup>4</sup> *Magnalia Christi Americana*, II, 115.

<sup>5</sup> Cambridge, 1674; cf. Sibley, I, 184.

<sup>6</sup> *New England Pleaded With* (Cambridge, 1673).

by flame of passion, by flame of imagination, to be met with in our sermon-literature from the settlement of the country down to the Revolution."<sup>7</sup> The Commencement Address of 1672, edited now for the first time, though in a foreign tongue reflects his vernacular powers, and intimates strongly the heights he would reach later when President of Harvard in Latin addresses<sup>8</sup> which made Cotton Mather claim of him, "America never had a greater Master of the true, pure, Ciceronian Latin and Language."<sup>9</sup>

Oakes at one point states that his address is more a *pro forma* oration than something worthy of his listeners' attention. We should not dismiss the comment simply as conventional modesty. Actually, so large a part of the address consists of declarations of his reluctance to be commencement speaker, his inadequacies, his indifference to oratorical renown, that one feels Oakes truly was at something of a loss on commencement day. Several reasons suggest themselves: a short space of time for composition; the disadvantage even for a "non-substitute" speaker of there being no graduating class of Bachelors to occasion comment.<sup>10</sup> There may have been other reasons.<sup>11</sup> At any rate, the thinness of the oration is brilliantly "papered over" by various ploys: the parodying of Cicero's *Pro Roscio* in the long opening paragraphs; Oakes's witty comparison of himself to the Roman consul C. Caninius Rebilus who held office for only seven hours and therefore did not sleep during his entire consulate;<sup>12</sup> the apt utilization of the total eclipse of the day before to lament that the light of President Charles Chauncy unlike the sun would not be restored; the many Latin, Greek, and Hebrew quotations that dot the speech; the flash of humor, the pun, proverb, theological allusion, even word coinage, although Oakes's Latin is essentially gracefully and classically periodic. All this is not to deny that the oration has point. Though briefly made, it is doubt-

<sup>7</sup> *A History of American Literature*, II, 16.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. G. L. Kittredge and S. E. Morison, "Urian Oakes' Salutatory Oration: Commencement, 1677," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XXXI (1935), 405-436; Leo M. Kaiser, "The *Oratio Quinta* of Urian Oakes, Harvard, 1678," *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, XIX (1970), 485-508. An edition of Oakes's Latin commencement address of 1675 is being prepared by the writer. Oakes's inaugural oration of 1680 has not survived.

<sup>9</sup> *Just Commemorations* (Boston, 1715), p. ii.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Sibley, II, 412-413; Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, II, 396, n.4.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, II, 402-403.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 397.

less the welcome extended Hoar as Harvard's new president sent by God through the perils of sea to the *afflictae et orbatae Academiae*. The oration is a beguiling one, if lacking in the more serious matters found in the longer addresses of 1675,<sup>13</sup> 1677,<sup>14</sup> and 1678 when Oakes was president *pro tempore*, and must not be overlooked in the history of early American public speaking.<sup>15</sup>

The text below has been edited from the sole surviving manuscript in President John Leverett's handwriting in the Harvard University Archives.<sup>16</sup> The limited, conventional abbreviations of the manuscript we have silently expanded. Spellings have been preserved, but not necessarily punctuation and paragraphing. Bracketed numbers in the text refer to the page numbers of the manuscript.

To The Newberry Library, Chicago, and Harvard University Library thanks are here expressed for many generous services. James Seevers of the Adler Planetarium offered immediate and unstinted aid in matters astronomical.

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Oratio prima Cantabrigiae Nov-Anglorum in comitiis academicis habita, Idibus Sextilibus anno 1672, a reverendo admodum atque doctissimo Uriano Oakes Collegii Harvardini Praeside.<sup>17</sup>

Si<sup>18</sup> quis vestrum, auditores ornatissimi, forte miretur quid sit quod, cum tot summi oratores, dialectici acutissimi, philosophi celeberrimi, theologi gravissimi, viri profecto omnibus omnium disciplinarum ornamentis cumulatissimi sedeant, ego potissimum et prae caeteris omnibus surrexerim, praesidis partes aliqua ex parte obiturus, qui quidem neque naturae dotibus<sup>19</sup> eximiis neque

<sup>13</sup> The commencement address of 1676 has been lost.

<sup>14</sup> See Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, II, 430-435, for a digest.

<sup>15</sup> The brief comments on Oakes's oratorical abilities by George V. Bohman, "The Colonial Period," in William Norwood Brigance, ed., *A History and Criticism of American Public Address* (New York, 1943), I, 43-44, are based simply on the studies by Morison cited above.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, II, 675. At the end of the 1672 address, Leverett jotted down the date of transcription, 19 October 1709.

