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# ESSENTIALS OF EXPOSITION AND ARGUMENT

*Blue*  
A MANUAL FOR HIGH SCHOOLS  
ACADEMIES, AND DEBATING CLUBS

BY

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CALIFORNIA

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## PREFACE

SINCE *Argumentation and Debating* was published, in 1908, it has been used by more than one hundred American universities and colleges. Many secondary schools as well, against the advice of the author, have attempted to use the book. It is not wholly adapted to the needs of their pupils, nor does it seem fitting for high schools and academies to give the time to Argumentation alone that a thorough study of the college text requires. The *Essentials of Exposition and Argument*, though retaining whatever good qualities the earlier book appears to have, is prepared expressly for the use of secondary schools.

The aim of this book is to present the *Essentials of Exposition and Argument* as simply as possible, following the order in which the difficulties arise in actual practice. The point of view is that of the high-school student rather than that of the instructor. The amount of practical material, therefore, in proportion to the amount of theoretical material, is larger than is usual in manuals on this subject. The chapter on brief-drawing, for example, starts with a familiar proposition and takes the student step by step through the development of a complete working brief. The chapter on evidence deals not only with the tests of evidence, but as well with the sources and the methods of using evidence. In short, the book aims throughout to show the student how to go to work.

Special care has been taken to present striking illustrations, free from extraneous and exceptional

elements, usually correlated with other high-school studies, and always within the range of the student's information and experience. Such illustrations enable him to direct his attention to the principles involved. In order that the first specimens of argument may not be discouragingly far above the beginner's possibilities, examples are presented from the recent work of students.

A series of exercises is presented, running through the book, which calls for the gradual development, by the whole class working in coöperation with the teacher, of a complete argument on the Class Question. This teaching device may be so employed as to give the study of the text unity, continuity, and sustained interest.

Thanks are due to A. Blaine Roberts, formerly Instructor in English in the University of Utah, and to Charles Swain Thomas, Head of the Department of English in the Newton (Mass.) High School, for valuable and generous aid.

W. T. F. .

PORTLAND, OREGON,  
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**ESSENTIALS OF EXPOSITION AND  
ARGUMENT**



# ESSENTIALS OF EXPOSITION AND ARGUMENT

## FIRST CHAPTER

### EXPOSITION

#### I. THE FORMS OF DISCOURSE

IF you were to visit the Panama Canal, you might write a letter home trying to picture the Culebra Cut, or recounting the events of your trip. In either case, you would present concrete details. Or, writing of general rather than specific ideas, you might explain the construction of a canal lock, or try to convince your readers that the United States should fortify the Panama Canal. Whenever you speak or write, you either employ one of these four forms of discourse, or use them in varied combination.

These four literary types, or forms, of discourse are: Description, the portrayal of concrete objects; Narration, the recounting of events; Exposition, the explanation of ideas; and Argumentation, the process of convincing people, — sometimes even trying to move them to action by appeals to reason and to emotion. Although these forms of discourse are combined in many ways, assisting each other, and rarely appearing alone in any complete literary work, yet a given piece of writing may usually be classified under one or another of these heads according to the purpose of the writer. If his purpose is to depict observed objects as he sees them, the result is Description; if his purpose

is to tell a story, the result is Narration ; if his purpose is merely to make clear the meaning, the result is Exposition ; and, finally, if his purpose is to convince others of the truth or falsity of a proposition, or to persuade to action, or both, the result is Argumentation. Thus, Thoreau's *Walden* is descriptive ; Stevenson's *Treasure Island* is narrative ; Darwin's *Origin of Species* is expository, and Webster's *Reply to Hayne* is argumentative. Our present purpose is expository, for we aim here to explain the ESSENTIALS OF EXPOSITION AND ARGUMENT.

**Exposition and Argument.** Exposition gives information concerning which there exists no serious difference of opinion ; argument gives information concerning which the conclusions are in dispute. The purpose of exposition is to make the subject intelligible ; argument goes further than this — it seeks not only to make the reader or listener understand, but also to make him agree and sometimes to make him act in accord with his agreement.

Argument must favor one side of the controversy at the expense of the other side. The equal and unbiased development of both sides of a disputed question, with not even an implied preference or a selection of evidence in favor of either side, would be exposition.

Exposition and argument are usually employed in combination. Exposition must always be the expressed or implied foundation for argument. There must be common ground — admitted matter — for every dispute, and the laying out of this common ground is usually a large part of every argument. Exposition and argument also abide by the same rhetorical principles. Clearness, in particular, is essential to explanation and to conviction.



## II. EXPOSITION, THE GROUNDWORK OF ALL DISCOURSE

Exposition is the clear statement of facts. To convey information is the most common and the most practical use of language in daily life. This volume is itself an exposition. Intercourse in the business world is mainly conducted through exposition. Explanation by telephone is a fragmentary kind of exposition. The annual report of the president of a university or the treasurer of a railroad corporation, the message of the President to Congress, the statement of the grievances of a labor union, — these are examples of exposition. **Oral explanation** is even commoner. The teacher's lecture and the pupil's recitation are expositions. In fact, the answer to nearly every question in daily conversation is expository.

**Definition.** Definition is the simplest form of exposition. When we define a triangle as a plane surface, we indicate the class of objects to which it belongs; it is not an animal, or an instrument, or a form of discourse. When we add that a triangle has three sides, we fix its place within the class; it is not a square, or a rhomboid, or a hexagon. We have now given both the *genus* and the *difference* of the definition. Thus James defines psychology as the science (*genus*) of mental life (*difference*). The rhetorician may define tautology as that form of redundancy (*genus*) which consists of the useless repetition of an idea (*difference*).

**Requisites of a Definition.** There are four requisites for clearness in defining which are worth remembering, not only for purposes of argumentation but as well for every field of human knowledge where clear thinking is demanded: —

1. A definition should cover all cases or individuals properly included under the term defined.
2. A definition should exclude all cases or individuals not properly included under the term defined.
3. A definition should be expressed, if possible, in terms simpler and more familiar than the term that designates the defined object.
4. A definition should not employ the term to be defined or any word derived from it.

### III. CLEARNESS IN EXPOSITION

In exposition, the purpose of which is to explain, clearness is of paramount importance. The principles of composition which coöperate to attain clearness are unity, emphasis, and coherence.

#### 1. Unity

A unit is a *complete* whole, without surplusage. Unity in exposition demands full explanation of the subject chosen and the exclusion of all irrelevant matter. Misdirected work should be avoided by limiting the subject carefully in accordance with space and purpose, and then phrasing the subject with exactitude. The first step towards unity is to fix the subject in sentence form.

The exclusion of irrelevant matter presents more difficulty. Wide digressions from the subject are easily noticed, and hence easily avoided. But often the irrelevancy is so insidious as to be overlooked. No matter what subject we choose to consider, it is divisible into lesser topics and is also itself merely one phase of a larger subject. If our subject is the Equipment of Arctic Explorers, the detailed *history* of Arctic Exploration is

irrelevant. It is pertinent to the *general* question of Arctic exploration, but not to the *specific* subject chosen. We should challenge every idea that seeks admission to an essay by asking, Is this included within my subject, or is it a part of a larger subject — beyond the scope of my present work ?

## 2. Emphasis

Emphasis, like unity, is essential to clearness. If for any reason the reader or hearer places more or less emphasis upon an idea than the writer or speaker intends, to that extent the intended thought is not clearly conveyed. The principle of emphasis requires that material be arranged with respect to position and space. Position emphasis demands that the most important ideas be put in the most important places. The close of a sentence, a paragraph, a section, or a whole exposition is usually the most important position ; the beginning is next in importance. Space emphasis, or proportion, requires that each idea should be given as much space as its importance warrants, and no more.

A traveler gazes across the unbroken level of the prairie ; he sees nothing, and he retains only a feeling of weariness and monotony. The same effect is produced by an exposition or argument all the parts of which are presented on one dead level. If a writer does not perceive the parts which deserve distinction, he is not prepared to write ; if he does not emphasize the parts which deserve distinction, he cannot be sure whether his readers will retain the essential or the relatively insignificant. He *can* be sure of this, — that they will *not* retain both. Neither readers nor hearers remember all the details. Let them forget, if they must,

the matters of secondary importance. The vital points they must not forget.

As the man in the gallery throws the calcium light on that part of the stage to which he would focus attention, so the writer must employ all the illuminating devices of rhetoric to brighten the most important parts of his work. He should first consider what points must be emphasized at any cost ; he should then contrive to place these in the high lights. Meantime the less important details fall into the relatively obscure background. The high lights of a discourse are the beginning and the end.

### 3. Coherence

Coherence is logical sequence of thought. An exposition or argument without coherence is like a forest without a trail ; a writer's duty is to blaze the trail. Nay, he should do more. He should take the reader by the hand, clear the way, warn him when the path divides, point out each step. Language is at best but "a poor bull's-eye lantern wherewith to show off the vast cathedral of the universe." Imperative, then, that one who uses this poor lantern to illuminate thought should throw what light he has along the path ahead.

No man is likely to secure coherence by chance or inspiration : it demands care — painstaking and unremitting. In a good outline or brief the connection between statements is clearly indicated by means of special indentation and arbitrary symbols. In written work these devices must give way to rhetorical aids. The logical sequence of thought must be made clear by means of connective words and transitional sentences.

**Transitions.** By means of words, phrases, sentences, or paragraphs, transitions must accomplish three things :

first, a concise summary of the preceding thought ; second, a terse forecast of the following thought ; and third, the bearing of one thought upon another. Between sentences, a word or phrase showing the connection is sufficient ; the sentences themselves are their own epitomes. Between paragraphs one or more sentences are generally necessary. Occasionally, when one paragraph closes with a summary sentence and the following paragraph opens with a topic sentence, a connecting word or phrase fulfills the transition requirements. Between large sections of an exposition a transitional paragraph may be required.

The italicized words, phrases, and sentences in the following quotation from Burke's *Speech on Conciliation* illustrate the effective use of transitions : —

*First*, Sir, permit me to observe that the use of force alone is but temporary. It may subdue for a moment, *but* it does not remove the necessity of subduing again ; *and* a nation is not governed which is perpetually to be conquered.

*My next objection is its uncertainty.* Terror is not always the effect of force, *and* an armament is not a victory. If you do not succeed, you are without resource ; *for*, conciliation failing, force remains ; *but*, force failing, no further hope of reconciliation is left. Power and authority are sometimes bought by kindness ; *but* they can never be begged as alms by an impoverished and defeated violence.

*A further objection to force is, that you impair the object by your very endeavor to preserve it.* The thing you fought for is not the thing which you recover ; *but* depreciated, sunk, wasted and consumed in the contest. Nothing less will content me than *whole America*. I do not choose to consume its strength along with our own, *because* in all parts it is the British strength that I consume. I do not choose to be caught by a foreign enemy at the end of this exhausting conflict ; *and* still less in the midst of it. I may escape ; *but* I can make

no insurance against such an event. *Let me add*, that I do not choose wholly to break the American spirit; *because* it is the spirit that has made the country.

*Lastly*, we have no sort of experience in favor of force as an instrument in the rule of our colonies. Their growth and their utility have been owing to methods altogether different. Our ancient indulgence has been said to be pursued to a fault. It may be so. *But* we know, if feeling is evidence, that our fault was more tolerable than our attempt to mend it; and our sin far more salutary than our penitence.

*These, Sir, are my reasons* for not entertaining that high opinion of untried force by which many gentlemen for whose sentiments, in other particulars, I have great respect, seem to be so greatly captivated.

The foregoing quotation, illustrative of Burke's method, shows that there are no arguments overlapped, no parts left hanging in the air, no gaps to jump, and no halt in the forward movement. Any person who aspires to an argumentative style which shall cover the strength of a coherent brief with transparent rhetorical beauty will do well to study further the method of Edmund Burke.

Transitions should keep reader and writer, or hearer and speaker, on the same track. From any given point in an exposition the thought could proceed in various directions. Each reader or hearer, with his different experience and different habits of thought, might take a different direction. Confusion would result. Every transition is the conscious opening of a switch by which the train of thought is directed along the predetermined track.

#### IV. PREPARATION FOR EXPOSITION

The preparation for exposition and for argument is similar. In both, the first step is the choice of a suit-

able subject. Then follow an investigation of the facts in the case, a search for further information, and much thinking.

After unearthing sufficient information, it is necessary to analyze and organize the mass of facts thus accumulated. Only then is it time for the effective presentation of results.

**Selection and Investigation of Subject.** In the first place the subject must not be too broad. The violation of this requirement is common. A subject as it first comes into our consciousness, is broad and vague. Later we develop but one phase or point of view of this subject. Often, however, we do not correspondingly narrow the scope of the title. This inexactness or vagueness of title would not matter much, did it not usually mean a similar vagueness in thought and in the subsequent writing. It is best, therefore, provided other important purposes are not thereby sacrificed, to question every subject with a view to making it narrower in scope.

Narrowing the subject in this way is a safeguard against ambiguity. One kind of ambiguity consists in using words in such a way as to admit of more than one interpretation. The more specific the subject, the less danger there is of such doubtful phrasing. Another kind of ambiguity resides in the double subject, consisting of two more or less incongruous parts. Rarely are both parts seriously meant or discussed. Confusion and lack of unity are the results. The narrower the subject, the less danger there is of ambiguity. In either case the expression of the subject in sentence form makes for clearness and exactness. The key-sentence for exposition is as valuable as the proposition for argument.

In the second place, the subject for exposition should be interesting. Life calls on us frequently to make an exposition of a subject, at least to ourselves, if not for presentation to others. Daily problems in business or industry require investigation and explanation. Every great business is so merely because some man has made a deeper and broader exposition of that industry to himself than his smaller competitor. Under these circumstances the subject of the exposition is real. If school work seems unreal, we should select a subject of genuine interest to ourselves, — one concerning which we know something, but concerning which we wish to know more.

**Analysis and Organization of Material.** After collecting a mass of information on our subject, the next step is to analyze and organize this material. This analysis consists in discovering whatever relations exist among the various facts at our disposal. The subsequent work of organization concerns the arrangement of this material so as to show these relations most effectively. In practice these two processes overlap and assist one another.

Analysis is the explanation of an idea by subdividing it into the lesser ideas which taken together are equivalent to the original idea. Thus if we need to explain the act of firing a gun, we divide the act into the chain of lesser events which make it up — the pulling of the trigger, the fall of the hammer, the ignition of the cap, the explosion of the powder, and the hurling of the ball. This analysis could continue in two ways: first by finding between these subdivisions further steps that were previously ignored, such as the release of the spring between the pulling of the trigger and the fall of the



hammer; and, second, by the further subdivision of one of these lesser topics, as when the chemist explains what happens to the grains of powder during the act of explosion. This process of analysis could go on indefinitely; it ceases only when the explanation has been carried far enough to satisfy immediate purposes.

The final organization of our material for the purpose of presentation includes the construction of an outline or brief. The outline is a compact diagram tersely forecasting the finished exposition. It not only presents the various lesser topics in coherent order, but also schematically suggests all the relative degrees of subordination and emphasis. It is a graphic epitome of the whole. It is like the bare, steel frame of a building. It enables us to produce the finished essay with the fewest structural defects. The writer who attempts anything but the shortest exposition without an outline for guidance is like a contractor who should try to rear a modern office building without the architect's plans.

The outline of this chapter will serve as a specimen:—

## EXPOSITION

### I. The Forms of Discourse.

#### Four Literary Types.

Description.

Narration.

Exposition.

Argument.

Exposition and Argument.

### II. Exposition, the Groundwork of all Discourse.

Definition.

Requisites of a Definition.

## III. Clearness in Exposition.

Unity.

Emphasis.

Coherence.

## IV. Preparation for Exposition.

Selection and Investigation of Subject.

Analysis and Organization of Material.

Analysis in Exposition and in Argument.

**Analysis in Exposition and in Argument.** The problem of analysis differs slightly in the two kinds of discourse before us. In argument a definitely worded proposition is selected, and the work of analysis is to find the lesser propositions which are seriously disputed. These central ideas, or main issues, are the inevitable issues inherent in the proposition chosen. With a specific proposition in mind, the issues cannot be drawn carelessly or arbitrarily; they are predetermined at the time the question is phrased. In exposition only the general subject *must* be chosen beforehand. No particular material must be inevitably presented, as in argument. The writer is freer to accept or reject. In the more exhaustive books and essays, however, the stricter analytical method of argument is often employed.

The expository outline varies from the argumentative brief in two ways. First, the expository outline need not be expressed in complete sentences; words and phrases sometimes express the topics well enough. But whenever a complete sentence seems desirable for greater clearness or accuracy, it should be used. Second, the expository outline does not need to express causal relations. In the argumentative brief every sub-statement must go to prove the statement to which it is immediately sub-

ordinated; the relation is best expressed by the conjunction "for." In the expository outline a sub-topic needs to be simply a lesser part, — an idea of narrower scope, the statement of a quality or characteristic, an illustration, or even an exception. The relation may be any at all, logical or arbitrary, obvious or far-fetched, provided it is consistent with the purpose of the explanation. Other requirements for the outline and the brief are nearly identical.<sup>1</sup>

### EXERCISES FOR THE FIRST CHAPTER <sup>2</sup>

1. Let each student bring to class a short exposition and a short argument, and be prepared to compare and contrast the two with regard to the (1) structure, (2) purpose in presentation, (3) clearness, (4) manner of using facts, and (5) any other similarities and differences. The addition or subtraction of what circumstances would make the given argument expository and the given exposition argumentative?
2. Write an *outline* on one of the following topics:—
  - a. Sailing against the wind.
  - b. Making bread.
  - c. The crow.
  - d. The origin of Thanksgiving Day.
  - e. How to increase one's vocabulary.
  - f. How to apply for a business position.
  - g. How to care for a lawn.
  - h. Basket-ball rules.
  - i. How our city is governed.
  - j. The parts of speech.
  - k. How to set up an electric bell.
3. Develop the exposition from the above outline. Apply six tests for clearness.

<sup>1</sup> The study of the seventh chapter, with the exercises for that chapter, together with a comparison of the second and third appendices, is suggested to supplement the present discussion of the outline, or brief.

<sup>2</sup> By considering the *first exercise for each chapter* in consecutive order the reader will discover the unity that runs through the series of exercises.

4. In Burke's *Speech on Conciliation* (see Appendix I) separate the expository parts from the argumentative parts.
5. Turn to the *Speech on Conciliation*. Observe the opening sentences announcing what may be expected in paragraphs 15, 32, 33, 34, 35, 50, 79, 80, — indeed in almost every paragraph. Note the transitional opening sentences of paragraphs 25, 26, 29, 57, 58, 59, 75. Consider, in paragraphs 44, 48, 67, 72, the clearly defined connection of the opening sentences with what precedes. Consider as well the summarizing sentences in paragraphs 36, 41, 44, 59, 62, and the single-word connectives in paragraphs 44, 48, 67, 72.
6. Write definitions of ten familiar terms.
7. What is analysis? In chemistry? In exposition? In argument?
8. Make an outline of this text-book.
9. Criticise the recitations of your classmates according to the requirements of clear exposition.
10. For examples of good expositions examine the last fourteen paragraphs of Carlyle's *Essay on Burns*; Newman's *Idea of a University*; chapter on "Intellectual Education," in Spencer's *Education*; chapter on "Habit," in James's *Psychology*; chapter on "Money," in Mill's *Principles of Political Economy*; chapter one, in Wallace's *Darwinism*; Lamont's *Specimens of Expositions*; Maeterlinck's *Intelligence of the Flowers*; Roosevelt's *Citizenship in a Republic*: and chapter on "Force," in Wendell's *English Composition*. See also the articles by J. O. Fagan, the essays by Rev. S. M. Crothers, and other specimens of exposition published regularly in the *Atlantic Monthly*; also the editorials in the *Nation* and in the *Outlook*.

## SECOND CHAPTER

### THE SUBJECT

THE method of argument is like the method of the law court, in that the object is to arrive at definite conclusions regarding definite issues. To attain this object, argument requires a complete proposition. A term, a mere name, will not suffice. One may write an essay on "The Dramatization of Novels"; but for an argument one needs a proposition, such as "The dramatization of novels is detrimental to the dramatic art." One may describe "A Party of Arctic Explorers," or tell the story of "A Dash for the Pole," or explain "The Construction of Commander Peary's Ship"; or one may argue on either side of the proposition, "The United States government should appropriate money for Arctic explorations."

The proposition in formal debate corresponds to the motion, resolution, or bill presented in deliberative bodies. For purposes of debate, the proposition should be phrased in the form of a resolution, such as "Resolved, that the Democratic Party should nominate Mr. ——— for President." For our present needs the terms *question* and *proposition* may be used as synonymous.

#### I. THE PROPOSITION SHOULD BE DEBATABLE

The first requirement of the proposition, is that it shall be debatable. It is not debatable, (*a*) if it is obviously true or obviously false: (*b*) if it cannot be proved at least approximately true or false.

(a) Propositions like those in Geometry, which are obviously true or obviously false, cannot be disputed. Attempts to hold debates on such a proposition as this: "Resolved, that breach of trust in high office is reprehensible," have always resulted in failure. Such a proposition is undebatable because obviously true. A debatable proposition must have two sides seriously disputed.

The same objection holds against propositions that "beg the question": that is, assume to be true or false the very point at issue. The word *brutal* in "The brutal game of football should be abolished," assumes as true one of the points which is obviously meant to be in dispute. It begs the question. The school which attempted to decide in debate whether "military drill should be replaced by something more beneficial," found the same difficulty. No debate was possible. The proposition begs the question which was probably intended for debate, namely, whether military drill *can* be replaced by anything more beneficial.

(b) Propositions that cannot be proved at least approximately true or false are not debatable. Such is the proposition, "The achievement of the American people in gaining independence was greater than in suppressing the Rebellion." The want of common ground prevents satisfactory argument. This is equally true of the proposition, "Man has done more than woman to advance civilization." One might just as sensibly contend that sodium contributes more than chlorine to the value of salt. Much futile discussion on such questions has at various times brought debating into ill repute. A question should offer something more than an ingenious exercise; it should offer the chance

of arriving at some conclusion regarded by the particular audience or disputants as of some practical importance. It should be discarded if, like the proposition, "The pen is mightier than the sword," it offers no possibility of arriving at reasonably sound conclusions through the process of argument.

## II. THE PROPOSITION SHOULD NOT EMPLOY AMBIGUOUS WORDS

The proposition should not hinge on the interpretation of ambiguous words. Great care must be taken to insure a debate on the proposition itself, by avoiding the necessity of any debate as to the meaning of the proposition.

It is not easy to phrase the proposition so that it shall mean precisely what we wish to argue: so that it shall include the whole matter at issue, nothing more and nothing less; so that there shall be no possible ambiguity. Yet, unless the proposition is so phrased, a debate may degenerate into a lifeless quibble concerning the meaning of the terms. The meaning of the question should be clear, — absolutely so.

In order to avoid ambiguous questions and the consequent opportunities for quibbling, it is well to avoid general terms, unless they surely have but one meaning for all the people concerned in the argument. Among the general terms which frequently give trouble because they have no commonly accepted meaning are "Policy," "Socialism," "Imperialism," "Church," "Civilization," "Monroe Doctrine," and "Culture." If it seems desirable to use such terms for debate, they should be accompanied by explanatory clauses. Or, if a proposition is found to be ambiguous after it has been selected, the

two sides should agree as soon as possible on the meaning of the ambiguous terms for the particular debate. Thus an inconsequential discussion may be avoided. General terms, unless thus carefully defined, offer abundant chance for diversion from the main issues.

In a recent high-school "debate" on the question, "Anarchists should be suppressed by Federal law," the affirmative dealt wholly with one class of anarchists, — a bloodthirsty mob, aiming at the forcible overthrow of all government. The negative confined their argument to the peaceable, law-abiding citizens, who spread their doctrines in accord with the constitutional liberties of free thought and speech. There was no debate. Suppose the proposition had been phrased, "All persons advocating the overthrow of government by forcible means should be punished by Federal law." Such phrasing, free from the ambiguity of the general term "anarchist," would have given the proposition one meaning for both sides.

### III. THE PROPOSITION SHOULD NOT BE TOO BROAD

The proposition should be sufficiently limited in scope to admit satisfactory treatment in the time or space available. Even if there are no general terms, a debate for which the time is brief, or a magazine article for which the space is limited, will not be satisfactory if the question is too broad. "Are the Southern States justifiable in their attitude toward the negro?" covers too much ground. A better question is, "Are the clauses in the Alabama Constitution of 1901 looking to a restriction of the franchise justifiable?" Many propositions can be limited by application to local conditions. A debate at R—— High School on the general propo-



sition, "The Elective System of studies is preferable to any other system," is not likely to be so interesting or so profitable as a debate on the question, "A freer Elective System at R—— High School is desirable."

The phrasing should be so definite as to guard against the possibility of digression from what are intended to be the real issues. A recent intercollegiate debate on the proposition, "The United States should use every means to maintain the integrity of China," proved unsatisfactory because of the opportunities for digression offered by the indefinite term, "every means." The question, "Should there be commercial reciprocity with Canada?" might lead to discussions of whether the approval of Canada could be secured, whether reciprocity would benefit Canada, and whether it would impair social relations with England. If these questions are not intended, the phrasing should exclude them. A more exacting phrase is, "Would commercial reciprocity between the United States and Canada benefit the United States economically?"

#### IV. THE PROPOSITION SHOULD EMBODY ONE CENTRAL IDEA

The proposition should embody one central idea. It should not confuse two propositions; for unless all the parts of a subject for debate can obviously be grouped under one principle, one part may be decided in the affirmative and another part in the negative. Parliamentary law recognizes this difficulty through providing the "motion for the division of the question." This calls for a separate vote on each part whenever members find it difficult to vote because there are two principles involved in a proposition. "Resolved, that the

tariff policy of the present administration promotes the commercial interests of New England," is suitable for debate, even though it involves many parts. For if the main issues underlying each part are the same, no confusion need result from the number of parts.

Such is not the case with the following double-headed proposition: "Dickens's novels, which are superior to Scott's, effected a social reform." This involves two questions: "Are Dickens's novels superior to Scott's?" and "Did Dickens's novels effect a social reform?" Here are different underlying principles, and consequently different sets of main issues. An attempt to discuss them all at once would result only in confusion.

#### V. THE PROPOSITION SHOULD GIVE TO THE AFFIRMATIVE THE BURDEN OF PROOF

For any argument, the subject should be so phrased that the affirmative makes the attack, advocates something new, or attempts to overthrow something which is established; in other words, so that the affirmative has the burden of proof. The law lays down the rule, "He who affirms must prove." The one who makes the charge is said to have the burden of proof; the defendant is said to have the presumption in his favor. A man is presumed to be innocent until he is proved guilty. If the affirmative side proves nothing, the decision goes to the negative. The presumption holds good until overthrown by proof or by an offsetting presumption. The common law holds that "no one shall, in the first instance, be called on to prove a negative, or be put on his defense, without sufficient evidence against him having been offered, which, if not contradicted or explained, would be conclusive." To give the affirmative

side of a debate the burden of proof is to call for progress in the first speech and thus help to get the actual debating started at once.

#### VI. THE PROPOSITION SHOULD BE INTERESTING

The proposition should have some immediate interest — the keener the better — for both the disputants and the audience. There should be a higher interest in the outcome of a debate than the mere desire to win a decision. The scholastic disputants of the Middle Ages may have become highly excited considering how many angels can stand on the point of a needle, but the people of our day demand subjects which touch modern life more vitally. The student should look about him for matters of immediate interest. Let him consult the newspapers, the Messages of the President, his school studies, and the political campaigns in his own community. Let him find out what people are actually discussing for some reason other than “for the sake of argument.” For live propositions, he should observe the daily life about him.

#### VII. THE PROPOSITION FOR FIRST PRACTICE SHOULD COVER FAMILIAR GROUND

Subjects chosen for first practice should be within the range of the writer's information and experience. Such subjects will leave him free to devote his attention rather to the technical problems of argumentation than to the understanding of the question and the collection of material. Until a student is acquainted with the principles of argumentation, he will do well to confine his practice to familiar subjects. The following are good examples: Should first-year students be allowed to play

on our college athletic teams? Should high-school fraternities be prohibited? Should public libraries be open on Sundays? A beginner in this study may find, among the propositions in the Appendix arranged for first practice, a few which are not too complicated or unfamiliar for his purpose.

#### VIII. THE PROPOSITION SHOULD BE PHRASED BRIEFLY AND SIMPLY

The question should be phrased as briefly and simply as is consistent with the other requirements. If possible the phrasing should be so brief that once heard, it cannot be forgotten. If the debater or the audience forgets the question, all argument may be futile until the question is clearly recalled.

As soon as we have an interesting, debatable proposition, embodying one central idea which is not too broad, phrased briefly and definitely, free from ambiguous and general terms, and stated affirmatively, we are ready for the work of getting at the heart of the question. **THE FIRST PHRASING OF A PROPOSITION, HOWEVER, SHOULD BE A PROVISIONAL ONE, WHICH LATER RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS MAY MODIFY.**

#### SUMMARY OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR PHRASING THE PROPOSITION

1. It should be debatable.
2. It should not employ ambiguous words.
3. It should not be too broad.
4. It should embody one central idea.
5. It should be stated affirmatively.
6. It should be interesting.
7. It should, for first practice, cover familiar ground.
8. It should be phrased briefly and simply.

**EXERCISES FOR THE SECOND CHAPTER**

1. Select a proposition for class use. Apply all eight tests rigorously.<sup>1</sup>
2. Apply these eight tests to the propositions in Appendix VIII.
3. What is the difference between a term and a proposition?
4. Apply the tests to the following propositions:—
  - a. Criminals should be compelled to work.
  - b. The relative condition of wage-earners in the United States is inferior to that of fifty years ago.
  - c. It was for Japan's best interests to waive the indemnity clause in the peace treaty with Russia.
  - d. The colonial policy of Great Britain is justifiable.
  - e. Hamlet was insane.
  - f. Self-made men are the strongest.
  - g. The ministry is a nobler profession than the law.
  - h. Education is a good business investment.
  - i. The protective tariff should not be revised.
  - j. The highways of this state retard the progress of civilization and should be improved by the Federal government.
  - k. War is a crime against humanity.
5. Phrase satisfactory questions for argument with reference to the next municipal election; college entrance requirements; the regulation of child labor; the study of Latin; the Panama Canal; Sunday newspapers; your school debating club.
6. Suggest several propositions involving changes which, you think, would benefit your club, your town, your school, your church, your baseball team.
7. Which, if any, of these tests do not apply at all to expository subjects?

<sup>1</sup> We shall refer to this proposition from now on as the "Class Question."

## THIRD CHAPTER

### RESEARCH

AFTER selecting a subject for exposition or debate, the next requisite is a wide knowledge of the question, which may be gained only by diligent research. This hunt for relevant material is the great time-consuming part of the work. A month of toil in libraries, a week or more of sifting and organizing material, — all for a short essay or a ten-minute speech. The redeeming fact is that a speaker can say more, and say it better, in ten minutes, when equipped with proper preparation, than he can in an hour without such preparation.

Remembering that the material of exposition becomes the evidence of argument merely by shifting our point of view, let us deal with the search for material under three heads: (1) sources of evidence, (2) reading for evidence, and (3) taking notes of evidence.

#### I. SOURCES OF EVIDENCE

Almost as soon as the subject for exposition or for argument is phrased, the question arises, "Where can I find material on this subject?" The first reply may well be this: examine carefully the contents of your own mind to ascertain your beliefs and the grounds for your beliefs, to determine to what extent your ideas are founded on fact and to what extent they are merely vague impressions, and thus to differentiate what you know from what you do not know.

Then read the broad surveys and digests of the subject which appear in the encyclopedias, in such monthly magazines as the *American Review of Reviews* and the *World's Work*, and in such weekly periodicals as the *Nation*, the *Independent*, the *Outlook*, and the *Literary Digest*. Thus you will get some idea of the origin and history of the controversy, of the latest information, of the main contentions on both sides, and of the leading authorities.

Magazines are valuable sources of material on current topics. The best indexes to Periodical Literature are the *Reader's Guide*, published monthly, and *Poole's Index* and the *Annual Library Index*. These and the card catalogues should be used first. In consulting such lists, the investigator should look for material under several heads. If, for instance, he seeks information on the question whether interscholastic athletics should be abolished, he should not expect to find all the significant articles indexed under "Athletics." He may find important contributions to the controversy under such heads as "College," "School," "Baseball," "Football," "Physical Culture," and "Education." After discovering a title on his subject in an index, he should look under the author's name for other articles on the same subject. He should continue his search until he has an extensive list of references from which to choose. Otherwise, he may spend too much time in reading inferior articles, while he either overlooks the best ones, or discovers them when it is too late to give them due attention.

Special lists of selected books and articles are published frequently by the Library of Congress on such prominent subjects as *Child Labor*, *Employer's Lia-*

bility, *Taxation of Inheritances and of Incomes, and Tariffs of Foreign Countries*. A book called *Briefs on Public Questions* (Longmans, Green & Co.) contains suggestive briefs and references on twenty-five of the most important public questions of the day. The *Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, by W. D. P. Bliss, and the *Cyclopedia of Education*, by Paul Monroe, are storehouses of information. Valuable aid is furnished by a large volume known as the *A. L. A. Index*, which does for books what *Poole's Index* does for magazines. Still another useful book is Henry Matson's *References for Literary Workers* (A. C. McClurg & Co.).

There are many official publications which furnish information regarding the most perplexing public problems. The government of the United States, the government of each state, many municipalities, many reform associations, religious bodies, industrial boards, the Russell Sage Foundation, and other organizations promoting special interests, employ experts to investigate particular problems, to compile the laws, to collect, tabulate, and interpret statistics, and to suggest remedies for alleged evils. The reports of these experts are widely distributed. Most of the United States Government reports are deposited in every college library. To mention only a few, there are the Census reports, the Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Education and of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Messages of the Presidents, and the *Congressional Record*.

The *Congressional Record* is indexed under three heads — names, subjects, and bills by their official numbers. For each session of Congress, the *Documents* are arranged in six groups: *Senate Executive Documents*, *Senate Miscellaneous*, *Senate Reports* (of committees),



*House Executive Documents, House Miscellaneous, House Reports* (of committees). There is a *Document Index* for each session of Congress. The *Monthly Catalogue*, which lists all the publications of the United States, is the best source of information on recent government publications. At the close of each Congress, a catalogue is published listing and describing all the publications of that Congress. Both the catalogue and the documents therein listed can be obtained by almost any school or public library on application to the Superintendent of Documents. There is a valuable *Index of Economic Material in Documents of the States of the United States*, published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Then there are the publications of societies with a purpose, such as the Report of the National Civic Federation on *Municipal and Private Operation of Public Utilities* (1907), and the proceedings at the annual conventions of the National Education Association.

Most subjects have sources of information existing for them alone. If the question concerns municipal government, there are *The Annual Reports of the Proceedings of the National Municipal League*, *The Year-Book of the American Municipalities*, and *The Bulletin of the League of American Municipalities*. A book on a special subject may have a bibliography as an appendix, or contain fragments of bibliographies in the preface, in the introduction, or at the close of each chapter.

On industrial questions the *Report of the United States Industrial Commission* (nineteen volumes, 1900–1902) contains a mass of valuable material; likewise the *Selections and Documents in Economics* edited by W. Z. Ripley (Ginn & Co.). On mooted political ques-

tions R. C. Ringwalt is editing a series of volumes entitled *American Public Questions* (Henry Holt & Co.). Putnam's *Questions of the Day* also contains a number of volumes treating of debatable subjects.

The H. W. Wilson Company of Minneapolis is publishing a series of *Debaters' Handbooks* on such subjects as "Commission Plan of Municipal Government," "Capital Punishment," "Initiative and Referendum," "Popular Election of United States Senators," and "Graduated Income Tax." Among the general sources of evidence are *Who's Who*, *The International Year-Book*, *The Statesman's Year-Book*, *McPherson's Handbook of Politics*, *The World Almanac*, *The Tribune Almanac*, Larned's *History for Ready Reference and Topical Reading*, Channing and Hart's *Guide to the Study of American History*, *The American Catalogue*, *The Publisher's Trade List Annual*, *The Peabody Institute Catalogue*, Jones's *Finding List*, Jones's *Index to Legal Periodical Literature*, *The Annual Register*, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, Mulhall's *Dictionary of Statistics*, Poor's *Manual of Railroads*, Bowker and Iles's *Readers' Guide in Economics, Social and Political Science*, the various press-clipping bureaus, and the bulletins of the University of Wisconsin on Debating and Public Discussion.

