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THE PRINCIPLES OF
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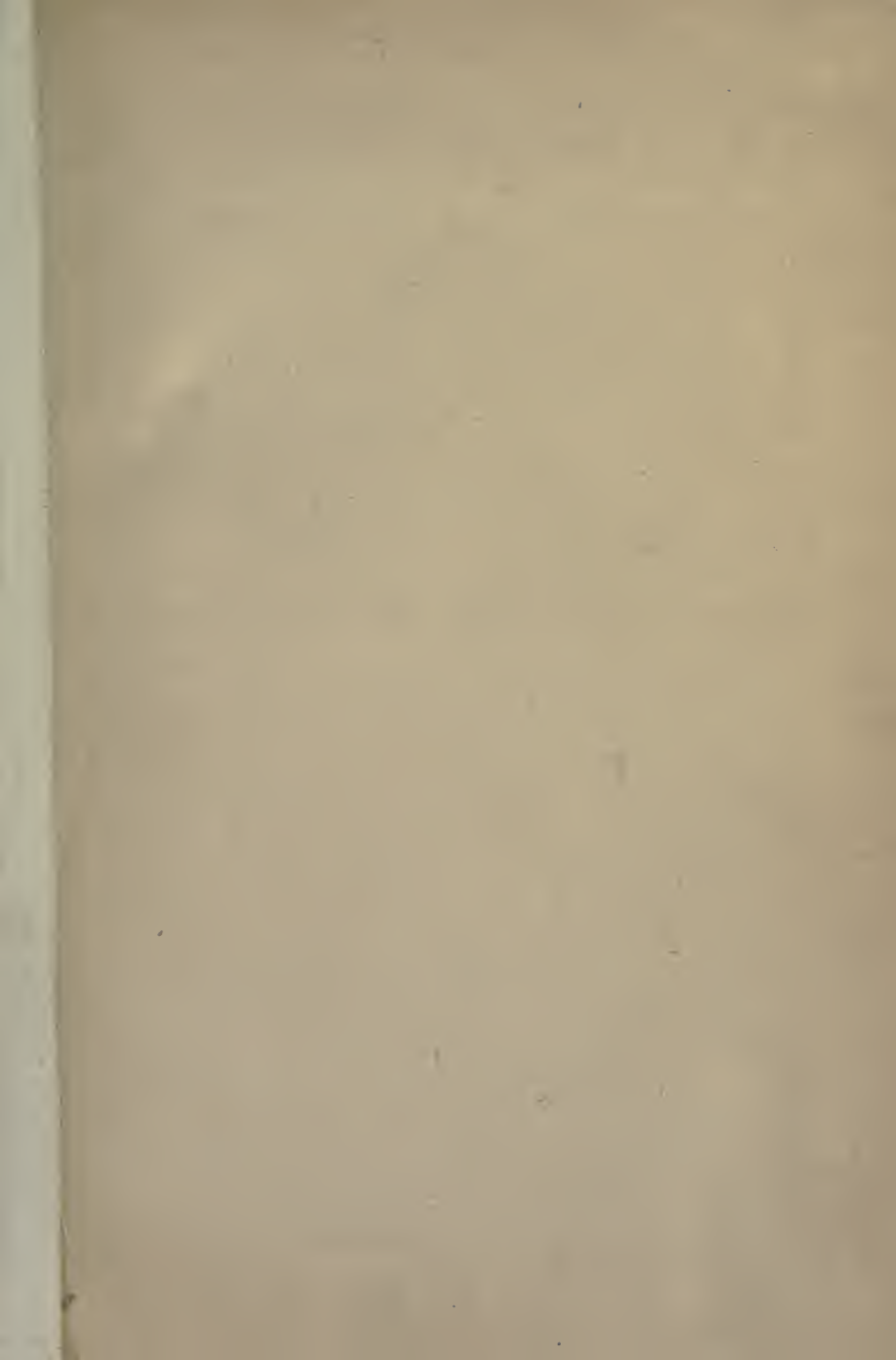
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THE
PRINCIPLES OF OUTLINING

FOR COLLEGES AND ADVANCED CLASSES
IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

BY

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PREFACE

ALL departments of study unite in demanding the power to analyze thought in its various forms of literary expression. Argumentation and exposition may both be used, as the teacher of English knows, for cultivating this power; and argumentation, since it is as common in the world as simple explanation and in some respects may be analyzed more easily, is particularly available for the purpose.

Yet there are good reasons why this subject is losing in some of our colleges the place which it held five years ago. Argumentation has necessarily become to some degree a course in general information, or in research, since the students must have material for their work, and must especially be guarded against the habit of forming conclusions on the basis of hasty generalizations. On this account the achievements possible during the hours given to English composition in one semester have been disappointingly meager, even if the whole time is spent in practicing a few general principles. And if any one of the several excellent but voluminous text-books on argumentation is made the basis for work, the result is apt to be the study of more theory than can be assimilated by adequate practice.

It has seemed to the writer that brief-drawing is the exercise from which students of argumentation gain

most, and that the benefit is greatest when the expository elements of a brief are emphasized as thoroughly as those which are purely argumentative. The brief is more highly specialized than other kinds of outlines because it has been more fully studied, but most of the principles that Professor G. P. Baker and others have elaborated may advantageously be applied to the outlining of all sorts of material, and students may thus be given a varied and practical training in analysis. In other words, we may substitute for the regular course in argumentation a short course in expository and argumentative outlining.

This book has been written to serve as the basis for such work. It is designed for reading and reference, and by saving the time that needs ordinarily to be given to the formulation and reiteration of advice, should increase the opportunity for the practice and criticism of actual outlining.

I am indebted for suggestions to my colleagues, Miss Snell and Miss Bridges, whose interest in this kind of work has been very helpful to me, and to Professor Stevens, who has responded most generously to my many demands upon her time and experience. My thanks are also due to the students of Barnard and Mount Holyoke colleges. Although they have furnished most of the examples of faulty outlining here used to point a moral, they have met the subject with a directness which explains my pleasure in this kind of instruction.

M. B.

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE,
April, 1910.



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THE PRINCIPLES OF OUTLINING

CHAPTER I

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE OUTLINE

Characteristics of the Outline. — Outlining is often considered a difficult exercise. Yet the difficulty lies rather in analyzing the thought to be expressed than in writing the outline; for when the thought is exactly understood it may be registered clearly and easily in a tabulated form. The difference between an outline and an ordinary connected composition is practically the difference between a diagram which shows plainly how one part of the object represented is related to another, and a picture in which the various parts are subdued by a thousand enveloping details. The outline is useful because it is simple. Since it subordinates everything else to precision and clearness in reproducing the framework of the thought which it sets forth, it demands exactness in the formation or reconstruction of this framework. It serves to test our thought-processes, whether we outline our own ideas or the ideas that we deduce from the study of what another person says.

omit Like all reasonable kinds of composition, outlining finds its beginnings in our most ordinary experience. When we remember anything that we read we have unconsciously (or otherwise) done something in the way of outlining it. A very small child, being told not long ago the story of the Water Babies, insisted afterwards on speaking of the book as the "Tom book," because to him the name of the central figure was the most important and suggestive point. Classification and outlining are so closely connected that we might almost consider the process of arranging our books in the bookcase an exercise in analysis similar to the writing of a lawyer's brief.

After hearing a lecture we can indicate in perhaps a half dozen words the general theme. We might say something like this to any one who asks what a speaker talked about: "The social consciousness — the indications of its development in our generation." If the inquirer pushes the question farther, we give — provided our memories are logical in even an elementary way — the three or four general divisions under which the "indications" spoken of were treated. This is outlining in its simplest form. A return to this simple form is sometimes useful as a test for more elaborate schemes. If a student is taking notes on a lecture, writing it down point by point, he commonly gets altogether too many main headings. But suppose some friend who has not heard the lec-

ture asks him about it: quite naturally he sums it all up under two or three points. To make his outline effective he must go through it once more, now that he has the material all before his mind, and gather up under these few main points all that he has noted. A clergyman who names the "heads" of his sermon, or any speaker who presents explicitly the framework of his lecture, does for his audience in the beginning what the listener who cares about remembering the substance of what he has heard must do for himself unless it is done for him.