<sup>17</sup> In the following notes to the text, titles of works of Latin literature have been abbreviated in the manner suggested by the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

<sup>18</sup> In the first three paragraphs of his oration Oakes paraphrases Cicero's *Pro Roscio* 1-4.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* 3.3.4: naturae fortunaeque dotibus.

humaniorum literarum scientia, neque dicendi disserendive facultate, usu, et exercitatione sim cum iis qui sedeant, qui taceant, qui spectatores atque auditores agant, comparandus, is, si mei non consilii sed facti causam rationemque cognoverit, una et me arrogantiae putidaeque<sup>20</sup> ostentationis crimine facile ex[s]olvat, et mecum etiam—quae sua erit humanitas—vicem sortemque meam, quae obtigit hodie, maxime deplorandam dolere misererique necessum habebit.

Omnes enim hi, quos videtis adesse frequentes, reverendi admodum nec minus eruditi viri, praesidis munus et officium suscipi atque administrari debere, comiti-aeque academica pro more putant oportere celebrari peragique; atque adeo non sine gravi aliquo rei literariae dispendio et incommodo, sine summa academicorum frustratione et injuria prorogari, et in annum alterum rejici et remitti posse existimant. Malunt autem et exoptant ad unum omnes—quibus adducti rationibus haud facile dixerim—pro se quisque, iudicis potius quam actoris, auditoris quam oratoris aut moderatoris personam induere et sustinere.

Quid ergo? Audacissimus ego ex omnibus aut laudis avidissimus? Minime profecto. Facessat, imo procul facessat a me atque adeo ab omnibus, qui Christiani audiunt, istius criminis—quid enim aliud est?—haud iniqua et injusta improperatio.<sup>21</sup> At tanto dilectis admodum et florentibus academicis officiosior ego fortasse quam caeteri. Ne istius quidem laudis ita sum cupidus ut patribus fratribusque meis re[2]verendis et observandis eam praereptam velim. Quae me igitur res praeter caeteros impulerit ut afflictae et orbatae Academiae causam et praesidium pro tempore reciperem, si quaerat aliquis eorum qui adsunt, plane dicam, nihil usus circuitione, quod res est: ingens profecto telum necessitas.<sup>22</sup> Si crimini vitioque mihi dandum sit, quod praesidis partes in hunc diem obeundas in me receperim, profecto necessitatis crimen erit, non voluntatis meae.

Etenim sciatis velim, auditores quotquot adestis, nullo me captum aut actum impetu repetendi juvenilia rursus et disueta jam olim studia, nullo gravioribus curis lassatum et torpentem animum amacnioribus hujuscemodi studiis recreandi desiderio me efferrī aut corripī, tangi ducive. Deferbuit iste—pro dolor!—si quis unquam fuit ingenii fervor ad academica studia pridem anhelantis. Decimus enim septimus, et quod excutit,<sup>23</sup> agitur annus ex quo studiis hisce atque exercitationibus scholasticis, ad quas jam retrahor invitus, dixerim vale numerumque remisim.<sup>24</sup> Neque haec dudum intermissa repeto et resumo exercitia quod mihi, alias occupatissimo, satis superque temporis contigerit, tantumque otii mihi sit a re mea, theologica puta atque ecclesiastica, aliena ut curem eaque quae ad me nihil attinent. Non mea me voluntas, non laudis aut gloriolae

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Petronius, *Sat.* 73: Ac ne sic quidem putidissimam eius iactationem licuit effugere.

<sup>21</sup> Improperatio is a post-classical word listed in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* as capable of meaning "rebuke" or "upbraiding."

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Livy, 4.28: necessitate, quae ultimum ac maximum telum est; Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. 2, cent. 3, no. 40: Ingens telum necessitas.

<sup>23</sup> "Seventeen and something over." Perhaps Oakes used the figure seventeen since he was approximately that age at graduation from Harvard.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Amic.* 1.11: numeros in cantu remiserat.

aucupatio, non ἀβθάδεια,<sup>25</sup> seu praetumida de me meisque viribus et ingenii nervis<sup>26</sup> concepta opinio in hanc, ubi desudandum usque, palaestram aut arenam literariam ut descenderem adduxit, sed dominorum curatorum reverentia. Non mea sponte, sed alieno motus impulsu,<sup>27</sup> majora quam pro viribus hodie molior onusque subeo gravius quam ut par sum sustinendo; nimis equidem duram suscipio provinciam.<sup>28</sup> Tantum sane abfuit ut huic muneri inhiarem<sup>29</sup> aut hos honores affectarem et ambirem, ut auditoris otium et quietem vel quovis proelio redimenda esse censuerim. Deterret me nonnihil, ut verum fatear, infirmitatis atque imperitiae meae conscientia; in iis tamen me video angustiis constitutum ut, si munus et officium demandatum et impositum aggressus fuero, balbutiem meam atque inscitiam proditurus et palam facturus videar; sin obsequium detrectavero, honoratissimis pariter atque reverendissimis viris, qui me sibi [3] demeruerunt et in perpetuum devinxerunt, inurbanus admodum et ingratus haud immerito censi possim.