A whole volume of suggestions might be furnished to the beginner in the search for materials; but, after all, no instruction in this matter can equal his own experience. He will learn how to economize time partly by wasting time, and he will feel the resources of libraries at his command only after extensive investigation and research of his own.

## II. READING FOR EVIDENCE

After we have formed an adequate bibliography on our subject, we should draft a trial outline. This will help us to read with a more definite purpose and to select the pertinent details. But such a provisional outline should grow and change as we read, until the problem of briefing is at hand.

In reading for evidence these maxims are important: —

(1) **Read on both sides of the question impartially.** You cannot know the real strength or weakness of your own side until you know the other side thoroughly. If it is a debatable question, there is much truth on both sides.

(2) **Do not rely on second-hand sources: verify the evidence at the original source.** Serious modification, even error and falsehood, may creep into evidence during transmission.

(3) **Think. Think before reading, while reading, after reading — think all the time.** Make your reading, not a process of indiscriminate accumulation of evidence, good or bad, but a conscious, intelligent, selective process. Read critically. Challenge the writer at every turn. Is he fair? Is he accurate? Is he consistent? Is he careless? Is he competent? Is he prejudiced? Does he exaggerate? Has anything happened since the article was written to make the author's conclusions false? Long periods of continued reflection bear much fruit. Frequent discussion with debating colleagues and other friends may result in clarifying a hazy problem.

If the question is unfamiliar, a recent reliable discussion from the latest Encyclopædia Britannica, for ex-

ample, should be read at first, for general ideas in the light of which more specific readings may be undertaken. The course of reading should be from the general towards the specific.

As a result of this reading, the following kinds of evidence will appear:—

(1) **Undisputed facts.** These facts, acceptable to both sides, form the indispensable base upon which to rear the superstructure of argument. If, for example, the question proposes the election of United States senators by popular vote, it is true that the Senate, by a vote of 46 to 40, failed in 1911 to declare William Lorimer illegally elected. That is an undisputed fact, for each side to make the most of.

(2) **Disputed facts.** The value of these facts depends wholly upon their source. The argument resides, not in the fact *per se*, but in the worth of the authority responsible for the fact. Such a disputed matter is the assertion that William Lorimer personally promoted the bribery incident to his election. The tests of authority will be discussed fully in the chapter on Evidence.

(3) **Arguments on both sides.** The arguments of others for or against the proposition should be critically examined. Those against your side are clues for rebuttal. Those in your favor, if sound, may be borrowed in so far as the process of reasoning only is concerned. To borrow the verbal form without quotation marks is plagiarism; to quote a long argument is ineffective.

When a debater complains that he can find no proof for an issue, he usually means that he has failed to find a ready-made argument, which he could lazily paraphrase. The crowning work of research is to answer a

specific question by personally investigating the various statistical compilations and other original sources and organizing isolated bits of evidence into a related whole. The borrowing of arguments ready made has done much to injure school work in argumentation and debate.

### III. TAKING NOTES OF EVIDENCE

In taking notes of evidence, it is advisable to observe the following rules: —

1. Use cards or sheets of paper of uniform size, and write only on one side.
2. Place on one card or one sheet of paper only evidence relating to a single sub-topic.
3. Quote from the original source unless you are forced to use a second-hand source.
4. Take few notes until you have defined the question, and secured a general idea of the controversy and a tentative set of issues.
5. Select those words which bear most cogently and tersely on the point at issue.
6. In making note of material for refutation, state exactly the argument to be refuted.
7. Always make an exact reference to the source at the time when you make note of the evidence.
8. References to sources should, as a rule, specify author, title, date, edition, volume, and page.
9. Quote exactly, and use quotation marks.
10. Indicate omissions by means of dots, thus: . . .
11. When you supply your own words inside a quotation, inclose them in brackets, [thus].
12. Indicate at the top of each card the main subject or issue to which the evidence relates, and the sub-topic.

13. Employ a definite system in arranging your evidence.
14. Take more notes than you think you can possibly use. Only the fittest will survive.

The following cards were prepared by men who were collecting evidence on the question, "Should secret societies in public high schools be prohibited?" The use of these cards in constructing the outline of the argument and in debating will be treated later in connection with these subjects.

**INFLUENCE ON SCHOLARSHIP.**

Report of N. E. A.  
Committee.

Committee of the National Education Association, G. B. Morrison, of St. Louis, Chairman, resolved: —

"that we condemn these secret organizations because . . . they stir up strife and contention; because they dissipate energy and proper ambition; because they set wrong standards; because they detract interest from study."

Source: *Proceedings of the N. E. A.*, 1905, p. 451.

**SOCIAL INFLUENCE.**

Testimony of E. G. Cooley.

Superintendent Cooley, of Chicago, says: —

"I sought an individual expression from 15 principals and 375 teachers in the high schools of Chicago. Without an exception or a dissenting voice, they characterized the influence of the fraternities and sororities as harmful to scholarship and to discipline, as un-American and un-democratic."

Source: *Sixty-ninth Annual Report of the Board of Education, Massachusetts*, 1904-1905, p. 193.

## LEGALITY.

## Summary of Court Decisions.

Following Cases quoted: —

*State v. Hine*, 59 Conn. 50.

*Fertich v. Michener*, 111 Indiana, 472.

*Jones v. Cody*, 62 L. R. A. 160 (Detroit, Mich.).

*Deskins v. Gose*, 85 Mo. 485.

*King v. The Jefferson City School District*, 71 Mo. 628.

Above cases all bear on *general* question of control of school over child.

Source: *Education*, January, 1908. "The Nature and Scope of Control over School Children by School Authorities," by F. L. Pugsley, Melrose, Mass.

## AUTHORITIES.

E. G. Cooley.

Superintendent of Schools, Chicago, 1900-1909.

Ph. B., Chicago University, 1895.

Principal of High School, La Grange, Ill., 1893-1900.

President, Department of Superintendence, N. E. A., 1904.

Decorated by Austrian Government, 1905.

Elected President N. E. A. following active campaign against secret societies, 1906.

Source: *Who's Who in America*, 1910-1911.

## EXERCISES FOR THE THIRD CHAPTER

1. By dividing the possible sources of material among the members of the class, gather a composite class bibliography on the Class Question. Reapportion the most important references among the class members for reading and note taking. Employ uniform system for taking notes. In the end assemble all the notes on the Class Question and begin a rough grouping of the material in readiness for the work of Analysis in the next Chapter.

2. Look up the term *tariff* in three different dictionaries ; in three different encyclopedias ; in three different introductory textbooks in economics ; in three different books wholly devoted to the subject. How do these four sources differ in kind, quantity, reliability, and treatment of material ?

3. Discover one or more reasons behind each of the rules for note taking.

4. Why is this step of research the same for both exposition and argument ?



## FOURTH CHAPTER

### ANALYSIS: THE EXPOSITORY GROUNDWORK OF ARGUMENT

SUCCESSFUL argumentation accomplishes three objects: (1) it sets forth in a way which is both clear and convincing just what must be done to establish or to overthrow the proposition; (2) it does this by convincing arguments; and (3) it arouses in connection with these arguments emotions of sufficient strength to move the will.

First of all, then, an argument should show definitely and clearly the work that must be done. It should find all the central ideas and exclude all else. In other words it should first expound the main issues, which are the points upon which the truth of the proposition depends. This, then — finding the main issues — is the most important work of what is called, in argument, the *Introduction*. It is the expository groundwork of argument.

#### FINDING THE MAIN ISSUES

To prove these main issues is to establish the proposition; to disprove them is to overthrow the proposition. If the Introduction appears to be unprejudiced, and to set forth the issues clearly, the audience will agree that a speaker who succeeds in presenting a preponderance of proof on these issues establishes his case.

If, on the other hand, a speaker arbitrarily selects certain phases of a proposition without satisfying his audience that he has chosen those phases on which the

whole proposition hinges, he may accomplish all that he attempts, he may do it well, and yet lose the verdict of his audience. For, if he thus launches at once into the body of the argument, neglecting the preliminary analysis of the question, he may leave the audience objecting in the end, "How do we know that you have done all that is necessary to prove the proposition? Have you really taken up the important arguments on the other side? Why have you not dealt with this particular point?" The objections may be easily answered, or they may have no effective bearing on the question, but if a speaker has failed to anticipate them and clear them away, they may be fatal.

These main issues exist within the question itself; they are independent of the will or skill of any individual: they are to be discovered by thorough study of the question, not selected to suit either side. It is true that in the work of convincing a particular group of persons, the relative importance of the issues to this group determines the selection and the emphasis to be placed upon them. But in the preliminary investigation, the issues are to be found within the question itself, regardless of any special audience.

It is absurd to suppose that the number of main issues can be arbitrarily determined by the number of speakers on a team. Yet, in preparing debates, men have said: "There are three speakers on the team; therefore we shall divide the question into three parts: one speaker will take the legal aspect, one the economic aspect, and one the moral aspect." The discovery of the main issues is no such easy matter. Neither is it possible to find a fixed number of issues of equal importance. Frequently one issue outweighs all the others.

In the question whether religion should be taught in public schools, sectarian narrowness renders the *practicability* of the plan the paramount issue. This arbitrary method of selecting issues for a formal team debate, therefore, may involve the following errors: (a) inventing topics for discussion which are not real issues; (b) ignoring one or more real issues; (c) confusing issues which should be kept distinctly separate, and (d) placing on the issues disproportionate emphasis.

As issues are points of controversy, they can be found only by placing the arguments held by one side against those held by the other side. Clearly, then, all the issues can be found only by thus contrasting *all* the arguments of both sides. In this study no relevant matter is too insignificant to deserve attention. A point that is overlooked may turn out to be the very point on which the whole case is won or lost. Without studying his opponents' contentions, a disputant may decide what he would like to prove; he may even discover the issues which he can prove, or those in which he has the advantage over his opponents; and yet not discover what he *must* prove in order to establish his case.

But students frequently raise this objection: "How am I to find the issues in this manner when I do not know what my opponent will argue?" The answer is that it does not matter, for purposes of finding the issues, what your opponent may or may not say on the question. The issues are there irrespective of any opponent, and if you find them all, you will not be surprised by any relevant argument your opponent may present. If you have omitted no important contention on either side, the clash of opinion thus revealed will indicate all the main issues.

This process of resolving a proposition into its essential parts is sometimes called *the analysis of the proposition*.

Experience shows the need of repeating this important truth : —

All the issues can be discovered only by a thorough study of both sides of the whole proposition in all its phases.

#### STEPS IN ANALYSIS

The introductory work of finding the issues is *usually* assisted by setting forth a part or all of the following matters, all of which are exposition, not argument.

- I. • The Origin of the Question.
- II. • The History of the Question.
- III. • The Definition of Terms.
- IV. • The Restatement of the Question as Defined.
- V. • The Exclusion of Irrelevant Matter.
- VI. • The Statement of Admitted and Waived Matter.
- VII. • The Main Contentions on the Affirmative contrasted with those on the Negative.
- VIII. • The Main Issues, reached through the Clash of Opinion thus revealed.

In finding the main issues, the order in which these steps should be taken depends on the nature of the question and the attendant circumstances. Moreover, it is not usually necessary to take all of these steps even in preparation, and it is *seldom* necessary to present them *all* in the final argument. But whether or not the occasion demands the careful exposition of this process of discovering the issues, the writer or speaker must, in his own mind, go through as much of the process as the

question demands before he can have a clear grasp of the whole question.

### I. THE ORIGIN OF THE QUESTION

The conditions which first gave rise to a controversy may help to make clear its meaning, and, by showing why it is worth discussing at the particular time, furnish an opening which may enlist the interest of the audience. Consider, as an illustration, the proposition, "Resolved, that the white citizens of South Carolina are justified in the measures they have taken to secure political supremacy." In the discussion of this proposition we can make little progress until we ask, What is justice to the negro? The answer to this question depends, in turn, partly on the explanation of how there came to be a "negro problem" in the first place. In the exposition of the meaning of the above proposition, therefore, the origin of the question is of supreme importance. The facts regarding the origin of another question may prove, on examination, unnecessary for a comprehension of the argument. Even in such a case the study of these facts is a valuable preparation.

### II. THE HISTORY OF THE QUESTION

The History of the Question gives a background for argument which frequently guards against extraneous matter. It thus helps in finding the issues. Furthermore, the introduction is a good place for setting forth such historical facts as may be used in the proof, for the audience may need to know the history in order to understand the argument; and the audience is more likely to accept, as unprejudiced, statements made by the speaker before he has definitely taken sides on the question.

Here brevity and wise selection are demanded. Nearly all beginners give too much history, thus wasting time which they need later in the body of the argument. No more should be presented than is immediately necessary for an understanding of the question, or later necessary for purposes of conviction.

In presenting the History of the Question, the speaker must be fair. If there are any conspicuous facts which make against his side, he must not suppress them. The omission of any significant historical fact may open his case to damaging exposure by his opponents.

### III. THE DEFINITION OF TERMS

The definition of the terms of a proposition is of great importance. Unless disputants understand the meaning attached by each other to the terms of a controversy, they may worry along indefinitely without progress. The contending parties may think they agree on the proposition, when, as a matter of fact, their apparent agreement is due to ambiguity in the use of the terms. On the other hand, the contending parties may work themselves into a quarrel over imaginary disagreements concerning ideas, when in fact they are merely confused as to the meaning of words. Disputes which seem interminable are sometimes ended abruptly and happily upon the accidental discovery that the parties in dispute agreed all the time as to the real questions at issue, while neither side understood what the other side meant. The introductory work in argumentation aims to make such happy discoveries scientific rather than accidental. This is one reason why a person who is skilled in debate is seldom known as contentious. He clears away the confusion due to words and exposes

the vital differences concerning ideas. If there are no such differences, he exposes the hollowness of the controversy and thus makes an end of it.

#### INADEQUACY OF DICTIONARY DEFINITIONS

The uselessness of dictionary definitions for purposes of argumentation may be illustrated with the proposition, "A Franco-Russian alliance would be for the best interests of France." If one should try to interpret this proposition by means of any good dictionary, say the Century, he would find the general definition of "alliance" — "The state of being allied" — of no use whatever; and the special definition — "union between nations, contracted by a compact, treaty, or league" — would be little better. The dictionary merely presents the old difficulty under a new name. Take another example, "Has the Massachusetts Board of Arbitration and Conciliation settled a sufficient number of strikes to warrant its continuance?" We must first ask, What is a sufficient number? And this question dictionaries cannot answer.

Furthermore, the terms of a proposition usually have a special or technical significance closely related to the particular proposition. In such cases, the vague, general meaning of a term, as given by an ordinary dictionary, is of little use. The question, for example, whether state boards of arbitration, with compulsory powers, should be established in all the United States for the purpose of settling labor disputes, cannot be interpreted by dictionary definitions. The team which resorted to these methods, in an intercollegiate debate on this question, lost the decision because they failed to make their interpretation convincing to the judges. The other team saw

that the whole meaning of the proposition was involved in the technical definition of the phrase "with compulsory powers." Accordingly they carefully examined all the legislative acts establishing state boards of arbitration, and all the legal decisions regarding the powers of such boards, in order to determine what the phrase actually means when legally employed with reference to the particular question for debate. With this testimony from authority, they convinced the judges that their interpretation of the question was correct.

The main faults of dictionary definitions are three : (1) The correct interpretation of any term of a proposition — such as *justifiable*, *best interests*, *benefit*, *advantageous*, *legitimate* — usually depends to a considerable extent on the context. This the dictionary is obliged to disregard, and so furnishes a definition which is too general for the particular purpose ; (2) The terms of many propositions are significant only in relation to current events, which are beyond the scope even of the latest dictionaries ; (3) Too many definitions for one word are offered by the ordinary dictionary, since it attempts to cover all uses of the word. Defining for the purposes of a dictionary is a collective process ; defining for the purposes of argumentation is a selective process.

#### IV. THE RESTATEMENT OF THE QUESTION AS DEFINED

If the process of definition has necessarily been long and involved, it is well to restate the question, supplying the clearer, simpler, and more explicit terms, and throwing stress on those characteristics which the origin and history of the question and the definitions have shown to be most important for the particular proposition.



## V. THE EXCLUSION OF IRRELEVANT MATTER

Irrelevant matters should be excluded from the issues and from the argument proper whenever there is danger of mistaking them for real issues. It is well to show clearly in the introduction what you are *not* obliged to do in order to establish your case, and what you do not purpose to do, whenever your audience may expect you to do more than is necessary. A debating team, favoring the establishment of state boards of arbitration for settling labor disputes, found it necessary to insist that they did not advocate such boards as cures for all industrial evils. They held merely that such boards would do enough good to justify their maintenance. Almost every proposition suitable for argument has associated with it, in common thought but not vitally, various confusing matters. On these the truth or falsity of the proposition does not hinge; therefore they are not issues. Narrowing the question down to the main issues is chiefly a matter of excluding these extraneous, that is to say irrelevant, matters.

It is when there is *special* danger of wandering astray that the danger should be pointed out clearly in the introduction. In the question whether High License is preferable to Prohibition, the tendency to fly from the real issues is great. The advocates of Prohibition seldom distinguish between the question of the relative worth of temperance and drunkenness, and the question of the relative merits of the methods of controlling the liquor traffic. To be sure, a close relation exists between the two questions. There lies the danger. But all discussion concerning the moral value of temperance and the curse of drunkenness, is of no

avail when the question at issue asks what method of controlling the liquor traffic most conduces to temperance.

#### VI. THE STATEMENT OF ADMITTED AND WAIVED MATTER

We cannot construct an argument on any question without separating the disputable part from the indisputable part, the mere matters of opinion from what may be regarded as matters of fact. No argument is possible without an admitted basis of fact. Usually we separate these admitted facts from the contested issues more or less vaguely in our own minds; but, for formal argument of any kind, the admitted matter should be stated in the introduction as definitely and as fully as the question demands.

The admitted matter is thus at once excluded from the issues, although *not excluded from the argument*. Though it may not itself become the subject of contention, it may be used in connection with matters which are disputable. A skillful debater usually contrives to admit and to use to his own profit some of the opposing arguments. In this respect the admitted matter differs from the extraneous matter, for the latter is ruled out of both the issues and the argument. All the facts which have any important bearing on the issues and which may be granted should be set forth in the introduction, and held ready for use in the body of the argument.

Sometimes there are debatable matters which cannot be ruled out of the argument as extraneous, nor ruled out of the issues as admitted, but which a disputant is willing, nevertheless, to grant merely for the

purposes of a given discussion. In accepting, for example, a question involving a change in the national laws, the teams may agree to waive the constitutionality of the suggested change. Such points are called waived matters. In their effect on the finding of the issues and on the argument, they are precisely the same as admitted matters.

The rule of politicians seems to be, "Admit nothing; claim everything." But men who rely on argument rather than on trickery should have quite the opposite rule, "Admit everything that you can safely admit; claim nothing that you cannot approximately prove." Go with your opponents as far as you can. Remember that, after the analysis of the question, the truth is to be found ultimately through the synthesis of apparently conflicting arguments. Take over and use as much as possible of your opponents' case. An advocate gains rather than loses by evident willingness to give due weight to the arguments of his opponents. Concessions of this kind are persuasive.

Admit all that you can safely admit, but no more. The admission of a point which you cannot afford to admit may be damaging; it may even be fatal. You cannot safely admit anything unless you appreciate its bearing on all the issues of the question. Debates and cases at law, otherwise strong, have been lost through the careless admission of seemingly minor points. In a debate at Harvard College, the last speaker in rebuttal for the negative showed clearly that an affirmative speaker had unwittingly conceded a point which proved the falsity of the proposition he was supposedly defending. Having exposed this damaging admission in one minute, the speaker presented his remaining four

minutes to the other team, and concluded by saying, "Such an admission renders any further argument on our side unnecessary, and on the other side futile."

### SPECIMEN OF ANALYSIS

#### STEPS LEADING TO THE STATEMENT OF THE ISSUES

The following specimen of analysis illustrates some of the steps frequently taken in the introduction to an argument: <sup>1</sup>—

"Should the Federal government license automobile drivers?"

The proposal to have the Federal government license automobile drivers comes before Congress for the first time in the form of a bill drafted by the counsel of the National Association of Automobile Manufacturers and the Chairman of the Legislative Committee of the American Automobile Association. It is not proposed to create a separate class of federally licensed cars, but merely to allow those in the state already taking out permits of ownership, to obtain certificates entitling them to make interstate journeys. The Federal government is appealed to, therefore, not to save the automobilist from over-drastic state laws, but to spare him the vexation of having to take out new licenses in every state he visits. The state legislation, as the author of the proposed law acknowledges in a recent compilation of the various automobile statutes, "on the whole has been fair and reasonable, and seldom do we find evidence of hostility carried to excess in any of the legislative enactments." But the states are not hospitable to the automobiles of their neighbors. No interstate boundary line, we presume, is crossed by so many automobiles as that be-

**Immediate Cause for Discussion.**

**Definition by Negation.**

**Admitted Matter.**

<sup>1</sup> Editorial from the *Nation*, December 12, 1907.

tween New York and New Jersey, yet New Jersey is inflexible in refusing to give credit to her next-door neighbor's licenses. The state laws differ widely in their requirements. Some states require all cars to be equipped with mufflers, some do not. Some allow cities, counties, and villages to make regulations of their own, some prohibit local legislation. A New York owner may keep the registration numbers of other states fastened to the rear of his machine; a Massachusetts owner at home must remove all but that of his own Commonwealth. A motor bicycle is an automobile in Indiana, though a traction engine is not; both are automobiles in New Jersey, neither in New York. And so it goes.

Origin of  
the Question.

#### VII. CONTRASTING THE CONTENTIONS OF AFFIRMATIVE AND NEGATIVE

After the meaning of the proposition has thus been set forth with clearness and precision, and with satisfaction to the audience, and after the extraneous matters have been ruled out and the admitted matters stated, the next step is the terse, impartial, and complete enumeration of the arguments which may be held on the affirmative, and those which may be held on the negative. The Clash of Opinion thus presented will reveal the issues of the proposition. The main issues are the controversial points which, if proved, directly support the proposition. The subordinate issues are the controversial points which, if proved, indirectly support the proposition by directly supporting the main issues.

Below is set forth in parallel columns the Clash of Opinion between the affirmative and the negative contentions on the question whether the elective system should be adopted by public high schools in the United States. It is clear that the four main issues grow di-

rectly out of the opposing main arguments which are here set side by side, and that the subordinate issues grow directly out of the opposing subordinate arguments.

### SPECIMEN CLASH OF OPINION

#### *Affirmative Contentions*

The elective system should be adopted in the public high schools of the United States, for

- I. Each high-school pupil is better able to choose for himself than are the school authorities for all, for
  - (a) There are no studies essential for all.
  - (b) Pupils do not seriously neglect the studies most often called essential.
  - (c) There are many safeguards which restrain foolish elections.
- II. No other plan is as satisfactory as the elective system.
  - (a) The group system is too rigid.
  - (b) A partially elective system is insufficient.
- III. The elective system is superior because it stimulates teachers to do better work.
- IV. The elective system is strongest for building character because it honors the will and trains in free choice.

#### *Negative Contentions*

The elective system should not be adopted in the public high schools of the United States, for

- I. Those in charge of public high schools can choose better for all than can each pupil for himself, for
  - (a) There are certain studies essential for all pupils.
  - (b) Pupils will not elect these studies.
  - (c) Pupils will choose foolishly.
- II. There are compromises superior to the elective system.
  - (a) The group system is superior.
  - (b) A partially prescribed system is superior.
- III. The elective system is objectionable because it prompts teachers to make their courses easy.
- IV. The prescribed system is of greater moral worth because it enforces disagreeable tasks.

### MAIN ISSUES RESULTING FROM THE ABOVE CLASH OF OPINION

- I. Can each high-school pupil choose better for himself or school authorities for all?
 

(which depends on the subordinate issues:)

  - (a) Are any studies essential for all high-school pupils?
  - (b) Will pupils with free choice seriously neglect these studies?
  - (c) Are the safeguards of the elective system sufficient to prevent foolish choices?
- II. Is there any other plan as satisfactory as complete election?
  - (a) Is the group system as satisfactory?
  - (b) Is a system of partial elections as satisfactory?

- III. Is the elective system superior to any other in its effect on teachers?
- IV. Do the moral benefits of free choice claimed for the elective system outweigh the moral benefits of drudgery claimed for the prescribed system?

### VIII. THE MAIN ISSUES

In law courts the main issues are sometimes set forth in the pleadings, before the debating begins, whereas in other forms of argumentation, to make the main issues clear and convincing is the work of the introduction. The method of the law court thus guards against talking beside the point; everything which has no evident bearing on one of the issues as stated in the briefs is at once excluded as irrelevant. The importance of finding the main issues and keeping them constantly in mind was aptly suggested by O'Connell, when he said that an orator should always know what he is aiming at, for when a man aims at nothing he is almost sure to hit it. Mogul Sultan Achar declared, "I never knew a man lost on a straight road." The analysis of a question reveals a straight road.

The habit of searching beneath the surface for the central ideas, of weighing each contention with reference to all the others, and of giving just as careful and as fair study to one side of the question as to the other, will help a man to hew to the line of his argument. Furthermore, it will help him to hack his opponents' argument to pieces on the spot, find what is relevant and what is not, determine what essentials are omitted, and thus hold his opponents right through the contest to the issues which they must prove in order to establish their case.

Curran, in defending a client on trial for libel, set forth the issues in the case as follows: —

I wish, gentlemen, to simplify, and not to perplex; I therefore say again, if these three circumstances conspire, — that he published it, that it was a libel, and that it was published with the purposes alleged in the information, — you ought unquestionably to find him guilty; if, on the other hand, you do not find that all these circumstances concurred; if you cannot, upon your oaths, say that he published it; if it be not in your opinion a libel; and if he did not publish it with the intention alleged; I say upon the failure of any one of these points my client is entitled, in justice and upon your oaths, to a verdict of acquittal.<sup>1</sup>

In 1862 there was a clash of opinion between President Lincoln and Major-General McClellan regarding the movement of the Army of the Potomac. Lincoln, after lining up all that could be said in favor of McClellan's plan against all that could be said in favor of his own plan, reached what might be called the main issues. These he set forth tersely and clearly in the following letter to McClellan. The letter is virtually the introduction to an argument. Lincoln, without setting forth the process by which he has arrived at these central ideas, invites his commander-in-chief to write an argument based upon them.

LETTER FROM PRESIDENT LINCOLN TO MAJOR-GENERAL  
McCLELLAN

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, February 3, 1862.

MAJOR-GENERAL McCLELLAN.

*My dear Sir:* — You and I have distinct and different plans for a movement of the Army of the Potomac — yours to be down the Chesapeake, up the Rappahannock to Urbana, and across land to the terminus of the railroad on the York River; mine to move directly to a point on the railroad southwest of Manassas.

<sup>1</sup> Curran, *In Behalf of Rowan and Free Speech*, 1794.



If you will give me satisfactory answers to the following questions, I shall gladly yield my plan to yours.

*First.* Does not your plan involve a greatly larger expenditure of time and money than mine?

*Second.* Wherein is a victory more certain by your plan than mine?

*Third.* Wherein is a victory more valuable by your plan than mine?

*Fourth.* In fact, would it not be less valuable in this, that it would break no great line of the enemy's communications, while mine would?

*Fifth.* In case of disaster, would not a retreat be more difficult by your plan than mine?

Yours truly,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

This matter of the main issue is of universal application. There is a main issue in all the affairs of life. Success depends on directing effort toward that issue. Without the ability to analyze a given situation and discover the particular difficulty to be overcome, i. e. the main issue, a man may waste his energy in blind endeavor, like a fly trying to find escape through a window. The fly bumps along from pane to pane until, by accident, it discovers the opening — the one direction in which its efforts can be used to some purpose. The aim of analysis is to economize effort, to find the opening intelligently rather than by the trial and error method of the fly.

One man works hard, and, we say, deserves success; while another man, apparently with little effort, attains success. The difference lies in the sureness with which the effort is directed toward the desired end. One lawyer wears the court all day in talking all *around the point* on which the legal decision rests. Another lawyer spends

all day in discovering that point, talks five minutes *to the point*, and wins the case. A thousand hard blows around a nail will not move it; one hard blow on the head will drive it in. The method of the main issue may be described as "hitting the nail on the head."

### ANALYSIS OF THE PROPOSITION

#### DISCOVERY AND EXPOSITION OF MEANING

through

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| { | Origin of the Question and<br>Immediate Cause for Discussion. |
|   | History of the Question.                                      |
|   | Definition of Terms.  |
|   | Restatement of the Question as Defined.                       |

#### DISCOVERY AND EXPOSITION OF THE ISSUES

through

- |   |  |                      |   |
|---|--|----------------------|---|
| { | Origin of the Question.  |                      |   |
|   | History of the Question.   |                      |   |
|   | Exclusion of Extraneous Matters from the<br>Argument.                        |                      |   |
|   | Exclusion of Admitted and Waived Matters<br>from the Issues.                 |                      |   |
|   | Clash of Opinion<br>which is the   |                      |   |
|   | Main Contentions<br>of the Affirmative<br>and Subordinate<br>Contentions     | } contrasted<br>with | Main Contentions<br>of the Negative<br>and Subordinate<br>Contentions |
|   | Resulting in<br>Main Issues and<br>Subordinate Issues<br>of the Proposition. |                      |   |
|   |  |                      |   |
|   |  |                      |   |
|   |  |                      |   |

### EXERCISES FOR THE FOURTH CHAPTER

1. Analyze the Class Question by applying the methods of the present chapter to the material already gathered under the guidance of the last chapter. Be sure to answer satisfactorily the following questions:—

- a. What is the origin of the question ?
  - b. What terms need defining ?
  - c. How should these terms be defined ?
  - d. What facts in the history of the question have important bearing on the controversy ?
  - e. What extraneous matters are sometimes brought into the discussions ?
  - f. Which side of the proposition do you believe to be true ?
  - g. What are the strongest arguments advanced against your side ?
  - h. Can you safely admit or waive any of these ?
  - i. Have you any prejudices on the subject which may warp your judgment ?
  - j. What do you take to be the main arguments in favor of your side ?
  - k. What, then, seem to you to be the main issues ?
2. Define the terms that need definition in the propositions in Appendix VIII.
  3. Read carefully one of the following arguments; observe the special method of analysis, and take note of the definitions and the main issues:—
 

Jeremiah S. Black, *In Defence of the Right of Trial by Jury*.  
(*Great Speeches by Great Lawyers*, p. 484.)

Thomas H. Huxley, *First Lecture on Evolution*.

Lord Erskine, *Defence of Gordon*.

Thomas B. Macaulay, *Copyright Speech*.  
(These three speeches may be found in Baker's *Specimens of Argumentation*.)
- Criticise the definitions in the specimen briefs in Appendix II.
4. How are the special issues obtained in the speech quoted on page 163 ?
  5. Observe the clashes of opinion and special issues in Appendix II.
  6. Is the introduction adequate in Appendix IV ?

## FIFTH CHAPTER

### EVIDENCE

EXPOSITION handles undisputed facts. The world, however, attempts to use additional "facts" of greater or less reliability. If such "facts," often the best to be had, are to be useful at all, it is necessary to measure the degree of reliability. Argument, then, goes further than exposition in handling facts: it questions their relative value as evidence. Again, exposition employs facts as facts; argument employs facts as the basis for inference. The main work of argument is the establishing of right inferences and the overthrowing of wrong inferences. As a result of this further point of view, we need to consider in the process of argument two topics beyond the scope of exposition: namely, EVIDENCE and INFERENCE.

Having first phrased the proposition with clearness and precision, and having next discovered by research and analysis the main issues involved, we have before us the problem of establishing or overthrowing the proposition: having determined just what must be proved, we have next to consider the means of proof.

"Proof is the sufficient reason for assenting to a proposition as true." The material of Proof is Evidence. Evidence is everything which ought to bring or tend to bring the mind to the conviction of the truth or falsity of a proposition. The finding and employing of Evidence is the business of argumentation. In proving the proposition, then, we meet at once the necessity for Evidence.

## I. THE NECESSITY FOR EVIDENCE

Washington Irving says, in the *Salmagundi Papers*, that Straddle "became at once a man of taste, for he put his malediction on everything; and his arguments were conclusive, for he supported every assertion with a bet." Straddle's method was not original, and it is not obsolete. On the contrary, it is the main reliance of the great body of people who are unable to prove their contentions with evidence. Sweeping condemnation and vehement assertion are offered in place of proof. No fault is commoner in argumentation than unsupported assertion.

Let the student remember, then, that for purposes of proof, we do not care what he thinks. The reasons why he holds certain opinions may interest us, but as evidence the opinions are absolutely worthless. William Black says that in reading the proofs of his novel *Wolfenberg*, he discovered that the printer had made his heroine, who was to die of an overdose of opium, die of an overdose of opinion. Debates, stump-speeches, sermons, editorials, disputes are every day dying of an overdose of opinion. Shun, therefore, all such phrases as "I think," "I believe," "It seems to me." They point to the weak spots of mere assertion.

Every one, even though he make no pretense at public speaking, should form the valuable habit of accepting nothing and offering nothing for the truth without sufficient evidence. Columbus and his crew swore that the island of Cuba was the mainland, and any one on the ship who dared to contradict this was to have his tongue slit. As though any amount of assertion could make a continent! Yet the folly of Columbus is the folly of every man who rests any essential step in his

argument on mere assertion. Whatever is to stand must rest on something which is verifiable, that is to say, on sufficient evidence.

For the purpose of weakening the arguments of the other side, assertion is equally useless. Much of the so-called rebuttal in debating closely resembles a childish dispute: "'T is." "'T ain't." "'T is." "'T ain't." At the end of an entire evening of such quarreling, neither side has accomplished anything.

Lincoln, after pointing out what seemed to be the logical reason why Judge Douglas and his friends refused to adopt the Chase amendment, said:—

And now I say again, if this was not the reason, it will avail the judge much more to calmly and good-humoredly point out to these people what that other reason was for voting the amendment down, than swelling himself up to vociferate that he may be provoked to call somebody a liar. . . . If I have brought forward anything not a fact, if he will point it out, it will not even ruffle me to take it back. But if he will not point out anything erroneous in the evidence, is it not rather for him to show by a comparison of the evidence that I have reasoned falsely, than to call the "kind, amiable, intelligent gentleman" a liar? If I have reasoned to a false conclusion, it is the vocation of an able debater to show by argument that I have wandered to an erroneous conclusion.<sup>1</sup>

Imperfect analysis and unsupported assertion are the two great weaknesses of the beginner in argumentation; and of these the more insidious and deadly is unsupported assertion.

## II. TWO KINDS OF EVIDENCE

In each of the following paragraphs, the bare assertion of the opening sentence is supported by evidence:—

<sup>1</sup> Lincoln's *Complete Works*, The Century Company, vol. i, p. 294.

(1) Some of the simpler forms recommended by the Simplified Spelling Board merit adoption. More than one half are preferred by Webster's Dictionary, more than six tenths are preferred by the Century Dictionary, and two thirds are preferred by the Standard Dictionary. Nearly all the rest are allowed by all three dictionaries as alternative spellings in good usage. And if the authority of the dictionaries is not sufficient, why not accept the authority of the greatest names in English literature? The appearance of the simpler forms, *blest*, *dropt*, *stept*, *stopt*, and the like, in the works of Spenser, Shakespeare, Jonson, Bacon, Raleigh, and the rest, was no innovation, but was the accepted usage of the age. Besides the forms mentioned in the list, Spenser has *askt*, *laught*, *purchast*, and the like in endless profusion. Shakespeare has similar forms on every page of the original texts. Ben Jonson (in his *Workes*, 1616) has *checkt*, *dismist*, *lockt*, and the like. Milton, Fuller, Bunyan, Cowley, Butler, Dryden, Addison, Pope, Thomson, Goldsmith, and all their contemporaries use similar forms, as do such modern writers as Scott, Keats, Lamb, Landor, and Tennyson. Surely the common or frequent use of a spelling by nearly all the standard authors justifies its acceptance or resumption by present writers.

(2) The anomalies and perversities of English spelling call loudly for simplification. There is a widespread conviction that the English language, in its progress toward becoming an international language, is hampered by this one thing, — its intricate and disordered spelling, which makes it a puzzle to the stranger within our gates and to the stranger beyond the seas. It is a burden to every writer of English. It wastes much of the time, money, and energy expended in the instruc-

tion of our children. Moreover, the printing, typewriting, and handwriting of the useless letters which encumber our spelling waste every year millions of dollars. Since, then, the reasonable and gradual simplification of our spelling will aid the spread of English, with the attendant advancement of commerce, of democratic ideals, and of intellectual and political freedom; will economize the time of our school-children and make their work more efficient; and will in numerous other ways economize both time and money, this reform should commend itself to common sense, to patriotism, and to philanthropy.