From these illustrations it is evident that we all have some elements of a card-catalogue registered in our minds. But since our classifications are imperfect, and any addition to them is apt to require an undue effort, we ought to develop our skill by the practice which will give us facility, and also by a study of the principles which explain the process.

A very little thought will show us that the reasons for outlining are fundamentally two: to analyze; to show the analysis. A minor reason lies in the necessity, already mentioned, of some sort of tabulation, tacit though it may be, if we are ever to remember what we hear or read. It is both the analysis and the setting forth of the analysis that help us in this way. When a person is going to do fifteen errands at half a dozen shops he is wise to count the number in the whole list and the number for each shop; and if his memory is poor he writes these

down, in the shape of an outline, not as if he were composing a paragraph for the newspaper. This list of items might also be made for the use of another person. In that case it would be particularly explicit, with the names of the different shops plainly indicated as main headings, and all the items numbered. For either purpose the outline form is preferable to a connected form because the essential points are emphasized and their interrelations exhibited.

This instinct for tabulation that most of us show in small practical matters ought by our study of outlining to be developed and made available for the larger affairs we encounter in our intellectual experience. Outlining is employed by students, by writers, by business men, as well as by lawyers, and various arrangements of material are favored by people who have developed their ideas on the subject. In order to direct our practice wisely we must choose some one method among the many in actual use, and master that; the study of several plans at once would end in confusion. When we have learned to apply one scheme consistently and effectively, we can easily enough change it as occasion demands.

The Method of Outlining. — The plan now to be presented in such a general way that it applies equally well to both expository and argumentative writing, is probably the easiest method for obtaining a perfectly clear and logical result. It may be summarized under the following four rules:

1. Use letters or figures to mark all ideas; and differentiate clearly by this means, and by indentation, between points of different degrees of relationship to the main thesis. The order of points is always from the larger to the smaller.
2. Write each heading in the form of a statement.
3. Make each main heading under which a subheading stands, look forward, by expressing within itself the transition between the main and the subordinate headings.
4. Use parallel phrasing for parallel ideas.

The first and fourth rules are applicable to all forms of outlines which are employed for practical purposes. The second and third might give rise to a difference of opinion. It is possible and often sensible to make an expository outline in the form of topics without verbs, or in the more connected form in which several headings together make up a complete sentence. And teachers who prescribe the use of statements seldom insist that the transitions between the larger and the smaller points be expressed. A clear and logical outline can undoubtedly be made according to these other methods, but the scheme here presented seems to be a surer and simpler way of getting good results.

A fuller explanation of these rules, such as we may now give, will show that the principles involved in them are not arbitrarily adopted. Outlining is worth nothing when it is not reasonable, and the

motives underlying the forms used should be plain and sufficient.

The first rule means simply that the left-hand margin of the outline is limited by some such device as this:¹

I.

A.

B.

1.

2.

a.

(1).²

b.

It would be possible to use the inverted arrangement which, by working up from the small to the

¹ The order in which the letters and figures are used is not necessarily fixed, but it should never be varied within the same composition. Consistency is a cardinal principle in this kind of work. Students sometimes make the mistake of using the same mark on two different planes, trusting to the indentation to show the difference. Confusion should be avoided by more adequate means; a parenthesis, for instance, or a prime mark, may be used to distinguish one degree of *a* from another.

² To some people it appears absurd to have a single point standing by itself. They would say that in the scheme given above the point (1) should be thrown back and incorporated in *a* unless there is another sub-point which may stand as (2). But the marking of (1) indicates not simply that it is coördinate with a possible (2) which may or may not exist in any given case, but also that it is distinctly subordinate to *a*, in a way which cannot always be well expressed simply by including the matter in a subordinate clause of the heading *a*.

large, from the particular to the general, would represent the order of induction. But the reader would be bewildered, would wonder what the writer was trying to say, and by the time he arrived at the conclusion would have forgotten the steps by which it was reached. The outline is a labor-saving device for the reader, and at every point he should hold the clew firmly in his hand. Having adopted this general arrangement of the outline, indicated by the use of shorter lines and less prominent figures or letters to mark the minor headings, we must adhere to it strictly in all details. Just what this implies in regard to correlation will be discussed more fully in the chapter on Exposition and Argument, for the kind of relation between main and subordinate headings varies somewhat according to the kind of discourse outlined. In any case the clew to the whole should be the general thesis, which may be either a proposition for argument or a statement of the idea which lies at the basis of the exposition, and to which every main heading of the outline bears a definite relation. The thesis may be employed in either of two ways. It may stand at the beginning of the outline, without number or letter, or it may be used as the one principal heading in the body of the outline.¹

¹ Either plan is logical, but the greater prominence given by the latter method to the introduction and the conclusion (since they are made coördinate with the theme instead of subordinate to it) is perhaps an objection. A combination of the two methods is illustrated in the third outline given in the Appendix, in which the

The reason for the second rule, requiring that all headings be written in the form of full statements, is obvious in the case of argument, because the attempt to convince the reader of the truth of anything results in some definite assertion concerning that thing. The subject of an argument is necessarily a proposition, a full statement; but the subject of an exposition may be a term; and it is often possible to outline an exposition by using terms throughout. Yet the student who tries to do so usually finds himself impelled to use sentences in some places because a topic without a verb is too indefinite; and the result is a mixture of sentences and topics that is about as unpleasant to read as lecture notes taken down by some one who abbreviates in a different fashion from our own.¹ Even when all verbs are eliminated consistently, the topical outline is for most purposes unsatisfactory because it constantly tends to become a description rather than a presentation of the material.² Students are inclined to use such forms as this:

one principal heading in the body of the outline is practically a restatement of the theme as given in the beginning.

¹ The omission of articles in an outline causes the same kind of unpleasant sensation. Students must learn that to submit an outline with the articles left out is as distinctly improper as it would be to write out every "the" in notes taken for their own use.

² The use of the three divisions, "Introduction," "Discussion" (or "Body," as it is sometimes called), and "Conclusion," is possibly open to the same objection — that it substitutes a de-

Introduction — reason for discussing the question.

But if they had formed the habit of using complete statements, they would really find themselves saying something instead of telling what kind of thing they might be saying. Another example may be used, to show the greater definiteness of the sentence form even when the difference between the two forms is as slight as possible both in length and in completeness. The first two paragraphs of Arnold's *Study of Poetry* may be rendered in topics thus:

- I. The importance of a high conception of the uses and destinies of poetry, because of
 - A. The immense future of poetry.

In sentences the same material would appear in this way:

- I. Our conception of the uses and destinies of poetry must be high, for
 - A. The future of poetry is immense.

The chief objection to cutting up our sentences and using the parts under different headings is that this causes a greater strain upon the attention of the reader than is necessary. We might say, for example,

scriptive and external classification for a classification determined by the subject-matter. These titles should never be allowed to take the place of the headings furnished by the material itself, but they may be set down in the margin, to indicate the general scheme of development, when the ideas are clearly formulated in statements.

- I. The proposed plan is objectionable, for
 - A. Economic reasons, since
 - 1. It is more expensive, for
 - a. The original cost is greater.
 - b. The cost of operation is greater.
 - 2. It is an injury to the laboring class, for
 - a. It confuses economic and political interests.
 - b. It makes promotion for merit more difficult.
 - B. Political reasons, since, etc.

As it stands this is comparatively clear, though the term "Political reasons" coming in the midst of sentences has a somewhat disagreeable effect; but if *a* and *b* under 1 and 2 were treated as they might easily be treated, so as to occupy several pages, the reader would have to look back, on arriving at B, to see the connection.