Quid igitur primum querar — querulus<sup>30</sup> enim sum orator — aut unde potissimum exordiar<sup>31</sup> in hoc tempore non facile invenio. Ereptumne querar praesidem nostrum, virum celeberrimum, eximia pietate atque eruditione non vulgari conspicuum? At eripuit eum pro suo beneplacito Deus Optimus Maximus, cuius nutu et arbitrio administrantur et reguntur omnia,<sup>32</sup> quique rerum suarum indignis homuncionibus nullam redditurus est rationem; neque Regi immortalis, aeterno omnipotentique, cui absolutum et ἀνπεύθιμον<sup>33</sup> in omnes et in omnia competit dominium, dicere fas est, quid feceris?<sup>34</sup>

Protrusumne me querar — quo jure quaque injuria? — in hodiernam defuncti praesidis provinciam? At protruserunt honoratissimi reverendissimique viri, qui quotidianis pene convitiis id ex me efflagitarunt ut hoc quicquid est muneris obire non gravarer; in quos stomachari, quibuscum hanc injuriam vehementius expostulare, non convenit. Quid igitur faciam aut quo me vertam,<sup>35</sup> inops egensque consilii<sup>36</sup> plane nescio.

<sup>25</sup> "arrogance."

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Quintilian, *Inst.* 1.2.6: nervos omnes et mentis et corporis. In his *Oration of 1675*, Oakes remarks (ch. 11): cerneret profecto quam alieno et iniquo animo provinciam datam capessiverim, quamque aegre mihi ipse persuaserim ut in arenam literariam descenderem. Cf. the present oration, ch. 7: palaestra literaria.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Nat. D.* 2.32: is ardor non alieno impulsu, sed sua sponte movetur.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Terence, *Phorm.* 72-3: provinciam cepisti duram, used by Oakes in several other Latin orations.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Horace, *Sat.* 1.1.71-2: congestis undique saccis/indormis inhians.

<sup>30</sup> Oakes is punning here; the Latin for "oak" is quercus.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Cicero, *QRosc.* 29: unde potissimum exordiar.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Cat.* 3.9: haec omnia deorum nutu atque potestate administrari.

<sup>33</sup> "absolute"; cf. Aristophanes, *Vesp.* 587.

<sup>34</sup> On the sentiment, cf. Pindar, *Dithyr. Frag.* 61 (Sandys): οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὄπως τὰ θεῶν βουλὰίματ' ἐρευνάσει/βροτέα φρένι: "Man with his human mind is not able to search out the counsels of the gods"; and Cato, *Dist.* 2.12: Quid deus intendat noli perquirere sorte; / quid statuatur de te, sine te deliberat ille.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Clu.* 4: quo me vertam, nescio.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Verr.* 5.70: inops atque egens; Livy 26.18: inops consilii.

Praesidemne<sup>37</sup> virum eximium morte sibi quidem non inopinata aut imatura, sed tamen nobis acerba et luctuosa admodum extinctum, cuius dicendo laudes consequi nullo modo potero, celebrare aggrediar? At vero istud operis in oratione concinna,<sup>38</sup> exulta et perquam lugubri optime peregit eruditus noster — heu, jam non noster! — Alexander Nowellus,<sup>39</sup> quem honoris causa neque tamen sine summo maerore nomino. Ut ut res est, dici non potest quam valde desideremus hodie Carolum Chauncaem,<sup>40</sup> τὸν μακαρίτην,<sup>41</sup> clarissimum virum, qui per annos praeter prope<sup>42</sup> septemdecim his comitiis non interfuit modo verum etiam praefuit. In comitiis novissimis venerandum illum senem ex hoc loco pro more suo gravissime doctissimeque perorantem audivistis. Ille tum pro singulari suo in me amore atque affectu reditum et appulsum meum gratulatus est. Ego hodie abitum et obitum<sup>43</sup> ejus etiamnum dolendum deploro. Videtis, auditores, quam caducae, fluxae et instabiles<sup>44</sup> sint res mortalium. Quid aliud est vita nostra quam ἄτμις ἢ πρὸς ὀλίγον φαινομένη,<sup>45</sup> vapor ad exiguum tempus apparens, et disparens illico? Heri solis labores et, quoad nos, defectus in eclipsi<sup>46</sup> tantum non centrali, totali numerisque omnibus absoluta<sup>47</sup> stupore pleni atque attoniti [4] conspeximus; hodie jucundum luminaris illius clarissimi conspectum nobis restitutum gratulamur. At vero sol ille noster academicus, qui lumine suo ab aliquot annis Academiam illustraverat radiisque suis undequaque sparsis Cantabrigienses φατούστε ἀφατούστε,<sup>48</sup> doctos indoctosque maxima luce perfuderat, excidit e sphaera sua. Eclipsin hodie patimur multis partibus lugubriorem quam heri sustinimus. Restitutus nobis hodie, imo vero paucis clapsis horis, redditus est istius solis conspectus, quem ingerens se luna atque interposita occuluit et obumbravit. Atqui clarissimus ille sol, de quo loquimur et quem ademptum jure meritoque deflemus, nondum restitutus nobis, neque in aeternum restituendus est. Revera occidit clarissimus Chauncaeus, et haud ita multo post, proximus ab illo, eruditus Nowellus, optimae spei vir, dignus longiori lucis usura<sup>49</sup> nisi Deo aliter visum fuisset. Praesidis quidem socius morte

<sup>37</sup> Charles Chauncy.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Cicero, *De Or.* 3.100: concinnam (orationem).