There is a noticeable difference between the kinds of evidence employed in these two paragraphs. The first endeavors to carry its point by citing authorities, the second by giving reasons. The first kind of evidence — testimony of authorities as to facts — we shall consider at once. The second kind of evidence — reasoning about facts — we shall consider in the next chapter.

### III. EVIDENCE FROM AUTHORITY

Although the direct evidence of one's own senses is not always trustworthy, nevertheless such evidence is commonly regarded as the most convincing. The observation of any person, however, is extremely limited. His beliefs are derived largely from second-hand evidence; his conduct is thus determined largely by what he learns from other people. Only a few people have the opportunity to visit the Panama Canal, or to study the problems of railroad transportation, or to test the fitness of various candidates for public office. Yet on innumerable matters like these, every citizen is expected



to form and express opinions. These opinions must be reached through reasoning which is based principally on facts vouched for by the testimony of authorities.

In support of the reasoning itself, however, the citation of authorities is useless. Their part is to furnish the facts about which we reason. We may appeal to the authority of the ball Rules to establish the fact that a runner is out if hit by a batted ball. We may accept the decision of the umpire that the player was hit by a batted ball. We may, then, by a simple act of reason, conclude that the player is out. The validity of the inference in no way depends on the testimony of the authorities.

#### IV. TESTS OF EVIDENCE FROM AUTHORITY

The so-called "authority" must be sharply scrutinized. In the first place, accurate *observation* is beyond the power of most people. Let a dozen men and women, with the same opportunities for observation, report any event, say a robbery, and they will not agree even on essential particulars. In the second place, a person cannot come as near the truth in *expression* as he can in observation. For, although it is supposed to be easy to tell the truth, it is, as a matter of fact, far from easy. Every one discovers at times how difficult it is to say exactly what he means. In the third place, the *special incompetence* of a person, his physical, mental, or moral peculiarities, his preconceived notions or personal desires, or his lack of opportunity to know and to observe, may render his testimony worthless.

For these reasons most people get rid of the notion that whatever appears in print is true, but many cling to the equally absurd notion that the printing of a state-

ment does give it some claim to dignity and credence. For the purposes of argumentation, let us emphasize this point: The mere fact that a statement appears in print lends not one atom to its value. Every assertion that is brought forward — though it may have been printed a thousand times and repeated a million times — must be challenged and tested before it can be regarded as trustworthy testimony of authority, — before it can be of any value as evidence.

1. **Is the Reference to Authority Definite?** The reference to the source of authority should be definite. Such vague phrases as the following are worthless as proof: —

Statistics gathered with great care show —

It may be said on substantial authority —

Many prominent men agree —

Competent authorities say —

We could give hundreds of cases to show —

Recent writers on this subject declare —

One had better not pretend to prove anything than to seek to cover bare assertions with such flimsy material.

In a debate on the proposition, "The United States should subsidize the American Merchant Marine," a speaker said: "That American shipping needs no subsidies is shown by the fact that an American capitalist has put millions of American capital into the business." But, while the speaker rushed on to new assertions, the audience found themselves asking: "Who is this capitalist? What is the source of your information? Under what conditions, in what manner, and at what time were these investments made?" (References should be sufficiently exact to enable any one, if he wishes, to look up the original source for himself.) To quote "House

Report 32," or "an official report of the Treasury Department," or "Volume 33 of the *Forum*," is to substitute a weak, general reference for a strong, specific reference.

2. Is the "Authority" merely Hearsay? Goldsmith's Citizen of the World reports a story heard from his landlady, who had it from one neighbor, who had it from another neighbor, who heard it on very good authority. That is called hearsay evidence. Its value does not depend wholly on the credit to be given one person, but also on the veracity and the competency of other persons. The objections to hearsay evidence, for purposes of argument are (1) the variations from truth liable to occur during its passage through such fallible media as human minds and language, and (2) its irresponsibility. So small are the chances of getting the truth unblemished through such a course, and so great is the difficulty of calling it to account, that hearsay evidence is weak at one remove from the original source, and in a few removes becomes worthless.

3. Is the Authority capable of giving Expert Testimony? The value of expert testimony depends on the special ability of the witness to speak on the point at issue. Assuming that he is honest, and void of any special interest in the case to be decided, his testimony is valuable in proportion to his mastery of the subject. Experts on mental diseases are constantly called into court to testify as to the sanity of prisoners; engineers are called to give expert opinion as to the condition of bridges; expert foresters are engaged to estimate the value of timberlands. But each man's judgment is given special consideration only on those subjects in which he is especially skilled.

**4. Is the Authority Prejudiced?** The reason why we distrust prejudiced authority is grounded in human nature itself; and is quite apart from the question of the integrity of the authority. An honest boy who is fond of football and detests study is not a competent judge of the value of interscholastic games. A prejudiced man sees evidence in a distorted way; he has a keen eye for what supports his own interests or opinions and is inclined to overlook the rest. He evades complete research when he has an instinctive feeling that the results will not be pleasing to him; he carries his arguments only far enough to support his preconceived notions, instead of pushing them rigorously to their logical conclusions. His keen desire that such and such should be the truth makes him believe that it is the truth. For these reasons his testimony is untrustworthy, no matter how sincere may be his beliefs.

It is therefore weak to quote, as to the effect of shipping subsidies, the opinion of a ship-builder; or as to the need of government inspection the testimony of the owner of a meat-packing establishment. If the president of a temperance union and the head of a brewery should have the same opportunities for observation, and should be equally honest, their reports of the working of a prohibitory law would probably be widely at variance. Indeed, this is common experience. Prejudice narrows the vision, distorts the view, and colors all the objects of sight.

**5. Is too Great Reliance placed on One Authority?** Writers and speakers seldom address a group of people who are willing to accept the testimony of any one man as final. To rely on one authority is therefore dangerous. Moreover, the repeated reference to one book,

one report, one source of information, does not indicate that breadth of investigation on the part of a writer which gives confidence in his words. The concurrent testimony of two or more authorities to the same essentials, where there has been no opportunity or motive for previous agreement, strengthens the probability of truth.

6. Is the Authority used by Opponents? Sometimes it is effective to quote, in favor of your side of the question, an authority already used by the other side. Presumably they will be forced to recognize the source as good. But you should guard against the error of concluding that the authority is sound simply because employed by the other side. The audience may regard the source as useless for either side. If possible quote a later opinion of a given authority than that quoted by your opponents, and show reasons for the change of opinion.

7. Is the Authority likely to be accepted? A writer or speaker should never forget his audience. All other tests of authority should be applied with reference to this final test: Is the authority likely to be accepted as such by the particular audience? If not, a speaker can hardly afford to spend his limited time in urging the authority on unwilling ears. The effectiveness of the authority is determined rather by the confidence his name inspires in the audience than by the speaker's high opinion of him. The moment the audience doubts either the honesty of an authority or his fitness to speak on the subject at hand, his words are for them mere assertion, in need of supporting evidence, quite regardless of the question whether the doubts of the audience are justified.

If an opponent in debate presents an authority which is highly regarded by the audience, a direct attack on that authority is inadvisable. The better plan is to treat the authority with respect, while citing on the other side of the question an authority recognized by the audience as equally trustworthy. Or, without questioning the worth of the opposing authority, one may argue so effectively that the audience will themselves conclude that the man in whom they believe must be for once mistaken. The persuasive method is to undermine cherished beliefs rather than to storm them; human nature will often yield unconsciously what it refuses on compulsion.

A writer should apply all of these tests to his own authorities and to those of his opponents.

#### SUMMARY OF THE TESTS OF AUTHORITY

1. Is the reference to authority definite?
2. Is the authority merely hearsay?
3. Is the authority capable of giving expert testimony?
4. Is the authority prejudiced?
5. Is too great reliance placed on one authority?
6. Is the authority used by opponents?
7. Is the authority likely to be accepted?

#### V. SELECTION OF EVIDENCE

Not all that is relevant is of sufficient importance to be used. The time-limit in formal debate and the natural limit of human patience and attention make selection of evidence a matter of great importance. In attempting to prove, for example, that a man committed a theft in Boston at a certain time, it is relevant to prove that

he was in Boston at that time. Yet that fact makes a case against him which is only one against six hundred thousand. The debater cannot afford to spend his limited time in matters which advance his case in so slight a degree.

Suppose, however, that the defense had established a preponderance of proof that the man was not in Boston at the time of the theft. Then the case against him could not proceed until that presumption of his innocence had been overthrown. This illustrates the fact that evidence must be selected and weighed with constant reference to the arguments of the other side.

The selection of evidence must be made with fairness. The advocate of a protective tariff who confined his remarks to the beneficent effect of the tariff on "shot, barb-wire, and putty" left his audience convinced that he must have had difficulty in finding commodities on the tariff schedule which favored his contention. It is easy to make a selection of evidence which will leave a false impression, but it is contemptible work. No man worthy of the name will pick his material with a view to deceit. Particular care must be used in the selection of statistics, for selections may be artfully made or even invented, which appear to prove widely different conclusions. For a speaker to assert as true that which he does not know to be true is as bad as to present as true that which he knows to be false. To do either is ultimately ineffective as well as ethically wrong.

Among the many pieces of evidence that may honestly be used to good effect, a few may be used to great effect. If a speaker employs the first evidence that comes to hand, his work surely will be weak. He should read, read, read. He should think, think, think. And

all the time he should be judiciously selecting, weighing, comparing, rejecting. He should collect a mass of material and finally throw away most of it. Let all the good pieces of evidence struggle for places in the argument; only the fittest should survive.

#### VI. USE OF EVIDENCE

Do not overestimate the strength of your evidence. Do not break its back by loading upon it more work than it is able to do. Evidence may prove possibility, probability, or actuality. If, as is often the case, your evidence proves only the possibility of the truth of your contention, do not infer or proceed on the assumption that it proves more. No matter how strong your evidence may be on a really debatable proposition, it seldom proves more than a high degree of probability. Do not allow your conclusions to surpass your evidence. Those who detect the exaggeration will be forced to conclude, either that you are trying to deceive them as to the weight of the evidence, or that you are yourself deceived. In either case, they will regard *all* your evidence with suspicion. Your own exaggeration in one instance will raise a presumption against all the evidence you present. A person who asserts that he has proved his proposition "beyond the shadow of a doubt" reveals a carelessness of judgment or of language, for "everything relating to human affairs, and depending upon moral evidence, is open to some possible or imaginary doubt."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chief Justice Shaw. (Bemis's Webster Case, 190.)



## EXERCISES FOR THE FIFTH CHAPTER

1. Apply these seven tests to each bit of evidence which you have collected on the Class Question.
2. In Appendices I and II what kinds of evidence are used? Where authority is used, apply the tests.
3. What kind of evidence is used in the speech quoted on page 166?
4. Let each student bring to the class such specimens of testimony from authority as he finds in current literature or hears in conversation. Apply to these, in class, the tests of authority.
5. Let the class read Lord Erskine's *Speech in Defence of Lord George Gordon*, 1781, for the purpose of studying the methods there employed of attacking the sources of an opponent's evidence. (See G. P. Baker's *Specimens of Argumentation*, pp. 11-131.)
6. What school do you prefer? What kind of athletics? What teacher? What church? What political party? What work in life? What are the reasons for your preference in each case? To what extent does narrowness of experience and personal prejudice affect these preferences? Ponder over this; be honest with yourself. Consider whether these tests for evidence are not for constant, rather than for occasional, use.
7. Is "verification of fact" ever necessary in exposition? If so, does the particular case of exposition remain expository?

## SIXTH CHAPTER

### INFERENCE

WE have considered one kind of evidence — the testimony of authority as to facts ; we have now to consider another kind of evidence — inference, or reasoning from facts.

#### I. KINDS OF INFERENCE

The smallest argument consists of two assertions. One of these assertions is the fact which forms the ground or reason for an inference : the other assertion is the inference itself, or the conclusion. The word “for,” “because,” or “therefore ” is the verbal sign of an inference. If the conclusion follows the reason, “therefore ” connects the two assertions. If the inference precedes the reason, “for ” or “because ” is the connective. For example :

*Ground or Reason :* Under annexation there would be free trade between the United States and Cuba.

*Conclusion or Inference :* Therefore, annexation would greatly increase the trade of the United States with Cuba.

*Conclusion :* Annexation to the United States would benefit Cuba,  
*for*

*Reason :* It would give Cuba a stable government.

There are two ways in which this unit of argument usually appears in a more complex form : —

(1) Two or more parallel reasons may contribute to the conclusion, or inference. For example :—

*Conclusion :* Annexation to the United States would benefit Cuba,  
*for*

- Compound Reason:*
- A. It would give Cuba a stable government.
  - B. It would give Cuba our educational system.
  - C. It would ensure Cuba against internal warfare.
  - D. It would give Cuba free trade with the United States.
  - E. It would induce the investment of foreign capital in Cuba.
  - F. It would induce desirable immigration into Cuba.
  - G. It would hold out the aim of ultimate statehood to Cuba.
  - H. It would mean a social uplift to Cuba.

This example is equivalent to eight separate reasoning units, each with the same conclusion. Their fusion into one more complex unit of argument affords verbal compactness.

(2) A given statement may at the same time be reason and conclusion in a chain of interrelated inferences. For example:—

- I. The annexation of Cuba to the United States would pay economically, for
  - A. Annexation would greatly increase our trade, for
    - 1. Heretofore conditions in Cuba have been averse to trade, for
      - a. The island has been without a stable government, for
        - (1) Under Spain there was tyranny on the part of the rulers and insurrection on the part of the people.

In this example A is reason for I and conclusion for 1, 1 is reason for A and conclusion for a, and so on. Here again we accept complexity for the sake of verbal compactness and proper subordination.

## INDUCTIVE ARGUMENT AND DEDUCTIVE ARGUMENT

Any study of the kinds of argument requires the *arbitrary* subdividing of the process of inference into various steps, and the investigation of each step separately. At the outset, we find a classification provided by the science of logic — *inductive* argument and *deductive* argument.

The process of reasoning by which we arrive at a general law through the observation of particulars is called inductive reasoning. By this method men reached the generalization, “All men are mortal.”

The opposite process, by which from a general law we draw a conclusion with regard to a particular case, is called deductive reasoning. Thus from the law that all men are mortal, we deduce the conclusion that John Sorrow is mortal.

Inductive argument is inference from the specific to the general; deductive argument is inference from the general to the specific.

The following, arranged from Ruskin's *Sesame and Lilies*, is typical induction : —

*Conclusion* (a general law) : —

There is not one entirely heroic figure in all *Shakespeare's* labored and perfect plays, for

*Reason* (composed of observations of individual plays) : —

1. *Othello* would have been one, if his simplicity had not been so great as to leave him the prey of every base practice around him.
2. *Coriolanus* — *Cæsar* — *Antony* stand in flawed strength, and fall by their vanities.
3. *Hamlet* is indolent and drowsily speculative.
4. *Romeo* is an impatient boy.
5. *The Merchant of Venice* is languidly submissive to adverse fortune.

6. *Kent* (in *King Lear*) is entirely noble at heart, but too rough and unpolished to be of true use at the critical time, and he sinks into the office of a servant only.
7. *Orlando*, no less noble, is yet the despairing toy of chance, followed, comforted, saved, by *Rosalind*.

! A complete or perfect induction must examine all the specific instances covered by the general statement in the conclusion. Ruskin's proposition, for instance, would not be indubitably established until each character in Shakespeare's plays had been examined. But however valuable a *perfect induction* may be as a means of tersely expressing a truth regarding a large number of particular facts, such indisputable truths concern us only incidentally in the process of argument. If the truth of a general statement can be tested by the examination of *all* the specific instances involved, it is a matter for arithmetic rather than for argumentation. Nearly all the general statements that we are forced to employ, and the only ones that become subjects of controversy, are *imperfect inductions*. Accordingly, the field of inductive knowledge with which we are most largely concerned in argumentation consists, not of universal truths, but of approximations to such truths. For example, we are sure that all moving-picture machines are constructed on certain principles; but we cannot be sure that all moving-picture theatres present views that are morally degrading. We cannot examine *all* theatres. In actual debate we are never able to carry our inductive reasoning to a single faultless statement as obviously true as an axiom in geometry. Such a plain truth is not debatable.

In arguing by induction, therefore, we are forced to consider known individual objects or instances of a class — the theatres in our own city, for example — as

fair specimens of that class with reference to the particular point at issue. From these known objects or instances we draw a conclusion respecting the whole class. Thus, when a traveler ventures an opinion, based on his own observations, regarding the hospitality of Southerners in general, he reasons inductively. He cannot possibly know all the individuals of the class, but those whom he does know he regards, rightly or wrongly, as fair specimens of the class with reference to the question of hospitality. This kind of imperfect induction we shall call *generalization*.

A typical example of deductive inference is as follows:—

<i>Specific Conclusion:</i>	Socrates is mortal, because
<i>General Reason:</i>	All men are mortal.

In this inference the *reason* is a generalization. Similarly all deduction is based on induction. A deductive argument has the fundamental requisites of effectiveness if it satisfies two conditions:—

1. If the generalization on which it is based is proved true, or accepted without proof.
2. If the conclusion inevitably follows.

If the truth of the generalization is questioned, it must be established by inductive methods. If it cannot be so established, no satisfactory deduction can be made.

In argumentation these two processes of induction and deduction are everywhere intimately associated. Indeed the whole field of written and spoken discourse reveals few arguments which even appear to be independent deductive or inductive reasoning. The two methods combined are in every-day use, for induction and deduction are complementary factors in one reason-

ing process. They go hand in hand, the one verifying the conclusions reached by the other. Nevertheless, we may separately examine the typical forms of inductive and deductive reasoning for the purpose of gaining some insight into their sources of weakness and of strength. These typical forms we may call the Argument from Example, and the Argument from Causal Relation. The first broad division, Argument from Example, we shall deal with under two heads: Generalization and Analogy.

## II. GENERALIZATION

From what we have seen of the nature of an imperfect induction, which we have called a generalization, it is clear that we have before us a problem quite different from that of deduction. The problem arises from the fact that the conclusion of an imperfect induction, as reached by the process of argument, extends beyond the data on which it is based. It makes a jump from the known to the unknown, a leap in the dark. The problem is, how to justify the leap from verified instances to a conclusion which covers instances beyond the pale of our observation and experiment. How are we to know when we can safely bridge the gap?

The safety of a generalization we may test in at least four ways: —

(1) We may consider whether the relative size of the *unknown* part of the class is so small as to justify its inclusion in our assertion regarding the known part.

(2) Quite aside from the question of number, we may examine the characteristics of the observed members to ascertain whether those members seem to be fair examples of the class.

(3) We may then extend our search beyond the members known or said to fall within the general rule, to see whether any exceptions to the rule can be found.

(4) Finally, apart from the question of the number and characteristics of the known and unknown instances, we may try to estimate the degree of probability that such a general law exists.

Although these four tests overlap and test each other, and although they are not always distinct in the mind of one who questions a generalization, yet we can profitably consider them one by one.

**A First Test of Generalization.** How many instances will warrant a generalization? Can we prove that all members of the United States Senate are over forty years of age by citing ten, twenty, or even ninety individuals? Clearly not. For such an inference, we are satisfied with nothing short of complete induction. On the other hand, let us examine one diamond, one rectangle, or one falling weight, with scientific accuracy, and we reach a general law from a single instance. We need not multiply examples to determine the specific gravity of all diamonds, the law for the measurement of all rectangles, and the law for the acceleration of all falling bodies.

Any generalization which stakes its claim to validity on "uncontradicted experience" alone may depend, and usually does depend, on experience which is too narrow to warrant the generalization. The child who believes that all people have enough to eat, that all dogs are gentle, and that all children have nursemaids, reasons from the simple enumeration of the instances of his own "uncontradicted experience."

From these illustrations it is evident that several ex-



amples falling under a general proposition, or several supposed instances of the operation of a principle, may not be sufficient for a trustworthy induction. Indeed, no proportion is always sufficient, for a generalization may be discredited by a single instance.

Accordingly, although we should ask, as a first test, whether the relative size of the unobserved part of the class is so small as to warrant the generalization, we cannot always answer the question without the aid of other tests.

**A Second Test of Generalization.** The reason why we must consider every member of the Senate, before we can conclude that all senators are over forty years of age, is evident. No members can be selected who are fairly typical of the whole body with respect to the point in question. Another illustration of unwarranted generalization from exceptional instances was furnished by the debater who attempted to draw a sweeping conclusion regarding the beneficence of the tariff from his observations regarding the tariff on shot, barb-wire, and putty. The doubt at once arose how this curious selection of items could fairly represent the whole tariff schedule. Questions like these present the difficulty of finding individual members that embody all those characteristics of the whole class which have anything to do with the disputed principle or general statement.

We should always test the members upon which a generalization is based to determine whether they are fair specimens of the class.

**A Third Test of Generalization.** The tendency of the untrained thinker is to conclude that a proposition which is true of all cases he happens to know is true of all possible cases. Accordingly, he generalizes from his

limited experience, or accepts the scanty generalizations of other people, unless conflicting instances are thrust upon his attention. The careless reasoner says, "Such and such a fact is true of this member of a class; it is true of this other member of the class; I have observed no member of the class of which it is not true; therefore it is true of the whole class." *The error is due to the non-observation of instances which make against the generalization.* The habit of seeking exceptions is a mark of the scientific mind.

This habit is a staunch protection against hasty generalization, not only because of the natural tendency to overlook contradictory evidence, but also because the commonplace "exceptions" may really be far more numerous than the conspicuous cases employed as proof. Much of the every-day reasoning regarding the value of a college education proceeds by exaggerating unusual instances and ignoring instances which make against the conclusion. A man observes a number of college graduates who fail in business; he concludes that a college training unfits men for practical affairs. College graduates who succeed in life, as the world reckons success, provoke little argument on the subject; they are expected to succeed. But a few, who with all their education can do no creditable work, furnish the meagre data from which many people draw the generalization that a college education does not pay. In like manner the industrious, upright students, who form a large majority of every college, play no part in the inductive reasoning of those people who judge all college students by the few unworthy ones who make themselves disagreeably conspicuous. Women who travel from town to town posing as mind-readers gain their reputation largely

from the fact that any guess which proves true is reported widely, whereas most of the failures are ignored by the public. What appears wonderful attracts attention; the rest escapes. So also with fortune-tellers, almanac-makers, and quacks of all kinds. By ignoring the cases in which their predictions fail, which are uninteresting because so common, we can arrive at wonderful conclusions. Thus it happens everywhere that instances which furnish no basis for generalization, because they are fortuitous, become for that very reason the main reliance of fallacious reasoners.

As we observed in our discussion of prejudiced testimony, our vision is somewhat distorted by our desires. When we are seeking to establish a principle, verifying instances — those we are glad to find — shine with a deceptive lustre that blinds us to exceptions. It is a trite observation that we find in life what we look for. A man may glance at every periodical on the news-stand for the sole purpose of finding the *Atlantic Monthly*, and in the end not have a definite idea in his head as to what other magazines he saw. He knows merely that they were not what he was looking for. Well aware as we are of this trait of the mind, we should take definite means to safeguard our generalizations against exceptions. If the nature of the case permit such thorough investigation, we should be able to supplement our conclusions at least by negative evidence; that is, by proving the probability that, if exceptions had existed, we should have found them.

We should look beyond the members upon which a generalization is based in order to discover possible exceptions.

**A Fourth Test of Generalization.** So far we have

considered the means of testing inductive reasoning by observation and experiment. But our generalizations are usually unsafe in so far as they depend on experience alone, for our experience is usually confined to a small part of the class concerning which we seek to discover a universal truth. As we have seen, the appearance of universality may be due to the very limitations of experience, as when a child, who has seen only two dogs, concludes that all dogs have shaggy hair. *Uncontradicted experience is insufficient to establish a general truth.*

How, then, can we finally test a generalization? In those many cases where even the most extensive possible observation and experiment fail to cover the class, how can we finally justify the leap from the known to the unknown? Not by the mere number of verifying instances, not by their apparently universal characteristics, not by the absence of known exceptions, but by a revealed order of nature beyond the likelihood of chance.

The ultimate warrant for a generalization is our belief in the universal laws of causation; nothing happens without sufficient cause; or, in common language, "if it is true, there must be a reason for it." And so, to look for uniformity in the course of nature where uniformity is not to be expected — to hold that every seventh Class Day at Harvard will be rainy — is rightly ridiculed as superstitious. Accordingly, as a final test of an imperfect induction, we try to estimate, by a consideration of underlying causes, the degree of probability that such a general law or statement is true.

Suppose that misfortune has several times followed the appearance of three black cats, that the instances

seem fairly typical, and that we have heard of no contradictory instances. Then, without a search for the causal connection, we at once conclude that the two events are regularly associated in the course of nature. We jump to the broad statement that the appearance of three black cats is a sign of bad luck. We have made some pretense of generalizing, — a weak attempt, to be sure, since our induction is based on “simple enumeration,” — but still an attempt. *It illustrates the typical fault of inductive reasoning, — hasty generalization from insufficient data without even a probable causal connection.* When we ask *why* the black cats and misfortune have appeared in succession, when we attempt to fix the links of causation between the two events, we are in a fair way to reveal the absurdity of the idea.

In testing our generalizations, we should endeavor to discover the underlying relations of cause and effect.

#### SUMMARY OF THE TESTS OF GENERALIZATION

1. Is the relative size of the unobserved part of the class so small as to warrant the generalization?
2. Are the observed members fair examples of the class?
3. Are we reasonably sure that there are no exceptions?
4. Is it highly probable that such a general rule or statement is true?

#### III. ANALOGY

“In the argument from analogy the ground of inference is the resemblance between two individual objects

in a certain number of points ; and the inference is that they resemble one another in some other point, known to belong to the one, but not known to belong to the other." In other words, we infer by analogy that a certain fact, known to be true of A, is more likely to be true of B if B resembles A in essential properties, than if B were not known to resemble anything of which the certain fact is true. An argument from analogy is, therefore, that kind of argument from example which steps from one particular case to another particular case. It does not amount to a complete or even attempted generalization.

For example, sodium and potassium are included in the same group, called alkaline metals, because of their common characteristics : both combine with oxygen to decompose water at all temperatures ; their carbonates are soluble in water ; and each metal forms only one chloride. Now, if chemists discovered a new property of one of these metals, they might infer by analogy that the other metal had the same property. Thus we base an argument from analogy on a preponderating resemblance between two individuals or classes, which is sufficient, we believe, to warrant the inference that the resemblance in known particulars extends to unknown particulars.

*An argument from analogy may create an exceedingly high degree of probability, but never conclusive proof.* At best, analogy is only a makeshift for complete induction — for scientific generalization. And yet human affairs are so pressing and so complicated that sometimes men cannot wait until the process of induction has provided even an imperfect generalization. Since, then, the argument from analogy is precarious, and yet

often the best to be had at a given time, we shall do well to study and apply the tests of its soundness.

**A First Test of the Argument from Analogy.** The loose axiom of formal logic, "Whatever is true of a thing is true of its like," begs the whole difficulty. Before we can accept so loose a principle for the purpose of guiding our conduct, we must ask what sort of likeness is sufficient. The method of analogy becomes a cogent process in argument only when we rightly estimate the importance of likenesses and differences. To use the argument from analogy, therefore, we must show that the cases agree in *essential* particulars.

*An agreement or difference is essential when it is sufficiently important for the purpose at hand*; it has significance only with reference to some particular argument from analogy. The importance varies, therefore, with the purpose. What would be an essential difference between two tariff policies with reference to one question might be safely neglected as irrelevant on another question. Two financial panics are essentially *similar* when their differences may be ignored for the purpose of drawing conclusions as to a monetary policy. Two child-labor laws are essentially *different* when their likenesses may be ignored for the purpose of drawing conclusions as to the possibility of enforcing such laws. Thus it appears that likenesses and differences are significant only with reference to the question at issue; they may be disregarded only when they are shown to be irrelevant. The first task, then, in the argument from analogy is to differentiate the essential from the irrelevant details of comparison and contrast.

Burke applied this test to his arguments from analogy in the case of the trouble between England and her

American colonies, to show that the policy of the mother country should be conciliation through granting the colonies representation in Parliament. He said: "Sir, I am sure that I shall not be misled when, in a case of constitutional difficulty, I consult the genius of the English Constitution. Consulting at that oracle — it was with all due humility and piety — I found four capital examples in a similar case before me: those of Ireland, Wales, Chester, and Durham." Then, after presenting these four arguments from analogy, he took great care to show that the analogy was sound in essential particulars: —

Now if the doctrines of policy contained in these preambles, and the force of these examples in the Acts of Parliament, avail anything, *what can be said against applying them with regard to America?* Are not the people of America as much Englishmen as the Welsh? The preamble of the Act of Henry the Eighth says the Welsh speak a language no way resembling that of his Majesty's English subjects. Are the Americans not as numerous? If we may trust the learned and accurate Judge Barrington's account of North Wales, and take that as a standard to measure the rest, there is no comparison. The people cannot amount to above 200,000; not a tenth part of the number in the colonies. Is America in rebellion? Wales was hardly ever free from it. Have you attempted to govern America by penal statutes? You made fifteen for Wales. But your legislative authority is perfect with regard to America. Was it less perfect in Wales, Chester, and Durham? But America is virtually represented. What! does the electric force of virtual representation more easily pass over the Atlantic than pervade Wales, which lies in your neighborhood — or than Chester and Durham, surrounded by abundance of representation that is actual and palpable? But, Sir, your ancestors thought this sort of virtual representation, however ample, to be totally insufficient for the freedom of the inhabitants of ter-



ritories that are so near, and comparatively so inconsiderable. How then can I think it sufficient for those which are infinitely greater, and infinitely more remote ?

What we mean by an essential point of difference is well illustrated by a remarkable case of protective mimicry. The monarch butterfly and the viceroy butterfly look almost exactly alike. But the numerous and striking similarities in color and marking and form do not render the two species analogous from the view-point of the spider. The monarch, being poisonous, is not good to eat. For the purposes of the spider, therefore, the two species are essentially different.

The first question by which we should test the value of an analogy is, Are the details of comparison and contrast essential to the question at issue ?

**A Second Test of the Argument from Analogy.** In the argument from analogy we weigh details rather than count them. What constitutes weight we have just considered ; we shall now consider the weighing. Before drawing any inference from the similarity of objects, we must show that the points of likeness outweigh the points of difference. Before drawing any inference from the dissimilarity of objects, we must show that the points of difference outweigh the points of likeness. No number of *irrelevant* details of comparison or of contrast can tip the beam.

If we make an inference from analogy that is inconsistent with known facts, the analogy is at once discredited. For example, if a chemist infers by analogy that a substance possesses a certain property, and then finds that this property is incompatible with a known property of the substance, he at once discards the idea suggested by analogy. Another good illustration deals

with the question of the possibility of life on the moon. The many points of resemblance between the moon and the earth suggest the idea that the moon is inhabited; but the fact that the moon has no atmosphere, without which life is impossible, at once discredits this argument from analogy. Its conclusion is inconsistent with a known fact.

An illustration of untrustworthy analogy is the argument from the success of the Suez Canal to the probable success of the Panama Canal promoted by De Lesseps. People wanted to know whether Panama Canal shares would turn out to be a good investment. But the construction of great ship canals is so rare an event as to offer no generalization concerning their probable success. Only a single example was available. From this, investors argued that since the Panama Canal resembled the Suez Canal in several particulars, — among others in being planned by the engineer De Lesseps, — and since the Suez Canal was a success, therefore the Panama Canal would be a success. Thus an untrustworthy analogy led to the loss of many millions.

In this connection, we may well recall all that we have said under "A Third Test of Generalization" concerning the natural tendency of the mind to minimize or entirely overlook facts that tend to refute a desired conclusion. The desire to make an analogy hold good acts like a blinder; we have special difficulty in seeing what we do not want to see. For this reason our search for facts which are inconsistent with conclusions reached by analogy should be aggressive rather than passive or reluctant. Especially is this true of those analogies which we ourselves wish to employ as proof; the danger of overlooking the beam in the eye of our brother's analogy is not so great.

After determining the weight of each point of comparison or of contrast, by considering whether it is essential to the point at issue, we should ask whether the points of similarity are outweighed by points of difference.

**A Third Test of the Argument from Analogy.** The tentative conclusions, which analogy suggests as possible or probable truths, may be tested by other methods. Thus an analogy, if we suspect its insufficiency, may stimulate and direct the search for generalizations and causal explanations. This search may either justify the analogy or reveal its weakness.

The first suggestion which led Harvey to discover the circulation of the blood came through observed analogy. He learned from his master that the valves in many veins lie open as long as the blood flows through them toward the heart, and no longer. He thought of the many analogous mechanical contrivances, such as animal traps and tide-water gates, which have similar valves adapted to definite ends. This suggested the question what similar end might be served by the valves in the veins. But this suggestion was for Harvey merely a starting-point; he proceeded to test the analogy by careful experimentation. He tied arteries and veins and observed the effects on the flow of blood. For nineteen years he kept up this observation and study, until he had traced to his own satisfaction the entire course of the blood through the human body. Thus he verified a theory first suggested by analogy.

In this way various kinds of argument may work together, each producing a new probability of the truth or falsehood of the proposition. But analogy alone should never be regarded as producing more than one

element of probability, even in cases seemingly most conclusive. By the cumulation of probabilities we arrive at moral certainty, though never absolute certainty, on debatable questions.

We should therefore test the conclusions suggested by arguments from analogy to determine whether they are verified or discredited by other kinds of argument.

**A Fourth Test of the Argument from Analogy.** The least unreliable kind of argument from analogy proves that what is known to be true of the analogous case is even more likely to be true of the case in question. This kind of argument is used in economics and government to show that a principle known to apply to one community or state applies with even greater force to the community or state under discussion. Thus, in an inter-collegiate debate, one of the speakers argued as follows:

Now we rely for our evidence (in proof of the inhuman treatment of natives in the Congo) mainly on the report of the King's Commission. Let me call your attention to the fact that my opponent admits the validity of this report. His chief objection to it is that it covers only about a quarter of the territory in question. That is true. But bear in mind that the other three quarters of the state is entirely closed to the world. The Commission covered that part of the territory which is in closest touch with civilization. Yet the rubber collection is carried on throughout the whole state. If this collection is attended by such horrors as I have shown in that part closest to civilization, what must be the condition in that section into which civilization has not entered.

We should test all arguments from analogy to find, if possible, reasons why the facts known to be true of the analogous cases are more likely or less likely to be true of the cases in question.

If we can verify an argument from analogy by the application of all of these tests, so much the better. On the other hand, if an analogy fails to satisfy several of these tests, the proof of its worthlessness may be all the more convincing. Some of the examples given above are evidently open to objection on more than one ground.

#### SUMMARY OF THE TESTS OF THE ARGUMENT FROM ANALOGY

1. Are the details of comparison and contrast essential to the question at issue?
2. Do the points of likeness outweigh the points of difference?
3. Is the conclusion reached by analogy verified or discredited by other kinds of proof?
4. Is the fact known to be true of the analogous case even more likely to be true of the case in question?

#### IV. CAUSAL RELATION

We have examined the classification of all argument into inductive and deductive argument. We have seen, further, that inductive reasoning in practical affairs takes the form of Generalization or Analogy, and is often the best to be had. As the ultimate justification of all such arguments, however, we have looked to underlying causal relations. As no reasoning—not even a generalization which satisfies all other tests—can commend itself except on the assumption that a causal relation exists, we may derive help in our own reasoning by studying arguments which direct attention to causal connections. All such arguments proceed from effect to cause, from cause to effect, or from effect to effect.

All rest on the universal belief in causation : nothing happens without sufficient cause.

As every inference is a step from what we start with to what the inference teaches, the argument from effect to cause and the argument from cause to effect are both processes of reasoning from the known to the unknown. The difference is that one process, starting from a known fact, seeks the unknown cause, whereas the other, starting from a known fact, seeks the unknown effect. The one argument is based on matters *after* the disputed fact ; the other argument is based on matters *before* the disputed fact. In each case the argument tries to establish the *supposed* cause, or the *supposed* effect, as the true one. The tests of reliability for arguments from causal relation, therefore, must be tests that measure the doubt concerning the alleged cause or the alleged effect.

#### ARGUMENT FROM EFFECT TO CAUSE

The argument from effect to cause attempts to prove that a given cause operates or has operated by pointing to an observed effect which could be due to no other cause. We point out marks on the tennis court and declare that the court has been used since the rain. This kind of argument is from a *known* effect to its *supposed* cause, as when we hold that the observed movements of a heavenly body can be accounted for only by the supposition that a planet yet undiscovered is operating as cause. Coming upon a clearing in the woods beside an inviting spring, we find a bed of boughs and the ashes from a small fire. We conclude that somebody has camped there. We go back to a period of time before an observed act and select from antecedent circumstances, known and inferred, those which have a probable causal connection with the observed act.