This rule requiring full sentences, if followed at all, ought to be carried out strictly in the main headings. But in such a case as the following it is permissible to consider that the sentence runs through a series of headings, when they are all so close together that there is no possibility of missing the connection, and when full sentences would seem clumsy without securing any advantage.

- a. These four studies were included:
 - (1) Latin.
 - (2) German.
 - (3) Mathematics.
 - (4) Chemistry.

The third rule, which requires that the main heading look forward and show what kind of point is coming, is adopted for two reasons: it is a decided convenience to the reader; and, more important still, it saves the writer from many a bit of false correlation, and serves as a test to show him whether his ideas are clear. Occasionally, in exposition, the colon is sufficient to express the transition; in the illustration given above we might say simply, "Four studies were included:" But usually some word is wanted, such as "these," used in the example cited, or "as follows." The "for" or "because" which appears in argument serves the same purpose. Skill in outlining is attained partly by practice in phrasing transitions; and unless some transition can be phrased the correlation is certainly faulty. This requirement that the connection between the main and the subordinate headings be explicit is particularly important for students who are learning to write outlines; but there seems to be some reason for following it habitually, as a material assistance to the reader.

The fourth rule, that parallel ideas should be expressed in parallel phrasing, demands little discussion, though even a slight acquaintance with tables of contents and advertisements warns us that the advice must be tirelessly reiterated. The following bit from an outline written by a college sophomore, which seems about as bad as possible, is not exceptional :

A. Results of first Hague Conference.

1. England, Italy, and Germany stopped bombarding Venezuela.
2. Peace societies spring up.
3. Movement in educational lines.

An editorial writer in the *Outlook*¹ tabulated the important acts of the Sixtieth Congress in a list from which a few items may be selected to illustrate the same fault.

An Employers' Liability Law, replacing that one pronounced unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

A Child Labor Law for the District of Columbia.

Increased pay and pensions for the Life-Saving Service.

Authorizing the Inter-State Commerce Commission, in the promotion of the safety of employees and passengers, to prescribe regulations for the transportation of explosives by common carriers.

National Monetary Commission created.

Consular service reorganized.

Remission to China of part of the Boxer indemnity.

Even at the risk of using an unpleasantly formal and monotonous style beginners should apply with strictness this injunction concerning parallel phrasing. After the student has learned to do this as if by instinct, he should practice a well-regulated variety; and in this practice he can use his greatest skill, for the result will be not only better outlining, but more graceful composition of all kinds.

¹ March 13, 1909, p. 567.

Qualities of Style in the Outline. — There is indeed no reason why the time given to training in the making of outlines should not help the student to write well. Yet it is often supposed that this work is of no value from the point of view of ordinary English composition; at least students offer some such excuse for awkward sentences and paragraphs when they resume the writing of themes. A good style should be demanded in outlines, and a person who uses a good style in outlines can use a good style in themes. If we wish to apply the well-known rhetorical tests of clearness, force, and elegance to our outline, even in the primitive form in which it appears as a shopping list, we can easily do so; and in the application we are able to see some of the special qualities of this kind of writing.

Clearness is so prominent that we may well call it obviousness; he who runs not only may read, he must be able without delay to "get the point."

Force is also in some respects more prominent than in other forms of writing, but it involves a rigid economy rather than a liberal use of resources. Emphasis is attained not by reiteration and variety, but by a strict exclusion of everything that could divert the attention from its focus. In comparison with other forms of composition the outline depends more completely on denotation; the connotative effect of figures of speech is usually confusing rather than helpful in this very

businesslike kind of writing. The author of an outline has only one chance to make each particular point, and he must make it as quickly as possible. Force as a quality of the outline really means conciseness. To say that we do not always like to read an extremely concise style, obvious in all its details and implications, is only to say that outlines are to be used for special purposes, on special occasions. Mr. Alfred Jingle is more entertaining in *Pickwick Papers* than he would seem in real life, and people who habitually talk or compose their correspondence in outlines are apt to be very tiresome.

Elegance, like force, when applied to outlining must be understood to include very much less of variety and flexibility than we associate with the idea when we speak of connected discourse. Yet variety within somewhat narrow limits is all the more desirable because uniformity is the necessary general rule. But elegance consists more especially in harmony, a kind of rhythm and parallelism such as is illustrated by similarity of phrasing in parts similar in consequence; it amounts to perfect lucidity of a kind that is at once clearness and grace. An outline should sound well even when read aloud.¹ It should achieve that "refinement of exactitude" which is both a moral and an artistic quality.

¹ Unity, coherence, and emphasis, as they appear in the structure of the outline, will be discussed in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER II

EXPOSITION AND ARGUMENT

The Distinction between the Two Forms.—The general distinction between exposition and argument is perhaps clearer in the text-books on rhetoric than in our actual experience. We are told that argument is that kind of discourse which attempts to establish a conviction, and that exposition is simply explanation. But when we try to distinguish between the two forms in the case of speeches that we hear or read, or essays, or conversation, we at once see the difficulty. Speakers and writers realize the effectiveness of the argument that is so phrased as to appear like uncontroverted explanation; they like to assume the position of the editor who said: "We are not arguing with the gentleman, we are telling him." It is also true, as Professor Gardiner has pointed out,¹ that an argument may become indistinguishable from exposition when, like much of *The Origin of Species*, it has convinced so many people that there is no longer an opportunity for disagreement.

¹ *The Forms of Prose Literature*, p. 63.

We may say that argument begins and ends with exposition. An argument is always preceded, either tacitly or explicitly, by expository ideas, because an opinion must be understood before it can be defended. But sometimes the approach has been made by another speaker or writer than the author of the argument itself, or at a different time. In studying great speeches we often find that the introduction is incomplete because the audience was already acquainted with the situation. In our everyday discussions we commonly leave the introduction to be inferred from the general fund of knowledge on the subject. If a person debates with himself the question, "Shall I go to England this summer?" he does not usually stop to enumerate his own characteristics, in other words to define the term "I" to himself, yet that definition underlies all his reasoning. Normally, then, an argument begins with exposition.

It ends with exposition because the evidence on which any discussion bases its claim to acceptance is matter of fact, not to be disputed. If it can be seriously disputed, the argument is ineffective. This evidence, in other words, is really expository, and every argument rests ultimately on exposition. The truth of the facts used as evidence is often admitted even when the argument is attacked, when the validity of the reasoning by which they are made to serve as proof for the particular opinion may be questioned.

Thus Macaulay, in his famous speech against the extension of the term of copyright, questioned the use which a previous speaker had made of the fact that Milton's granddaughter was poor. Macaulay admitted the fact, but showed that a long term of copyright would not have benefited her, since the copyright of *Paradise Lost* was actually existing at the time of her distress, in the possession of the bookseller to whom it had been sold. This example illustrates one way in which exposition is related to argument. When it is so used we call the explanatory material argumentative. It is expository in form and argumentative in function.

The main point for us to remember in distinguishing between these two kinds of discourse is that a given passage might be differently assigned according as we determine by form or by function, and for most purposes function is a truer category than form. When a woman says, after punishing a refractory child, "There, you will be a good boy now," we are at liberty to regard the remark as argumentative in purpose, though it sounds like the simplest statement of fact.

Though argument always involves exposition, exposition may exist by itself, simply for the purpose of elucidation. We may explain a machine, a game, a theory, with no thought of establishing an opinion concerning the subject.

Narration and description come into our present

discussion only as they serve the purpose of explaining a situation or building up a conviction, and thus become transmuted, practically, into exposition or argument. In a study of outlining we naturally emphasize the logical rather than the imaginative forms of literature.