<sup>39</sup> Alexander Nowell (1645?–1672), A.B. Harvard, 1664. Cf. Sibley, I, 148–149.

<sup>40</sup> Chauncy (1592–1672) was president of Harvard from 1654 to 1672. Cf. Morrison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, II, 320–339, and *DAB*.

<sup>41</sup> “him lately dead” or “blessed.”

<sup>42</sup> Ms: propter.

<sup>43</sup> Oakes follows Cicero's fondness for such combinations; cf. *Off.* 1.50: ratio et oratio, and Oakes's *Oration of 1675*, 20: si non pracesse, saltem prodesse possint.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Amic.* 104: res humanae fragiles caducaeque sunt.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *James* 4.14: ἀτμις γάρ ἐστε ἢ πρὸς ὀλίγον φαινομένη.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. *Antiq. ad Heren.* 3.63.3: eclipsis solis. James Seevers, Assistant Astronomer of The Adler Planetarium, Chicago, informs me in a letter of 8 February 1971, that a total solar eclipse visible from Cambridge, Massachusetts, occurred at 12:38 P.M. on 12 August 1672 (Julian Calendar).

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* 9.38: numeris omnibus absolutus.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Hesiod, *Op.* 3: ἄιδρες ὁμῶς ἀφατοί τε φατοί τε.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Sull.* 90: lucisne hanc usuram eripere vis; *Rab. Post.* 48: usuram

quasi socia occubuit, in quo sic erepto non Academia solum nostra, verum etiam ecclesia Christi damnium haud exiguum sustinuit.

En igitur miserum et calamitosum Athenaci<sup>50</sup> nostri statum! En afflictam et orbatam Academiam! Desideratur praeses, pro-praesides interea quaeritur. Respuit hoc officium clarissimus Danforthus,<sup>51</sup> cujus me alumnum et discipulum jam olim fuisse, atque sub ejus, non dicam ferula, sed institutione sedula meruisse grato admodum animo recolo, cuique plurimum et debeo et defero. Etiam Brownæus<sup>52</sup> et Richardsonus,<sup>53</sup> viri cum primis eruditi, quibus communi curatorum suffragio demandata est Academiae cura, quosque, omni procul assentatione,<sup>54</sup> egregia Lycaei nostri et columina et ornamenta<sup>55</sup> dixerim, pro sua tamen singulari qua pollent modestia, operam praesidis navare<sup>56</sup> recusant. Quid igitur est? Summa huc redit,<sup>57</sup> eo recidunt omnia;<sup>58</sup> cum nemini obtrudi potest, itur ad me. Quasi in me vero isthaec eudenda esset faba<sup>59</sup> atque solus dignus essem, vel commeritus sim ut in summum discrimen existimatio mea, siqua fuerit, adduceretur, et inscitiae inertiaeque meae, hactenus tectae et absconditae, poenas luerem.

Video in me omnium vestrum ora atque oculos esse conversos et coniectos.<sup>60</sup> Quorsum vero me immotis et intentis oculis<sup>61</sup> intuemini, auditores? Non exorientem solem novum academicum, sed verius parelium quendam mox disparitutum. Quid me aspectatis,<sup>62</sup> [5] viri, juvenes academici? Me, inquam, non praesidem vestrum pro more perorantem, verum umbram quandam et imaginem, si vultis, praesidis perobscuram, pro-praesidem pro praeside apud vos verba facientem. Praesidem quidem habetis qualem qualem, non se stolidè efferentem aut sua sponte rebus vestris immiscentem, non ambitiose ingerentem se in hoc, quicquid est muneris et officii, sed obtorto quasi collo<sup>63</sup> perfractum, non sine vi protrusum, et quasi praecipitem datum et coniectum in hodiernam praesidis provinciam; honorarium, uti quidam loqui amant, praesidem; re autem vera

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huius lucis et vestrum conspectum ne cripiatis; Oakes, *Oration of 1678*, 67: longiori lucis usura dignus.

<sup>50</sup> Ms: Athanaei.

<sup>51</sup> Samuel Danforth (1626-1674), A.B. Harvard, 1643; cf. Sibley, I, 88-92.

<sup>52</sup> Joseph Browne (1646?-1678), A.B. Harvard, 1666; cf. Sibley, II, 206-209.