### A First Test of the Argument from Effect to Cause

The strength of the argument depends first on the degree of certainty with which the cause is established. If only a possible cause is found, the argument is weak. Even when a probable cause is found, the argument is still inconclusive. We must endeavor to make sure that no other cause could have produced the effect. The great difficulty with all arguments from effect to cause is in establishing so sweeping a negative proposition, — namely, that no other cause but the one in question could possibly have produced the effect. Imagine a merchant attempting to find the cause of his gain in trade. Suppose he satisfied himself that the cause was advertising. Then what form of advertising? Newspapers? If so, what newspapers? Or was it street-car cards? If so, general or special cards? The fact that every debatable question thus stretches out in many directions complicates the problem of finding the exact cause of a known effect.

Superficial reasoning reaches nothing but secondary causes. Thus the ticking of a clock may be the secondary cause of sleeplessness, while the very fact that the clock tick keeps the person awake indicates a sensitive organism which is the primary underlying cause. When a child has discovered that the wheels of a watch make the hands go, he has still to inquire what makes the wheels go. Scientists were not satisfied with the explanation that the world rests on the shoulders of Atlas and that Atlas stands on a tortoise. They sought for the support of the tortoise.

In the affairs of every-day life people are usually satisfied with removing the mystery of cause one or two

steps, but the deep reasoner endeavors to make the whole journey from an observed effect to its fundamental cause. He tests his own arguments and those of his adversaries with thoroughness to see whether the probing has been deep enough to uncover the underlying causes. Strictly speaking, to find the fundamental cause is impossible. The best one can do is to find that cause which for his immediate purpose is most important.

**A Second Test of the Argument from Effect to Cause.** It is not sufficient to demonstrate the probability that no other cause could have produced the effect in question ; we should show, in the second place, that the cause which we present as the sole cause is sufficient to produce the effect.

Many of the trite maxims for human conduct, such as "Perseverance is the secret of success," ignore the fact that no one cause is sufficient to produce what the world calls success. We should be alert to discover the necessary qualifications. Early to bed and early to rise — together with sufficient auxiliary causes — will make a man healthy, wealthy, and wise. A recent writer, in attributing the falling off in church attendance to moving-picture shows, ignored the fact that the effect in question appeared before the alleged cause. Thus it is clear that we fail in the argument from effect to cause, not only by mistaking the cause, but as well by regarding an insufficient cause as sufficient.

Upon every person who uses an argument from an alleged cause rests the burden of proving that the assumed cause is sufficient to produce the effect.

**A Third Test of the Argument from Effect to Cause.** Finally, although we may make sure that the single assumed cause, if unhindered, is sufficient to pro-



duce the effect, we must make sure that the operation of the cause is not prevented by other forces.

Burke asserted that the first cause of the quarrel with the colonies was taxation and not, as others said, the trade laws. To determine which of the two was the radical cause, he suggested two tests. First, he asked whether the commercial dispute did, in order of time, precede the dispute on taxation? As a matter of fact, it followed the dispute on taxation, and consequently could not have been the original cause of the quarrel. Next, he suggested a means of applying all of the three tests that we have considered, namely, by removing the alleged cause and ascertaining whether the effect disappeared at the same time.

To enable us to judge whether at this moment a dislike to the trade laws be the real cause of quarrel, it is absolutely necessary to put the taxes out of the question by a repeal. See how the Americans act in this position, and then you will be able to discern correctly what is the true object of the controversy, or whether any controversy at all will remain. Unless you consent to remove this cause of difference, it is impossible, with decency, to assert that the dispute is not upon what it is avowed to be.

If the removal of an assumed cause is followed at once by the disappearance of the observed effect, we have strong presumptive evidence that no other cause produced the effect, that the assumed cause was sufficient to produce the effect, and that its operation was not prevented by other forces.

#### ARGUMENT FROM CAUSE TO EFFECT

The argument from cause to effect is based on matters *before* the disputed fact. Thus, to attempt to show

that a happening is probable or possible, for the reason that there are known antecedent circumstances sufficient to bring about that happening, is to argue from cause to effect. We may argue thus from the past to a less remote past, from the past to the present, from the past to the future, from the present to the future, or from the future to the more remote future. In every case we argue from the known events of one time to the unknown events of a subsequent time.

This kind of argument is common in criminal trials. As an illustration, let us suppose the question at issue is whether A destroyed his father's will. If the will disinherited A, and named a bitter enemy of A as the legatee of the whole estate, there appears to be sufficient reason for A to desire the destruction of the will. If we use this *motive* in an attempt to prove that A is guilty, we argue from a known cause to an effect under dispute.

**A First Test of the Argument from Cause to Effect.** If an *adequate* cause is shown to exist in a given case, the effect which usually follows that cause may reasonably be expected to follow in the case in question. Thus when a doctor finds the symptoms of diphtheria in a patient, he predicts the course of the disease from day to day. When he administers anti-toxin, he foretells the effects. He reasons from cause to effect, from the known events of one time to the unknown events of a later time. In any such argument, one must consider, first of all, whether the cause is adequate to produce the alleged effect.

**A Second Test of the Argument from Cause to Effect.** The chemist, in order to determine the effect of a given cause, separates the experiment in the laboratory from every possible cause but one, and his conclusion has

scientific accuracy. But the great multitude of questions with which argumentation deals cannot be thus isolated; they are complicated by attendant circumstances.

It sometimes happens that with perfect sanitary conditions a contagious disease will appear, that has always been regarded, and that correctly, as due to imperfect sanitation; or, an entire disregard of sanitary requirements and of all the laws of health may yet give rise to no disease of special moment. In such phenomena the problem is not simply to find a causal connection. The causal connection may be established beyond all reasonable doubt, and yet the cause obtains in the midst of so complex a setting that the problem is really this, to determine whether a cause, whose exact nature may be known or unknown, will prove operative or inoperative. The cause may be always present, and even its exact nature may be known, and yet the complex circumstances attending it may be of such a character that one alone, or two or more combining, may neutralize the operation of the cause.<sup>1</sup>

We should always ask whether there are other causes sufficient to prevent the known cause from producing the effect in question.

**A Third Test of the Argument from Cause to Effect.** The argument from cause to effect is evidently inconclusive. It can prepare the way for other arguments by creating presumptions, but it can do no more. All attempts to prove the probability that an event happened or will happen by setting forth a seemingly sufficient cause are rendered futile by any positive evidence showing that the event did not happen or does not happen. No amount of proof that A desired the destruction of his father's will can prove A guilty in the face of evidence that the will has not been destroyed. During the

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Hibben, *Logic, Deductive and Inductive*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1905.

fall of 1907 there appeared to be every cause of "good times" throughout the United States. In addition to all the circumstances which had made the previous years highly prosperous, there was the assurance of good crops. Many argued that the effect must be confidence in the money market and stimulation of industry. But this argument concerning what must happen fell down before the facts concerning what did happen, and gave little consolation to the stockholders who lost their securities and to the workmen who lost their positions. Equally liable to error are the presumptions, furnished by the argument from cause to effect, that a given event cannot happen. A lawyer, upon visiting his client in prison and hearing the facts of the case, exclaimed, "Why, they can't put you in prison for that!" "But here I am," replied the client.

Any reasoning as to the probable existence of causes sufficient to produce a given effect is at once discredited by proof of the non-existence of the effect.

#### ARGUMENT FROM EFFECT TO EFFECT

An argument from one effect to another effect of the same cause is nothing more than an argument from effect to cause fused with an argument from cause to effect. If a boy says that there is skating to-day because the thermometer registers below the freezing-point, he really reasons from the low thermometer to its cause, the low temperature, and from that back to another effect of the same cause, namely, the frozen river.

In other arguments, even when we have tested our facts and found them actually related as cause and effect, they may act and react upon each other in such a way that each, as we look upon it in different aspects,

is both cause and effect; such is the relation of drunkenness and poverty. But if one thing follows or accompanies another with perfect regularity, it matters little for practical purposes of argument whether they are related as cause and effect or whether they are both effects of the same underlying cause. In all cases the principal tests are those that we have just explained.

#### SUMMARY OF THE TESTS OF THE ARGUMENTS FROM CAUSAL RELATION

##### *Tests of the Argument from Effect to Cause.*

1. Could any other cause have produced the observed effect?
2. Is the assumed cause sufficient to produce the observed effect?
3. Was the operation of the assumed cause prevented?

##### *Tests of the Argument from Cause to Effect.*

1. Is the known cause adequate to produce the effect in question?
2. Are there other causes sufficient to prevent the known cause from producing the effect in question?
3. Is there any positive evidence tending to verify or refute the presumptions furnished by the argument from cause to effect?

#### V. REFUTATION

Refutation is argument which weakens or destroys the contentions of the other side. Mere contradiction is not refutation. Many attempts at destructive argument amount to something like this: "My opponent has defined shipping subsidies as grants of money to merchant ships for carrying the mails, but I think that

these are not subsidies ; he has tried to prove that such subsidies would soon put American shipping on a firm basis, but I deny it ; finally, he has attempted to show that foreign carriers now charge exorbitant rates, whereas we all know that such is not the case." This is contradiction, not refutation. It is unsupported assertion.

Refutation is an essential part of argumentation. Though destructive in nature, it is scarcely less important than constructive proof. Indeed, there are times when a negative case — with the presumption in its favor — may well consist mainly of refutation. Even an affirmative case on a really debatable question cannot safely rely on constructive work. Those who are to be convinced of the truth of a proposition wish to know not only why the arguments in its favor are sound, but also why the opposing arguments are unsound. Otherwise, as frequently happens in debate, the contentions of both sides may seem convincing, and their relation to each other may be obscured.

The first arguments of students usually ignore the other side. They move so directly and easily to sweeping conclusions that the wonder grows how the question ever came to be discussed at all. Not until students hear the other side of the question under the conditions of actual debate do they approach effective and adequate refutation.

**Two Kinds of Refutation.** Broadly speaking, there are two ways by which we may overthrow an argument : we may question the truth of the alleged facts on which the argument is based, or the validity of the reasoning process. Suppose an opponent contends that the United States should maintain a larger navy. We may object

on the ground that he has not proved his assertion that there is danger of war with Japan, or we may object to his erroneous inference that the best way to promote peace is to prepare for war. To object to the alleged facts or premises, on the score that they have not been proved true, is to prefer a charge of unsupported assertion and call for evidence. To object to the reasoning process, on the score that the conclusion does not follow logically from the premises, is to prefer a charge of fallacious inference.

#### 1. Selection of Refutation

Selection is quite as important in refutation as in constructive argument. To refute all that an opponent offers is rarely possible or desirable. "Too much is seldom enough." One must distinguish between essentials and non-essentials. Some of the opposing arguments may be safely admitted and the field of the contest thus narrowed. Others, which have no bearing on the issues, may, for the most part, be ignored. It is poor policy to employ time and the patience of readers or hearers in refuting anything which is not vital, no matter how easy and attractive an opening is offered. The very object of an opponent may be to attract attention from the main issues. If he wanders, drags in matters which are clearly beside the point, substitutes invective and ridicule for reason and evidence, the most effective course is to ignore the digressions and hew to the line of the argument. Attention to the insignificant words of an opponent may rescue them from oblivion.

If, however, there is danger that the audience may not perceive the digressions, one should point out clearly which of the opposing arguments are pertinent. Some

of these are of minor importance, and are seen to have little effect on the audience. These should be briefly refuted, or even ignored, for the more points a writer or speaker advances, the less emphasis he can place on each point. A debater cannot make a dozen matters all appear of supreme importance in a five-minute rebuttal speech. A lot of petty material causes confusion without destruction. A well-directed cannon-ball may sink a ship; a whole charge of birdshot will only scratch the paint. To the admitted, the extraneous, and the subordinate contentions of an opponent, little time should be allotted. Nearly all of the refutation should be directed against those central pillars on which the whole structure rests.

As a rule, it is poor policy to undertake to refute more than is necessary to prove the error of the opposing contentions. A chain is as weak with one broken link as with many. If one absolutely essential part of an argument is really destroyed, the whole argument falls. To attempt to destroy other parts is needlessly to incur additional danger of failure. When Lincoln desired to prove the falsity of testimony regarding events said to have been observed on a moonlight night, he simply produced an almanac which proved that there was no moonlight on the date in question. The general rule is the same in refutation as in all other forms of discourse, — too much is seldom enough.

## 2. Position of Refutation

If a writer or speaker is advocating an extremely unpopular proposition, he may be unable to secure a fair hearing for his constructive argument until he has answered the principal objections. In such a case, the



refutation should come first. If, on the other hand, the constructive argument does not require this preliminary clearing of the ground, and if the refutation depends for its cogency on points to be established in the constructive part of the proof, the refutation should come last. The danger of this final position is that of leaving the opposing contentions uppermost in the minds of the readers or hearers. One who puts his refutation at the end, therefore, should make it unquestionably strong, and follow it with a vigorous and persuasive summing up of the constructive work.

More generally useful than either the initial or the final position is the method of introducing the refutation wherever objections arise in connection with the constructive argument. No further directions can be of much help, for the most effective position depends on infinitely variable attendant circumstances.

### 3. Presentation of Refutation

In presenting refutation, one care is of paramount importance. A writer or speaker should first of all make absolutely clear just what argument he is refuting, and its bearing on the main issues of the proposition; then he should show precisely how his refutation clinches with the work of his opponent. In other words, he should show just what destructive work his evidence is intended to perform and how it performs that work. Without such care he may get little credit for much study of the other side of the question. Frequently a man thinks so long on a subject and knows so well what is the force of a given argument that he fails to give his audience those introductory, transitional, and summarizing sentences without which the whole meaning

of his refutation may be lost. This counsel is worth repeating : —

In attacking an argument, one should make clear at the outset exactly what he purposes to refute; he should explain as he proceeds just how his refutation is accomplishing its purpose; and, finally, he should state precisely the effect of his destructive work and the consequent status of both sides of the controversy.

#### 4. Two Essentials of Refutation

Although the study of these special methods should prove suggestive, there are really but two fundamental requisites of effective refutation, — the power of keen thinking and a thorough knowledge of both sides of the question. Neither of these essentials is possessed by those who regard debating as the recitation of memorized speeches, consisting of strings of quotations from other men. Such parrot-like performances should not parade under the name of debating. They are not even preparation for debating. Indeed, it is an open question whether they do not hinder more than they help, and it is altogether true that they contribute nothing to the power of adapting refutation to the needs of the moment — the one power which fundamentally distinguishes the debater from the elocutionist. Any study which develops the faculty of independent and sound thinking prepares a man for the work of refutation; and when to this general training he adds an accurate and wide knowledge of the particular subject for argument, quite regardless of the material he may expect to need for a given speech, he possesses the two essentials of effective refutation.

## EXERCISES FOR THE SIXTH CHAPTER

1. Consider the material which you have collected on the Class Question. Is some of it in the nature of ready-made arguments for and against the question? If so, what kinds of argument are represented? What further inferences do you intend making on the basis of the remaining material? What kind of inferences? How reliable? What further evidence does your case require? What refutation? What is the relative strength of your arguments? What is the most effective order of presentation?
2. What kinds of argument do Appendices I and II exemplify? What passages are refutation? Why? What arguments are indispensable?
3. Find examples of inductive reasoning in Ruskin's *Sesame and Lilies*.
4. What kind of argument is used in each of the following quotations? Apply the tests of validity in each case.
  - a. "If a servant girl applies for employment in a family, we demand, first of all, a recommendation from her former mistress. If a clerk is searching for work, he carries with him, as the *sine qua non* of success, certain letters which vouch for his honesty and ability. If a skilled workman becomes discontented and throws up his job, he has a right to ask of his employers an indorsement, and armed with that, he feels secure. Why should not every immigrant be required to bring a similar indorsement with him?"
  - b. Socrates, in order to show the absurdity of electing magistrates from the Athenian Senate by lot, used the following argument: "Would it be wise for sailors about to set out upon a long and dangerous cruise to cast lots among themselves to see who should be pilot, when the lot might as surely fall upon a wretch who knew nothing of the shoals and rocks in their course, or the art of navigation, as upon the most careful seaman?"
  - c. "Is it so bad, then, to be misunderstood? Pythagoras was misunderstood, and Socrates, and Jesus, and Luther, and Copernicus, and Galileo, and Newton, and every pure and wise spirit that ever took flesh. To be great is to be misunderstood." — Emerson, *Self-Reliance*.

- d. "I am a Jew. Hath not a Jew eyes? hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die? And if you wrong us, shall we not revenge? If we are like you in the rest, we will resemble you in that." — Shylock, in *The Merchant of Venice*.
5. Mention a superstition which rests on inductive reasoning. Why do you credit or discredit the belief?
  6. Mention instances, in connection with each of the courses of study you are now taking, in which you have recently used inductive reasoning.
  7. Provide an analogy which might be used toward the proof of one of the propositions in Appendix VII.
  8. Apply the tests of validity to the following arguments:—
    - a. On account of the lack of experienced players it is evident that we cannot have a strong football team next fall.
    - b. Following the attack of President Roosevelt on large corporations in 1907 came a period of financial depression. Many banks failed and thousands of men were turned out of employment. The President is to be condemned for causing such a panic.
    - c. "Fifteen years ago a pair of nickel-plated steel skates cost \$15. To-day the same article can be obtained for \$5. The decline shows how protection cheapens prices."
    - d. "Of what use is the Senate?" asked Jefferson, as he stood before the fire with a cup of tea in his hand, pouring the tea into the saucer.  
 "You have answered your own question," replied Washington.  
 "What do you mean?"  
 "Why do you pour that tea into the saucer?"  
 "To cool it."  
 "Even so," said Washington, "the Senate is the saucer into which we pour legislation to cool."
  9. Classify the kinds of reasoning used by Poe in *The Gold Bug*, and apply the tests suggested in Chapters V and VI.

10. The instructor may read to the class the first part of a short story and let them decide, from causal reasoning, how the story may end and how it may not end.
11. Bring to class specimens of faulty reasoning which you have met recently in conversation or in reading.
12. Read the speech made by Webster in the Senate of the United States, March, 1840, in answer to a speech by Calhoun. (*The Works of Daniel Webster*, vol. iv, p. 528, Little, Brown & Co., 1857, *General Effects of Protection*.) State the arguments to which Webster replies. Note how he introduces each of the five parts of his refutation.
13. Bring to class some generalization which was once considered a perfect induction but has since been discredited. Consider some generalization regarded to-day as undeniable. What future discovery could discredit it?

## SEVENTH CHAPTER

### THE BRIEF

#### I. NATURE AND PURPOSE OF THE BRIEF

IMAGINE a child trying to put together a dissected map of the United States. He has a box full of pieces in confusion. There is plenty of material, so much, in fact, that he cannot survey it all at once. Where shall he begin? If he could only attack the problem part by part with a guide to the solution of each part, he might eventually bring order out of chaos. And here is the guide — a small outline map giving the boundaries of each state; giving, in heavier lines, the boundaries of groups of states; and, in still heavier lines, the boundaries of the whole country. In addition to this, the map indicates only the chief rivers and mountain chains; there is no detail, no coloring. The whole outline map is not much larger than a single elaborate section in his box.

With one good look at this outline map, the child gets a fair idea of the contour of the whole country. He then fixes his attention on one of the main divisions, say New England. Keeping in mind the broad outlines and subdivisions of the part he is about to construct, he goes through his material, selecting and rejecting. If he comes across a piece of material which looks as though it might find place in the New England group, but does not quite fit, he consults his guide in search of a place which the piece exactly fits. If he has not found sufficient material to complete New England, he knows that he must continue his search, and he knows pretty well for what he is searching. Having constructed the main divisions one

by one, he can put them together so that the whole elaborate structure shall be built in the shape of his little outline guide.

A brief is an outline guide. The whole brief is not much larger than a single division of the finished forensic. With one good look at his brief, a writer sees his whole work in its broad aspects; he understands the relation of parts; he perceives the right arrangement of the main divisions, and he is able to develop them one by one. He is constantly guided by his brief in the selection and rejection of material. It warns him when he is in danger of inserting evidence out of its place, or of omitting evidence necessary to the proof. Finally, the brief serves as a test of the firmness and logical sequence of the finished structure. The brief is to a man constructing a forensic what the outline is to a child constructing a map.

## II. RULES FOR CONSTRUCTING THE BRIEF

There is no *one* correct method of drawing a brief. The form which has stood the test of many years of service, and which seems best adapted to purposes of instruction, is built in conformity with the following twelve rules:—

### GENERAL RULES

1. *A brief should be divided into three parts: Introduction, Proof, and Conclusion.*
2. *A brief should contain nothing but COMPLETE statements.*

Mere topics are insufficient. Every symbol should be followed by a complete statement. The following outline is obviously inadequate; while it might serve the

purpose of an able and experienced speaker, it would be of little use to a beginner in the study of argumentation, and of still less use to a reader.

## THE GUARANTEE OF BANK DEPOSITS

### Introduction

Oklahoma plan.

Causes of financial panic.

Causes of bank failure.

Arguments against guaranteeing bank deposits.

Injustice.

Tight money.

Reckless banking.

### Proof

Plan unjust.

Conservative banker.

Class legislation.

Comparative safety of national banks.

Tight money.

Hoarded money.

No increase in cash basis.

Blind confidence.

Deferred panic the greater crash.

Fluctuation of credit.

Reckless banking.

Undiscriminating depositors.

Unscrupulous bankers.

Good management and inspection.

Burden on stockholder.

### Conclusion

The guaranteeing of bank deposits undesirable.

The above vague outline gives but little idea of the main contentions or of the means of proving them. The gain in clearness due to the use of complete statements



— and nothing but complete statements — will become evident upon an examination of the finished brief in the next chapter.

The insufficiency of topics for the outline of an Exposition may be tested by reading Outline B, in Appendix III, and then the part of Carlyle's "Heroes and Hero-Worship" from which the outline was made.

3. *Each statement should be marked by a single symbol to indicate its relation to other statements.*

Each statement in the Introduction to a brief is significant only because of its explanatory relation to one of the essential steps in analysis. Each statement in the Proof of a brief is significant only because of its causal relation to the proposition, to one of the main issues, or to a subordinate statement. The relation of each statement to those preceding it and to those following it must, therefore, be clearly indicated. This relation can best be indicated by means of symbols.

### *Symbols*

The proposition to be proved is true, for

- I. . . . ., for
    - A. . . . ., for
      - 1. . . . ., for
        - a. . . . ., for
          - x. . . . .,
          - y. . . . .,
          - z. . . . .,
          - b, etc. . . . .,
        - 2, etc. . . . .,
      - B, etc. . . . .,
  - II. . . . ., for
    - A. . . . ., for
      - 1. . . . ., for
        - a. . . . ., for
- etc.

## RULES FOR THE INTRODUCTION

4. *The Introduction should contain as much information and as many of the steps in analysis as are necessary for an intelligent reading of the Proof.*

5. *Each of the steps in the analysis should be clearly indicated as such.*

6. *The Introduction should set forth the Main Issues.*

7. *The Introduction should make no assertion which requires proof.*

The reasons for insisting on these four rules for the Introduction of a brief are explained in the fourth chapter. There we pointed out that the number of introductory steps which may be desirable for purposes of analysis, and the order in which they may best be presented, depend on the particular proposition and numerous attendant circumstances.<sup>1</sup>

## RULES FOR THE PROOF

8. *In the Proof each main statement should correspond to one of the main issues set forth in the Introduction, and thus stand as direct proof of the truth of the Proposition.*

Consider the following: —

*Proposition.* Women should be allowed to vote, for

*Proof.* I. Women voters would lessen political corruption.

II. Women have higher ethical standards than men.

This briefing is objectionable because the statement marked II pretends to be *direct* proof of the proposition. It should be sub-head A under main-head I.

<sup>1</sup> For an example of the application of these four rules see the specimen introduction under Section III, following.

9. *Each sub-statement should help to prove the truth of the statement to which it is subordinate.*

The object of the brief is to show in condensed form how the proposition may be proved. It follows that a statement is of importance in the argument of the brief only because it helps to prove an essential step in the reasoning. Accordingly, a statement must be so briefed as to show precisely what it helps to prove. Unless each sub-statement helps to prove the truth of the statement to which it is subordinate, there is no brief. The result is confusion.

Turning back to our set of symbols, we see that each statement marked with a Roman numeral should stand as direct proof of the proposition. Each statement marked with a capital letter should stand as proof of the Roman numeral statement under which it stands. Each statement marked with a small numeral should stand as proof of the capital letter statement under which it stands, and so forth as far as the sub-heads extend. If this rule is strictly followed, any succession of heads and sub-heads, read in order, — such as I, A, 1, a, or III, B, 2, c, — will make complete logical sense, even if the rest of the brief is ignored.

Consider the following specimens of faulty briefing:

#### Wrong Form

- I. Secret societies in public high schools are unfair to non-members.
- II. They seek to control all school elections, for
  - A. They are undemocratic.
- III. They should be prohibited.
- IV. Of 800 principals interviewed, 95 per cent condemned the societies for selfish school politics.
  - A. They avowedly make no provision for the general social good of the school.

The above arrangement fails to indicate the relation of parts ; it does not make clear just what division of the proof each statement helps to establish. The following arrangement, on the other hand, shows precisely what work each statement performs.

#### Right Form

Secret societies should be prohibited, for

- I. They are undemocratic, for
  - A. They are unfair to non-members, for
    - 1. They seek to control all school elections, for
      - a. Of 800 principals interviewed, 95 per cent condemned the societies on this ground.
  - B. They avowedly make no provision for the social good of the whole school.

10. *Each symbol should stand for a SINGLE statement.*

Consider the following double headings :—

- I. The beet-sugar industry, which is of slight importance, would not be injured by the annexation of Cuba, for
  - A. Although sugar beets are slightly more profitable per acre than is corn, yet they are only one fifth as profitable as they appear to be, for
    - 1. A farmer can take care of five times as many acres of corn as of beets.
- II. Conditions in Cuba have been averse to trade, and annexation would remedy these conditions, for
  - A. Cuba has been in constant revolt.

Obviously not all of the statements under such double headings as I and II can stand as proof of *both* parts of the heading. The reader is therefore always bothered and usually confused in trying to find out which part of a double heading a given sub-statement is supposed to prove. The writer is equally bothered and confused by double headings, first in revising his brief and second in writing his forensic. His rule should be to prove a single statement at a time.

11. *Each heading of the refutation should state clearly the argument to be refuted.*

Consider the following example of good phrasing:—

- (1) The argument that the Cuban tariff would not be removed if Cuba were annexed, since the Philippine tariff has not been removed, is an unsound analogy, for
- a. The Philippines are not “annexed,” but simply “acquired territory” under a military government.

Another example is taken from the brief of Burke’s speech:—

- (2) Although it is urged that the colonists, if given representation, would attack the trade laws, this objection is worthless, for
- a. These trade laws are admitted futile.
  - b. It is absurd to keep up revenue laws which are mischievous in order to preserve trade laws which are futile.
- (For context, see Appendix I.)

#### RULE FOR THE CONCLUSION

12. *The conclusion should be nothing but a summary, without qualification or other change of phrasing, of the main parts of the argument, followed by an affirmation or denial of the proposition just as it stands at the head of the brief.*<sup>1</sup>

### III. DEVELOPMENT OF A SPECIMEN BRIEF

The question now arises, How shall we go to work to construct a brief? We can present no better answer than to draw a brief, step by step, just about as one would have to do for any argument. Suppose we take a question that covers familiar ground: “Should secret societies in public high schools be prohibited?”

<sup>1</sup> For an example of the application of this rule see the conclusion of the complete brief in the next chapter.

Our first task is to analyze the question, according to the method fully set forth in the fourth chapter. In so doing, we shall present, as the first material of the Introduction, such undisputed facts in the origin and the history of the question and such definitions as may be necessary for a right understanding of the Proof. We shall also here exclude as extraneous any related matter, not properly embodied in the question, which might mislead the discussion. We shall then have something like the following:—

#### FIRST STEP

Should secret societies in public high schools be prohibited?

#### Introduction

- I. Recently secret societies in public high schools have aroused great interest in many quarters.
  - A. Investigations by the University of Chicago and later by a special committee of the National Education Association, brought the question into public prominence.
  - B. Many school authorities are taking measures to abolish secret societies.
  - C. Members are protesting vigorously against such action.
  - D. Several cases are now before the courts.
- II. The leading facts in the history of the question are as follows:—
  - A. In public high schools fraternities and sororities sprang up about twenty years ago, patterned directly after the college fraternity.
  - B. For a brief period these societies prospered without exciting the active disapproval of educators.
    1. They increased in numbers and were strengthened by chapter systems all over the country.
  - C. In 1904 the first movement against secret societies in secondary schools was set on foot by President Harper, of the University of Chicago.

D. At the present time the question confronts educators whether or not these societies should be prohibited.

III. For this discussion the terms shall be thus defined :—

A. *To prohibit* means to repress directly by constituted school authorities.

B. *Secret societies* mean national Greek Letter societies of secondary public schools, including those for boys and those for girls, and all local organizations modeled on them, such as Delta Pi and Zeta Beta Psi.

IV. Any discussion of societies under faculty regulation is considered extraneous, in that such societies are not "secret" within the meaning of the proposition.

The next problem is that of finding the main issues. This is more difficult, for all the issues can be found only through contrasting all the contentions of both sides. To find the issues, therefore, demands an extensive knowledge of both sides of the question.

To be sure, we might say, off-hand, that the whole controversy may be resolved into two main issues: (1) Would the prohibition of secret societies benefit the schools? (2) Would it benefit the pupils? But we should find, upon investigation, that the interests of schools cannot be separated from the interests of pupils. In other words, these issues are not, as issues should be, mutually exclusive. Most of our evidence could be placed under either head, and we should therefore be no better off than before we attempted to analyze the question.

We shall find the issues of the present question by making note of all the contentions we can find, in conversation, in reading, and, above all, in thinking, on both sides of the question. We shall ignore, for the present, the evidence in support of these contentions. We shall then tersely phrase each contention and write it on a separate card. The result is as follows :—

## SECOND STEP

1. Secret societies have immoral tendencies.
2. Secret societies are analogous to college fraternities in meeting a social need.
3. School authorities have no jurisdiction legally over the conduct of these societies outside of school hours and school buildings.
4. The evils of secret societies can be checked only by the abolition of all societies.
5. The immoral practices attributed to secret societies exist in schools where there are no secret societies.
6. Secret societies are the result rather than the cause of undemocratic spirit in schools.
7. Secret societies lower the standard of scholarship through fostering idleness.
8. The best method of meeting such evils as exist is through punishing individual members.
9. School authorities have a legal right to prohibit any conduct of pupils which interferes with the general welfare of the schools.
10. Secret societies are undemocratic.
11. Secret societies stimulate their members to attain good scholarship for the honor of the society.

We shall now divide our cards into two packs, — numbers 1, 4, 7, 9, 10, being on the affirmative, and numbers 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 11 on the negative.

Upon examining these five main contentions of the affirmative, we shall discover that three of them, namely numbers 1, 7, and 10, concern the effects of secret societies on schools and pupils. Accordingly, we shall group these three contentions under one head. We shall do the same with numbers 2, 5, 6, 11 on the negative side. Then, setting all the contentions of one side over against all the contentions of the other side, we shall have the following Clash of Opinion: —



## THIRD STEP

- V. In the discussions that have arisen, those who advocate the prohibition of secret societies support the following contentions:—
- A. Secret societies exert bad influences over schools and pupils, in that
1. They have immoral tendencies.
  2. They lower the standard of scholarship through fostering idleness.
  3. They are undemocratic.
- B. These evils can be checked only by the abolition of the societies.
- C. School authorities have legal right to prohibit any conduct of pupils which interferes with the general welfare of the schools.
- VI. Those who oppose the prohibition of secret societies support the following contentions:—
- A. Secret societies exert good influences over schools and pupils, in that
1. The immoral practices attributed to the societies exist in schools where there are no societies.
  2. They stimulate their members to attain good scholarship for the honor of the society.
  3. They are analogous to college fraternities in meeting a social need.
  4. They are the result rather than the cause of undemocratic spirit in schools.
- B. The best method of meeting such evils as exist is through punishing individual members.
- C. School authorities have no jurisdiction legally over the conduct of these societies outside of school hours and school buildings.

Through this Clash of Opinion we shall reach the following main issues and subordinate issues:—

## FOURTH STEP

- A. Are secret societies in public high schools on the whole good or bad in the influence they exert over schools and pupils?  
This in turn may be resolved into these secondary issues:—
1. Do they exert immoral influences?
  2. Do they lower the standard of scholarship?
  3. Are secret societies socially objectionable through causing undemocratic spirit?
- B. Can such evils as exist be dealt with more successfully by prohibiting the societies or by punishing individuals?
- C. Can school authorities legally prohibit secret societies?

So far, it has been of no consequence which side of the proposition we intended to prove. The introductory work of analysis, being wholly impartial, is the same for both sides. Now we shall take up the Proof of the affirmative, arranging our evidence in groups corresponding to the issues.

As we have carefully made note of separate arguments on separate cards, we can now sort our cards without confusion. Into the first group we shall place all of the evidence thus far collected which tends to prove the first issue. The result will be more than we can handle at once. We shall therefore arrange this evidence in three groups, corresponding to the three subordinate issues under the head of the first main issue. Into one of these groups we shall place all the material bearing on the first subordinate issue, namely, whether secret societies exert immoral influences over schools and pupils. We shall then have the following result: —

✓

FIFTH STEP

1. The meetings are often scenes of vice.
2. Of the 185 principals who reported to the National Education Association, only four testified that they had observed no immoral practices.
3. One principal says, "Their demoralizing influence was constant and thoroughly evident."
4. Former members acknowledge that the meetings are often scenes of vice.
5. A majority of school principals reported to the Chicago Committee that drinking, gambling, and late hours are habitual at such meetings.
6. One principal says that pupils do "unmanly deeds as a body in secret that no one would think of doing openly."

Upon examining this evidence we find that 4 and 5

tend to prove 1, and that 2, 3, and 6 tend to prove that school authorities testify almost unanimously to the general immoral tendencies of secret societies. Rearranging these statements, then, according to Rule 9, we shall secure the following:—

## SIXTH STEP

## A. They exert immoral influences, for

1. The meetings are often scenes of vice, for
  - a. Former members acknowledge this.
  - b. A majority of school principals reported to the Chicago Committee that drinking, gambling, and late hours are habitual at such meetings.
2. School authorities testify almost unanimously to the general immoral tendencies, for
  - a. One says, "Their demoralizing influence was constant and thoroughly evident."
  - b. Another says that pupils do "unmanly deeds as a body in secret, that no one would think of doing openly."
  - c. Of the 185 principals who reported to the National Education Association, only four testified that they had observed no immoral tendencies.

*N. E. A. Proceedings*, 1905, p. 447. Testimony of W. H. Smiley, of Denver. (First-hand evidence, not in print.)  
*School Review*, vol. xiii, p. 5.

O. D. Robinson, Prin. of Albany H. S., N. Y. Prin. of H. S., Ann Arbor, Mich.

Prin. G. B. Morrison, of St. Louis (all three in *N. E. A. Report*, p. 446).

The proof of this point is not yet complete, however, since it ignores the contentions of the other side. Those who oppose the prohibition of secret societies say that all should be spared which manifest no immoral tendencies, and they cite the societies at E—— School and H—— Academy as morally sound. We shall therefore add to our constructive proof the following refutation.

## SEVENTH STEP

(Refutation.)

3. Even though the immoral influences of a secret society in a given school may not be evident or even exist at a given time, yet all societies should be prohibited, for
  - a. Immorality is likely to appear at any time, for
    - z. The above testimony shows a general tendency toward immoral practices.
  - y. Membership is constantly changing.
  - z. A committee of the Portland (Maine) School Board says: "Other evils, from which we may now be comparatively free, are likely to appear at any time."

*Daily Eastern Argus*, (Portland, Me.), Nov. 26, 1907.

(Refutation.)

4. Although the societies at E—School and at H—Academy are reported as morally sound, yet these are not fair cases, for
- a. They are not really secret societies, for
    1. A faculty member is obliged to attend every meeting.

*Review of Reviews:*  
Sept., 1907, p. 340. Article by M. Mellus.