Expository and Argumentative Correlation. — Methods of correlation in an outline are determined by the kind of discourse dealt with. In an argumentative outline the subheading gives the reason for believing the main heading to be a true statement. In an expository outline the subheading names one of the parts implied in the main heading; or, to put the matter a little differently, it specifies one of the aspects of the subject named or connoted in the generalized statement that forms the main heading. It may simply give an illustration. Thus in argument the connective is "for";¹ in exposition it is most apt to be something like "the following," "as follows," "that is," "these," "for example," or, as I have already said, it may be simply the colon.

A given passage may often be outlined in either of the two ways. We might say, taking an example in which the difference would be very slight :

¹ A few transitions like "inasmuch as," "in that," might seem to be applicable to both exposition and argument. But they are interchangeable with "for" and "since" — plainly argumentative connectives; and therefore it seems simpler to put them in the same class, though they may usefully be employed in passages that lie on the border line between the two forms.

1. The proposed plan is unsatisfactory in these respects :
 - a. It does not meet the need for greater funds.
 - b. It is unpopular.

Or, arranging the same matter argumentatively, we should say :

1. The proposed plan is unsatisfactory, for :
 - a. It does not meet the need for greater funds.
 - b. It is unpopular.

Instead of using the method that occurs to him first, the student would be wise to ask himself what is in general the tone of the whole passage, and to adopt his scheme accordingly. To illustrate this point we may study the following passage from Ruskin's *Sesame and Lilies* (*Of Kings' Treasuries*, §§ 6-9):

Granting that we had both the will and the sense to choose our friends well, how few of us have the power! or, at least, how limited, for most, is the sphere of choice! Nearly all our associations are determined by chance or necessity; and restricted within a narrow circle. We cannot know whom we would; and those whom we know, we cannot have at our side when we most need them. All the higher circles of human intelligence are, to those beneath, only momentarily and partially open. We may, by good fortune, obtain a glimpse of a great poet, and hear the sound of his voice; or put a question to a man of science, and be answered good-humouredly. We may intrude ten minutes' talk on a cabinet minister, answered probably with words



worse than silence, being deceptive; or snatch, once or twice in our lives, the privilege of throwing a bouquet in the path of a princess, or arresting the kind glance of a queen. And yet these momentary chances we covet; and spend our years, and passions, and powers, in pursuit of little more than these; while, meantime, there is a society continually open to us, of people who will talk to us as long as we like, whatever our rank or occupation; — talk to us in the best words they can choose, and of the things nearest their hearts. And this society, because it is so numerous and so gentle, and can be kept waiting round us all day long, — kings and statesmen lingering patiently, not to grant audience, but to gain it! — in those plainly furnished and narrow ante-rooms, our bookcase shelves, — we make no account of that company, — perhaps never listen to a word they would say, all day long!

You may tell me, perhaps, or think within yourselves, that the apathy with which we regard this company of the noble, who are praying us to listen to them; and the passion with which we pursue the company, probably of the ignoble, who despise us, or who have nothing to teach us, are grounded in this, — that we can see the faces of the living men, and it is themselves, and not their sayings, with which we desire to become familiar. But it is not so. Suppose you never were to see their faces: — suppose you could be put behind a screen in the statesman's cabinet, or the prince's chamber, would you not be glad to listen to their words, though you were forbidden to advance beyond the screen? And when the screen is only a little less, folded in two

instead of four, and you can be hidden behind the cover of the two boards that bind a book, and listen all day long, not to the casual talk, but to the studied, determined, chosen addresses of the wisest of men; — this station of audience, and honourable privy council, you despise!

But perhaps you will say that it is because the living people talk of things that are passing, and are of immediate interest to you, that you desire to hear them. Nay; that cannot be so, for the living people will themselves tell you about passing matters, much better in their writings than in their careless talk. But I admit that this motive does influence you, so far as you prefer those rapid and ephemeral writings to slow and enduring writings — books, properly so called. For all books are divisible into two classes: the books of the hour, and the books of all time. Mark this distinction — it is not one of quality only. It is not merely the bad book that does not last, and the good one that does. It is a distinction of species. There are good books for the hour, and good ones for all time; bad books for the hour, and bad ones for all time. I must define the two kinds before I go farther.

The good book of the hour, then, — I do not speak of the bad ones — is simply the useful or pleasant talk of some person whom you cannot otherwise converse with, printed for you. Very useful often, telling you what you need to know; very pleasant often, as a sensible friend's present talk would be. These bright accounts of travels; good-humoured and witty discussions of question; lively or pathetic story-telling in the

form of novel; firm fact-telling, by the real agents concerned in the events of passing history; — all these books of the hour, multiplying among us as education becomes more general, are a peculiar possession of the present age; we ought to be entirely thankful for them, and entirely ashamed of ourselves if we make no good use of them. But we make the worst possible use if we allow them to usurp the place of true books; for, strictly speaking, they are not books at all, but merely letters or newspapers in good print. Our friend's letter may be delightful, or necessary, to-day: whether worth keeping or not, is to be considered. The newspaper may be entirely proper at breakfast time, but assuredly it is not reading for all day. So, though bound up in a volume, the long letter which gives you so pleasant an account of the inns, and roads, and weather last year at such a place, or which tells you that amusing story, or gives you the real circumstances of such and such events, however valuable for occasional reference, may not be, in the real sense of the word, a "book" at all, nor, in the real sense, to be "read." A book is essentially not a talked thing, but a written thing; and written, not with a view of mere communication, but of permanence. The book of talk is printed only because its author cannot speak to thousands of people at once; if he could, he would — the volume is mere *multiplication* of his voice. You cannot talk to your friend in India; if you could, you would; you write instead: that is mere *conveyance* of voice. But a book is written, not to multiply the voice merely, not to carry it merely, but to perpetuate it. The author has something

to say which he perceives to be true and useful, or helpfully beautiful. So far as he knows, no one has yet said it; so far as he knows, no one else can say it. He is bound to say it, clearly and melodiously if he may; clearly at all events. In the sum of his life he finds this to be the thing, or group of things, manifest to him; — this, the piece of true knowledge, or sight, which his share of sunshine and earth has permitted him to seize. He would fain set it down for ever; engrave it on rock, if he could; saying, "This is the best of me; for the rest, I ate, and drank, and slept, loved, and hated, like another; my life was as the vapour, and is not; but this I saw and knew: this, if anything of mine, is worth your memory." That is his "writing"; it is, in his small human way, and with whatever degree of true inspiration is in him, his inscription, or scripture. That is a "Book."¹

On reading this passage over we find that in style it is, like most essays, partly expository and partly argumentative. The part beginning, "All books are divisible into two classes," is arranged like exposition. The second paragraph in the selection is an attempt to answer and so to break down the argument of an opponent; it is refutation, and obviously argumentation. We might outline the material partly as exposition, partly as argument. But

¹ We may use this passage as if it were a complete unit, for our present purpose, though a student of the essay from which it is taken would say that it is abruptly broken off both at the beginning and at the end. Considering this part by itself, however, we see that it develops one thought clearly and adequately.

usually there is an advantage in following one method because the resulting outline is smoother, and certainly in analyzing any material we ought not to evade the responsibility of showing what is the motive of the writer. When we think of this passage as a whole we see that Ruskin is trying to get us to read books, and books of the best sort. He is not interested mainly in his explanation of a social difficulty and his definition of the different kinds of books; he is trying to persuade us, first, that our solution of the social difficulty may well be a decision to read books, and second, that in reading books we should distinguish between the ephemeral and the permanent. This is evidently argument rather than exposition. We wish, then, to correlate the material in such a way that it will appear as argument.¹

In this case the persuasive tone is strong enough to make the argumentative arrangement preferable, but in general there is danger of forcing the controversial aspect upon simple explanation. Argumentative correlation is apt to be overworked because the scheme which makes the subheadings read as reasons is more flexible and easier to apply than that which limits them to the statement of particulars already comprehended in the general heading.

¹ For the more detailed process of working out the outline of the passage quoted the student is referred to the following chapter; at present we are concerned only with the discrimination between exposition and argument.