<sup>53</sup> John Richardson (1647-1696), A.B. Harvard, 1666; cf. Sibley, II, 210-213.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Amic.* 89: adsentatio . . . procul amoveatur.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Sest.* 19: columen rei publicae; *Mil.* 38: ornamentum rei publicae.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Cicero, *De Or.* 2.26: iam mihi videor navasse operam.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Terence, *Phorm.* 317: ad te summa solum, Phormio, rerum redit.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Verr.* 5.163: lucine . . . omnia reciderunt.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Terence, *Eun.* 381: istaec in me eudetur faba.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Cat.* 4.1: video in me omnium vestrum ora atque oculos esse conversos.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Leg. Agr.* 2.77: me vester honos intentis oculis omnes rei publicae partes intueri iubet.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Plane.* 101: quid me aspectas?

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Plautus, *passim*: obtorto collo.



minime omnium<sup>64</sup> dignum quem honore prosequamini; nomine tenus praesidem, sed reapse gregalem atque infimae classis theologum, qui rure et agro obscuro ab aliquot annis delituerit, procul semotus ab academiis quibuslibet atque academicorum convictu et contubernio. Non larvatus<sup>65</sup> quidem sed tamen personatus quidam praeses<sup>66</sup> obversatur vobis et sistit se ante oculos. Quod Marcus Tullius Cicero,<sup>67</sup> Romanae parens eloquentiae, qui quidem nonnullis in jocando nec modi nec decori satis meminisse videtur, de Caninio quodam, qui uno et eodem die consul esse coepit et desit, lepide per jocum locutus est nimirum nihil eo consule mali factum fuisse — fuit enim mirifica vigilantia qui suo toto consulatu somnum non viderit, illud ipsum aliqua ex parte in me quadrare et competere posse videtur, qui praeses adeo vigilans futurus sum, ut toto tempore quo praesidis personam gessero, somnum non visurus sim; somnum enim fugio meridianum neque, uti spero, his exercitationibus indormiam.

Verum enimvero hoc inter<sup>68</sup> Caninii consulatum meumque rectoratum et interest et interesse velim, quod cum ille post meridiem consul ad aliquot horas esset a Caesare creatus ac renunciatus, Caninio consule neminem prandisse notat Cicero; me vero praeside prandium vobis apponetur, auditores, satis liberale — quod in eorum gratiam ac solatium dici velim, quorum animus iamjam est in patinis,<sup>69</sup> quique discum (escarium scilicet), ut est in proverbio,<sup>70</sup> quam philosophum audire malunt. Utinam et vere dici possit et eventus rerum hodie gestarum ostendat omnibus me nihil mali — addam quoque nihil male — facturum. Praesidem habetis, quemadmodum olim Romani consulem, non diuturnum sed diurnum, seu potius diarium et ἐφήμερον,<sup>71</sup> et, si parvis componere magna liceret,<sup>72</sup> quod clarissimus Amesius<sup>73</sup> superficiali quidem theologo, sed tamen [6] Arminii<sup>74</sup> asseclae acerrimo, Nicolao Grevinchovio<sup>75</sup> reposuit, ex sententia illius teterrima, qua fidei habitum infusum et divinitus collatum plane sustulit, necessario consequi fidelem quotidie cum vestibus induere et exuere fidem suam — quo quid absurdius et a ratione magis absonum et abhorrens dici potuit? — revera potest, idque satis apposite, praesidio meo applicari, quod<sup>76</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Omnium written above line.

<sup>65</sup> The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Stephanus) states that larvatus did not mean personatus in classical times.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Oakes's *Oration of 1675*, 10: praeside si placet umbratico et personato.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Fam.* 7.30, and Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, II, 397.

<sup>68</sup> Ms: inter, corrected from interest.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Terence, *Eun.* 816: iam dudum animus est in patinis.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Nat. D.* 2.5: cum omnia gymnasia philosophi teneant, tamen eorum auditores discum audire quam philosophum malunt.

<sup>71</sup> "lasting but a day."

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Vergil, *Ecl.* 1.23: parvis componere magna solebam.

<sup>73</sup> William Ames (1576–1633), English Puritan divine; see *DNB*.

<sup>74</sup> Jacobus Arminius (1560–1609), Dutch Reformed theologian.

<sup>75</sup> Nicholas Grevinckhoven (d. 1632) of Rotterdam, minister of the Arminian or Remonstrant Church.

<sup>76</sup> Ms: quo.

indui hodie cum vestibus, et mox exuturus sum. Heu me imperitum atque etiam imparatum ad hoc quicquid sit officii munerisque capessendum et obeundum. Ego, inquit orator Romanus, 'quo minus ingenio possum, subsidio mihi diligentiam comparavi; quae quanta sit, nisi tempus et spatium datum sit, intelligi non potest.'<sup>77</sup> Non me latet quam obtuso<sup>78</sup> et angusto sim ingenio. Neque id tantopere querendum videretur, si tempus atque spatium concessum fuisset, quo diligentiae saltem meae specimen aliquod apud vos edere potuissem. Verum tantae et tam crebrae occupationes me distinent et circumvallant<sup>79</sup> undique ut mei juris non sim,<sup>80</sup> neque respirare detur libere,<sup>81</sup> in totum horas et vigiliis meas occupantibus studiis et laboribus theologicis. Unde profecto vereor in re tam ardua et expectationis plena ne academicorum de me sive iudicium sive spem fecerint, et dominorum curatorum de me conceptae opinioni atque aliquali expectationi<sup>82</sup> non satisfecisse videar. Celebre dictum est Regis Sapientissimi et sententia plane divina,<sup>83</sup>