We shall next take up the group of cards that tends to prove that secret societies lower the standard of scholarship, and arrange them according to the rules for briefing. In the same way we shall prepare the proof for the third subordinate issue, and for the second and third of the main issues. In each case we shall mark the refutation as such, and give exact references in the margin to the sources of our evidence. The result will be a complete working brief, which we shall further strengthen by the addition of new arguments, authorities, references, and refutation, and by progressive rearrangement of parts. The following brief is not presented as a finished and faultless specimen. It was drawn up and used by two students for the purpose of a class debate. It is such a piece of work as any student ought to be able to prepare after studying the principles and illustrations so far set forth.

#### IV. COMPLETE WORKING BRIEF

Secret societies in public high schools should be prohibited.

##### INTRODUCTION

- I. Recently secret societies in public high schools have aroused great interest in many quarters.
  - A. Investigations by the University of Chicago in 1904-05, and later by a special committee of the National Education Association, have brought the question into public prominence.
  - B. Many school authorities are taking measures to abolish secret societies.

C. Members are protesting vigorously against such action.

D. Several cases are now before the courts.

II. The leading facts in the history of the question are as follows :—

A. In public high schools fraternities and sororities sprang up about fifteen years ago, patterned directly after the college fraternity.

B. For a brief period these societies prospered without exciting the active disapproval of educators.

1. They increased in numbers and were strengthened by chapter systems all over the country.

C. In 1904 the first movement against secret societies in secondary schools was set on foot by President Harper, of the University of Chicago.

D. At the present time the question confronts educators whether or not these societies should be prohibited.

III. For this discussion the terms shall be thus defined :—

A. To *prohibit* means to repress directly by constituted school authorities.

B. *Secret societies* mean national Greek Letter societies of secondary public schools, including those for boys and those for girls, and all local organizations modeled on them, such as Delta Pi and Zeta Beta Psi.

IV. Any discussion of societies under faculty regulation is considered extraneous, in that such societies are not "secret" within the meaning of the proposition.

V. In the discussions that have arisen those who advocate the prohibition of secret societies support the following contentions :—

A. Secret societies exert bad influences over schools and pupils, in that

1. They have immoral tendencies.

VI. Those who oppose the prohibition of secret societies hold the following contentions :—

A. Secret societies exert good influences over schools and pupils, in that

1. The immoral practices attributed to the societies exist in schools where there are no societies.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>2. They lower the standard of scholarship through fostering idleness.</p> <p>3. They are undemocratic.</p>                               | <p>2. They stimulate their members to attain good scholarship for the honor of the society.</p> <p>3. They are analogous to college fraternities in meeting a social need.</p> <p>4. They are result rather than cause of undemocratic spirit in schools.</p> |
| <p>B. These evils can be checked only by the abolition of the societies.</p>  | <p>B. The best method of meeting such evils as exist is through punishing individual members.</p>   |
| <p>C. School authorities have a legal right to prohibit any conduct of pupils which interferes with the general welfare of the schools.</p> | <p>C. School authorities have no jurisdiction legally over the conduct of these societies outside of school hours and school buildings.</p>   |

VII. Through this clash of contentions we reach the following issues, upon which the question hinges: —

- A. Are secret societies in public high schools on the whole good or bad in the influence they exert over schools and pupils?

This in turn may be resolved into these secondary issues: —

1. Do they exert immoral influences?
  2. Do they lower the standard of scholarship?
  3. Are secret societies socially objectionable through causing undemocratic spirit?
- B. Can such evils as exist be dealt with more successfully by prohibiting the societies or by punishing individuals?
- C. Can school authorities legally prohibit secret societies?

## PROOF

Secret societies in public high schools should be prohibited, for

I. Secret societies exert bad influences over schools and pupils, for

A. They exert immoral influences, for

1. The meetings are often scenes of vice, for
  - a. Former members acknowledge this.
  - b. A majority of school principals reported to the Chicago Committee that drinking, gambling, and late hours are habitual at such meetings.
2. School authorities testify almost unanimously to the general immoral tendencies, for
  - a. One says, "Their demoralizing influence was constant and thoroughly evident."
  - b. Another says that pupils do "unmanly deeds as a body in secret, that no one would think of doing openly."
  - c. Of the 185 principals who reported to the National Education Association, only four testified that they had observed no immoral tendencies.

(Refutation.)

3. Even though the immoral influences of a secret society in a given school may not be evident or even exist at a given time, yet all societies should be prohibited, for

- a. Immorality is likely to appear at any time, for
  - z. The above testimony shows a general tendency towards immoral practices.
  - y. Membership is constantly changing.
  - z. A committee of the Portland (Maine) School Board says: "Other evils, from which we may now be comparatively free, are likely to appear at any time."

(Refutation.)

4. Although the societies at E— School and at H— Academy are reported as morally sound, yet these are not fair cases, for

- a. They are not really secret societies, for
  - (1) A faculty member is obliged to attend every meeting.

B. Secret societies lower the standard of scholarship, for

1. They foster idleness outside the school.
2. Students who drink and gamble late into the night cannot do their best work the next morning.
3. Principals and teachers who are elected honorary members often toady to members of societies, for
  - a. They wish to return the favor of election.
4. Principals and teachers who are not honorary members are inclined to toady to a society member, for
  - a. They have reason to desire election if the societies continue, for
    - z. The society members are hostile to teachers who are not members.
  - b. The societies are intimidating forces, for
    - z. This is shown by the fear of principals to allow the use of their names.

N. E. A. *Proceedings* 1905, p. 447. Testimony of W. H. Smiley, Denver.

(First-hand evidence, not in print.)

*School Review*, vol. xiii, p. 5.

O. D. Robinson, Prin. of Albany H. S., N. Y.

Prin of H. S., Ann Arbor, Mich

Prin G. B. Morrison, of St. Louis (all three in N. E. A. Report, p. 446.)

*Daily Eastern Argus* (Portland, Me.), Nov. 26, 1907.

*Review of Reviews*: Sept. 1907, p. 340 Article by M. Melius.

Report of Committee of the N. E. A. on Secret Fraternities, G. B. Morrison, Chairman. Found in N. E. A. *Proceedings*, 1905, p. 445. (Hereafter called N. E. A. Report.)

N. E. A. Report, p. 447.

5. They lessen the good which debating societies, school papers, and similar student activities may yield, for
  - a. The societies keep out able students, for
    - z. The societies introduce cheap politics.
6. They interfere with good order, for
  - a. Silly initiation practices tend to invade the school.
  - b. The national organizations encourage contempt for school authority.
  - c. They "foster a clannish spirit of insubordination, which results in much evil to the good order, harmony, discipline."

N. E. A. Report, p. 446

(C, 2, a, below.)

Supreme Court of Washington; decision fully reported in *Journal of Education*, Dec. 6, 1906.

(Refutation.)

7. Although it is argued that members try to attain high scholarship for the honor of the society, yet this contention is weak, for
  - a. They do not honor high scholarship in electing members.
  - b. It is unreasonable to suppose that principals would almost unanimously oppose a real aid to scholarship.

(C, 1, below.)

C. Secret societies are socially objectionable through causing undemocratic spirit, for

1. Membership is not based on worth, for
  - a. The committee in Melrose (Mass.) found that membership is awarded to "good dollars, good looks, and parental wealth."
  - b. Principal G. B. Morrison, after long investigation, said: "I have not noticed that their ability as students, their manliness, or independence of character has much to do in their selection by fraternities."
  - c. They discriminate against the poorer classes.

F. W. Coburn, in the *Journal of Education*.

N. E. A. Report.

2. They are not conducive to good citizenship, for
  - a. They show little respect for school law and discipline, for
    - z. In Seattle they showed only "contempt for school authority."
    - y. They are encouraged in this by the parent organization.
  - b. They train their members in corrupt politics, for
    - z. They employ the methods of the ward boss.
    - y. Their members are bound by oath to disregard the rights of non-members.
    - z. Their members are bound to vote in school elections, not according to the dictates of conscience, but according to the dictates of ringleaders.

Letters from Principal Geiger, of Seattle, in *Beta Theta Pi Monthly*, Feb. 1907, p. 306.

Editorial from the *Gamma Eta Kappa Magazine*, quoted in above journal.

3. They are unfair to non-members, for
  - a. They seek to control all school elections, for
    - z. Of 800 principals interviewed, 95 per cent condemned the societies on this ground.
  - b. Discrimination against the poor is unfair in public institutions supported by general taxation.
  - c. They avowedly make no provision for the general social good of the school.
4. They tend to destroy school spirit, for
  - a. Loyalty to society comes before loyalty to school.

Sum of those reported above, together with the Conn. investigation. (Found in Mass. Board of Education Report, p. 69.)



- b. Factors stated in C, 1, 2, 3, make against school unity.
- c. School authorities testify to this fact, for
- z. Principals so testified before the committee of the N. E. A.
  - y. Principal Simonds says, "They kill absolutely all true school spirit."
  - x. The Trustees of Coburn Classical Institute say, "Secret societies foster interests inimical to the best democratic fellowship."

N. E. A. Report.

H. D. Simonds, Prin. of Bridgeport (Conn.) H. S.

Act, Abolishing societies at the C. C. I., Waterville, Maine, Oct. 21, 1907.

(Refutation.<sup>1</sup>)

5. Although the alleged social advantages of college fraternities are adduced as evidence in favor of high-school fraternities, yet the analogy is unsound, for
- a. College students, being away from home, are forced to make their own social life.
  - b. College fraternities are also undemocratic and destructive of college spirit.

(Refutation.)

D. Although it is held that secret societies are the result rather than the cause of immoral tendencies, low scholarship, and undemocratic spirit among their members, since these evils exist where there are no secret societies, yet the contention is weak, for

1. Secret societies tend to accentuate these evils, for
  - a. A group will do immoral acts which individual members of the group would not do alone.
  - b. Young people waste more time when united for pleasure.
  - c. Pupils, when organized, will resist school authority who would never do so individually.
  - d. Secret societies draw social lines sharply.
2. Certain evils considered above grow directly out of the initiation oaths.
3. In addition to the evidence cited above, we have the unanimous testimony of the 15 principals and 375 teachers in Chicago high schools characterizing "the influence of the fraternities and societies as harmful to scholarship and to discipline, as un-American and undemocratic."
4. It is unreasonable to suppose that these hundreds of teachers, with the best possible opportunities to know the facts, could be unanimously deceived as to causal relations.

II. Such evils as exist can be dealt with more successfully by prohibiting the societies than by punishing individuals, for

- A. The evidence shows that the immoral practices are pretty general.
- B. The undemocratic tendencies are inherent in the very nature of the societies.
- C. The society interferes with school harmony and order by protesting, as a body, against the punishment of individual members.
- D. If need be, a few innocent pupils must sacrifice the pleasures of the societies for the good of the whole school, for
  1. This is consistent with the purposes for which public schools are founded and maintained.

(Note: C, 2, a, v; 2, b z; 3, a; 3, c.)

Sixty-ninth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of Education, Jan. 1906, p. 193.

<sup>1</sup> This refutation (5 under C) is placed here because it is presented in answer to an objection to C. The following section of refutation is marked as a main section (D) under I, because it is presented in answer to objections to the whole Section I.

- E. The method of punishing individuals is unjust, for
- 1 Secrecy makes it difficult, if not impossible, for authorities to tell what individuals deserve most punishment, for
    - a. The ringleaders are often the most skillful in escaping detection.
- III. School authorities have a legal right to prohibit secret societies, for
- A. School authorities are authorized to adopt and enforce such regulations as may be deemed essential to the well-being of the school.
  - B. If pupils do not comply with the regulations established for the government of the school, "school directors are authorized to suspend or expel such pupils."
  - C. Decisions based on these provisions have been handed down by Supreme Courts, for
    1. The case of *Kinzer v. Directors in Iowa* was so decided.
    2. The case of *Board of Education v. Booth in Kentucky* was so decided.
    3. The case of *Watson v. City of Cambridge in Massachusetts* was so decided.
  - D. The right to prohibit secret societies has been sustained in numerous cases, for
    1. In Seattle, the right of the School Board to deny members of secret societies "all the privileges of the high school except those of the class-room" was affirmed by the local court.
    2. This decision was reaffirmed, on appeal, by the Supreme Court of the State of Washington.
- (Refutation.)
3. Although the Chicago Courts issued an injunction against the Board of Education in its attempt to suppress high school fraternities, yet the decision did not stand, for
    - a. The courts, after mature deliberation, reversed their action, and dissolved the injunction.
- (Refutation.)
- E. Although it is argued that school authorities cannot prohibit meetings held outside of school buildings and school hours, yet courts have ruled otherwise, for
1. A Vermont court declared "that a teacher has the right to punish a pupil for an offense committed out of school hours and away from the school precinct."
  2. Several courts have declared that school authorities have power, granted by the state, to exercise control over school children wherever and whenever such control is necessary to the general welfare of the schools.
- (Refutation.)
- F. Although the case of *State ex rel. Stallard v. White*, 82 Ind. 278, is cited against the legality of our proposition, yet the case is beside the point, for
1. The case concerned applicant before his admission to the institution.

*Ballinger's Annotated Codes and Statutes*, Sec. 2362, Sub-div. 3. Ballinger, Sec. 2339.

(Iowa) 105 N. W. 686.

(Kentucky) 62 S. W. 872, 52 L. R. A. 787. (Mass.) 32 N. E. 863

*Wayland v. Board of School Directors* (86 Pacific Reporter); also *Beta Theta Pi Monthly*, Feb. 1907, p. 300

Same Source: Decision rendered, August 15, 1906.

*Journal of Education*, Sept. 1906.

*Lander v. Seaver*, 32 Vt. 114.

*Board of Education v. Helston*, 32 Ill. App. 390. *Burdick v. Babcock*, 31 Iowa, 562. *Deakins v. Gose*, 85 Mo. 485.

*Jones v. Cody*, 62 L. R. A. 160. Other decisions are summarized in *Education*, Jan. 1908, p. 265. Am. Rep. 493, Supreme Court of Indiana.

## CONCLUSION

- I. Since secret societies in public high schools exert bad influences over schools and pupils, morally, intellectually, and socially ;
- II. Since the plan of dealing with individual members cannot eradicate the evils;
- III. Since it is within the jurisdiction of the law, as stated in general principles and affirmed by numerous test cases, to prohibit such organizations ;  
Therefore, secret societies in public high schools should be prohibited.

## V. SUMMARY OF THE RULES FOR CONSTRUCTING THE BRIEF

1. A brief should be divided into three parts: Introduction, Proof, and Conclusion.
2. A brief should contain nothing but complete statements.
3. Each statement should be marked by a single symbol to indicate its relation to other statements.
4. The Introduction should contain as much information and as many of the steps in analysis as are necessary for an intelligent reading of the Proof.
5. Each of the steps in analysis should be clearly indicated as such.
6. The Introduction should set forth the main issues.
7. The Introduction should make no assertion that requires proof.
8. In the Proof each main statement should correspond to one of the main issues set forth in the Introduction, and thus stand as direct proof of the truth of the Proposition.

9. Each sub-statement should help to prove the truth of the statement to which it is subordinate.
10. Each symbol should stand for a single statement.
11. Each heading of the refutation should state clearly the argument to be refuted.
12. The conclusion should be nothing but a summary, without qualification or other change of phrasing, of the main parts of the argument, followed by an affirmation or denial of the proposition just as it stands at the head of the brief.

### EXERCISES FOR THE SEVENTH CHAPTER

1. Construct a complete brief of the Class Question. Let it be the composite work of the class performed in the classroom.
2. Fill in the blanks in the brief of Burke's *Speech* in Appendix I.
3. Which of the rules for briefing apply in *no way* to the expository outline?
4. Study the briefs in Appendix II to determine whether the rules for briefing have been observed throughout. Test each brief in turn by each rule. Revise Brief B.
5. Write briefs for the following arguments:—
  - a. Macaulay, "Speech on Copyright."
  - b. Huxley, "Lectures on Evolution."
  - c. Roosevelt, "The World Movement."
  - d. Beecher, "Liverpool Speech."
6. Read Outline B in Appendix III. Then read what Carlyle wrote about Mahomet in *Heroes and Hero-Worship*. How clear an idea of the essay did you get from the outline? Make a more adequate outline, using complete statements.
7. Make a brief of the student's argument in Appendix IV.

## EIGHTH CHAPTER

### DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARGUMENT FROM THE BRIEF

∴“ We doubt whether a man ever brings his faculties to bear with their whole force on a subject until he writes upon it. By attempting to seize his thoughts and fix them in an enduring form, he finds them vague and unsatisfactory to a degree which he did not suspect, and toils for a precision and harmony of views of which he never before felt the need.”—  
CHANNING.

THE relation of the brief to the complete written argument may best be seen by observing them side by side. The following brief and argument, substantially in their present form, were prepared by a student as a part of his work in a course in argumentative writing. This specimen, like that in the last chapter, is not presented as a masterpiece, but as an illustration of the kind of work any student may hope to do after a conscientious study of the principles and illustrations here set forth. The references are omitted from this brief, in the interests of simplicity, as the present object is to illustrate how the complete argument is developed from the brief. The parts of an argument should not be labeled with technical terms: the terms are here used only for purposes of instruction. In this chapter the complete argument is printed only on the right-hand pages, facing the brief, on the left-hand pages, from which the argument in its present form was developed.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Another student's brief and argument, set up in the same way, is found in *Argumentation and Debating*, pp. 220-42. The subject concerns property qualification for municipal franchise.

## STUDENT'S BRIEF

*A guarantee bank deposit system similar to the one in use in Oklahoma is desirable.*

## INTRODUCTION

- I. The origin and history of the question include the following facts : —
  - A. New York had a guarantee bank deposit law in 1829, Vermont in 1831, and Michigan in 1836.
  - B. The panic of 1907 aroused public consciousness to the need of finance reform.
  - C. The Democratic Convention in Denver in 1908 adopted a plank in favor of a voluntary national system.
  - D. President Taft is opposed to a compulsory guarantee system.
  - E. A guarantee bank deposit system went into operation in Oklahoma in February, 1908.
  - F. Texas, Kansas, and Nebraska have adopted the plan, and several other states are considering it.
  - G. The Attorney-General of the United States has decided that no national bank could enter such a system.
- II. The following definitions are essential to a discussion of this question : —
  - A. According to the Oklahoma law, all of the State banks are liable, through a *pro rata* contribution to a central fund, to pay off the depositors of a failed bank.

## STUDENT'S ARGUMENT

*A guarantee bank deposit system similar to the one in use in Oklahoma is desirable.*

## INTRODUCTION

The guarantee of bank deposits dates its origin from the Chinese, who furnished the inspiration for the old New York Safety Fund Law. This law was passed by the New York Legislature in 1829. Similar laws were passed in Vermont in 1831 and in Michigan in 1836. In each case the experiment was an absolute failure.

Origin and  
History of the  
Question.

During the panic of 1907 public consciousness was aroused to the need of banking reform. In 1908 the Democratic Convention in Denver provided in their platform for a voluntary national guarantee system. Simultaneously President Taft announced his opposition to a compulsory guarantee system. In February, 1908, a guarantee bank deposit law went into operation in Oklahoma. Texas, Kansas, and Nebraska have adopted the plan with slight alterations, and several other states are considering parallel bills. National banks, however, are excluded from participating in the system by a recent decision of the United States Attorney-General.

The Oklahoma law provides for an assessment of one per cent of the average daily deposits of all state banks for the first year, and one-twentieth of one per cent for each year following, until the total fund reaches five per cent of the average daily deposits. Thereafter assessments will be levied only in proportion to the growth of deposits. If the fund should ever become depleted, the law provides an emergency assessment not in excess of two per cent for any one year. The fund is placed under the control of the State Banking Board, which is authorized to pay immediately out of this fund all depositors of an insolvent state bank. In short, the guarantee system provides that all banks included within the scheme shall be mutually liable for one another's

Definitions.

B. The causes of bank failures are : —

1. Lack of popular confidence.

2. Tight money.

3. Unconservative or dishonest management.

III. The fact that any safer banking, resulting from better official inspection of banks or more conservative methods of management, happens to occur under a guarantee system, is irrelevant.

A. These are elements of all banking systems and not characteristic of the guarantee plan.

IV. Other affirmative contentions are : —

A. Justice to the depositor demands the guarantee of bank deposits.

B. The present banking system cannot be made to protect depositors absolutely.

V. The issues, then, are the following : —

A. Does justice to the depositor demand the guarantee of bank deposits ?

B. Does the guarantee of bank deposits remove, wholly or partly, any of the causes of bank failure ?

1. Does it strengthen popular confidence ?

2. Does it mitigate a tight money situation ?

3. Does it result in conservative and honest banking ?

C. Can the present banking system be made to protect depositors absolutely ?



deposits through a common guarantee fund, until the fund itself becomes insolvent.

There are three general causes of bank failures. First, a lack of confidence on the part of the depositing public, which may precipitate a run on the bank. If this run occurs at a time of unusually inflated credit, insolvency is probable. Second, a tight money period, when credit is inflated beyond the circulating power of money, whether or not accompanied by runs or panics, is likely to result in a number of banks closing their doors. Third, unconservative, and even dishonest, methods of management often bring about bankruptcy. These causes are not altogether distinct in operation. Usually all three causes are more or less jointly responsible for a bank failure.

The fact that any safer banking, resulting from better official inspection of banks or from more conservative methods of management, happens to occur under a guarantee system, is irrelevant. These are elements of **Irrelevant Matter.** all banking systems, not unique in the guarantee plan. These are not results of the guarantee system, but together with the guarantee element, these are parallel causes—actual or professed—of stable banking.

It is obvious, then, that a guarantee bank deposit system is desirable or undesirable according to its good or bad effect upon the underlying causes of bank failure. Other affirmative contentions, however, are that justice **Affirmative Contentions.** to the depositor demands the guarantee of bank deposits, and that the present banking system cannot be made to guarantee deposits absolutely.

The issues, therefore, upon which this argument must proceed are these: First, does justice to the depositor demand the guarantee of bank deposits? Second, does the guarantee of bank deposits remove, wholly or **Issues.** partly, the causes of bank failure? To be specific, does the guarantee system strengthen popular confidence? Does it mitigate a tight money situation? And does it result in more conservative and honest banking? Third, can the present banking system be made to guarantee depositors absolutely?

## PROOF FOR THE NEGATIVE

I. Justice to the depositor does not demand a system of guaranteeing bank deposits, for

A. Only about 40% of the banks would be included in the plan, for

1. National banks are excluded by the decision of the Attorney-General.
2. Savings banks do not need it.

B. Depositors in commercial state banks are already guaranteed, for

1. These banks are periodically inspected by state officers.
2. Clearing-house associations cherish the solvency of the banks concerned.
3. The liability of the stockholders stirs them to demand conservative banking from the officials whom they elect.

(Refutation)

C. The argument that we need a guarantee system, because the bank depositors of the country lose \$3,500,000 annually is weak, for

1. This amount is not an appreciable percentage of the whole.
2. This amount can be largely reduced by a stricter administration of the present system.
3. Under the guarantee system the depositor would in the end be guaranteeing his own deposits, for
  - a. The banker would shift the burden of his forced contribution to the guarantee fund, for
    - x. He would pay a lower rate of interest to his depositors.

## PROOF FOR THE NEGATIVE

A favorite argument with the affirmative is that justice to the depositor demands that his deposits be guaranteed. The question is, *how* guaranteed? Certainly not by the Oklahoma System. **First Issue.**

In the first place, about sixty per cent of our banks are excluded from the guarantee system. By the decision of the Attorney-General, already referred to, all national banks are without the pale, although their average annual loss is one twenty-sixth of one per cent. Savings banks, moreover, do not need the guarantee plan. Depositors in the remaining forty per cent of commercial state banks are well guaranteed at present. These banks are periodically inspected by State officers, who have authority to declare a bank insolvent the moment its financial condition passes a certain line prescribed by law. The examiners may also recommend measures to a bank which seems to be approaching the danger mark. Furthermore, the clearing-house associations assist in keeping individual banks solvent, when only temporarily embarrassed. Again, when a bank fails, the stockholders sacrifice the total value of their stock to pay the creditors of the bank. This possibility constantly stirs them to demand conservative management from the officials whom they elect.

The frequent argument of the affirmative that we need a guarantee system, because the depositors of the country lose \$3,500,000 annually, is weak. To begin with, this amount is hardly an appreciable percentage of the total deposits of the country, being scarcely more than one eighth of one per cent. And this amount, if desirable, can be largely reduced by a stricter administration of present banking machinery. But even under the guarantee system the affirmative admit the probability of some failures. Who, pray, would pay these losses? The guarantee fund, to be sure, contributed by the bankers, of course. Now the banker is a wise business man. He would shift the burden of this forced contribution on to the banking public. He would pay a lower rate of interest to

y. He would assess a higher rate of interest on loans to them.

D. The argument that we need a guarantee system for the depositor, because other parties to banking are secured, is unsound, for

1. The government — Federal, state or local — must exact security for deposits in any bank, for  
a. As a trustee it is accountable for all public money.

2. The banker must demand security for his loans, for

a. Only in this way can the banker guarantee his depositor.

II. The guarantee bank deposit system increases the causes of bank failures, for

A. It creates blind confidence, for

1. The guarantee fund is inadequate, for

a. An adequate fund would need to be able to pay cash to all depositors of one or more failed banks immediately.

his depositors, and exact a higher rate of interest on his loans. Under the guarantee system the depositor would in the end be guaranteeing his own deposits.

The further argument of the affirmative, that we need a guarantee system for the depositor because other parties to banking are secured, is likewise unsound. It is true that the government — either Federal, state, or local — never deposits money in a bank without ample security. But there is no analogy between the government and an individual in this matter. The government is a trustee of public money and is strictly accountable for it. The banker also must demand security for his loans, for only in this way can he guarantee, not himself merely, but also his depositor.

But whether justice to the depositor did or did not demand greater safety for his deposits, yet the guarantee bank deposit system is undesirable, because it intensifies the very evil which it is meant to alleviate; viz., bank failures. Now we have seen that there are three underlying causes of bank failure: lack of popular confidence, a tight money market, and unconservative and dishonest management. Let us consider the effect of the guarantee system on each of these three causes separately.

Granting that the guarantee plan did create confidence in the minds of the people, this confidence would be but temporary. Yet it might last long enough to lull suspicion on all sides until a great financial calamity came to pass. The main reason why confidence will not last is because the fund is inadequate. About a year after the enactment of the Oklahoma law the Columbian Trust Company failed. Instantly the fund and the emergency assessment were wiped out. The State Banking Board was obliged to issue six per cent interest-bearing certificates, or promises to pay when the fund should become rehabilitated. This was the result of one bank failure. Should a panic condition exist and a series of bank failures occur, the fund would be hopelessly inadequate. An adequate fund would need to be able to pay all depositors of failed banks under panic as well as normal conditions. This

Second Issue: First Sub-topio.

2. A deferred panic is the greater crash.

B. It tends to make a tight money situation still tighter, for

1. It cannot materially increase deposits, for

a. The amount of hoarded money now is insignificant.

2. It cannot increase the cash basis of an abnormally expanded credit in a panic.

3. It does not decrease runs, for

a. It simply shifts the run from the bank to the guarantee fund.

4. The ultimate loss of confidence in the guarantee fund will react severely during a financial stringency.

C. It increases reckless banking, for

1. It invites inexperienced and unscrupulous men into the business, for

a. All alike can get deposits, for

x. The depositors do not discriminate between good and bad banks, for

(x) Their deposits are guaranteed, they believe.

is not feasible, because such a large amount of money could not be kept in reserve without seriously impairing the nation's credit. Under such conditions, the longer the people repose blind confidence in the guarantee system, the worse; for a deferred panic is the greater crash.

In the second place, the guarantee plan tends to make a tight money situation still tighter. Under this plan deposits cannot be materially increased. The only permanent increase of deposits would need to come from funds not now deposited, or from what is known as *hoarded* money. The very fact that the money is hoarded implies the secrecy which makes it impossible to find out how much is thus kept out of circulation. Popular imagination places the amount as very high, when in actuality it is probably insignificant. In either event, however, we cannot base an argument on an undiscoverable fact. If this guarantee system cannot materially increase deposits, it follows obviously that it cannot increase the cash basis of an abnormally expanded credit in time of financial depression.

Second Issue: Second Sub-topic.

Once more, the guarantee system does not decrease runs. Only a moment's thought, plus the case of the Columbian Trust Company, shows that the run is simply shifted from the bank to the guarantee fund. So far, then, we see that the Oklahoma plan does not improve in any way a financial stringency. When we take into account the ultimate loss of confidence, already discussed, and the tendency to reckless banking, which we shall consider in a moment, it is plain that the guarantee system will make a tight market still tighter.

In the third place, the guarantee system increases reckless banking, because it invites inexperienced and unscrupulous men into the business. The chief necessity of the banking business is to get deposits. Under present conditions a banker's deposits depend largely upon his reputation for safety and conservatism. With deposits guaranteed, however, any would-be banker could succeed. The depositing public would no longer dis-

Second Issue: Third Sub-topic.

2. It decreases the ability of banks to withstand a crisis, for
    - a. The banker reduces his capital, reserve, and undivided profits to the legal minimum, for
    - x. He depends upon the assumed greater confidence of his depositors.
    - y. He believes that his depositors will be safe in any case.
    - z. He wishes to reap the profits of an expanded credit.
- III. The present banking system can be made to guarantee the depositor absolutely, for
- A. We can enforce a more rigid inspection of banks.
  - B. We can by law increase the capital and reserves.
  - C. We can increase the stockholders' liability.
  - D. These conditions can be made strict enough to abolish all bank failures.

### CONCLUSION

- I. Since justice to the depositor does not demand a system of guaranteeing bank deposits ;



criminate between good and bad bankers, for they would regard their deposits as safe anywhere.

Reckless banking under the Oklahoma plan would be brought about not only by the appearance of inferior men in the business, but the tendency would be for good and bad bankers alike to take greater chances. The strength of a bank lies in its capital, reserves, and undivided profits, of which the minimum amounts are variously prescribed by law. At present most banks voluntarily place these considerably above the minimum legal requirements. Under the guarantee plan the tendency would be to decrease these as far as possible: The banker would depend upon the assumed greater confidence of the public to check runs upon his bank. His innate business caution would be blunted by the thought that his depositors were safe in any case. And he would naturally desire to reap the additional profits of an expanded credit. Thus the ability of the banks to withstand a crisis would be decreased.

Finally, we maintain that the present banking system can be made to guarantee the depositor absolutely. There are in the banking system at present three ways of guar- <sup>Third Is-</sup>anteeing the depositor more or less completely. <sup>sure.</sup>

These are the official inspection of banks, the capital and reserves, and the stockholders' liability. At present these elements are not an absolute guarantee, but they could readily be made so. More frequent and more rigid inspection, larger capital and reserves prescribed by law, doubling, tripling, even quadrupling, the stockholders' liability, — these checks could be developed far enough to avoid all bank failures whatsoever. And if such strict banking laws kept a few men out of the profession now and then, it would not be a blight upon the banking business, but its happy purification.

#### PERORATION

We are face to face with a practical situation. Banks do fail and depositors do lose money from time to time. But the idea that justice to the depositor demands his immunity from

- II. Since the guarantee bank deposit system increases the causes of bank failures ;
- III. And since the present banking system can be made to guarantee the depositor absolutely ;  
Therefore, a guarantee bank deposit system similar to the one in use in Oklahoma is not desirable.

disaster in one line of business more than in another, or in any line of business beyond the practical possibilities of that business as now conducted, is hardly tenable. Furthermore, whatever abstract justice may demand, a guarantee bank deposit system, similar to the one in use in Oklahoma, is highly undesirable ; because it intensifies the causes of bank failures, thus aggravating the exact trouble which it is supposed to alleviate. And, in conclusion, our banking system of to-day, unencumbered by any guarantee measure, possesses the elements of absolute safety. These elements are largely effective at this moment, and could be made perfectly effective without loss of time, or any visionary or impractical complications.

## NINTH CHAPTER

### DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARGUMENT: PRINCIPLES OF STYLE

THE next step in the natural course of our work is to clothe the skeleton brief with convincing and persuasive language. The rigidity of construction resulting from careful briefing is even more desirable for oral speech than for written discourse. The reader may re-read at his pleasure, but the listener cannot rehear except as the speaker very rarely repeats. Therefore, every aid of logical and systematic arrangement and presentation becomes peculiarly vital in public address. But the finished argument must add the charms of effective and persuasive style to the mere convincingness of the brief.

We have already noted that both exposition and argument must be eminently clear. We have seen that clearness depends on the application of the principles of unity, emphasis, and coherence. But argument must be forceful. Otherwise it cannot produce belief and action. Four qualities of the forceful style are BREVITY, CONCRETENESS, ILLUSTRATION, and PERSUASION.

#### I. BREVITY

To be able "to say nothing with elaboration" is no attribute of genius. A forceful style is impossible without compression. Dean Swift said that he who makes two ears of corn grow where only one grew before deserves well of mankind. The contrary holds in writing and speaking. Our gratitude goes to the man who

puts in one word what another puts in two. "Even a man who has no gift for oratory, no enthusiasm, no fervor, no magnetism, as it is called, can make a presentable figure on the platform if he rises knowing exactly what he wants to say, if he says that and no more, and if he sits down as soon as he has said it. But his failure will be total if he does not know what he wants to say, and if he talks forever in the vain hope of happening upon it by accident."

The time limit in debate enforces invaluable practice in economy of words. To summarize and repeat until the meaning is clear to everybody, and yet to waste no words, is an art as difficult as it is important. The art is difficult because gross extravagance in the use of words is a universal fault, and because in trying to condense there is constant danger, especially in spoken discourse, of sacrificing clearness to brevity. The art is important because a well-prepared speaker usually has many times as much that he would like to say as he has time to say. His first draft of a ten-minute speech may take a half-hour for delivery. The amount that he can put effectively into a given number of minutes depends largely on his skill in condensing.

One may weary an audience by quoting an authority at length, or, far better, he may ferret out the significant words and apply them directly to the point at issue; one may enlarge upon an illustration until it becomes wearisome, or give the point in a parenthetical phrase; one may pack a number of bits of correlated evidence under one introductory sentence, or waste an introduction on each. Methods of condensation are innumerable; the absolute necessity of giving the substance of an hour's speech in ten minutes is the mother

of invention. And this necessity is one of the great educational values of formal debate. The time limit demands compression.

## II. CONCRETENESS

The concrete is much more effective than the abstract; the specific is much more effective than the general. A speaker might talk about the evils of intemperance in the abstract without the slightest effect on his hearers, yet move them to tears by one definite instance of a ruined life. Emotion is concerned with particulars rather than with generalities.

Mindful of our own precepts, suppose we now contrast the examples of the abstract and general in the first column with the examples of the concrete and specific in the second column.

The proportion of the students of a university who take part in intercollegiate athletics is small.

"The burden of taxation does not fall according to assessed valuation, for city capitalists are not taxed on their chief wealth. Those engaged in agricultural pursuits, on the other hand, are taxed on the greater part of their property."—Student forensic.

Many elective courses are offered in the large universities.

"In all the despotisms of the East it has been observed that the farther any part of the empire is removed from the capital the more do its inhabitants enjoy some sort of rights and privileges; the more inefficacious is the power of the monarch; and the more feeble and easily decayed is the organization of the government."—Lord Brougham.

Of the four thousand students at the University of Chicago in 1907, only forty took active part in football games.

"These figures are deceptive. You can buy in Portland your thousand dollar bond and put it in a safe deposit vault and clip its coupons and pay no taxes on it; but the farmer out on these hills, if he buys a blooded cow to help the dairy interests of his neighborhood, is taxed on it."—Herbert M. Heath.

"For one man to take all the courses offered by Harvard University would require one hundred and ten years."—Student in class debate.

"In large bodies the circulation of power must be less vigorous at the extremities. Nature has said it. The Turk cannot govern Egypt and Arabia and Kurdistan as he governs Thrace; nor has he the same dominion in Crimea and Algiers which he has at Brusa and Smyrna. Despotism itself is obliged to truck and huckster. The Sultan gets such obedience as he can."—Burke.

In proportion as the manners, customs, and amusements of a nation are cruel and barbarous, the regulations of their penal code will be severe.

In proportion as men delight in battles, bull-fights, and combats of gladiators, will they punish by hanging, burning, and the rack.—  
From Spencer's essay on *The Philosophy of Style*.

The gist of an argument packed into a single concrete epigram will make a quicker and more lasting impression than ten times the number of colorless words. This was the merit of Lincoln's reply in the most trying days of the Civil War to those who urged a change of commanders. He considered it poor policy "to swap horses while crossing a stream." The argument for the small college is summed up in one telling epigram, "At the large college, the student may go through more college, but at the small college, more college goes through him." From these examples of the superiority of the concrete, we turn to the broader subject of Illustration.

### III. ILLUSTRATION

From the nature of the concrete and the specific, illustrations derive their force. An illustration must be apt in every particular. It must suggest the desired conclusion and no other. Unless a person has sufficient imagination to see an illustration as others will see it, he may have it turned against him.