In outlining exposition one special difficulty is to find connectives that shall fit the different demands of the arrangement and yet not involve an unpleasant multiplication of words.¹ We might avoid this annoyance by leaving out connectives and reading our outline as if it were an unbroken essay, but to this method there are decided objections, which have already been stated.² A study of the outlines in the Appendix will suggest various transitional arrangements. Indeed, the chief safeguard of expository outlining is the formulation in all cases of the transitions between main and subordinate statements. If we dislike to use the explicit form, it is probably because we dislike the limitations it imposes. When we say, "The following motives determined the action of the Faculty:" we are obliged to use motives and nothing else as our subheadings. But this limitation results in definiteness. And without definiteness outlining is apt to degenerate into a confused and puzzling exercise in indentation. If the transitions are expressed, the correlation can hardly fail to be logical.

In an argumentative passage the constant use of "for" is usually better than a mixture of the various possible words, "because," "since," "in that." "For" is so short and inconspicuous that it escapes the reproach of monotony and comes to seem no more

¹ The characteristic connectives for the two kinds of outlines have already been mentioned, p. 18.

² p. 9.

obtrusive than a comma. The other terms are convenient for use in short argumentative passages occurring in the midst of expository matter. "Therefore" shows incorrect correlation which must be remedied by a reversal of the order so that the conclusion shall come first and the reason afterwards. This is true of all transitions which indicate that the writer is thinking from reason to conclusion, as for instance the phrase "as a result," with which students are apt to begin minor headings. The tabulated form allows less flexibility than argument in its more ordinary guise; it must be kept consistent, and the deductive order is the only order which can be consistently adopted with success. The fault of introducing inductive elements is very common and entirely demoralizing to the outline; but it is easily corrected by rearrangement and the use of the proper connectives.

omit Though correlation is easier to manage, ordinarily, in an argumentative than in an expository passage, there are two dangers against which students must be particularly warned. The first may be illustrated by an extract from a sophomore brief on the subject, "Massachusetts was not justified in her treatment of Quakers." The special passage is this:

- a. There was opposition to the treatment, for
 - (1) Brend was rescued by a mob, for
 - (a) They demanded justice on the executor, for
 - a' They became furious.

The student who achieved this curiously flat effect doubtless tested the work by the rule that the sub-heading must read as a reason for the main heading under which it stands. But beyond the point marked (1) the reader might be trusted to furnish the perfectly obvious explanations for himself. What he wants as (*a*) is the reason (unless it take the form simply of a footnote referring to an authority) for believing (1) to be a true statement — in other words, the evidence for the fact and not the explanation of the fact. This fault is so common and so hard for students to detect that another example may be given, also from an outline written by a sophomore.

I. Huxley's visit to Sydney was a vital point in his career, for

A. He was up to this time isolated from those of his own age by his eagerness for solving problems about which they cared nothing, for

1. "He was vaguely conscious of the unrest of the great powers within him, working to find expression":

The point marked 1 should give the evidence for A; it should certainly not consist of an indefinite generalization which could never serve as our reason for believing A to be true.

The second danger to be especially guarded against is the tendency to use as one point a statement that is really double, and to connect it by one of its parts with what precedes and by the other with what

follows. Each heading ought not only to be connected with its immediate neighbor, but also to connect the whole line of proof in one unbroken whole. The joints should occur only between headings, not between different parts of the same heading. Yet one often comes upon such passages as the following:

- A. Students sometimes dislike outlining, for
 - 1. They find it hard and spend too little time on it, for
 - a. Most people spend their time on things they like.

One final specification may be added concerning the relation of the minor to the major heading in an argumentative outline, and the student will then have in mind the necessary tests by which to judge his analysis. One subheading, taken alone, does not always explain itself as a reason for the statement to which it is subordinate, though it should usually do so. In an example like the following bit from Arnold's *Study of Poetry* we see that the second small point is a reason for the larger heading only when it is read in the light of the coördinate point which precedes it.

- A. The historical and the personal estimates of poetry are injurious, because
 - 1. They tend to supersede the real estimate.
 - 2. The real estimate is salutary and formative, since it teaches us clearly to feel and deeply to enjoy the really excellent.

The Argumentative Brief. — The argumentative brief is a specialized form of outline, in which the first part consists of exposition, the second of argument. The first part, the introduction, includes such statements of fact as may serve to make the discussion lucid. Here we have the explanation of the terms used in the controversy, and an account of the field which the discussion must cover. If we are preparing to maintain that industrial training should be introduced into our public high schools we must set forth the meaning of the term "industrial training," and also some facts about the ordinary curriculum of the high school. But we must do more than this before entering upon the argument. We need to show what lines the discussion of this subject commonly follows, in order to determine how we may best arrange our material and what are the points at issue between ourselves and our opponents. The typical introduction of a brief lays a foundation such as underlies every argument, and is often as long as the argument itself.¹ But like the foundation of a building, this carefully planned basis is largely concealed by the elaborated structure that rises from it, and an argument in its completed form — the speech or the essay — rarely shows the whole train of thought

¹ The student is referred to the introductions found in Sections IV and V of the Appendix, for a clearer idea of the method and purpose of this part of the brief. In Section IV the analysis is unusually detailed, because this explicit form is particularly useful in the early stages of argumentative study.

that explains its choice of argumentative ideas. The explicit quality of the brief is important as an assistance in clear analysis. It is useful to students who are learning to analyze, and to any one who wishes, like a judge, to follow every step of a chain of reasoning. The brief allows little opportunity for persuasion, but it should present the matter in such a direct and transparent style as appeals strongly to the logical mind.

We have seen that the introduction of a brief is an expository outline; that the discussion is an argumentative outline. A person who has become familiar with the principles of these two forms should be able to throw into the shape of a brief any debatable matter which he can think out. The thinking process is, indeed, not easily to be learned. But the suggestions given in Chapter IV concerning the writing of original outlines apply to briefs as well as to other forms, and we shall write better briefs, perhaps, if we treat them like other outlines than if we think of them as a strangely technical and artificial type of composition.

CHAPTER III

THE OUTLINING OF LITERARY MATERIAL

The General Method. — An outline should present whatever material is used, in such a way that a person who is not familiar with it can understand and test it. This must of course be true when new material is presented; it is no less true when the essay or speech is well known, if the outline is to be read by any one except the person who prepared it.¹ It should tell what is said, and not merely indicate its nature.

In taking notes from a speech one must put down the points in a somewhat haphazard fashion, unless the speaker sets forth the framework of his address plainly in the beginning. Some grouping can be done; but a complete and satisfactory coördination of the different points must usually result from further analysis after the speech has all been heard. It is possible and desirable, however, to wait until the end of a particular statement is in view before attempting to formulate the statement. Some well-intentioned students in taking notes make the mistake of following the words of the speaker as far

¹ The subject of taking notes for one's own use is discussed on pp. 42-44.

as they can, never waiting to see how a particular passage may be condensed in its entirety. Unless they write shorthand they lose much that is important by dissipating their attention in this way.

In studying an essay for the purpose of outlining it, we have in some respects a simpler task, although, since a writer of essays can exact stricter and more prolonged attention than a speaker, his thought may be much less obvious. But the material is all before the student at once. It is possible to go through an essay as one would listen to a lecture, noting the points as they come, with only partial grouping, and then to go over the material and rearrange the notes. But the more natural and effective way is to study the whole to find first the underlying thesis and the main lines on which it is worked out. Ideally one should work from the large to the small, developing details after the whole main framework is arranged.

The order of material in a connected composition is often different from the normal order of the outline. The writer is apt to give his reason first and his conclusion later, his general point after the particulars which support it. This is the typical order for inductive statements. We find a good example in Huxley's lecture on *A Piece of Chalk*, in which a long passage explaining the characteristics of chalk and of deep-sea mud leads up to this generalization: "If this be true, there is no escaping the conclusion that

the chalk itself is the dried mud of an ancient deep sea." The sequence of such points must be reversed, and though the order of the large headings in their relation to one another should be kept like that of the original, sometimes the substance of whole paragraphs must be rearranged. But it is never wise to change the order unless by so doing we can more accurately represent the development of the thought as the writer conveyed it. We must respect our material — surely the first requirement for adequate analysis. Before suggesting changes of sequence, let us make sure that we have grasped the original plan. We are not trying to improve upon the author's ideas, but simply to set them forth clearly in a more condensed form than his own.