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etiam insipiens dum silentium sibi indixerit, sapientiae laudem atque opinionem reportabit. Neque abluat ab hoc effato quod Graccis abiit in proverbium, *πῦς τις ἀπαίδευτος φρονιμώτατος ἐστὶ σοφῶν*.<sup>84</sup>

Quamobrem si optio mihi esset atque animo morem gerere licuisset, tacuissem hodie ac lubens, nisi academicorum vota de me praecellere nimis sentientium iuxta atque dominorum curatorum jussa omnem mihi praecepissent et praecidissent tacendi facultatem. Quid mirum si titubet<sup>85</sup> caespitetque<sup>86</sup> lingua mea, labatur et deficiat<sup>87</sup> memoria — etiam Prisciano<sup>88</sup> grammatico venerando caput soloecismis, Illatinismis<sup>89</sup> et nescio quod genus<sup>90</sup> stribligine<sup>91</sup> diminuatur<sup>92</sup> — et ad captiosas disputantium argumentationes haeream attonitus ludusque et

<sup>77</sup> Cicero, *Quinct.* 4.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Cicero, *De Or.* 3.93: ingenia obtundi nolui.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Terence, *Ad.* 302: tot res repente circumvallant se unde emergi non potest.

<sup>80</sup> "I am not my own master" (Ciceronian usage).

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Rosc.* 22: ut respirare non possit.

<sup>82</sup> Corrected in Ms from expectatione.

<sup>83</sup> *Prov.* 17.28.

<sup>84</sup> Epigram of Pallados in the *Greek Anthology* 10.98.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Dom.* 139: quod . . . mente ac lingua titubante fecisse dicatur.

<sup>86</sup> The verb caespitare is post-classical and means "to fall."

<sup>87</sup> Ms: deficient.

<sup>88</sup> Priscianus or Priscian was a Latin grammarian of the sixth century A.D. Oakes may be referring to his *Institutiones Grammaticae*, although he wrote various other shorter treatises.

<sup>89</sup> "Un-Latinisms." I have found neither Illatinismus nor Latinismus in standard post-classical lexicons. The *Oxford English Dictionary* lists the earliest appearance of "Latinism" at 1507.

<sup>90</sup> nescio quod genus: "a kind of"; Ciceronian usage.

<sup>91</sup> Aulus Gellius, *Att. Noct.* 5.20, states that stribligo is an older Latin word for solecism than soloecismus.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Terence, *Eun.* 803: diminuam ego tibi caput hodie, nisi abis.

Indibrium fiam hodie, [7] cum huic negotio prorsus impar sim, qui Musis amacrioribus, studiis philologicis, et, quod dolendum maxime, philosophicis, dudum valedixerim? Unde magno in metu sum ne me non modo nasutulis,<sup>93</sup> sciolis, Aristarchis<sup>94</sup> sevirioribus et hominibus imperitis, quibus, si comico<sup>95</sup> credimus celeberrimo, nunquam quicquam est injustius, quique nisi quod ipsi faciunt nihil rectum putant, verum etiam eruditis et cordatis<sup>96</sup> viris deridendum propinam. Ut compendio dicam et verbo expediam, nactus sum Spartam,<sup>97</sup> seu verius Sparta nacta est me, quam neque satis splendide pro dignitate rei exornare, neque sine summo dedecore deserere facile possum. Lupum auribus teneo, nec retinere valens nec ausus dimittere.<sup>98</sup> Illud interim, ut alia mittam, scite dictum me nonnihil erigit et solatur in his angustiis positum, qui nihil potest sperare, desperet nihil.<sup>99</sup> Non eo dico, auditores, quo mihi veniat in dubium humanitas vestra et in me singularis benevolentia, quam alias expertus sum cumulatissimam. Verum quam hebeti taroque sim ingenio,<sup>100</sup> quam bonarum litterarum rudis<sup>101</sup> inopsque, quam hospes et peregrinus<sup>102</sup> in hoc pulvere academico,<sup>103</sup> quam inexercitatus et inexpertus in hac palaestra literaria, quam huic oneri non sim ferendo, cum probe mihi conscius sim et penitus expenderem, consultum duxi neque abs re fore statui imbecillitatis meae commemoratione, si quo modo fieri possit, commovere animos vestros ut in candorem et benevolentiam propensos magis et proniores efficerem auditores. Non adeo imprudens rerum sum aut mihi met incognitus ut ignorem me majora viribus hodie conari,<sup>104</sup> tantumque oneris subiisse ut ei plane succumbere mihi necesse sit nisi acuitate et favore vestro, quem a dominis curatoribus expecto, a caeteris expecto, sublevare me dignemini.