An unhappy illustration, turned effectively against the man who employed it, is quoted in Alden's *The Art of Debate*:—

In an American court a suit for damages was brought against a railroad company which had refused a ticket reading "From A. to B." on the ground that the passenger was traveling from B. to A. The attorney for the railroad argued that the passenger was really claiming a different service from that he had paid for. "He paid for passage from

A. to B." he said, "and yet demands passage from B. to A. He might as well buy a barrel of potatoes at a grocery, and then sue the grocer on the ground that he did not deliver apples instead." When the attorney for the plaintiff had opportunity to reply, he said: "The illustration drawn from the barrel of apples and the barrel of potatoes seems to be an unfortunate one for my friend on the other side. The present case would be better illustrated by a grocer, who, having sold a customer a barrel of apples, should insist that he should begin at the top and eat down, whereas the customer had a preference for beginning at the bottom and eating up."

From the nature of the concrete and the familiar, it follows that figures of speech are most effective which deal with experiences of daily life. When Burke says, "Your ancestors did not churlishly *sit down* alone to the *feast* of Magna Charta," he uses a figure which any civilized person can understand. The same is true of his declaration, "The public would not have patience to see us *play the game out*," and of the following: "It is nothing but a little sally of anger, *like the forwardness of peevish children*, who, when they cannot get all they would have, are resolved to take nothing"; "I *put my foot in the tracks* of our forefathers, where I can neither *wander* nor *stumble*." Still more varied in figurative language is the single paragraph of the *Speech on Conciliation* — the sixty-sixth — in which he emphasizes his point by means of abrupt stops, hyperbole, climax, metaphor, antithesis, balance, rhetorical questions, and repetition.

A story introduced in argument for purposes of illustration is usually exceedingly effective or exceedingly flat. It is effective if it hits the point, directly and unmistakably, and if it is wholly subservient to its pur-



pose. It is flat if it is vague or too long, and if it makes any pretensions at being the substance rather than the illumination of the argument.

All kinds of illustrations are merely aids to the effective presentation of arguments, not themselves of evidential force. A philosopher has been likened to a blind man in a dark cellar hunting for a black cat that is n't there. This simile — apt, concrete, and amusing though it is — proves nothing with regard to the philosopher. Care must be taken not to use any kind of illustrations in place of proof.

#### IV. PERSUASION

The study of analysis, structure, reasoning, and evidence is the study of conviction. Conviction addresses the understanding; it aims to establish belief on rational grounds. But so strong are the influences of inherited opinions, the pressure of the crowd, personal desires and feelings, that *action* is not often based on purely rational motives. "A man convinced against his will is of the same opinion still," and he acts accordingly. The volition must be secured through arousing the emotions. This is the work of persuasion.

A reasoning process as cold as a demonstration in geometry, which utterly disregards the feelings, is pure conviction. Nothing more would be needed for a scientist who, in the pursuit of truth, had succeeded in trampling his prejudices under him. But argument is commonly addressed to men and women with desires and latent emotions which conviction alone cannot use or overcome. It is sometimes more important to get an emotion into a man's heart than to get an idea into his head. Especially is this true when we aim not only to

secure belief, but also to incite action in accord with belief.

Suppose, as a delegate to a conference, you wish to win the coöperation of a smaller and weaker rival school in forming an arbitration league. You may show by logic and evidence that such a league would be efficient in accomplishing its purposes, would be greatly to the advantage of the smaller school, and would tend to decrease dishonorable practices in school contests. This work in conviction might be perfect, and yet fail to accomplish its object; for you might treat the delegates of the smaller school with such an air of conscious superiority that they would be unwilling to enter an alliance with you even for their own good. If you implied that the league would find work to do in punishing the dishonorable practices of the smaller school, you might create such antagonism as to defeat your plan. Because of your failure in persuasion, you might convince and yet fail to secure action.

Suppose, on the contrary, you approach the delegates of the smaller school with courtesy and evident fairness. Suppose, in treating the matter of honor in athletics, you acknowledge a violation of rules on the part of your own school and show how the proposed league would punish such violation. Suppose you ignore for the moment your own list of victories and give credit to your rival for gains in recent years. Suppose you refer to an influential graduate of that school who favors the league. With such persuasion you might accomplish your purpose.

Valuable as is persuasion in reaching the will, it can never do the work of conviction. Persuasion without conviction is unreliable. These two parts — conviction,

which appeals to the reason, and persuasion, which appeals to the emotion — work together in nearly all successful argument.

Making due allowance for that persuasion resulting from the effective use of rhetorical aids, we may now regard persuasion as it exists in the speaker. The attributes of the speaker which are most effective in persuasion are Sincerity, Earnestness, Simplicity, Fairness, Self-Control, Sense of Humor, and Sympathy.

1. **Sincerity.** So essential to effective public speaking is straightforward and uncompromising honesty that Renan declares: "Oratorical and literary success has never but one cause, absolute sincerity." This quality Carlyle would have us take as his primary definition of a Great Man: "No Mirabeau, Napoleon, Burns, Cromwell, no man adequate to do anything, but is first of all in right earnest about it; what I call a sincere man. I should say sincerity, a deep, great, genuine sincerity, is the first characteristic of all men in any way heroic." Without sincerity a speaker may entertain his hearers; even a hypocrite may accomplish his immediate object. But that is all. The hired spellbinder wins the applause, but not the hearts. The creature who simulates emotion is soon found out and despised. The audience declares with Emerson, "What you are speaks so loud, I cannot hear what you say." The quest for enduring success is vain without this basis, — constant, genuine sincerity.

2. **Earnestness.** The speaker must be dead in earnest. He must be lifted out of himself and beyond all that is petty and beside the point, by the depth of his conviction and the irresistible impulse of his emotion. There is an old Indian legend that a bullet dipped in

blood hits the mark. To impress an audience with his sincerity, the speaker must be sincere; to achieve the effects of earnestness, the speaker must be in earnest.

3. **Simplicity.** Another source of persuasion in the speaker is simplicity. This reveals itself in his bearing, in his manner, in his conversational tone, in the directness and apparent naturalness of his language, in the absence of oratorical cadences and what appear to be premeditated gestures; the absence, in short, of all affectation. What is natural to a speaker is not always effective, but what is put on for the occasion is never effective. Anything other than the thought which attracts the attention of the audience is bad. Clothes, voice, mannerisms, rhetoric, enunciation, gestures, and the very speaker himself are mere means to an end, which is the conveyance of thought. The most successful speaker, therefore, is he who most nearly concentrates the attention of the audience on what he says.

4. **Fairness.** Fairness is itself persuasive. Do not attempt to conceal important facts which make against your position. Give your opponent all possible credit; concede all that you can honestly concede. Grant him everything but the one point which you *must* establish. Present his case with manifest fairness. Present it better than he can present it. If you cannot state your opponent's case, you do not know it; if you do not know it, you cannot hope to refute it; and if you dare not state it, you acknowledge that you deserve defeat at the start. Give your opponent credit for good faith, and thus escape personalities. Save your time and your energy for refuting his arguments rather than himself.

When you quote, quote exactly, if possible. When this is not possible, say so. In reading a quotation, place

the emphasis where the writer evidently intended to place it. Omit no qualifying phrases or clauses which have any bearing on the point at issue. In short, try to place yourself in the position of your adversaries; you will then have no temptation to make quotations which invite the charge of unfairness.

**5. Self-Control.** A speaker should have self-control. Behind his most impassioned speech he must have reserve force. He must have such command of self that his hearers will believe his convictions to be the result of calm, vigorous thinking, and his strongest emotions to be under the control of his intellect. The debater, especially, should remember that a speaker who loses his temper loses his audience.

Self-control is further persuasive through enabling a speaker to master difficult situations. He can rarely foretell all the conditions under which he may be obliged to speak, or all the annoying happenings of the hour. Under the most trying circumstances, he must command his audience. His quickness and tact must seize upon the event which threatens to break up the meeting, and turn a defeat into victory. His calmness must quiet a panic. His firmness must unnerve a mob. To be master of any situation, a man must first be master of himself.

**6. Humor.** The possibilities of persuasion are greater if the audience is in good humor. A sense of humor may enable a speaker to use to his advantage what would otherwise be his downfall. Sometimes he can do no better than to relieve the strain of a long, serious address by an amusing illustration or anecdote. If properly used, it serves the purpose of the jester's scene in a tragedy; by contrast, it heightens the effect

of the serious parts. A single touch of humor may be the saving grace of an otherwise tiresome speech. But it must be pertinent; it must leave open no chance for ambiguous interpretation; it must be brief; and it must be subservient to the main purpose. Let the speaker take care, however, that the audience laugh *with* him, rather than *at* him, and that he leave uppermost in their minds, not the humor, but the serious central theme of his address.

7. **Sympathy.** An important qualification of the persuasive speaker is sympathy. Indeed, the basis of the whole art of persuasion is a knowledge of human nature as sympathetic as it is wide. The speaker who knows men tells instinctively what emotions he may appeal to in a given audience, what ideas he must leave unspoken, and he knows when another word will spoil all that he has done. Such a speaker will never "talk down" to his audience; he will not assume the rôle of the dictator; he will not strike an attitude as if to set the world aright; and he will not approach his audience as though he expected to browbeat them into convictions. The persuasive speaker knows that the public is willing to be led, never willing to be driven. So he merely takes them into his confidence. Putting himself in the position of his hearers, he selects those phases of the subject which are closest to their interests. He cultivates the power and the habit of getting the point of view of "the other fellow." He feels the state of mind and body of his every hearer and adapts his address accordingly. This is persuasion.

The power of a speaker to draw a whole audience into the circle of his influence, and to hold them as if entranced until his last word, is more easily felt than

defined. This power may be called personal magnetism. It is the sum total of all the speaker's attributes, — his physical, mental, and moral characteristics, raised to their highest power, and working together for a definite object. In this respect, more than in any other, an orator is born, not made. Yet all that a man does to keep his body well formed and strong and healthy, all that he does to make his thought keen and deep and sound, and all that he does to make his conduct right as God gives him to see the right, contribute to personal magnetism. A great and good speaker must first be a great and good man.

### EXERCISES FOR THE NINTH CHAPTER

1. Develop the written argument on the Class Question from the brief. Consider particularly brevity, concreteness, and persuasiveness. Do not ignore other principles and qualities of style. Let it be the composite work of the class.
2. Review the discussion of transition in Chapter I. Turn to Burke's *Speech on Conciliation*. Observe the opening sentences, announcing what may be expected, in paragraphs 15, 32, 33, 34, 35, 50, 79, 80. Note the transitional opening sentences of paragraphs 25, 26, 29, 57, 58, 59, 75. Consider, in paragraphs 44, 48, 67, 72, the clearly defined connection of the opening sentences with what precedes. Consider as well the summarizing sentences in paragraphs 36, 41, 44, 59, 62, and the single-word connectives in paragraphs 44, 48, 67, 72.
3. Write out Lincoln's Gettysburg Speech, and underline every word that helps to indicate the logical sequence of thought.
4. Find in Burke's Speech ten transitional sentences and ten summarizing sentences other than those mentioned above.
5. Write out paragraph 14 of Burke's Speech, underlining the connectives.
6. Write a letter to a boy in another preparatory school asking him to enter the college of your choice. The letter should be so clearly adapted to this boy that the other members of the

class, on hearing it read, will be able to tell about the boy's position, habits, temperament, interests, and desires.

7. By what methods does Burke endeavor, in his Introduction, to arouse interest, overcome prejudice, and gain favorable consideration for his plan ?
8. What are the persuasive qualities in Burke's Speech, from paragraph 142 to the end ? To what motives does he appeal ?
9. Discuss the methods of persuasion in one of the following speeches : —  
 Phillips Brooks, *Fourth of July Address*.  
 Booker T. Washington, *Address at the Atlanta Exposition*.  
 John Brown, *Farewell Speech*.  
 Wendell Phillips, *Toussaint L'Ouverture*.  
 (These speeches are all included in Baker's *The Forms of Public Address*.)
10. For further examples of persuasion see the following : —  
 Bryan, *Speech of Acceptance*, August 12, 1908.  
 Hughes' *Youngstown Speech*, September 5, 1908.  
 Lindsay's account of Roosevelt in Denver in 1896, *Everybody's Magazine*.  
 Andrews, *The Perfect Tribute*.



## TENTH CHAPTER

### DEBATING

THE oral presentation of argument under fixed rules, whereby each side of the question is given a limited hearing and immediate opportunity to reply to the other side, is called formal debate. Matters that apply particularly to formal debate we have now to consider.

Formal debate is a kind of game. In the time limit, the order of speakers, the alternation of sides, the give and take of rebuttal, the rules of conduct, the ethics of the contest, the qualifications for success, and the final awarding of victory, debate has much in common with tennis. The debater needs the clear head, confidence, self-control, quick judgment, foresight, decision, and endurance of the tennis expert. In the stress of actual debate, he must discover his opponent's weakest spots; he must be alert to detect the unguarded points in the defense, and strike them at the right time. Often in debate, as in tennis, an opening is offered which must be taken at once or lost forever. In debate, as in tennis, an adversary may strike beyond the bounds of the contest. Then the wise policy is to take advantage of the digression, without digressing. In tennis, the player must plan his attack and foresee its outcome with reference to the anticipated defense; so in debate, the speaker must perceive how his own case will develop and result in actual conflict with the case of the other side.

Within the limits of the contest, and with timely

consideration of every possible defense, debater or tennis player must select that kind of attack which seems most likely to fall beyond the reach of his opponent's strongest strokes. The tennis player may grant his opponent a brilliant superiority in net play, and yet win by keeping the game away from the net, while excelling in other plays. The debater may grant his opponent the advantage on one issue, and yet win by driving him to greater issues on which he himself holds the balance of power. Indeed, the simile might be carried further, for victory in debate, as in tennis, depends largely on years of training, and on the mental alertness and physical endurance of the contestants.

**The Tendency to Quibble.** Debates are often unsatisfactory because of quibbles over the meaning of terms, evasions of what seem to be the main issues, and consequent failure of the sides to clash. No matter how carefully a proposition is phrased, some disputants, with more ingenuity than sense, will try to force upon their opponents unusual meanings of the terms, and seek still further to evade the real issues of the question by a narrow or strained construction. This kind of "debating" should be condemned.

Men should remember that quibbling is no preparation for the problems of life; that the object of argumentation is to arrive at truth, not to obscure truth. Trick plays have a taint of meanness. A debater who insists on a controversy over words instead of ideas is like a runner who strives to push his rival off the course so that neither can breast the tape. In any event, a victory won by fouling an opponent is less to be desired than a manly defeat.

Even when there is no intentional dodging of the

issues, eagerness to win often leads to such curious tricks of interpretation that the opposing teams fail to clash early in the contest, if at all. In a debate at the University of Wisconsin, on the proposition, "Resolved, that a system of compulsory workingmen's insurance should be established in the United States," the two sides failed to clash. One side interpreted the proposition as meaning that the employers should be compelled to insure their laborers. The other side insisted that compulsory insurance was the requirement that workingmen should insure themselves. Thus the two sides moved by each other as smoothly as passing trains on parallel tracks. There was no debate. A real debate is a head-on collision. When the two sides fail to come squarely together before the time is half spent, the audience become restive, if not disgusted. They feel that the series of addresses would be more profitable to both speakers and hearers, if a real debate could be guaranteed by agreement before the day of the contest on various introductory matters of interpretation.

**Value of the Exchange of Briefs for School Debates.** In the law courts, much inconsequential discussion and waste of time is obviated by the submission of briefs. The lawyer is obliged to inform the court and the opposing counsel of his argument before the case can come up for trial. In the most satisfactory school debating courses, each side is required to submit its brief a week or two before the debate. For first practice, there must be a common Introduction, containing the necessary definitions, historical matter, admitted matter, clash of opinion, and resulting main issues, all of which is agreed to by both sides. The

Brief-Introductions in the fourth and seventh chapters were thus prepared jointly by opponents in class-room debates, and discussed with the instructor at a conference. The object of this preliminary conference on the briefs is to insure a contest which shall be a real debate from the start. The agreements tend to prevent quibbling over terms, failure to meet on the issues, and the waste of time occupied in proving at length what the other side summarily admits. The resulting debate is worth much more to the auditor who wants to learn something about the question, and to the student who wishes preparation for the real contests of business and professional life. Such a debate is less academic. The rebuttal is more likely to come early when the need arises, rather than all at the end, as now too frequently happens in school debates. The submission of briefs would go far toward eliminating some of the most objectionable features of present interscholastic debating.

**Preparation.** It has been said that the main rules for preparing for a debate are three: "Read. Read much. Read very much." But these rules must be supplemented by three of even greater importance: "Think. Think much. Think very much." The tendency of students is to make reading a substitute for thinking. If they cannot find ready-made arguments, a case worked out for them on the exact proposition, they complain that there is no available material. They expect to prepare for a debate as they do for a declamation. But debaters should consult printed matter mainly for facts to think about. Their reading should enlighten them as to the origin and meaning of the question, furnish the historical basis for the discussion,

warn them against untenable positions, reveal the strong and the weak points of the other side, and suggest evidence for them to interpret and employ. Debaters should react on what they read and make it their own. They must expect to work hard, for in all undertakings in which the reward is great, the labor is great in proportion.

After a person has thought long and hard on one subject for debate, has done his best to get at the bottom of it, and has met opponents in a well-fought contest, he begins to see the shallowness of his knowledge on other subjects. Ever after he is inclined to be dissatisfied with work half done, and he does not call every flimsy discussion a debate. He has set up a standard of achievement, the value of which it is difficult to overestimate. A person, on the other hand, without the training of sustained and vigorous thinking, is prone to give snap judgments. It is hard to convince him that opinions worth anything are not to be picked up on every street corner.

The debater who substitutes a little reading for a lot of thinking, or relies on fluency and the inspiration of the occasion, is like Gratiano: he "speaks an infinite deal of nothing. . . . His reasons are as two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of chaff: you shall seek all day ere you find them, and when you have them, they are not worth the search." The master in the art of debate is not known by his assurance and fluency, not primarily by his cleverness, not even by his learning, but rather by his breadth of view, scientific method, thoroughness of preparation, precision of statement, and hatred of superficiality, — in short, by his habit of mind.

**The First Speech for the Affirmative.** The opening speech should present all the steps in analysis which are necessary for an understanding of the debate, and no more. As the subject of analysis has already been discussed, we need add nothing but a few illustrations from recent debates.

The Introduction should be unprejudiced. Objectionable in this respect are the opening speeches, especially the italicized words, of an inter-university debate held a few years ago. The first speaker for the affirmative began as follows:—

A movement was begun about fourteen years ago, which in its *fair* and *legal* application restricted the negro vote. This movement in a legal way *is solving the problem*. This is the movement that we are considering to-night, viz.: "The changes in the constitutions of the Southern States since 1889, by which the negro vote in such states has been restricted, are, on the whole, to be commended."

The first speaker for the negative began as follows:—

Since the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, there has been a faction of Southern political leaders who have never been satisfied with this provision, *because it conferred upon the negro the right of exemption from discrimination*, in the exercise of the elective franchise, on account of his race, color or previous condition of servitude. This class of men, through their *fraudulent and cunning devices*, have succeeded in disfranchising the negro in six of the Southern States.

Both speeches thus begged the question at the outset, — that is, *assumed* to be true what they were supposed to *prove* true — without presenting the definitions, admitted matters, origin and history of the question, necessary for an understanding of the argu-

ment. If the unsupported assertions of either of these speakers were true, there was no need to proceed with the debate.

Better than these prejudiced and deficient introductions are the following opening words of a recent debate in Salt Lake City.

*Should the tariff be imposed for revenue only?* In asking and answering this question we must analyze our premises with the greatest care. At the start let us consider the exact nature of tariff. Reference to the *New International Encyclopedia* and Lalor's *Encyclopedia of Economics* gives us the following definition: The tariff is levied on foreign goods imported into the country for a number of purposes.

In the first place the tariff is imposed simply as a means of augmenting the revenues of the government, in which case it is a pure tax, levied to meet the general expenses of government. This is tariff for revenue or free trade. Now free trade means *freer* trade, but not wholly unrestricted trade. As long as any trade laws and import duties whatever exist, trade is not wholly unrestricted. And so in the world to-day free trade has come to designate trade that is restricted only in ways that afford no protection to home industries. In order not to protect home industries, such purely revenue duties must be imposed on articles which cannot profitably be produced at home, or the home product must pay an internal revenue duty, or excise duty, exactly equal to the import duty on that commodity, thus offsetting all protective effects of the import duty.

Some exponents of free trade argue for free trade with some incidental protection, but our proposition that the tariff should be imposed for revenue *only* confines the affirmative in this debate to the support of a free-trade tariff with no kind of protection whatever. Finally, under the free-trade system all the proceeds of the tariff, both the import duties and the excise duties, go directly into the federal treasury as revenue.

A second kind of tariff is imposed as a means of artificially fostering particular home industries by protecting them wholly or in part against foreign competition. This is tariff for protection. Tariff protection is the policy of encouraging and developing home industries by means of duties imposed upon goods imported from abroad. Such import duties serve to protect home industries under the following circumstances: They must apply to goods that may be produced within the country; they must not be offset by a lowering of prices on the part of the foreign producer, nor by the imposition of an excise tax on those commodities in the home country; finally, they must serve to raise the prices of the taxed articles in the home market sufficiently to make home production profitable. Given these conditions, a duty is increasingly protective, according to the completeness with which it excludes the foreign producer from the home market. Its purpose, therefore, is directly opposed to the acquisition of revenue, since it becomes perfectly protective only when it prohibits all importation, and hence all revenue. Furthermore, under protection a share of the proceeds of the tariff goes to trusts, monopolies, and other private producers. For instance, under protection the government receives revenue from a small quantity of imports, but does not receive any corresponding internal revenue. In other words the producer, under the guise of a higher price, collects all this excise tax and puts it in his own pocket.

In calling tariff either free trade or protection, we have covered the whole field. There can be no tariff which neither protects nor fails to protect. Furthermore, if a tariff protects at all, it is a protective tariff; if one tariff schedule offers less protection than another, it approaches nearer to the ideal of free trade, but it is not free trade. There are many kinds of protection, permanent and temporary, exclusive and competitive, reciprocal and incidental, maximum-minimum and retaliatory; but these are simply slightly varying points of view in regard to protection; they all possess the common element of protection instead of tariff for revenue only; and, in argu-



ing against protection, the affirmative is arguing in proportion against each and all of these modifications of protection.

In debating the proposition that the tariff should be imposed for revenue only, the affirmative supports a tariff which secures revenue without offering any kind of protection to home industries, and which gives all the proceeds of the tariff, both import and excise duties, to the federal treasury.

By this time we must see that there are two great differences between free trade and protection.

1. Free trade means a less restricted trade than is possible under any form of protection.
2. Under free trade all the proceeds of the tariff go to the government; under protection a share of the proceeds goes to the producer.

Now whether free trade or protection is preferable, the reasons must proceed from these two differences, and from these differences the affirmative will now draw its arguments. We maintain that the tariff should be imposed for revenue only, first, because an unhampered trade is more beneficial to the country; second, because free trade will greatly improve the United States revenue system; and third, because when a share of the tariff proceeds go to the producer, two evils result: The consumer is forced to bear a heavy burden; and graft corrupts our national life.

After presenting such introductory matters as the proposition demands, the opening speaker should take up the first issue and endeavor to make definite progress with the case of the affirmative. He should show the relation of his work to the work of the other speakers on his side; and he should make clear just what he understands to be the bearing of his argument on the negative side, and what, consequently, his opponents must do to meet the contentions of the affirmative.

**The First Speech for the Negative.** The first requisite of the opening speech for the negative is ADAPTATION

to the preceding speech. It is this which distinguishes a debate from a contest of memorized declamations. The speaker must make clear to what extent he accepts the work in analysis presented by the affirmative. If he does not agree with the interpretation of the proposition and the issues, as set forth, he must give satisfactory reasons for differing. To the affirmative belong the duty and right of interpretation. Unsupported objections on the part of the negative count for nothing.

If the affirmative speaker has failed to analyze the proposition and set forth the issues, the negative speaker must supply the deficiency. The Oregon-Utah debate of 1908 furnishes an illustration of a successful opening speech under these circumstances.

#### OPENING SPEECH FOR THE NEGATIVE SIDE

The speaker on the affirmative has maintained that the commission form of government assures better men in public office. He has cited with great detail the one example of Galveston. But he has failed to go beyond this narrow field of evidence, and to show any inherent circumstances in the commission plan which clearly result in obtaining better public officers in other cities than Galveston and in other years than last year and the year before.

The answer to the question whether the plan of municipal government by commission is preferable to the prevailing form of American city government can be found only by carefully comparing the commission plan, including its local variations, with the mayor-and-council plan, including its variations. The first step, then, towards reaching anything but snap judgments on the question is to analyze carefully the two forms of government, to see wherein they are identically the same, wherein they are different, yet equivalent, and wherein they are actually different.

The prevailing plan of city government is familiar. At the

head of the city is the mayor, an officer whose powers have been constantly growing larger. The mayor almost always possesses the veto power and appoints numerous city officers, including sometimes heads of departments. His appointments, however, are often subject to the approval of the council. The council is a representative body of the people, generally elected by wards, one or more representatives from each ward. It is sometimes elected at large; and sometimes the members live in their wards and stand for their wards, but are elected at large. The council is more often unicameral than bicameral. The council executes the orders of the state legislature, passes local ordinances subject to the mayor's veto, scrutinizes and regulates the work of the various administrative departments, and approves the mayor's appointments. Officers like the city clerk, attorney, and auditor are generally elected at large. Occasional cities under this form of government possess the features of the initiative, referendum, and recall, and the civil service code. All but about a dozen cities of the United States are ruled by this plan.

Texas has six cities governed by commissions — the cities of Galveston, Houston, El Paso, Dallas, Fort Worth, and Austin, — a seventh, Waco, will change to the commission form in April. Berkeley, California, Des Moines and Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and Haverhill and Chelsea, Massachusetts, also have commissions. Newport, Rhode Island, has sometimes been wrongfully classed as a commission city. Salt Lake City, Boston, and Portland, Maine, among others, are contemplating the commission plan.

Under the commission form, every two years, in May, the people elect at large a mayor and four commissioners, constituting a board of five commissioners. Except in Houston, the mayor has no veto power, only a vote with his colleagues. The commissioners divide the city's administrative work into several departments, such as finance and revenue, police and fire, streets and public property. Each commissioner has charge of a special department, and is personally responsible for it. Sometimes the mayor has a department, and some-

times he merely presides over the meetings and exercises a general unifying and harmonizing influence. The meetings of the commission are for the most part secret. In Galveston a specified small number of the meetings are open to the public; in Des Moines and according to the provisions of the proposed new Salt Lake City charter, if one stranger is admitted to any meeting, that meeting must be public. The commission appoints all other city officers. In a word, the board of commissioners possesses and exercises all executive, administrative, and legislative powers and duties which, in the prevailing form, are possessed and exercised by the mayor, city council, board of public works, park commissioners, board of library trustees, city attorney, treasurer, recorder, and all other executive and administrative officers. A majority vote of three in the commission decides everything. In the commission plan, oftener than in the prevailing form, we find the initiative, referendum, and recall, and the civil service code.

It is obvious that election at large, the initiative, referendum, and recall, and the civil service code, in that they are present in both plans, cannot be considered characteristic of the commission plan. It is also evident that there are many ordinances and rules of procedure which may equally well be present in either plan; neither form of government should be judged good or bad in comparison with the other on such grounds. For instance, the fact that the city debt limits of Galveston and Salt Lake City are different cannot argue either for the commission form or the prevailing form.

The differences seem to be that the commission form abolishes the mayor, greatly abbreviates the council, depriving it of a large share of its representative virtue, and fuses all municipal functions in one central board. If these three changes can permanently help our municipal problem without ultimately resulting in any fresh danger or the repetition of the old dangers, then the commission plan is preferable; otherwise it is not. These three changes spell nothing more nor less than extreme centralization, and out of this great difference between the two kinds of government arise the

issues of this debate. First, will this centralization secure better public officers? Second, is this centralization better adapted to conducting municipal business? And third, is this centralization democratic?

The first negative speaker must either refute the arguments just advanced or show good reason for postponing the refutation. Arbitrarily to postpone answering the contentions of the first speaker looks quite as suspicious as to ignore them utterly. Usually there is no time for complete refutation. The debater should avoid scrappy work by taking up a single main point and hitting that hard.

If the closing argument of the affirmative speaker has evidently made a strong impression upon the audience, and is uppermost in their minds, the following speaker cannot afford to ignore it. He must reply at once; but the amount of time which he can allow for the reply will depend on the amount of constructive work still to be done for his side.

At the close of his speech, the first speaker for the negative should summarize his own argument, show its bearing on the argument of the other side, and point out just what work, in view of these facts, the affirmative has still to perform.

**The Other Main Speeches.** For the other speakers, the first requisite is ADAPTATION. They must adapt their work to that of the other side, as the debate proceeds, and they must adapt their work to that of their colleagues. Team-work is essential. A debater who will not play precisely his part, who refuses to sacrifice individual notions for the sake of the whole case, is as objectionable as a football player who ignores the signals or refuses to follow his interference.

It is the duty of each speaker to summarize, not only what he has said, but all that has been said on his side up to that point. The fact that the opposing speakers intervene to distract the attention of the audience makes this kind of team-work necessary. It helps to keep the whole case in view, and thus makes the final summary more significant and effective.

A word of caution is here necessary. Time will not allow an elaborate and detailed summary. Only the main points can be given, with terse, clear reminders of the means by which they were proved.

A debater can usually decide beforehand with what argumentative and emotional appeal he wishes most vividly to impress his audience. With this he should plan to close his speech, and he should become so familiar with it that a terse and forcible phrasing will be sure to respond to his thought when the time comes for delivery. Rarely will the course of the debate be so far from his expectations that he will be obliged utterly to abandon the chosen peroration. Knowing that in these closing words all his strength must be summoned for a final attack, knowing that this is his last chance to win the audience before the other side has the floor, or the judges render their decision, the debater has no excuse for presenting a weak ending. When he sees that he has only a little more time than is necessary for his peroration, he should at once bring to a close the part on which he is speaking, omitting important points, if necessary, in order to round out his speech with what is *most* important. Unless he follows this deliberate plan, he may be cut off abruptly and obliged to leave his speech hanging in the air, an experience as awkward as it is common.

**Rebuttal Speeches.** Those who have difficulty in analyzing an opponent's case as he speaks and in rapidly preparing answers may yet become effective speakers in rebuttal, for effective speakers seldom rely on the inspiration of the moment, as is commonly supposed, to furnish rebuttal material. A speech which is admirably fitted to another, which seems in every detail to grow out of the immediate occasion, may have been prepared in all its essentials long before the debate. Webster's *Reply to Hayne* was almost entirely refutation; yet Webster declared that all the material had been waiting in his desk for months. "If he had tried to make a speech to fit my notes," said Webster, "he could not have hit it better."

Debatable questions have usually been so extensively discussed that arguments are rarely presented in debate which could not have been anticipated by thorough preparation. To be sure, the relative emphasis placed on the parts, the arrangement, the phrasing, and the arguments ignored by an opponent, may cause some surprise; but there is rarely any excuse for being surprised by the arguments actually presented.

In refutation debaters usually gain in spirit and fall off in substance. There is no need for this weakness. The falling off in substance is due to defective preparation on the *other* side of the question. A skillful debater usually has enough rebuttal material for an hour's address, although he may be allowed but five minutes. From this mass of material he selects and arranges, as the case of his opponents develops, whatever will most effectively meet that case. On some questions, perceiving only two or three cases at all likely to be presented against him, he groups his rebuttal material in advance with reference to these possible cases.

Thorough preparation on both sides of the question will enable a debater to anticipate nearly all the arguments that demand refutation; but not all. There are times in every debate when nothing but a complete understanding of the underlying principles will suffice. At such times that team will go to pieces which has allowed the coach to do most of the work and provide ready-made rebuttal.

**Scattering Rebuttal.** The debater who is unable to grasp the whole question, who has not, by analysis, differentiated the main issues from the subordinate ones, who fails therefore to appreciate relative values, is usually known by his "scrappy rebuttal." He jots down a miscellaneous lot of points made by his opponents. Everything is fish that comes to his net. Some of the points on which he wastes his limited time are evident slips of the tongue, mere illustrations, admitted matters, irrelevant details, and other trivialities which most of the audience have already forgotten. He proceeds to attack these points at random. As the order of attack is in no way related to the established order of issues, or to the development of his case or to that of his opponent, the bearing of these points is lost and their relative importance is obscured. The most common adverse criticism of rebuttal in student debates is that it is scattering and trivial.

**The Closing Rebuttal Speech.** There is danger in formal debate that the audience shall become confused, and unable, after the give and take of refutation, to see how the contest stands at the end of the debate. It is therefore the first function of the conclusion to make clear what has been done by both sides. To make this clear, the speaker must take up the issues, one by one,



in a logical order, which is usually the order determined at the outset. His purpose is to show, by contrasting the arguments which the course of the debate has left standing on each side of each issue, that his side has the weight of proof in its favor. He thus emphasizes his own arguments at the expense of his opponents' arguments. As the weight of evidence is rarely on the same side for all of the issues, the last speaker in rebuttal may find that his side has established only part of its case. He should then endeavor to show that the issues which his side has established are most important. All this is called the work of amplifying and diminishing. ✓

This work may take the form of contrasting the results of policies, or the nature of underlying motives, or the kinds of argument, or the sources of evidence. But in any event, the last speaker has no time for minor matters. He must subordinate the insignificant odds and ends, which are more or less confused in the minds of the hearers, to the main issues. His task is to muster the whole forces of his side for an orderly, unified, final attack.

**Organization of Rebuttal Material.** The material for answering the contentions of your opponents should be immediately available. Otherwise much of your reading and study may count for nothing. You may know that there is a decision of the Supreme Court which invalidates the legal argument just presented against your proposition; but unless you can find the exact quotation at once, you cannot use it. You may remember that somewhere in the reports of the Philippine Commission is a table of statistics showing that your opponent is wrong in his contention regarding the pop-

ulation of the islands; but if you are obliged to hunt through those reports to find the table, you may lose the rest of his speech, and even then fail to track down the evidence you need. You may feel sure that, somewhere among your notes, there are concrete data sufficient to show that an authority just cited against your position is prejudiced and otherwise incompetent; but if your notes are carelessly taken and unorganized, you may search them in vain, and have nothing to offer against the authority but uselessly general charges. All material for use as refutation should be taken down with clearness, fairness, and precision, and it should be arranged according to a definite and serviceable system.

**Card System for Rebuttal Notes.** The plan of taking down, on one side of cards of uniform size, all the evidence which may be useful for rebuttal, and then organizing that material under six or eight heads, has been used by many successful debaters. The cards may be of standard library size (about 3 by 5) or a little larger. The number and the nature of the groups into which the cards are finally divided for convenient use will depend on the question for debate, and will be roughly indicated by the issues.

For example, in preparation for a debate on the proposition, "Resolved, that high-school secret fraternities should be prohibited," the rebuttal cards might be arranged in eight packs, labeled: "Legality," "Effect on Morals," "Effect on Scholarship," "Effect on School Spirit," "Other Methods," "School Statistics," "Authorities Commonly Cited," "Objections to Analogies from College Fraternities." The only necessity is that the classification shall be such, in number and in headings, that any member of the team which is to employ

the system can put his hand at once on the exact evidence he needs.

## SPECIMEN REBUTTAL CARDS

(Prepared by a team on the affirmative of the above proposition.)

## LEGALITY.

Illinois Supreme Court decision:  
Chicago Case.

*Although* prohibition of school fraternities is held illegal, in that —  
The Chicago courts issued “an injunction prohibiting the school authorities from enforcing the rules” against fraternities  
(Authority of “Com. on Secret Frats.” of N. E. A., G. B. Morrison, Chairman, Proceedings of N. E. A., 1905, p. 451.),  
*Yet*, the courts later dissolved the injunction.

Source: *Journal of Education*, January, 1907.

## EFFECT ON MORALS.

Exceptional Schools.

*Although* it is held that the societies at  
E— School, and at  
H— Academy,  
are morally beneficial to the members,  
*Yet*, these are not fair cases, for  
The societies are not really secret, for  
A faculty member is obliged to attend  
every meeting and control affairs.

Source: *Review of Reviews*, September, 1907, p. 340: M. Melius,  
on “Are Secret Societies a Danger to Our High Schools?”