Special Difficulties. — Definiteness is essential to clearness, and a tendency to select the most generalized of several statements of the same point may easily be fatal to the outline. The principal headings must indeed be wider in range than those that stand under them; but all points, large or small, fail to serve their purpose if they are not specific enough to fit snugly about the details which they comprehend.

It is hard to keep the true proportion, in condensing material into an outline, but any one ought soon to overcome the fault of beginning in greater detail than the time and space given to the whole will allow. Students commonly make this mistake, and in general they fail to think sufficiently of the problem

of proportion. They are sometimes perplexed by finding that the point upon which a lecturer or writer spent a large part of his time is not one that appears as a main heading in the outline. This would naturally be true when the minor point is of greater interest or is less well understood than the ideas upon which it depends and which must be mentioned for a setting to the matter really at issue. The proportion of the outline should follow that of the original from which it is taken, and points marked a'', b'', and c'' may actually occupy more space than A, B, and C. It is also true that coördinate points are not always equal in importance, though they are logically on the same plane and bear the same relation to the superior heading. A cash account may perhaps read like this,—with coördinate items very different in value:

January 6, Stationery	1.75
“ “ Postage	1.00
“ “ Tuition for one term	100.00
“ “ Breakage fee85

Many people appear to be guided in their attempts to construct outlines only by the principle that sub-headings are points connected with a subject already introduced—the larger heading—which seem to be of less consequence either inherently or by reason of being mentioned later. These people overlook the difference between prominence and importance,

which is a vital distinction in all analysis. Passages in an outline may be coördinate — that is, equally prominent — according to a principle like that which determines the American idea of political equality, but they may be as unlike in real importance as the various members of our voting population. For illustration of the error that results from confusing the two qualities we may use the extract from a cash account, which we can picture as fitting into an outline setting forth the experience of some college student. It would be wrong to say:

1. Tuition for one term	100.00
<i>a.</i> Breakage fee85
<i>b.</i> Stationery	1.75

The heading “ Tuition ” is in no sense inclusive of the other items, it is merely larger in importance. The true arrangement would be one that would subordinate all the points under some heading that would comprehend them all equally; for example, “ Bills paid on January 6.”

The following series of statements offers a similar problem:

The convention met in 1908 and organized in two sections. Its sessions lasted four months. The results, though they were important, hardly justified the hopes of the men who instituted the movement. They may be summed up as follows: — etc.

In arranging such material as this students are likely to use the first statement, "The convention met in 1908," as a main heading under which to include all the others. If the fact that the year of the meeting was 1908 is not considered of sufficient importance to stand by itself, it might be put into a subordinate clause of the main statement; for example, "The convention, which met in 1908, may be described as follows:" But to make "met in 1908" a main part of the main heading is to overlook the fact that the predicate of a heading, no less than its subject, must be inclusive in its relation to the subheadings. The paragraph which is now drawing to a close illustrates the fact that a matter of great intrinsic importance must sometimes be given comparatively little prominence when we follow the plan of expressing each idea only once. For there can hardly be a more important warning in regard to outlines built up of sentences than this which has just been so briefly enunciated: The predicate of a heading, no less than its subject, must be inclusive in its relation to the subheadings.

Perhaps the most practical advice that can be given in regard to this kind of composition, beyond that already set forth in the first chapter, is this: In order that you may know exactly what each part means and be sure that you are not mistaking different statements of the same point for different points, re-phrase every important statement, in three or four

ways if possible, and then choose the most precise and condensed form for use in your outline. Change the wording of the original wherever you can condense to good advantage in this way. Students often have so vague an idea of the meaning of what they transcribe in making an outline that they are unable to express the idea in their own words. This practice of rephrasing is absolutely necessary if one is to learn to make good outlines, and it is of the utmost service as practice in general composition.

An Example of Outlining.—To illustrate the actual process of outlining we may revert to the selection from Ruskin quoted on pp. 19–23. After reaching the point in the analysis at which we have decided upon the central thought and the motive of the whole (see p. 24), we look over the passage again to see whether the points fall easily into groups, and we find that there are three general divisions, of which the last begins, “For all books are divisible into two classes.” The first division states the facts that in real life we cannot always choose friends as we would, and that books offer us a chance to become acquainted with the noblest personalities. The second division gives and refutes the excuses we present for our attention to people rather than books.

If we note the statements of the first division in the order in which they occur, we have something like this:

1. We cannot know whom we would.
2. If we have any communication with important people, it is only by chance or at the cost of great effort.
3. Yet there is a society of the noble continually offering their best to us, and we make no account of this company.

The second statement supports the first, and is itself supported by specific illustrations which I have not yet quoted. The third statement might, with a slightly different phrasing, stand as the one main heading in this division, thus:

- I. We ought to accept the society of the noble who are continually offering their best to us in books, for
 - A. We cannot know whom we would in real life, for
 1. If we have any communication with important people, it is only by chance or at the cost of great effort.

If it is thought that this scheme changes the emphasis of the passage, we may use two coördinate headings, and say,

- I. We cannot know whom we would, for
 - A. If we have any communication with important people, it is only by chance or at the cost of great effort.
- II. Yet there is a society of the noble continually offering their best to us, and we make no account of this company.

The second of our three sections gives us these points:

1. It is said that we disregard this company because we are primarily interested in people and not in their sayings; but this is not true, for — etc.
2. It is said that we prefer to listen to living people because they talk about matters of immediate interest; but this is only partly true, for — etc.

These statements would fit into an outline very well, but we make the trend of the argument clearer if we group the two under one general heading and express the first part of each in a concessive clause, thus:

- I. Our excuses for disregarding this company of the noble are insufficient, for
 - A. Though it is said that we are primarily interested in people and not in their sayings, this is not true.
 - B. Though it is said that we prefer to listen to living people because they talk about matters of immediate interest, this is only partly true.

The last division of the three is the easiest to arrange, but it naturally falls into an expository scheme, like this:

- I. There are two kinds of books:
 - A. Books of the hour, which may be good or bad.
 - B. Books for all time, which may also be good or bad.

- II. These two kinds of books should be used differently, that is
- A. Books of the hour should be put to temporary use.
 - B. Books for all time should be cherished permanently, for
 - 1. They embody the best efforts of the author.

In this case also we may unite I and II, may amplify the minor points to present the matter more fully, and may change the correlation so that it will harmonize with the general tone of the passage. We have finally an outline of the whole selection, something like the following:

Of Kings' Treasuries, §§ 6-9, by John Ruskin (in
101 *Sesame and Lilies*).¹

We should read books, and books of the best sort, for

- I. We ought to accept the society of the noble who are continually offering their best to us in books, for
 - A. We cannot know whom we would in real life, for
 - 1. If we have any communication with important people, it is only by chance or at the cost of great effort ; for example

¹ It is important that the outline should be headed with an explicit reference to the material used. When this is done, quotation marks need not be used even if the words of the original are transferred to the outline. We write an outline from the inside, so to speak, as if we were the original author. So it is that we say, "I believe," etc., if our original says so, instead of the confusing "Huxley believes," or "The writer of this essay believes."

- A. Books of the hour, which may be good or bad, should be put to only temporary use, for
 - 1. At their best they are the useful or pleasant talk of some one whom we cannot otherwise converse with, printed for us.
 - 2. They are like a friend's letter, or the newspaper, and should hardly be called books.
- B. Books for all time, which may also be good or bad, should at their best be cherished permanently, for
 - 1. They embody the noblest efforts of the author, and are in the true sense "books."