Expectabitur a me<sup>105</sup> fortassis ut adventum vestrum, academicis equidem nostris exoptatissimum, expectatissimum, quo vix aliquid optatius accidere potuit, ego

<sup>93</sup> This diminutive form of *nasutis* is not in standard lexicons.

<sup>94</sup> The critic Aristarchus of Samothrace (c. 215–143 B.C.) felt only he could detect genuine lines of Homer. Cicero (*Att.* 1.14.3) used his name to typify the complete critic.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Terence, *Ad.* 98–99: *homine imperito nunquam quicquam iniustius, / qui nisi quod ipse fecit nil rectum putat.*

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Tusc.* 1.18 (quoting Ennius): *Egregie cordatus homo, catus Aelius Sextus.*

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Att.* 4.6: *Spartam quam nactus es orna*, referred to also in Oakes's *Oration of 1675*, 19, and *Oration of 1678*, 74.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Terence, *Phorm.* 506–507: *immo, id quod aiunt, auribus teneo lupum: / nam neque quo pacto a me amittam neque uti retineam scio.*

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Seneca, *Medea* 163: *qui nil potest sperare, desperet nihil.*

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Tusc.* 5.45: *hebetio ingenio*; *Acad.* 1.31: *sensus . . . hebetes et tardas.*

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Off.* 1.1: *Graecarum litterarum rudes.*

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Leg. Agr.* 2.94: *iam non hospites sed peregrini . . . nominabamur.*

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Quintilian, *Inst.* 10.1.33: *forenssem pulverem.*

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Sex. Rosc.* 10: *plus oneris sustuli quam ferre me posse intellego.*

<sup>105</sup> a me written above line in Ms.

quoque gratularer. Verum enimvero<sup>106</sup> ut ingenue dicam quod res est, non usque adeo gratus mihi et jucundus est conspectus vester,<sup>107</sup> minime omnium dominorum curatorum, qui mihi praesidis vicem et partes, repugnanti licet quoad potuerim, demandarunt, nisi quod [8] injuriam hanc qua sum ab illis affectus, ita ut nonnunquam usu venit, ex singulari suo in me amore et affectu non vulgari profectam esse persuasissimum<sup>108</sup> habeam. Multo plus honoris mihi detulerunt quam sim promeritus, sed et oneris, quam sustinere queam. Neque tamen mearum esse partium existimavi adventum vestrum et frequentiam hodiernam gratulati, ne falcem meam in oratoris gratulatorii messem immittere videar.<sup>109</sup>

Te vero, clarissime vir mihi que multimodis amicissime, quem non amicum solum sed etiam necessarium meum dixerim, te, inquam, Leonarde Hoari,<sup>110</sup> insalutatum praeterire prope nefas ducerem. Caeteros per me licet gratulatorius orator quam officiosissime salutet; tu vero te mihi praecipue salutandum offers. Gratulor ex animo appulsum tuum teque salvum et sospitem nobis rediisse;<sup>111</sup> etiam Alma Mater<sup>112</sup> tua Cantabrigia<sup>113</sup> gratulatur. Instructur te ut solem exorientem, quem non adorant quidem, Persarum more ac ritu,<sup>114</sup> sed bona fide exoptant, reverentur, venerantur summoque prosequuntur amore, honore academici. Profecto recreat me aspectus tuus, cum facile possim dubio procul omni abs te impetrare ut iudicis hodie ac censoris persona deposita, amici et fautoris assumpta, aequum auditorem et benevolum te exhibeas. Bona quidem spes habet animum meum, Deum, Patrem illum miserationum,<sup>115</sup> afflictæ et orbatae Academiae nostrae misertum, te nobis incolumen reddidisse per mare, per hostes,<sup>116</sup> per mille pericula suis praesidiis septum et munitum<sup>117</sup> deduxisse, quo possis divini nominis gloriae rei que publicae nostrae qua litariae, qua ecclesiasticae bono inservire. Illud me unum urit, ne quid dissimulem, et male

<sup>106</sup> Ms: verum en vero.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Leg. Man.* 1: quamquam mihi semper frequens conspectus vester multo iucundissimus est visus.

<sup>108</sup> Ms: persuasissimum. Leverett made the identical transcriptional error in Oakes's *Oration of 1677*, 51.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. lib. 7, cap. 32 of the *Polychronicon* of Ranulph Higden (ed. Churchill Babington [London, 1865-1886], 8.182, 184): Ipsi tandem Eustachio aliqui prelatorum invidentes dixerunt, 'Non licet tibi falcem ponere in messem alienam.'

<sup>110</sup> Leonard Hoar (1630?-1675), A.B. Harvard, 1650, President of Harvard, 1672-1675. Cf. Sibley, I, 228-52, and Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, II, 390-408.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Plautus, *Capt.* 873: filium tuum modo in portu . . . vivom, salvom et sospitem vidi. Hoar was returning from England.

<sup>112</sup> academia follows Mater, but is cancelled.

<sup>113</sup> tua Cantabrigia is written above the line.