**Attitude toward Opponents.** No speaker can carry conviction who imagines all the truth to be on his side and all who differ from him to be in obstinate error. Such an attitude arouses antagonism. A speaker must bear in mind that he is addressing people who have sympathies and opinions of their own, who have a per-

fect right to them, and who cannot be cudged into renouncing them.

Debate, which should be an honest effort to discover truth and to convince others of that truth, is in both these aspects so difficult that an earnest student becomes tolerant of the opinions and convictions of other people. During the preparation for debate and in the actual contest, he bears in mind his own liability to error. Far from resenting the fact that others disagree with him, he welcomes opposition. If he believes in his own side, opposition is opportunity. "He that wrestles with us," as Burke well said, "strengthens our nerves and sharpens our skill. Our antagonist is our helper." Adversaries in debate should have at least this common purpose, — the search after truth. A great mind is a mind open to conviction.

**Ridicule and Satire.** Cheap ridicule is so easy and common, effective ridicule is so difficult and rare, that the danger of the one far outweighs the possibility of success with the other. A debater should not turn from the main line of his argument to introduce personalities, and he should be alert to discover and defeat the tricks of opponents who strive to allure him from the main issues by introducing such digressions as personal abuse. A thousand can answer an argument with abuse to one who can answer with reason.

**Epithets.** The great difficulty of being just in applying epithets at once commends temperance in their use. Moreover, not even the justice of an epithet warrants it. The question is whether it will do more good than harm. And the answer is, — almost never. To accuse an opponent of intentional "quibbling," or of "garbling" a quotation, or of deliberately misrepresenting you, is

to prefer a serious charge. It impeaches his moral nature ; it is exceedingly difficult to prove ; and it inevitably creates bad feeling without necessarily advancing your cause. Regard the errors as mental rather than moral, and thus leave yourself free to deal with your opponent's arguments rather than with himself. Then show clearly and courteously just how he has evaded the question, or misquoted an authority, or misunderstood your own words.

**Honor in Debate.** A debater should take pains to give his opponent every fair chance. The only way to convince an audience of his fairness is to be fair. Some debaters weary and confuse their hearers by concealing the end of a line of argument, in order to produce a surprise. The surprise usually falls to the speaker. He finds that he has done one of two things : either he has offended the audience which he has tried to deceive ; or he has failed to convince them, because they have been unable to carry in mind evidence and inferences the *bearing* of which he has purposely concealed.

In formal debate a team makes this mistake when it holds back its case, or one of its main arguments, in order that the opponents may be taken by surprise late in the debate, when they have no time to make adequate refutation. The result is to create prejudice against the speakers on account of their lack of the spirit of fair play, and to create doubt as to the strength of an argument which they dare not present or announce at the start.

**Delivery.** Matter is more important than form. The first necessity is something to say, without which all the graces and intonations of a polished speaker are merely ridiculous. As a debater becomes absorbed in his sub-

ject, he wishes to think of nothing but convincing that particular audience of the truth. There are writers who advise him to do so; who declare that, given substance and enthusiasm, delivery will take care of itself. This is not true. Many a deep thinker is unable to keep his audience awake an hour because he cannot make himself heard or is intolerably dull in the monotony of his delivery.

Other men of smaller intellects, and with much less to say, fascinate large audiences because they use their voices correctly, enunciate clearly, modulate their tones, make their transitions with care, emphasize important parts, look into the eyes of their hearers, use gestures which seem natural, and carry themselves well on the platform. Years of study on matter may be thrown away, as far as a particular audience is concerned, because the speaker has neglected a few months of study on form.

**Five Methods of Delivery.** There are five ways of delivering a speech: (1) To write it out in full and read it; (2) to write it out in full and commit it to memory; (3) to write out and memorize the opening and closing sentences, and other especially important parts, leaving the rest for extempore delivery; (4) to use an outline or a brief which suggests the headings in logical order; (5) to extemporize the whole speech, appearing before the audience without visible manuscript or notes.

The first method is not debating. The second method is equally bad, because it also precludes that quick adaptation to opposing contentions without which a discussion can hardly be called a debate. Furthermore, unless this memory method is carried through to the end

with great care, it is a lamentable failure. The least hitch, as a speaker gropes after words, betrays the method.

The third method—that of memorizing important parts and adapting the rest to the occasion—is better suited to debating. The difficulty comes in making graceful transitions from memorized parts to extemporized parts; the contrast is usually too striking.

For this reason the fourth method—the use of an outline or brief—is more promising. If a speaker is familiar with his notes, if they suggest to him precisely the ideas he wishes to express, if those ideas are arranged in logical sequence, he need make no awkward pauses or contrasts. But notes, even when they are well managed, detract somewhat from the effectiveness of delivery.

Most successful of all—other things being equal—is the speaker who extemporizes his whole address, without even a scrap of paper between himself and his hearers. This is the ideal method. “If once they see that he is partly relying on the stilts and leading strings of his memoranda, their sympathy languishes. It is like the difference between a man who walks a tight-rope boldly, trusting wholly to his balance-pole, and the man who is looking about every moment for something by which to steady himself.” But a word of warning may be necessary. Let us not mistake mere volubility for effective speaking. A ready tongue, with its temptation to carelessness of preparation and redundancy of expression, is not always a blessing. Real power in extemporaneous oratory comes only with long years of exacting practice in written work.

Even a speaker who has followed the extempore method with some success feels more confidence if he

has adequate notes in his pocket. They have been compared to life-preservers under the berth, ready for use if the ship is sinking.

**Voice.** A voice that can be easily heard, that is flexible, full, and of pure quality, is persuasive. There are few people who breathe correctly and whose voices are free from serious defects and limitations. A sensible kind of voice culture is essential to effective public speaking. Modulation in pitch is quite as important as purity in quality, and both can be improved by a speaker who makes singing a part of his preparation.

**Enunciation.** A common fault is slovenly enunciation. When the size and acoustic properties of a hall are such that a speaker must take special care to make himself heard, nothing helps more than distinctness of utterance. This is impossible unless one opens his mouth and uses his lips. Many people swallow their vowels and ignore their consonants. Especially flagrant is this fault at the ends of sentences, which as a rule should deserve greatest emphasis.

Earnest, sustained practice in enunciation is necessary. It may be exaggerated in practice, with no danger of exaggeration in public. The real danger is that in the heat of a public speech a man will forget his months of practice and go back to his old habits. Whatever one wishes to be on the public platform, that he should be every day of his life. Nothing but habitually audible and clearly articulated speech in daily conversation will make distinctness in public speaking sure. This element of success—like erect carriage, graceful movements, pure tones, and pure language—must not be set aside with cap and gown to be worn on special occasions.



**Position.** A speaker should take care lest his bearing on the platform detract attention from what he says. An otherwise effective speech may seem ridiculous because of personal eccentricities which could be suppressed by proper training. Every speaker has his own tendencies to awkwardness. What these are he should learn from any one who is willing to speak frankly about them, and he should then set himself resolutely to overcoming them by persistent exercise of the will. He must ignore the common advice to forget himself and think only of his subject and his audience, until discipline has made it safe for him to do so.

**Gestures.** In debating, no gestures are necessary. If any come in response to the thought or feeling of a man as he speaks, and if these appear natural to the audience, so much the better, even though they are not labeled and depicted in books on gesture. So many fantastic tricks have been performed in the name of elocution that audiences are quick to detect and ridicule anything which does not seem to be spontaneous. If a speaker has practiced a gesture for a particular passage, the best he can do, when he comes to that passage, is to omit the gesture. If a speaker is not prompted to make gestures, it will do him no good to hunt them up in books, make a selection, and attach them at intervals to his speech. Let him get at the cause of his lifelessness, which may be embarrassment, or lack of preparation, or want of interest in his subject.

With sufficient life in the speaker, gestures will come of themselves. After that, criticism should be mainly corrective. If, for instance, a speaker takes naturally to the device of emphasizing everything with one finger, the fault should be corrected before it becomes a habit.

It is often said that anything which is natural is effective. This is not true. A speaker may be naturally awkward and ridiculous. The truth is that whatever gestures appear to the audience naturally good at the time are effective; but all gestures that are naturally bad should be corrected or eliminated.

**Reading Quotations.** When the argument may be strengthened by the exact words of an authority, to read a short quotation directly from the book or paper is quite as effective as to deliver the quotation from memory, provided — and this proviso is important — provided that the speaker knows how to read. He must decide before the debate whether he will read or trust to memory. If he decides to read, he must familiarize himself with the text, so that he shall not stumble in reading, or lose the eyes of his audience for more than a second or two; he must note the words he wishes to emphasize; and he must mark unmistakably the part to be read, so that he shall find it without delay, and so that he shall not read a word more than is necessary for his purpose.

Provided that he reads well, the very fact that the auditors see before them the exact source of the evidence may help in conviction. Especially is this true if an authority, a Supreme Court decision, for instance, is bandied back and forth between the sides. If there is a dispute as to the statement of a given authority, the debater who reads the exact words from their original source gains credence. But first of all he must know how to read.

**Practice in Delivery.** When you have the brief of your case well in mind and the evidence collected, stand before an imaginary audience and deliver your argu-

ment. Do not allow yourself to break down ; go through to the end as well as you can, just as you will be obliged to do before the actual audience. If the appropriate phrase refuses to come, supply something and go on. At the close of your speech go back and study out the words or phrases which failed you in delivery. Do this two or three times a day, with watch at your side, until you can get the substance of your argument safely and cogently within the time limit.

Then find somebody who is good enough to listen to you, and talk to him along the line of your argument. Encourage him to ask questions if your language is not clear, and to offer objections if your argument is not convincing. Such practice will help you to cultivate a conversational as opposed to an oratorical style of delivery ; it will help you to attain a clearer phrasing and one more responsive to your thoughts ; and it will suggest chances for strengthening your argument.

**Marking Transitions.** A delivery which takes due account of the structure of a speech is a great help to an audience, especially in argumentative discourse. The steps from part to part of the introduction, from the introduction to the proof, from one issue of the proof to another, and finally from the proof to the peroration, should be taken by means of well-marked transitions. In addition to the rhetorical possibilities, there are at least seven ways of indicating these transitions : namely, by corresponding changes in rate of delivery, in tone, in volume, in position on the platform, by emphasis, by gestures, and by pauses. Perhaps the most serviceable and least used of these devices is a noticeable pause, during which the speaker deliberately changes his position.

**Emphasis.** A debater should consider what parts of his proof he must drive home at any cost and what are the means at his command. He may be sure that the parts which deserve emphasis will not be singled out by the audience from a monotonous delivery. He must do this important work for them, by uttering the capital words with marked deliberation, by stopping abruptly and pausing in just the right places, by letting his gestures fall on ideas that call for special attention, and by dropping his voice or increasing its volume and the rate of utterance. These possibilities are worth studying in addition to the purely rhetorical means. But in quoting authorities or the words of opponents, a debater should take care not to misplace the accent, thus causing the author of a quotation to appear to say what he never intended to say. This is to be condemned along with all other attempts to deceive.

**A Final Word about Debating.** The most serious objections to formal debating, as it has been carried on in recent years, are that it is too artificial in its rules and consequently too stereotyped in results; that its aim is victory rather than the pursuit of truth; that, consequently, debating is characterized by trickiness and insincerity, and is not the preparation which it ought to be for the real contests of life. One result of this formalism is said to be a noticeable lack of sincerity and enthusiasm on the part of the speakers which adds to the feeling of unreality. Then, again, the question is often so cleverly phrased, so vague and so complicated, that the time which should be spent on vital issues is wasted in quarrels over the meaning of terms.

Still further to preclude the possibility of real debating are the memorized speeches which render impossible

that effective adaptation to opposing speakers, that running rebuttal, that one feature which distinguishes the real debater from the elocutionist. And when, after an hour of such lifeless discussion, high-school students arrive with remarkable ease at sweeping conclusions, and "prove beyond the shadow of a doubt" a proposition which is still puzzling statesmen, the whole affair seems to some people little short of ridiculous. These appear to be the main charges brought against debating.

What shall we do about it? In the first place, we should lead up to debating by a more sensible kind of instruction in speaking. The formalism, the unreality, the difficulty of producing a "head-on collision," which are complained of in present debating, are due in part to the traditional elocution which nine tenths of our institutions regard as training for debate. Yet none of the essentials of refutation, which is the life of debate, is possessed by those who regard debating as the recitation of memorized speeches, consisting for the most part of strings of quotations, delivered in supreme disregard of the equally automatic declamations of the "opposing" speakers. Such performances should not parade under the name of debating. They are not even preparation for debating. Indeed, it is an open question whether they do not hinder more than they help; and it is altogether true that they contribute nothing to the power of adapting refutation to the needs of the moment.

Any training which develops independent and sound thinking and the faculty of phrasing and presenting thought before an audience prepares a man for the work of refutation; and when to this general training he adds an accurate and wide knowledge of the subject for debate, quite regardless of what material he may expect

to use for a given speech, he has acquired the essentials of effective refutation. To these essentials declamation contributes almost nothing.

Another condition which tends to produce academic and unprofitable discussions is the prevailing practice by which one institution submits the question and leaves the choice of sides to the other. This prompts students who are looking for victory rather than a profitable debate, to phrase a question cunningly and ambiguously, so that it shall appear to be evenly balanced until the choice of side has been announced. Meantime the institution which has received this complicated question is trying to puzzle out its meaning, forbidden by the unwritten laws of good form to take what would seem to be the sensible course of asking the framers for an interpretation. The resulting contest is usually a mere quibble over the meaning of the proposition, which sorely taxes the patience of the hearers. Thus the opposing forces often contrive to keep so far apart that no effective exchange of volleys is possible.

One remedy for this evil is the round-robin league. Each of the three institutions in such a league puts two teams into the field, one to debate on the affirmative of the question at home, the other on the same evening to debate on the negative of the question at one of the other institutions. This plan removes the chief motive for submitting unbalanced and trickily phrased propositions. Another remedy lies in the exchange of briefs similar in content and purpose to those required in courts of law and college courses in debating. And finally — it must be admitted — the only sure remedy is the insistence on higher ideals than the “win-at-any-cost” motives which have often brought debating into

ill-repute. Throughout our present treatment of the subject, from the phrasing of the proposition to the ethics of debate, we have been mindful of these objections, and we have kept constantly before us ideals which will lift debating far above the pettiness and formalism and insincerity which are rightly condemned.

As a final safeguard against all that is most objectionable in formal debating, we urge students to refuse — even for the sake of practice, even for the supposed honor of a loved institution — to speak against their convictions. This is a matter of grave importance. The lack of sincerity and earnestness on the part of the speakers is due not only to the lifeless practices of elocution, but as well to the almost universal custom of ignoring the interests and beliefs of the individual speakers. A speaker who, even in a formal contest, endeavors to convince an audience of the truth of what he believes to be false engages in an undertaking of doubtful morality. Here is the dilemma. If he simulates sincerity and earnestness, he is deceiving his hearers, emulating the most contemptible speakers in public life, preparing to swell their ranks. If he does not even appear to be sincere and earnest, he lacks the primary requisites of a persuasive speaker, and becomes the lifeless kind of debater of whom we hear complaint.

At once the objection arises that it is good training for a person to study both sides of a question. Certainly it is. By all means let a debater earnestly study the side of the question in which he does not believe; let him be honest and diligent in his efforts to find all that can be urged against his own beliefs, in his efforts to get the point of view of "the other fellow"; but let him never stand before an audience and attempt to con-

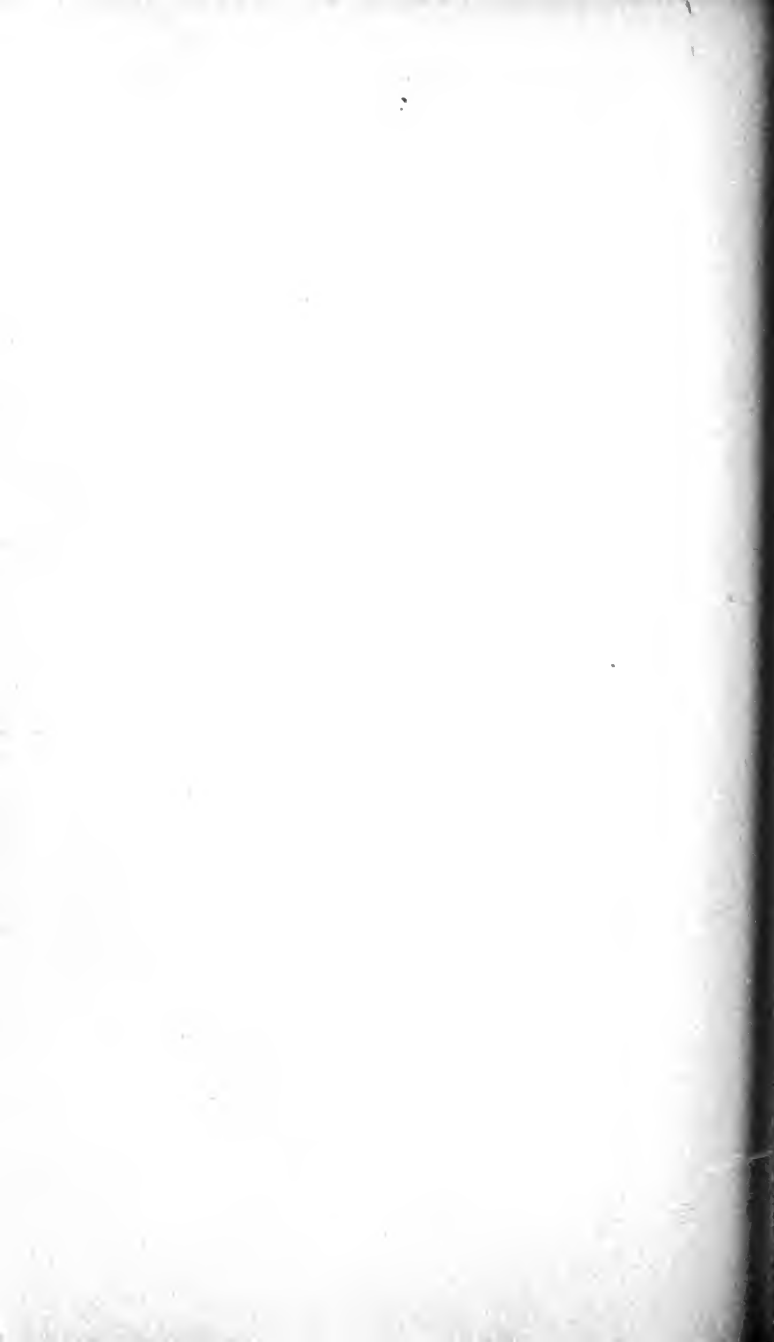
vince them of the truth of statements which he believes to be false. But it is said that the prevailing methods in class-rooms and interscholastic debates offer practical difficulties in the attainment of this ideal. If so, let the methods go. If the rules of the game prevent the attainment of its supreme objects, let us discard the rules. The supreme objects of argumentation and debating are to train citizens who shall be, *first*, keen and deep and sound thinkers, *second*, leaders of men, public-spirited, fearless, efficient, but, above all, honest.

### EXERCISES FOR THE TENTH CHAPTER

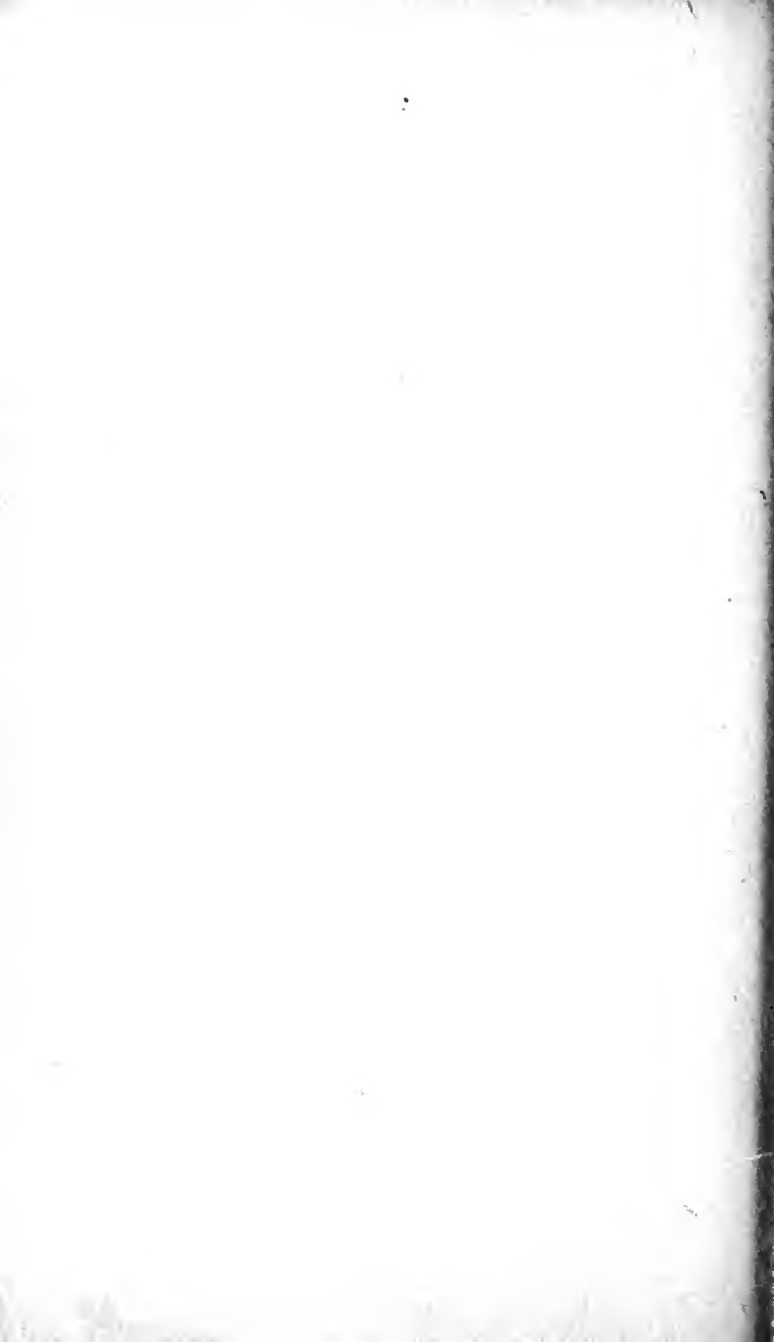
1. By this time the class should be familiar with the Class Question. Divide the class into a number of teams and hold a rapid series of debates on the Class Question. Let each team for each debate make whatever selection of material and adopt whatever methods of presentation and attack it deems advisable. Let the discussion be as spontaneous as possible and unrestricted by the conventions of formal debate. Students should be warned that *informal* does not mean *unprepared*. Have it understood that any one may interrupt a speaker to question him if he is obscure in language, or to correct him if he is inaccurate in statements of fact, or to ask for further information. Let one of the class preside and observe strictly the rules of parliamentary procedure.
2. Criticise each debate by asking the following questions:—
  - a. Does the Introduction, as given by the first speaker, embody the essentials set forth in the fourth chapter? Does the Introduction, as given by the first speaker on the Negative, embody these essentials?
  - b. Are the issues sufficiently comprehensive? Are they mutually exclusive? Are they set forth in the best order?
  - c. Is the entire case of the Affirmative consistent with the introductory interpretation of the question?
  - d. Are there any unsupported assertions?



- e. Are the citations from authority open to any of the objections enumerated in the fifth chapter?
  - f. Are there any fallacies of Hasty Generalization? False Analogy? Causal Relation?
  - g. In what instances do the speakers exaggerate the importance of their evidence?
  - h. Are there any opposing arguments ignored by the Affirmative? by the Negative?
  - i. On what points is the refutation wholly inadequate?
  - j. In what parts of the refutation is the bearing obscure?
  - k. Are there any insignificant points upon which time is wasted?
  - l. Are any dangerous admissions made by either side?
  - m. Could either case as a whole, or any single speech, gain in effectiveness by a rearrangement of parts?
  - n. Is there evident lack of team-work on either side?
  - o. What opportunities are neglected by each speaker for adapting his work to that of the preceding speaker?
  - p. Does the last speaker on each side give an adequate summary of the whole case?
  - q. Are there any chances for persuasion which the speakers fail to employ?
3. Divide the above questions among the class, and let each student hand in a written criticism.
  4. For a good discussion of the several methods of delivery see Brander Matthews, *Notes on Speech-making*.
  5. How might the topic of honor in debate be further applied?



## APPENDIX



# APPENDIX I

## SPECIMEN BRIEF

### THE SPEECH OF EDMUND BURKE ON *CONCILIATION* WITH THE *COLONIES*

(The figures in parentheses refer to the paragraph numbers in the *Riverside Literature Series* edition of Burke's speech. Houghton Mifflin Co., Publishers.)

#### INTRODUCTION

- I. The immediate occasion of my speech is as follows:—
  - (1) A. By the return of the grand penal bill we have a fresh opportunity to attend to America.
- II. The following facts are pertinent history to our discussion:—
  - (2) A. In 1766 the American situation was the most important and delicate object of Parliament.
  - (3) B. My personal attitude on this question, as expressed by my concurrence in the repeal of the Stamp Act, has never deviated.
  - (4) C. The fluctuations of Parliament have kept America in continual agitation.
  - (5) D. The public demands a permanent colonial policy.
- III. My reason for speaking is this:—
  - (6) A. I hesitate to propose a policy, for
    1. I am not qualified.
    - (7) 2. I doubt the value of paper government.
  - (8) B. But I believe that you will listen to reason.
- (9-10) IV. In my proposition of peace, I mean by "peace" not peace to arise out of universal discord, but simple peace sought in the spirit of peace, and laid in principles purely pacific.

- V. The opposition has already granted that conciliation is admissible, for
- (11) A. The House had admitted that conciliation is possible by adopting the resolution of Lord North.
- (12) B. The House has admitted that conciliation is possible *previous* to any submission on the part of America.
- VI. The argument that concession should come from America is irrelevant, for
- (13) A. Only the superior power may offer concessions with honor and safety.
- VII. The MAIN ISSUES are: —
- (14) A. WHETHER WE OUGHT TO CONCEDE.  
B. WHAT THE CONCESSION OUGHT TO BE.

## PROOF

## FIRST PRINCIPAL DIVISION

*(England ought to concede)*

- I. The nature and the circumstances of the colonies demand concession, for
- (15) A. THE POPULATION is so large (2,500,000), and so rapidly increasing, that no narrow, mean policy will be effective.
- (16) B. AMERICAN INDUSTRIES are of great importance to us, for
- 1.
- (17) a.
- (19-23) b.

- (24) c.
- (26) d.
- (29) 2.
- (30) 3.
- (31) II. The way to obtain this valuable object is not force, for
- (32) A. Force is temporary.
- (33) B. Force is uncertain.
- (34) C. Force impairs the object to be secured.
- (35) D. Force is not justified by our experience.
- (36) III. The *temper and character* of the American people make conciliation imperative, for
- (38) A. *A strong spirit of liberty has grown up among them from six capital sources, for*
- (39) 1. The colonists are *descended* from Englishmen who emigrated when the love of liberty was strongest, and are tender on taxation.
- (40) 2. Their popular *government* fosters a spirit of liberty.
- (41) 3. *Religion in the North* fosters liberty, for
- a. They are Protestants, and mainly dissenters from the Church of England.
- (41) 4.

(42) 5.

(43) 6.

(Paragraph 44 summarizes III.)

(45) IV. *The question then becomes* : What shall we do with this spirit ? for

A. Every new trouble increases the intractability of the colonies.

B. They have shown their independence.

C. They have organized satisfactory governments (cf. Lord Dunmore's report).

(46) D. Massachusetts has got on well without our charter.

(47) V. There are but three ways of dealing with this spirit :  
 (1) To change it, as inconvenient, by removing the causes ; (2) To prosecute it, as criminal ; (3) To comply with it, as necessary ; and of these only the last is practicable, for

(48) A. *The first plan to change this spirit is impracticable, for*

(49) 1. Stopping grants of land would not do it, for

a.

(50) b.

c.

(52) 2. Impoverishing the colonies would not alter the spirit, but would weaken our own resources.



- (53) 3. "An Englishman is the unfittest person on earth to argue another Englishman into slavery."
- (54) 4. We could not change their *religion, education, or legislatures.*
- (55) 5. We could not accomplish it by enfranchising their slaves, for
- (56)     *a.* The offer of liberty might not be accepted.
- (57)     *b.* The colonists might arm the slaves.
- c.* An offer of freedom from slave-trading England would be regarded with suspicion.
6. We cannot annihilate space.  
(Paragraph 58 is transitional.)
- (59)     B.

1.

(61)     2.

(62)     3.

(63)     4.

SECOND PRINCIPAL DIVISION

(*What the concession ought to be*)

- (65) I. *THE CONCESSION must be what they demand: "No Taxation without Representation,"* for
- (66)     A. Regardless of our right to tax, this is our best policy.
- (67)     B. "The general character and situation of a

people must determine what sort of government is fitted for them."

(68) C. *We should "admit the people of our colonies into an interest in the constitution," for*

(Refutation)

(70) 1. The repeal of a revenue act is no longer sufficient.

(71) 2. Although it is urged that they would then attack the trade laws, this objection is worthless, for  
a.

(74) b. They are not germane to the question, for

The avowed origin of the quarrel is taxation.

c. It is absurd to "keep up revenue laws which are mischievous, in order to preserve trade laws that are useless."

(76) d.

3. The argument that concession on the part of England will lead to further demands is unsound, for

a. The fewer the causes of dissatisfaction, the less the subject will be inclined to rebel.

(78) 4. Four capital examples — Ireland, Wales, Chester, Durham — favor this method of conciliation, for

(79) a.

(80-86)            *b.* The attempt to govern *Wales* by force failed, but representation in Parliament brought peace and order.

(84-86)           *c.* When *Chester* was granted liberty, and her wrongs were redressed, anarchy became obedience.

(87)                *d.*

*e.*

(88)                1.

(Refutation)      2.

*a.*

5.

*a.*

#### RESOLUTIONS

(94)                I. The colonies have had no representation in Parliament.

(96)                II. The colonies have been taxed, often to their disadvantage.

(99-100)          III. No means of representation has been devised.

- (101-102) IV. The colonies have formed assemblies competent legally to assess and collect taxes.
- (103-110) V. The colonies have often made liberal grants to the crown.
- (111) VI. Experience shows that it has been wise to allow the colonies to make grants, instead of imposing them.

## CONCLUSION

- (113) I. You must abandon theory and abide by experience.
- II. You must grant the colonies full rights of legislation.
- III. Peace must be secured by conciliation.
- IV. Corollaries: —
- (115) A. The Boston Port Bill must be repealed.
- (116) B. The charter of Massachusetts Bay Colony must be restored.
- (117) C. The act for bringing Americans to England for trial must be repealed.
- (119) D. We must provide the colonies fair courts of law.
- (120) E. We should regulate the courts of admiralty.

## (Refutation.)

- (123) I. The objection that these resolutions prove too much, in that the grievance regarding taxation extends to all legislation, does not hold, for
- (124) A.
- (125) B.

(126)

C.

(127)

II.

A.

1.

(128)

B. England cannot be head and body, too.  
III. Lord North's plan of ransom by auction is unsatisfactory, for

(129)

A. It is a mere project, for

1. It is not justified by experience.

2. It has no root in the constitution.

(130)

B. It will be fatal to the constitution, for

1. Lord North cannot settle fairly the quota to each colony.

2. Parliament can neither add nor alter these quota.

(131)

C. It does not satisfy the complaint of the colonies, for

1.

(132)

D.

1.

2.

(133)

3.

(134)

4.

(135)

E.

(136)

F.

(137)

G.

(138)

IV.

A.

(139)

1. This encourages generosity.

2. Our experience proves it.

B. Political parties in the colonies will favor grants to obtain favor of the government.

(141)

C. Our experience with India shows that America will yield no revenue from taxation.

## PERORATION

(142-144)

The love of the people is the life of the nation.  
Magnanimity in politics is the truest wisdom.

(At the close of his speech, Burke moves the first of his six resolutions.)

## APPENDIX II

### SPECIMEN BRIEFS

#### Brief A

### THE AMERICAN GAME OF FOOTBALL SHOULD BE ABOLISHED

#### INTRODUCTION

- I. The origin and history of this question is as follows : —
  - A. Each year of the past decade has seen a larger total of deaths and injuries resulting from the game.
  - B. In 1905 Columbia University abolished the game.
  - C. Other universities, not wishing to abolish the game, clamored for changes in the rules.
  - D. For several years the Football Rules Conference has modified the rules annually in the interests of a safer game.
- II. The following terms require definition : —
  - A. *The American game of football* is the game played under the rules as published in Spaulding's Annual Football Guide—the game as played by the majority of American schools and colleges.
  - B. The abolition of the American game would not mean the abolition of either "Association" or "Rugby."
- III. The following irrelevant matter should be noted : —
  - A. The negative side evades the question if it propose changes in the American game that make it essentially similar to "Association" or to "Rugby" ; or if those changes rob the game of its essential characteristics as football.
- IV. The opponents of abolishment maintain : —

- A. Football does not necessarily detract students and players from other collegiate pursuits to an objectionable extent.
  - B. The accidents from football, compared with those from other sports, are not sufficiently numerous or serious to warrant its abolishment.
  - C. Football is not necessarily a commercial enterprise.
  - D. Football strengthens the morals of players and spectators.
- V. The supporters of abolishment maintain : —
- A. Football unduly detracts students and players from other collegiate pursuits.
  - B. Football is too dangerous to life and limb to be continued.
  - C. Football has become commercialized.
  - D. Football lowers the morals of players and spectators.
- VI. The question is thus resolved into the following main issues : —
- A. Does football necessarily detract students and players from other collegiate pursuits to an extent to warrant the abolition of the game?
  - B. Are the accidents resulting from football sufficiently numerous or serious to warrant its abolishment?
  - C. Must we abolish football in order to overcome its commercial features?
  - D. Does football lower the morals of players and spectators?

#### PROOF FOR THE AFFIRMATIVE

- I. Football unduly detracts students and players from other school pursuits, for
  - A. The players are drawn from their studies, for
    - 1. Football demands prolonged training and practice.



2. The players' minds are filled with signals and new plays that must be learned.
3. The members of the team are continually planning plays and tricks.
4. The nervous strain for days before a game is intense.
5. The players are busy for days figuring out the comparative strength of their opponents.
6. A tired body reduces the activity of the brain.

**B.** The other students neglect their work, for

1. They are filled with enthusiasm over the coming game, for
  - a. They are eager to see a contest.
  - b. They wish victory.
2. Many go to the athletic field to watch the practice.
3. The celebrating of victories is prevalent in schools and colleges where the game is played.
4. The main topic among the students for days after the game is football.

**II.** Injuries and deaths caused by football are sufficient to warrant its abolition, for

- A. Statistics show that 136 men have been killed during the last nine years playing football.
- B. Statistics show that 1723 have been injured during the same period.
- C. There are thousands of injuries resulting from football that have never been reported.
- D. The ill health of many young men is due to football, and deaths have been recorded caused by knocks received years before.

**(Refutation)**

- E. The argument that the benefits of the exercise and physical development more than offset the deaths and accidents is unsound, for

1. Football is only played for a short season.
2. Only a few men are needed, for
  - a. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, President of the University of California said, "In the ten years from 1892-1902, at the University of California, only seventy-five different men made the team as players or substitutes out of four thousand or more different male students during that time in attendance."
3. Those who need the exercise most cannot play.
4. Games in which many can participate, and where there is comparatively no danger, fill the requirements for which athletics were established.

## (Refutation)

G. The argument that the rules of the game can be changed so as to eliminate most of the danger and still keep the essentials of football is unsound, for

1. Statistics show that there have been more deaths since the Rules Committee started to change the game than before.
2. The tendency of the change has been toward the more open game, which followers of football say is even more dangerous than the mass play, for
  - a. The runner and the tackler meet with greater force.
  - b. The man carrying the ball is not protected so well.
3. The game is dangerous from its very nature.
4. The changing of the rules lies outside of the schools with men who do not wish to change the game materially.

III. Football has been made a commercial enterprise, for

A. Football has been used as a means of advertising the school, for

1. Colleges and universities have used football as a means of securing a larger enrolment.
2. They have obtained prominent athletes through money payments, free schooling, or positions.

IV. Morals are lowered by football, for

A. A wrong ideal is created, for

1. The physical man is placed above the intellectual.
2. Brute force and strength are idealized.

B. Deceit is practiced, for

1. The main thing is to win.
2. The men are coached to "slug" and violate the rules with the reservation that they must not be seen by the officials.
3. The men endeavor to injure the best players on the opposing team.