Note Taking. — A student who has learned to make good outlines ought to have little trouble in taking satisfactory notes for his own use. But the necessity for taking notes is likely to begin earlier than the study of outlining, and it may well be accepted as an opportunity for training in analysis and in the use of words. For in condensing we should constantly choose the word that expresses in the clearest and most concise way the substance of the thought. Our notes should reproduce the ideas of the speaker or writer whom we quote, and only incidentally his phrases. Always we should indicate clearly the source of our material, whether the words are quoted or not. If people referred to their sources as a matter of course, the habit of using books intelligently would be more easily taught than is now the case.

Every one should abbreviate to suit himself, though not so much that he will waste time in deciphering his notes; and particles must be omitted and statements shortened in a way that should never be allowed in notes prepared for reading by some one else. "If notes read too smoothly," says Mr. Robinson in his pamphlet on this subject, "they lose in suggestive power."¹

But students often make the mistake of writing their words and sentences in a form so unlike that to which their reading has accustomed them that they are obliged to decipher each part individually before being able to catch the substance as they would in a moment from a printed page. For the same reason students are wasting their time extravagantly when they allow themselves in their haste to use an obscure handwriting. A page which requires the kind of reading in which the attention must be focused on each word in order is of much less value than one which presents its meaning plainly at a glance. The difference is like that between glancing over a book written in a foreign language with which one is not perfectly familiar, and spending the same amount of effort on a book written in one's own tongue.

In taking notes from a lecture one should wait, as I have said, until a whole statement is apparent, before trying to take down any part of it, for only in this way can the listener condense sensibly. The

¹ *Note Taking*, by A. T. Robinson. Boston, 1908.

failure to do this is one of the commonest reasons for the unsatisfactory quality of notebooks. Only in this way, too, can the material be arranged in anything like a successful outline form. We must make sure that the relations between the different points are shown, as an isolated idea is of little value in a notebook or anywhere else. Proper spacing, particularly indentation graduated according to the importance of the ideas, is a great help in making the notes readable; and if this and other qualities of the outline are attained, the notes are not simply recorded for future reference, they are already partly assimilated in the writer's mind.

CHAPTER IV

THE OUTLINE AS A FORM OF ORIGINAL COMPOSITION

The Method of Developing an Idea. — When a student is asked to construct an outline of a theme he is about to write, the result is usually a poor thing, not full enough to convey any satisfactory information, and not properly put together so far as it goes. Even if the advice of certain experienced writers is followed, and the student composes the first draft of the theme before writing the outline, the result is still thin and uninteresting. But by taking thought the student may make his plan really definite and complete. The formulation of sentences compels him to develop his ideas more carefully than he would do for what most people choose to call an outline; and there is no reason why he should not go farther and think out the whole framework of his composition before he writes it out connectedly. One mind differs from another in its normal method of work, however, and if there is any assistance in thinking with pen in hand even to the point of writing the whole paper before condensing the ideas into an outline, a person should do so. But there is an object in making the outline at one stage or another,

more fundamental than the necessity of meeting an instructor's requirement, and on that account it seems worth while to consider methods of attaining facility in this sort of composition. It is certain that the tabulation of the material may help greatly in the writing of an interesting theme.

Students are well aware that in general their themes lack ideas. The want of things to say is an even more common trouble than the inability to express what the writer has in mind. People who are alive to this fault are perhaps in the way to mend it, in case their minds are alert and open to impressions. It is those people who suppose they are filling their work with ideas, that are likely to receive a special revelation by the attempt to reduce the matter to an outline. If they have learned the principles of outlining, they will have the opportunity to see whether in writing connectedly they have mistaken words for ideas and have marked time instead of making progress in their discussion. By seeing the necessity of adding more substance, they will be stimulated to make a greater effort.

At the risk of seeming to advocate a mechanical and base method of applying the mind to any given subject, I want to suggest some of the ways in which people actually do collect ideas when inspiration is absent. They must first look at the subject, metaphorically speaking, with open eyes, — an attitude which is so obviously the only proper beginning of

the writing process that the common failure to begin in this way is simply amazing. But if this contemplation were always sufficient to prepare people for interesting and fruitful discussion, the matter would be simpler than most of us find it. After getting what he can from the contact of his own inquiring mind with the subject, the would-be writer may well ask himself what kinds of things other people say about similar subjects. On this point I wish to enlarge somewhat, because the advantages of this practice are clearest, and its dangers least serious, when it is applied to the development of an idea in the outline.

Most of us hold among our intellectual possessions certain little schemes of thought, which direct the growth of our otherwise rudimentary ideas. A good example is the analysis of paragraph structure which has been elaborated by certain writers on composition. It is found by investigation that paragraphs normally follow fairly well-defined lines of organization, — the methods of repetition, of comparisons and analogies, of contrasts, of particulars, etc. Any such series of labels as this is useful mainly because it suggests what one can do who wishes to develop in a well-formed paragraph some idea which is available for literary expression in a theme or otherwise. Such construction is an elementary process, directed chiefly toward the training of habits of thought. We use a similar scheme when we say to a person

preparing for an argument: "You must begin by explaining your terms." Now it is not always necessary for an argument to begin with an explanation of terms, but it is so often wise that a person may well form the habit of asking himself whether he should not introduce his subject in this way.

| There are certain well-known methods of description, plans that have been used over and over in describing similar kinds of objects. The stationary or the moving point of view; the enumeration of details in that order in which they strike the eye or in that in which they contribute to an emotional impression;—these suggest a few of the possible alternatives among plans which are common because they are natural. The immature student might not be aware, simply from his general reading, that descriptions follow these well-marked paths. If he has studied the matter, he will have a basis for choice among all the available methods when he sets about writing a description; unless he has studied it, he will probably hit on one of these methods and not consider the merits of the others. We are assuming, of course, that the individual quality which must appear in any description worth the reading is in some degree separable from the fundamental plan, and we are talking now only of the earlier stages in construction. Similarly it is said that there are only seven story plots in the world, but this does not mean that stories are all alike.

When applied to narrative and descriptive writing, these suggestions, intended to indicate the function and growth of the bony structure in composition, may seem to some people like the substitution of crutches for flexible human muscles.¹ There can be less objection to such treatment in connection with the soberer, less imaginative, and more logical kinds of discourse.

Some of the effects, upon amateur literary criticism, of our question, "What kinds of things do people say about such subjects?" may certainly be cited as an awful warning to students and instructors alike. But the question is not properly applied to the case in hand when it results — as so often it does! — in the taking over of phrases like "a brilliant polish of style," "urbanity of tone," or any of the actual terms² in which professional critics have described

¹ The student of literary history will perhaps be amused to observe that the principles I have been suggesting are like those which, as expounded by serious critics, led to the artificial and lifeless French epics of the seventeenth century, and which hammered the poetry of the eighteenth century into certain formal and monotonous types. Students should be encouraged to experience individual revolts from this sort of thing; but jejune romanticism is as dull as jejune classicism and more hopeless.

² Of course there is a certain technical or cant language in criticism which the college student ought to know and which to a limited extent he may employ. There is no harm in words like "subjectivity," "atmosphere," "dynamic," if they are intelligently applied and not overworked. But this is only another way of saying that his study in this subject, as in all others, should enlarge the student's vocabulary.

particular writers or books. We may legitimately and wisely inquire: "What kinds of things — facts about the life, the personality of authors, their style (diction, sentence structure, rhythm, tone) — have the great critics found it worth while to discuss?" If we have in mind all the aspects under which authors are commonly considered, we may be able to see in our particular subject more points to talk about than we should ever have seen otherwise; but we must beware how we take over for our own use any pieces of completed characterization. It is a dreary fact that a college sophomore once called George Meredith's style "clear and simple."