<sup>114</sup> The Persian worship of Mithras is meant here.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. 2 *Cor.* 1.3: pater misericordiarum.

<sup>116</sup> Oakes has in mind the Dutch Wars which rendered Hoar's ship liable to capture; cf. Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, I, 397, n. 3.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Fin.* 1.51: saepti esse et muniti.

habet, te scilicet praesidem — prope dixeram divinitus — designatum<sup>118</sup> et electum, tantumque non inauguratum, et in defuncti praesidis locum suffectum et inductum, spectatorem tamen hodie atque auditorem agere.

Mecum utinam commutares locum et subsellia, et in haec rostra seu in hoc pegma<sup>119</sup> non jam concionatorium sed moderatorium ascenderes. Rectoratum sane meum animo perquam lubenti atque alacri tibi traderem ut, deposita praesidis persona, tradita provincia, etiam infimum inter auditores locum occuparem.

[9] At vero frustra me loqui atque haec nequicquam revolvere facile conicio, vereorque ne eandem cramben<sup>120</sup> bis terque coquendo reponendoque fastidium afferam<sup>121</sup> nauseamque faciam<sup>122</sup> et molestus fiam auditoribus. Iacta est alea,<sup>123</sup> neque mihi pedem referre jam est integrum.<sup>124</sup>

Levius fit patientia quicquid corrigere est nefas.<sup>125</sup>

Non deerant fortasse qui expectent a me quoque ut eruditos hosce viros, qui liberalium artium magistri bona cum venia dominorum curatorum renunciandi sunt hodie, elogiis non indebitis cohonestem et testimonio quopiam ornare satagam, quod a praeside novissimo factitatum intelligo. Verum ne multus in hoc argumento sim, 'vino vendibili,' ut est in veteri nec minus laudato proverbio,<sup>126</sup> 'non opus est suspensa hedera,' neque meis praconiis aut me collaudatore indigent academici. Ipsi per se satis innotescunt, speroque fore ut eruditionis non vulgaris specimen apud vos luculentum edant laudemque non exiguam consequantur, praemium<sup>127</sup> satis amplum reportaturi si vestrum<sup>128</sup> omnium calculis et suffragiis,<sup>129</sup> laudibus et sententiis exornentur. Non illud agunt hodie, sat scio, in hac illustrium auditorum lectissima corona ut se venditent et eloquentiam suam vel eruditionem magnifice ostentent, sed ut profectuum in literarum studiis illustre documentum exhibeant ut palam fiat omnibus et in confesso<sup>130</sup> eruditos hosce dominos inceptores, animorum studiorumque potius profectu quam annorum curriculo et progressu, stadia et spatia academica confecisse. Quod quidem futurum auguror; imo nullus<sup>131</sup> dubito, dummodo 'Pater ille

<sup>118</sup> Ms: designatun.

<sup>119</sup> Ms: pagino. Leverett obviously did not recognize the rare word pegma, which refers to the wooden machine in the theatre which could be raised or depressed on the stage.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Juvenal 7.154: occidit miseros crambe repetita magistros.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Mur.* 9.21: nescis quantum interdum afferat hominibus fastidii.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Phil.* 2.84: ne nauseam faciat.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. Suetonius, *Jul.* 32: iacta alea esto.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Att.* 15.23: integrum est mihi.

<sup>125</sup> Horace, *Carv.* 1.24.19-20.

<sup>126</sup> Erasmus, *Adagia*, chil. 2, cent. 6, no. 20.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Cicero, *De Or.* 1.16: amplissimis eloquentiae propositis praemiis.

<sup>128</sup> Ms: vestris.

<sup>129</sup> Ms: suffrgiis.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Seneca, *Brev. Vit.* 2.4: De istis me putas dicere quorum in confesso mala sunt?

<sup>131</sup> Cicero and Terence on occasion use nullus for non.

luminum,<sup>132</sup> author artium et scientiarum summus, honorum omnium largitor optimus, qui 'nobis haec otia fecit,'<sup>133</sup> coeptis hodiernis aspirare<sup>134</sup> non dedignatus fuerit.

Haec praefatus magis pro forma, quod dici solet, quam quod dignum attentione vestra argumentum honoratissimis reverendissimisque viris accommodum occurreret,<sup>135</sup> absolvo vos tandem, auditores optimi, longioris orationis taedio ne tenuitatis oblitus meae vestraque abusus humanitate videar.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>132</sup> *James* 1.17.

<sup>133</sup> Vergil, *Ecl.* 1.6.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1.2-3: di, coeptis . . . / adspirate meis.

<sup>135</sup> Ms: occurreret.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Balb.* 19: ne . . . de vestra humanitate dubitare videar.

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### CORRIGENDUM

In the October 1972 issue (XX:4, 436 — "Browning's 'Sicilian Pastoral,'" by John Maynard), the original manuscript of Browning's "Sicilian Pastoral" should have been described as a part of the Amy Lowell Collection, which is now housed in a special room in the Houghton Library.