(Refutation)

C. The argument that football develops individuality, promotes quick and accurate thinking, and moral courage, is unsound, for

1. Each player is but a cog in a machine.
2. He does the same thing over and over.
3. He memorizes a certain play for a certain signal; and whenever that signal is given, he does the thing that he has been taught to do.

D. Football produces ill will between students of different schools.

E. The sight of an injured player stretched out on the gridiron or carried to the side lines sends a shock through the spectators.

#### CONCLUSION

I. Since football unduly detracts students and players from the proper collegiate pursuits;

- II. Since the accidents resulting from football are sufficiently numerous and serious to warrant its abolishment ;
  - III. Since football is necessarily commercialized ;
  - IV. And since football lowers the morals of players and spectators ;
- Therefore, the American game of football should be abolished.

### Brief B

## VIVISECTION SHOULD BE RESTRICTED BY LAW

### INTRODUCTION

- I. The question arises from the following facts : —
  - A. At present the vivisectionist has almost unlimited freedom.
  - B. There is a strong anti-vivisection movement clamoring for restrictive legislation.
  - C. Even men of science do not agree as to the necessity of totally unregulated vivisection.
- II. *Vivisection* is the dissection of living animals, whether or not under the influence of anesthetics, for the purpose of testing the theories of *materia medica*.
- III. The negative side makes the following admission : —
  - A. Vivisection necessarily causes some pain and frequently the death of the animal.
- IV. Those who oppose this proposal maintain : —
  - A. Vivisection is not cruelty to animals.
  - B. Legal restriction is not advisable.
  - C. Scientists oppose regulation.
- V. Those who favor this proposal maintain : —
  - A. Vivisection is cruelty to animals.
  - B. Legal control is feasible.
  - C. There is a popular demand for regulation.
- VI. From the foregoing clash of opinion the following main issues are derived : —

- A. Is vivisection cruelty to animals ?
- B. Is legal restriction advisable ?
- C. In the face of the opposition of men of science, should the popular demand for regulation be heeded?

## PROOF FOR THE NEGATIVE

- I. Vivisection is not cruelty to animals, for
  - A. The inflicting of pain for an adequate beneficial purpose is not cruelty.
  - B. Animals during vivisection are not hurt so much as they appear to be, for
    - 1. Animals are not so sensitive to pain as men.
    - 2. The animals chosen for vivisection receive the best of care, for
      - a. In many laboratories animal hospitals are provided.
    - 3. Anesthetics are employed whenever the nature of the experiment permits.
    - 4. The animal often struggles as though in pain merely from reflex muscular action, when it does not suffer at all.

## (Refutation)

- C. The argument that the infliction of pain through vivisection is wrong is unsound, for
  - 1. Man inflicts pain and death upon animals for many reasons that are no more vital than the combating of disease, for
    - a. Half of our food comes from the animal kingdom.
    - b. Horses have been ridden to death.
    - c. Man is kept from being annoyed by spring mouse-traps and sticky fly-paper.
- II. Legal restriction is not feasible, for
  - A. Our legislators are too ignorant of the conditions of the scientific laboratory to frame a wise law.
  - B. The best law could relieve only a negligible quantity of the total of animal suffering.

- C. An unintelligent law would seriously hinder the progress of medical knowledge and methods for fighting human disease.
- D. What such stagnation of medical science would mean can be best indicated by observing what vivisection has recently been the direct cause of discovering.

1. Vivisection has been the means : —

- a. Of discovering and perfecting antiseptic surgery.
- b. Of making possible all modern abdominal surgery.
- c. Of making possible nearly all surgery of the brain.
- d. Of banishing tetanus.
- e. Of reducing death-rate in cases of compound fractures from sixty-five per cent to less than one per cent.
- f. Of virtually abolishing yellow fever.
- g. Of making possible the cure of nearly all cases of hydrophobia.
- h. Of reducing diphtheria mortality seventy-five per cent.
- i. Of reducing cerebro-spinal meningitis mortality sixty per cent.
- j. Of almost abolishing the dangers of maternity.
- k. Of reducing tuberculosis mortality fifty per cent.

III. In face of the opposition of men of science, the popular clamor against vivisection should not be heeded, for

- A. The popular clamor is misplaced sentiment, for
1. It would inflict pain, disease, and death on countless human beings by retarding medical science.
  2. It does not extend a protecting hand against meat-eating and pest-killing.

B. Among leading scientists who favor unrestricted vivisection are: Dr. Weir Mitchell, Dr. Jane-way, Dr. Osler, D. W. Keen. Also prominent professors of the following institutions: Harvard, Yale, Chicago, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Dartmouth.

#### CONCLUSION

- I. Since vivisection is not cruelty to animals;
  - II. Since legal restriction is not feasible;
  - III. And since the popular clamor against vivisection should be disregarded;
- Therefore, vivisection should not be restricted by law.

## APPENDIX III

### SPECIMEN EXPOSITORY OUTLINE

#### Outline A

### THE AMERICAN SHORT CUT IN EDUCATION

#### INTRODUCTION

- I. American rapidity.
  - 1. In business life.
  - 2. In empire-building.
  - 3. In the social whirl.
  - 4. In education.

#### BODY

- I. The high school and college of fifty years ago.
  - A. Narrow curricula.
  - B. Scarcity of laboratories.
  - C. Prescribed courses.
  - D. Scarcity of professional schools.
  - E. *But* more common ground and closer ties among all educated men.
    - 1. Social possibilities herein.
    - 2. Professional significance.
- II. The Change.
  - A. The scientific wave.
    - 1. Increase in scope of curriculum.
  - B. The elective system.
    - 1. Result of broadening of curriculum.
    - 2. Itself further increasing the curriculum.
  - C. Specialization.
    - 1. Outgrowth of scientific wave and elective system.
    - 2. Still further extension of the curriculum.
  - D. Development of professional and graduate schools.



- E. The modern university.
  1. College of liberal arts.
  2. Graduate school of arts and sciences.
  3. Professional schools.
  4. Effect of competition between universities upon multiplication of courses of instruction.
  5. Combining of undergraduate and graduate work with reduction in number of working years.
- F. Resulting modification of the preparatory school.

### III. The present situation.

- A. How the high school cuts into the work of the college.
- B. How the professional school cuts into the work of the college.
- C. How the elective system affects the university college of arts and sciences.

### IV. The value of work in the arts and sciences.

- A. Aims at increasing the livableness of life.
  1. Broader experience for interpreting life.
  2. Broader social possibilities.
  3. Greater professional power.

## CONCLUSION

- I. The American short cut in education has gone to the extreme.
- II. It is a sign of hope that more and more professional schools require the bachelor's degree for entrance.
- III. But even this does not prevent the prostitution of the liberal arts work to mere technical preparation for the professional school.

## Outline B

### CARLYLE ON THE SINCERITY OF MAHOMET

#### INTRODUCTION

- I. Impostor theory dismissed as impossible.
- II. Faults dismissed as unessential.

## DEVELOPMENT

- I. Sincerity demanded by background.
  - A. Country uncompromising.
    1. Mountains.
    2. Deserts.
    3. Heat.
    4. Emptiness.
  - B. People in earnest.
    1. Passionate.
    2. Controlled.
    3. Religious.
- II. Sincerity fostered by early life.
  - A. Personal loyalty in family.
  - B. Curiosity excited by journey.
  - C. Independence due to
    1. Lack of books.
    2. Isolation.
- III. Sincerity manifested.
  - A. In private life.
    1. In business relations.
    2. In marriage.
  - B. In religion.
    1. Its rise.
      - a.* When he was advanced in years.
      - b.* Out of his long-continued practice.
    2. Its fundamental dogmas.
      - a.* One God.
      - b.* Submission.
    3. Its promulgation.
      - a.* In face of opposition.
      - b.* With success.
    4. The Koran.
      - a.* Its influence.
      - b.* Its confusion.
      - c.* Its originality.
      - d.* Its rigor.

- C. In his want of sensuality.
  - 1. Reverence in which he was held by those who knew him face to face.
  - 2. In his life in times of trial.
  - 3. In the Koran.
    - a.* In betterment of what was gross.
    - b.* In spiritual essence.
- D. In the effect of his teaching.

## APPENDIX IV

### SPECIMEN ARGUMENT FOR BRIEFING

#### A STUDENT'S PLEA FOR ARGUMENTATION<sup>1</sup>

"WHY should women be required to take argumentation? What good does it do them to read a mass of material on some question of only temporary or local importance, and work it into forensic form? Would not the time be better spent on French, or music, or literature — or something that contributes to general culture? What sufficient excuse can there be for compelling girls to argue?"

This is an old refrain, and is persistently repeated — so persistently, indeed, that at many women's colleges the course in argumentation has disappeared from the list of requirements for a degree. It is not surprising that objection is made to it: — not all students are prejudiced in favor of hard studies, and this course is by no means the least troublesome in the college curriculum. We agree, moreover, that there is little sense in compelling girls to argue, for argument's sake. But there is some excuse for the course, nevertheless, and we will endeavor to make clear what it is.

In order to discover what good it does a woman to write briefs and forensics, we must see in what the work consists, and what qualities of mind are needed for its successful accomplishment.

The first thing necessary in preparing an argument is to get a complete grasp of the subject. One must determine with perfect definiteness and accuracy all that is meant by each of the words in which his proposition is phrased. After defining terms with care, one wonders, not infrequently, if he has ever before in his life really comprehended the full meaning of an English sentence — so great is the precision, so nice the distinction, required in this part of the work.

<sup>1</sup> H. B. Grose, *Specimens of English Composition*, Scott, Foresman & Company, 1909.

The next thing, after one has settled clearly what the question is about, is to go through a mass of material more or less closely related to the matter in hand, and select from it just such facts and theories as will really go to prove, or to strengthen, one side of the case. Due attention must at the same time be given to the points in which lies the strength of one's opponent, and bits of proof must be picked out to balance or to weaken each piece of evidence he may bring forward. Here there is demand for the most careful discrimination: in this part of the work one must stick resolutely to the point, rejecting all except the telling facts, however interesting and worthy of attention the useless ones may be in themselves. He who says all that applies to the question at issue, and no more, is the one whose work has the greatest force and weight.

Next, the chosen material must be classified and put in order. There are naturally certain broad divisions of the proof and, under these, narrower ones and narrower. Each smallest bit of fact has a place of its own, and must be put into it, in order that it may do its proper share of work: its relation to every other fact must be decided, and its place in the whole structure must correspond to this relation. The whole proof must be so organized as to be at once logical, coherent, and forcible. Skillfully one must lead his readers on, from lesser things to greater, quietly advancing step by step until he can say: "See, I have proved this to be true and this and this — and now the whole is established." In our college forensics it is not the persuasiveness of the language, but the skillful exposition of facts in logical order, that makes good argument. Anyone who has an orderly mind will not fare ill in the class in argumentation.

Accuracy, discrimination, orderliness — are not these worth teaching, even to women? Are not women, more than men, accused of jumping at hasty conclusions, of saying at random all that comes into their heads, and of jumbling ideas into an unintelligible mixture of sense and nonsense? It would seem that few courses of study could answer their needs bet-

ter than this very bugbear of which we are speaking. To-day women are expected to talk, and to talk with sense and force. It is easy enough for them to learn things to talk about, for their perception is keen and their memory good. Their great need is of logical thinking and clear expression. The actual questions that a girl reads up for argumentation add little, usually, to her stock of information; but the lesson in grasping the question, and in selecting, classifying, and organizing material, is one so much needed that it makes of argumentation a "culture" course in a far stricter sense than are courses in French, music, and literature. Whenever a woman prepares a forensic, she is truly cultivating her mind. She is learning the value of making orderly disposition of material in the pigeonholes of her own brain, where she can find it ready to be put into effective use at any moment. With more of mental discipline she can do with less of concrete fact — and the time spent on forensic work is, therefore, not ill-spent. The course in argumentation has an excuse for existing; and women who would be reasonable should take up the study, feeling not ill-treated, but privileged.

## APPENDIX V

### MATERIAL FOR BRIEFING

RATHER than reprint matter that is readily accessible, we give here a list of sources. These volumes contain argumentative addresses of greater or less difficulty from the point of view of briefing. The teacher will select those within the ability of the class.

*Specimens of Argumentation*, Baker.

*Speeches and Letters of Abraham Lincoln*.

*Specimens of Exposition and Argument*, Percival and Jelliffe.

*Specimens of English Composition*, Grose.

*Specimens of Prose Composition*, Nutter, Hersey, and Greenough.

*American Public Addresses*, Denney.

*Modern American Oratory*, Ringwalt.

*Select Orations Illustrating American History*, Harding.

*Masterpieces of Modern Oratory*, Shurter.

*Argumentation and Debating*, Foster.

*Orations and Arguments*, Bradley.

The teacher will do well to have the class make a brief of an argument just issued in pamphlet form, or published in the local papers, on a question of immediate and dominant interest.

## APPENDIX VI

### INTERSCHOLASTIC DEBATE

#### FORMS OF AGREEMENT AMONG HIGH SCHOOLS

THERE are in more or less common use three forms of league organization for debating purposes: the dual, the triangular, and the pentangular.

The dual form is an agreement between two schools to hold an annual debate. Such an agreement usually continues several years, although it may cease at any time by mutual consent.

The triangular form is more complex. Three schools, A, B, and C, located in towns X, Y, and Z, respectively, agree to debate on the same question. Each school prepares two teams, one on the affirmative side, and one on the negative side. All three debates occur the same night. In each debate the home team upholds the affirmative side of the question.

Town X	Town Y	Town Z
A (Aff.)	B (Aff.)	C (Aff.)
B (Neg.)	C (Neg.)	A (Neg.)

Two members for each team are preferable to three in the triangular system, unless each high school concerned is large enough to supply two good three-member teams.

The pentangular system resembles the triangular. Five schools, A, B, C, D, and E, located in towns V, W, X, Y, and Z, agree to debate on the same question. Each school prepares an affirmative and a negative team, and all five debates occur the same night. The pentangular agreement must be in force for two years, before each school has debated every other school.



DEBATING SCHEDULE UNDER PENTANGULAR SYSTEM

First Year

Town V	Town W	Town X	Town Y	Town Z
A (Aff.)	B (Aff.)	C (Aff.)	D (Aff.)	E (Aff.)
B (Neg.)	C (Neg.)	D (Neg.)	E (Neg.)	A (Neg.)

Second Year

A (Aff.)	B (Aff.)	C (Aff.)	D (Aff.)	E (Aff.)
C (Neg.)	D (Neg.)	E (Neg.)	A (Neg.)	B (Neg.)

SPECIMEN ARTICLES FROM DEBATING AGREEMENTS

1. The name of this organization shall be.....
2. The members of this organization shall be the following schools :—

.....  
 .....  
 ..... etc.

3. The form of organization shall be.....
4. The question for the current year shall be as follows :—

.....  
 .....

5. The affirmative and negative sides of this question shall be distributed among the members of this organization as follows :—

School	Side of Question
--------	------------------

.....  
 .....  
 .....

etc.

6. Each school may employ its own methods in selecting an interscholastic debating team. Each team shall consist of — members and an alternate. The members of a team may be either boys or girls. The personnel of the team may change from one debate to another at the discretion of the school.

To be eligible to represent their school in an interscholastic debate students must be approved in writing by the principal of the school. Not later than two weeks before any debate the schools concerned shall exchange statements through their principals naming the speakers and certifying their eligibility.

7. The entertaining school shall make all local arrangements for the debate, the hall, the presiding officer, advertising, and the welfare of the visiting team and the judges. The entertaining school shall receive all receipts.

The entertaining school shall meet all local expenses of the debate, the traveling expenses of the visiting team of — members, and the stop-over expenses of the visiting team for a period of not more than thirty-six hours.

The entertaining school shall pay the railroad fares incurred by reason of the debate, of judges and presiding officer.

8. The three judges shall be obtained in the following manner: Not less than five weeks before the debate the entertaining school shall submit to the visiting school a list of ten names for judges. The visiting school, without the necessity of a statement of reason, may object to any or all names submitted. Whereupon the entertaining school shall immediately substitute enough other names to complete the original ten. This shall be repeated until the visiting school is satisfied with the list of judges. Not later than three weeks before the debate the visiting school shall submit to the entertaining school the list of judges arranged from one to ten in order of preference. The entertaining school shall

immediately secure the first judges in the list who on application of the school do not decline to act. The entertaining school shall inform the visiting school promptly regarding judges obtained.

The timekeepers shall be one representative from each school, preferably the respective alternates. The entertaining school shall not be expected to pay the expenses of the visiting alternate or timekeeper.

9. The main speeches shall be limited to ten minutes for each speaker, and the rebuttal speeches to five minutes for each speaker.

The presiding officer shall sound a warning with one rap of the gavel at the end of eight minutes in the main speeches and at the end of four minutes in the rebuttal speeches. He shall call the speaker to order at the end of ten minutes in the main speeches and five minutes in the rebuttal speeches.

The order of speeches shall be as follows: —

*Main speeches* — First affirmative speech.

First negative speech.

Second affirmative speech.

Second negative speech.

Third affirmative speech.

Third negative speech.

*Rebuttal* — First negative speech.

First affirmative speech.

Second negative speech.

Second affirmative speech.

Third negative speech.

Third affirmative speech.

10. The judges for each debate shall be instructed as follows: —

This organization is agreed upon the general principle that *the award should not be made on the merits of the question*, but on the merits of the debate; that is to say, consideration as to what may seem to a judge the intrinsic merit of either side of a question should not

enter into the award; but the award ought to be made to that school team which shows in general greater argumentative ability and better form as speakers.

In determining argumentative ability, the judges should take into consideration thorough knowledge of the question, logical sequence, skill in selecting and presenting evidence, and power in rebuttal; and in considering the form of the speakers, as distinguished from their arguments, they should regard bearing, quality of voice, correct pronunciation, clear enunciation, and directness, variety, and emphasis in delivery.

Matter is to be regarded as more important than form. Should one team excel in matter, and the other to an equal degree in form, the award should go to that team which excels in matter.

The judges, without consultation, shall hand written ballots to the Chairman, who shall at once announce the decision.

## CONSTITUTION OF THE MINNESOTA HIGH-SCHOOL DEBATING LEAGUE

### ARTICLE I—OBJECT

The object of this League shall be to improve rhetorical work in the High Schools of Minnesota by friendly rivalry and by exchange of ideas.

### ARTICLE II—MEMBERSHIP

SECTION 1. Any State High School of Minnesota which is "under supervision of the State High-School Board" may become a member of this League by signing the constitution and paying the annual dues, three dollars.

SECTION 2. All schools seeking admission for any particular year must join and pay annual dues at least twenty days before the first contest of the first series in their respective districts.

SECTION 3. If more schools seek admission than can be accommodated in any district they must be received in the order of their payment of annual dues.

### ARTICLE III — DEBATING DISTRICTS

For convenience the state shall be divided into nine debating districts, which shall correspond with the Congressional Districts as described in the reapportionment of 1901.

### ARTICLE IV — CONTESTS

SECTION 1. The preliminary contests shall be held by the members of the League within each district. They shall occur between the first Friday in October and the fourth Friday in January. If there are more than two competing schools in any district, the first preliminary contest in that particular district shall be held prior to January 1st. "Any district representative shall lose its chance to secure choice of sides in the first inter-district contest if it holds its final preliminary contest later than the fourth Friday in January."

SECTION 2. The inter-districts or semi-final contests shall be held between the champions of the various districts. They shall occur between the third Friday in February and the third Friday in March, provided that, in the discretion of the President of the League, one of the inter-district contests, viz. the first, may be held before the first named date (third Friday in February), and this first inter-district contest shall be held between the two districts having the fewest preliminaries.

SECTION 3. The final contest shall be held on the third Friday in April at the State University, and under the direction of the President of the League.

SECTION 4. The contests of each series shall be held on the same evenings as far as possible.

SECTION 5. When the dates for the inter-district contests shall have been fixed they shall not be postponed except by consent of all the teams immediately concerned, and this consent shall be secured by the school requesting the change.

**ARTICLE V—COMPETING SCHOOLS AND CHOICE OF SIDES**

**SECTION 1.** Schools volunteering to meet each other in the preliminaries shall be permitted to do so as far as possible.

**SECTION 2.** If choice of sides cannot be determined by mutual agreement, it shall be decided by lot; but the school losing choice of sides shall have the right to determine the place of contest. This method shall obtain in both preliminary and inter-district contests.

**SECTION 3.** Whenever any school shall come to the final debate, having debated but one side of the question, its opponent shall have the choice of sides.

**ARTICLE VI—DISTRICT DIRECTORS**

**SECTION 1.** There shall be a legislative and executive board composed of the district directors of the several districts, of which the President of the League shall be chairman *ex-officio*.

**SECTION 2.** The superintendent of the winning school in each district shall be district director for the ensuing year, except in the Twin Cities and Duluth, where the principal shall be such director, provided said superintendent and principal may appoint a substitute director from the faculty of the winning school.

**SECTION 3.** When for any reason a district has no director, the President of the League shall appoint such officer.

**SECTION 4.** It shall be the duty of the district director (a) To attend the annual business meeting and final contest; (b) To collect the annual dues from applicants for membership in his district twenty days before the first contest and forward the same promptly to the President of the League; (c) To fix the dates for the preliminaries, give prompt notice of the same to the state high schools of his district, cooperate with them in appointing presiding officers, providing judges, pairing schools and securing justice to all; (d) To furnish to the President all necessary information in regard to the working of the League, report interesting news to the

Minneapolis Journal, and in other ways stimulate and sustain the interest of the schools in his district.

#### ARTICLE VII — PRESIDENT

At each annual meeting of the district directors they shall elect a president.

It shall be the duty of the president :

1. To bring disputes before the University Debating Board for final settlement ;
2. To appoint a local business manager and take general charge of the final contest ;
3. To use the "annual dues" and other funds as may be directed at the annual meeting ;
4. To select a proposition for debate and prepare a syllabus when desirable ;
5. To pair the schools in the inter-district series on the basis of convenience, expense, and the choice of the schools ;
6. To fix the dates for the inter-district contests and name the schools that shall take part in them ;
7. To preside at the annual business meeting and final debate ;
8. And to promote the general welfare of the League.

#### ARTICLE VIII — THE DEBATERS

SECTION 1. The debaters shall be *bona fide* high school students doing creditable work in at least two subjects of the regular curriculum, and under-graduates of their school at the time of the contest.

SECTION 2. The debaters shall be separated from the audience, and they shall receive no coaching while the debate is in progress.

SECTION 3. If through unavoidable circumstances a team is crippled, it may substitute one or more new members ; but no school will be allowed to have two teams, one supporting the affirmative and the other the negative of the proposition throughout the series of debates.

**SECTION 4.** The time and order of the speakers shall be as follows : —

Opening	Rebuttal
Affirmative 10 minutes	Negative 5 minutes
Negative 10 minutes	Affirmative 5 minutes
Affirmative 10 minutes	Negative 5 minutes
Negative 10 minutes	Affirmative 5 minutes
Affirmative 10 minutes	Negative 5 minutes
Negative 10 minutes	Affirmative 5 minutes

**SECTION 5.** Time lost in unavoidable interruptions shall be made good to the speaker interrupted.

**SECTION 6.** Cheering a debater while he is speaking is forbidden. Time so consumed by the speaker's friends shall not be made up to him. Time so consumed by his opponents shall be made up to him.

**SECTION 7.** New matter, except when it is strictly in rebuttal, shall not be introduced in the last rebuttal speech of the affirmative.

**SECTION 8.** Speakers shall not be interrupted by their opponents except when the negative is attempting to protect its rights in accordance with the preceding section (Sec. 7, Art. VIII).

**SECTION 9.** Debaters shall be entitled to "warning signals" as they may direct.

**SECTION 10.** "Debaters shall cease speaking when the signal is given."

#### ARTICLE IX — JUDGES

**SECTION 1.** Representatives of the teams shall mutually agree on judges, and all judges shall be selected on the basis of capability and impartiality.

**SECTION 2.** Instructions — The judges shall consider both thought and delivery, but thought shall be primary and delivery secondary. They shall neglect personal prejudice and decide on the merits of the debate, not on the merits of the question.

Each judge shall be allowed to decide in his own way



what constitutes effective debate. He shall not, under any circumstances, give a "consolation" vote.

Each judge shall vote "affirmative" or "negative" without consultation. He shall sign, seal, and deliver his vote to the presiding officer, who shall open the votes and announce the decision. A copy of this section of the constitution must be handed to each of the judges at the opening of the contest.

#### ARTICLE X — EXPENSES

SECTION 1. In the preliminary and inter-district contests the entertaining team shall defray the following expenses: —

- (a) All expenses of the judges.
- (b) Full railway mileage and hotel bills of the visiting team, which shall consist of three debaters and one attendant.

SECTION 2. In the final contest the proceeds shall be used in the manner and order following: —

- (a) If the gross receipts are under \$100, 5 per cent shall be paid to the local business manager for his services; if over \$100, 8 per cent shall be paid him;
- (b) Local expenses, such as programs, tickets, posters, and judges' bills shall next be paid;
- (c) Hotel expenses, not exceeding two nights and one day at not more than \$2.00 per day, and railway mileage, by the most direct route, for three men on each team;
- (d) If there is a surplus after all necessary expenses have been paid, it shall remain in the treasury as a working fund for the next year. If there is a deficit it shall be shared equally by the two teams entering the final contest.

#### ARTICLE XI — MILEAGE OF DISTRICT DIRECTOR

From the proceeds of the last preliminary contest a sum shall at once be paid to the incoming district director sufficient to pay his mileage to the annual business meeting. (See Art. VI, Sec. 4 (a).) If this sum is not used in the manner above provided, it shall be returned to the school furnishing it.

## ARTICLE XII — PRIZES

The Minneapolis Journal offers to each member of the winning team a souvenir badge; and to the high school they represent, a memorial cup.

The high school winning state championship shall have its name engraved upon the cup. If this school fails to enter the League the next year, or if it is defeated at any time, it shall at once deliver the cup to the Journal, where it will be placed on exhibition until won again. Any school winning the cup three successive years shall become permanent possessor of it.

## ARTICLE XIII — DISPUTES

All disputes between members of the League, except in regard to the appointment of judges, shall be settled by the Debating Board of the University. (In considering disputes, the Board will reject all oral agreements that are not witnessed by a disinterested party and all written agreements that are not signed by the interested parties.) If two teams have a controversy concerning the selection of judges, each team shall appoint one person, these two shall appoint a third, and these three shall settle the dispute. If either team refuses to accept the decision of the above committee, it shall lose by default.

## ARTICLE XIV — QUORUM

The Directors attending any annual business meeting shall constitute a quorum.

## ARTICLE XV — AMENDMENTS

This Constitution and By-Laws may be amended at any annual meeting by a majority vote of the district directors present.

## APPENDIX VII

### SUMMARY OF PARLIAMENTARY RULES FOR DEBATING PURPOSES

ONLY a slight knowledge of parliamentary procedure is needed for conducting the school debate. The proposition for debate is the main question, and usually the sole business of the day.

It is the duty of the presiding officer to learn, before the debate, the subject and the order of the speakers. He is to call the meeting to order, to announce the question and the speakers, and to see that, as far as may be, the speeches from the floor alternate for the affirmative and the negative. In the main speeches he should give warning with one rap of the gavel at the close of eight minutes, and he should call the speaker to order at the close of ten minutes. In the speeches from the floor and in the rebuttal speeches, the warning should come at the close of four minutes, and the call to order at the close of five minutes.

After the speaking from the floor has closed, the presiding officer puts the question to the vote of those present. Usually two votes are taken: one on the merits of the question, and one on the merits of the debating.

In case the debating club has occasional business meetings, a brief consideration of the common motions may be useful.

#### CHART OF PARLIAMENTARY MOTIONS

DEBATABLE	MOTION	
Yes	Main Motion	
Yes	{ Postpone            Amendment Indefinitely    Amend the Amendment Previous Question <sup>1</sup> Lay on the Table	SECONDARY
No		
No		
No		

<sup>1</sup> Requires two-thirds vote.

DEBATABLE	MOTION	
No No Yes No	Divide the Motion Objection <sup>1</sup> Appeal Point of Order	INCIDENTAL
No No No	Take Recess Adjourn Time and Place to Adjourn.	PRIVILEGED

These are not all the motions recognized by parliamentary law, but these are sufficient for the purposes of the small assembly. The Main Motion is the original proposition for the discussion and decision of which the assembly has been called together. It is always debatable. Secondary Motions exist for the purpose of doing something definite with the main motion. Incidental Motions exist for the sake of disposing of any matters not directly concerning the main motion, but requiring priority of decision. Privileged motions concern the convenience of the assembly or its members.

To avoid confusion only one main motion may be before the assembly at any time. To avoid confusion further a definite order of precedence has been established among the subordinate motions. Any motion on the accompanying chart takes precedence over any other motion appearing above it on the chart. Any motion yields to any other motion appearing below it on the chart.

The Indefinite Postponement and the Amendments are of equal privilege. Whenever either motion is before the assembly, the other motion is out of order. The indefinite postponement, if carried, defeats the main question without an actual negative vote on the main question.

The purpose of the Amendments is to modify the main question. An amendment can be made by inserting words,

<sup>1</sup> Requires a two-thirds vote.

by striking out words, or by striking out words and inserting others. When a question has been amended to the limit, the amendment to the amendment must be voted on first, then the amendment, and then the main question. When an amendment is before the assembly, another amendment to the main question directly is not in order.

To move the Previous Question is equivalent to moving that the debate cease and the main question be put to a vote at once.

The motion to Lay on the Table disposes of a matter until a subsequent motion, To Take from the Table, is carried.

The Division of the Motion becomes necessary when two distinct propositions, of such a nature that members of the assembly might desire to vote for one and against the other, happen to be included in the same motion.

The Objection to the consideration of a question requires no second and must be presented at once to the vote of the assembly.

The Point of Order is made by calling the attention of the presiding officer to any alleged unparliamentary act of the assembly. The point of order is not put to a vote; the presiding officer renders the decision. At any time a member may appeal from the chair's decision. The Appeal is voted upon by the assembly, and the chair is either sustained or overruled. The remaining motions on the chart should be self-explanatory.<sup>1</sup>

Speakers should not be referred to by name in formal discussions, but as "the previous speaker," or "the gentleman from California," or "the member who advocates a new election."

<sup>1</sup> For further details of parliamentary usage see the manuals of Cushing, Reed, Hinds, Paul, or Robert. For further suggestions concerning the organization and conduct of debating societies, see Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 192, published by the Extension Division.

## APPENDIX VIII

### A LIST OF PROPOSITIONS

#### PROPOSITIONS OF LOCAL INTEREST FOR FIRST PRACTICE

1. In times of economic depression the City of R—— should give work to the unemployed.
2. R—— High School offers adequate vocational education for those of its students who do not enter college.
3. The prescribed list of English classics for secondary-school use could be materially improved.
4. The R—— High-School library should double the number of its volumes this year.
5. R—— High School should have a gymnasium.
6. Admission to American colleges should be by examination only.
7. The work of the editor-in-chief of a high-school paper should count as five tenths of a unit towards graduation.
8. Interscholastic football should be abolished at R—— High School.
9. Secret societies are detrimental to the best interests of R—— High School.
10. The City of R—— should furnish free text-books to all pupils.
11. The greater part of the studies in R—— High School should be elective.
12. College entrance requirements are excessive.
13. Military drill should be compulsory in R—— High School.
14. Written term examinations should be abolished.
15. The reading of the Bible in public schools should be prohibited.
16. Speaking by members of the class in high-school graduation exercises should be abolished.

17. The City of R—— should make an additional annual appropriation of —— for the maintenance of the public high school.
18. Gymnasium work in R—— High School should be compulsory.
- ✓ 19. The students of R—— High School should have self-government.
20. Latin should be required for entrance to college.
- ✓ 21. Commercial courses of study should be offered by all high schools.
22. Education should be compulsory as far as the completion of the high school.
23. Class rushes should be abolished at R—— High School.
24. Hazing should be abolished at R—— High School.
25. A young man should choose a profession before taking a college course.
26. Medical inspectors should be regularly employed in the public schools.
27. Separate high schools should be maintained for boys and girls.
28. Monday should be made a holiday in the public schools, in place of Saturday.
29. R—— High School should organize a debating society.
30. R—— High School should establish a monthly magazine.

#### PROPOSITIONS OF GENERAL INTEREST

31. The amount of property transferable by inheritance should be limited by statute.
32. Congress should establish a Central Bank.
33. United States Senators should be elected by popular vote.
34. The Fifteenth Amendment should be repealed.
35. Men and women should have equal suffrage.
36. Municipal government by commission is preferable to the prevailing plan of American city government.
37. Tariff should be imposed for revenue only.

38. San Francisco is justified in excluding the Japanese from the public schools.
39. For the State of R—— high license is preferable to prohibition.
40. The wages of men and women should be the same for the same work performed.
41. All church property should be taxed.
42. A representative should vote according to the wishes of his constituency.
43. The United States should gradually decrease its navy.
44. Municipal government should be non-partisan.
45. Government conservation of natural resources is for the best interests of the United States.
46. Vivisection should be regulated by statute.
47. Capital punishment should be abolished.
48. Irrigation systems should be owned by *bona fide* irrigators.
49. State laws prohibiting secular employment on Sunday should be repealed.
50. The best interests of American schools demand the adoption of the honor system in examinations.

NOTE: A list of 275 propositions for debate is given in *Argumentation and Debating*, p. 471, Houghton Mifflin Company, publishers, 1908.



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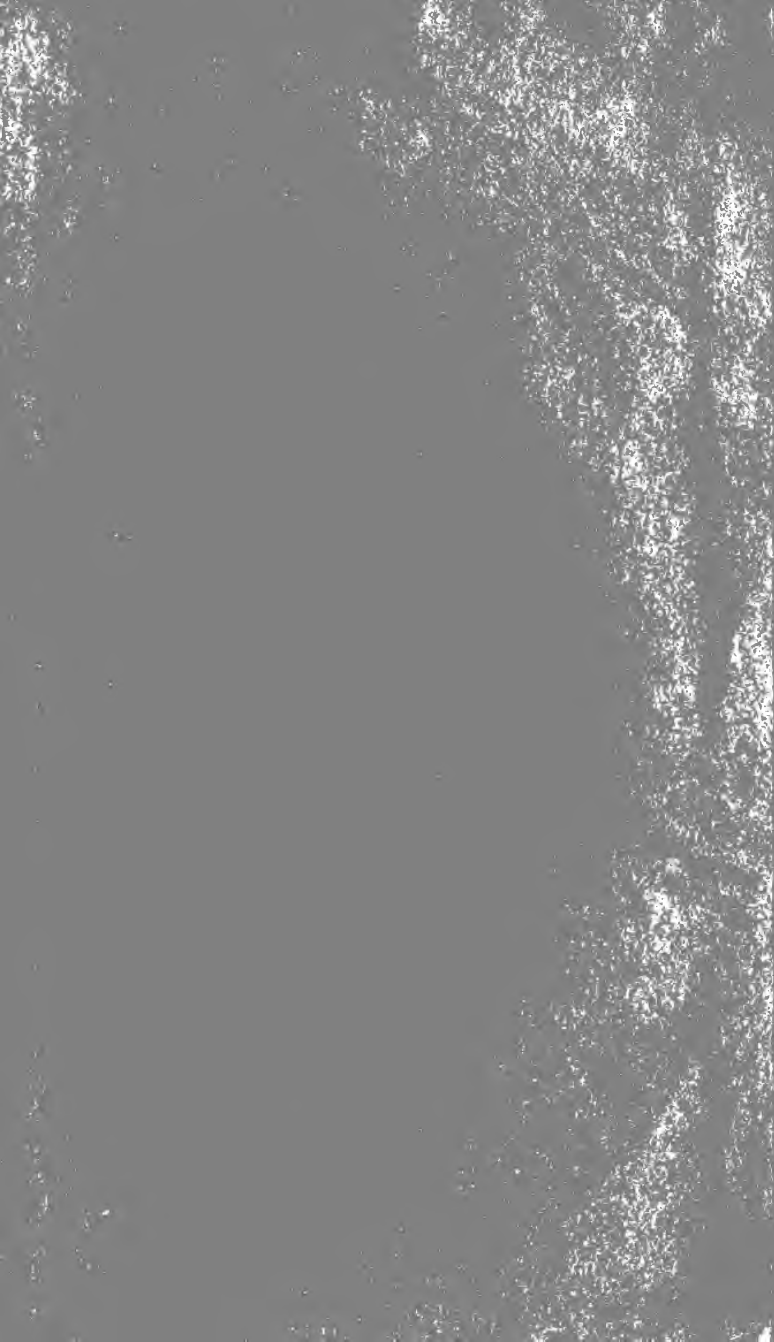
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