The close study of great essays and speeches that is a necessary preparation for outlining them is the best method of finding out what regions the mind engaged in similar work should endeavor to explore. The argumentative brief finds a part of its justification in the suggestions it offers to students who would formulate argument. By varying the metaphor in which I described the attitude of the student trying to enter upon a train of thought, we may perhaps get a more exact idea of his experience. Instead merely of gazing with open eyes upon his subject, he stands with attentive ears beside a musical instrument consisting of strings whose pitch he has yet to learn. He uses a number of tuning forks, each with its tone plainly indicated. Striking first one, then another, he listens for the response which shall tell

him that a string of the instrument before him sounds the same note. It is upon the instrument that he finally plays his music, but the tuning forks have shown what possibilities lay in the unclassified strings. If this seems too fanciful, let us return to our matter-of-fact statement that methods for the development of thought are to be studied in the work of men who have expressed their own minds well.

It is to be hoped that these suggestions concerning the gathering of material may have helped the student to reach the ideal condition for beginning his outline — alertness, and the mastery of abundant ideas. When it is possible to select the best material from the wealth at our command, we can the more easily make an interesting outline, and one that shall utilize those well-tried aids to effectiveness — unity, coherence, and emphasis.

Unity, Coherence, and Emphasis in the Outline. — In an argumentative outline the proposition furnishes the cord to which every main thread in the network is directly attached; and the system of correlation, if carried out logically, prevents any seriously irrelevant element from entering the scheme. But even in this kind of work an analysis, explicit or implicit, is a necessary preparation for the argument proper, to save any waste of time upon nonessential matters.

An expository outline often strays far afield unless the writer chooses the elements discreetly. The use of a thesis expressed in the form of a statement is

practically as important as the use of a proposition in argument, and it serves the same purpose. To this thesis the main headings should be bound as closely in the exposition as in the argument. But too general a thesis may be chosen, and it should be carefully limited and made as specific as the ideas to be treated will permit. One of the most interesting devices for securing this unified and specific quality is the selection of a distinct point of view. The rhetorics say a good deal about this, and young writers sometimes get the notion that it is an academic refinement of style to which one will hardly pay much attention when one has passed beyond the necessity of pleasing instructors. But the most everyday of the writers who earn their living by composition — journalists — make more of the “point of view” than all the rhetorics. It may be described as the choice of a special angle from which every part of the subject is considered. “Color” articles and newspaper stories of every kind derive their effectiveness largely from this device, rather obviously applied. In making original outlines we may get the benefit of a special point of view not less than in writing connected themes. The outline particularly needs a thread to bind together its separate parts; it needs such continuity of direction as shall give clear significance to its abbreviated statements; it needs a “tone” to convey whatever interest and individuality may lie in the thought.

Unity is secured in the outline, as it is in the connected composition, we have seen, by adherence to a fundamental idea which is definite and apparent. But for securing coherence the ordinary means cannot be fully used in the outline. Transitions are here reduced to their lowest terms. Between points of the same rank transitions are usually not expressed at all, and therefore it is particularly important that the connection in the thought should be close and obvious. This is partly a result of exactness in thinking, and partly of care in expression. Parallel phrasing is a great help in attaining coherence. If the main headings, moreover, are worded in such a way that they prepare the mind for all the subheadings that fall directly under them, the connection between the subheadings is made clear. Some typical headings may be cited in illustration of this statement, showing in each case just what the relation among the minor points would be.

The subject may be considered under these four aspects:

The committee is opposed to the scheme suggested, because,

The different groups among those who advocate the theory are distinguished by the following opinions:

The demand for nicely adjusted emphasis is especially insistent in the outline because the idea must be conveyed at once — there is no second chance for driving it home. Here also, as in all composi-

tion, a misplacing of the emphasis may destroy the coherence of the passage in which it occurs, and may seriously injure its unity. We must beware of depending upon the inherently emphatic form of the tabulation, and of managing our material in such a way that it belies the external arrangement superimposed upon it. The fact that the outline is an artificial form of composition enforces the observance of such principles as this; nothing can make up for a lack of clearness and precision, since these are its only excuse for being. Attaining these, the outline proves its usefulness; and missing them, it loses not merely a crowning grace, but its whole motive for claiming the attention of a reader.

In all these observations upon outlining is implied an underlying philosophy vital enough to direct intelligent effort toward securing a definite result. By understanding the theory as well as the rules governing the outline we may find motive and interest in an otherwise difficult exercise, an exercise which is nevertheless so necessary that even serious lack of skill does not prevent people from engaging in it and using the faulty products for practical purposes. The theory may make the practice both interesting and fruitful. It can never make it unnecessary; and to this practical aspect of the study the readers of these precepts are now directed.

APPENDIX

- I. An expository outline in sentences: "Taxation and Government."
- II. An expository outline in topics: "The Federal Government."
- III. The outline of a critical essay: "Classicism and Romanticism."
- IV. The introduction of an argumentative brief: Should Mount Holyoke College do away with the spring vacation and close two weeks earlier in June?
- V. An argumentative brief: United States senators should be elected by direct vote of the people.

I

THE GOVERNMENT IS THAT WHICH TAXES

(From *Civil Government in the United States*, by John Fiske, pp. 3-8.¹ Boston, 1896. By permission of the publishers, Houghton Mifflin Company.)

Introduction

- I. Taxes, since they bear no obvious relation to the incidents of domestic life, require some explanation.

Main Discussion

- II. Taxes may be explained as follows:
 - A. In every town some things, done for the benefit of all the inhabitants, demand the support of all; for example,
 1. Roads are made and kept in repair.
 2. Schoolhouses are built and salaries paid to school teachers.
 3. Constables are paid.
 4. Fire-engines, libraries, cemeteries, and poor-houses are maintained.
 - B. Taxes are portions of private property which a government takes for its public purposes.
 - C. Private property may be taken by the government for public purposes in two ways; these are,

¹ This exposition forms the first selection in *Specimens of Prose Composition*, by Nutter, Hersey, and Greenough. Boston, 1907.

1. By taxes, for such uses as those already named.
2. By "eminent domain," which may be explained as follows:
 - a. The government takes private land for public use.
 - b. In two ways the exercise of eminent domain is unlike taxation; namely,
 - (1) It is only occasional, and affects only certain persons here or there, whereas taxation goes on perpetually and affects all persons who own property.
 - (2) The government pays money for the land taken, but in the case of taxation the government returns the value of the property in general, rather than individual, benefits.

III. "Government," a term which may be applied to the town, city, or nation, and to other nations than our own, may be explained as follows:

- A. Government is the directing or managing of such affairs as concern all the people alike; for example,
 1. The punishment of criminals.
 2. The enforcement of contracts.
 3. The defense against foreign enemies.
 4. The maintenance of roads and bridges.
- B. Government is something which is supported by the people and kept alive by taxation.
- C. When we speak of "a government" or "the government," we often mean the group of persons set apart for carrying on the work of government.

- D. Mere names are apt to be deceptive; the real government is that which taxes; for example,
1. In the middle of the eighteenth century France and England were both called kingdoms, but the government of France was in the king, that of England in the House of Commons.

Conclusion

- IV. The government rightly has the power of taxation, since it renders an equivalent for the money taken.



II

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

(From the topical analysis of Chapter XI in *The State*, by Woodrow Wilson. Revised Edition, Boston, 1900. By permission of the publishers, D. C. Heath & Co.)

- / The Federal Government: the Constitution
 - A Amendment of the Constitution
 - / Amendment of Foreign Constitutions
 - B The Federal Territory
 - / The District of Columbia
 - 2 Arsenals and Dockyards
 - 3 The Territories
 - 4 Post-Offices, Custom Houses, etc.
 - C Congress
 - 1 The Senate
 - a The Vice-President of the United States
 - b Organization of the Senate
 - c Influence of the Standing Committees
 - d The Senate and the Executive
 - e The President *pro tempore*
 - 2 The House of Representatives
 - 1 Apportionment of Representatives
 - b Elections to the House
 - c The Fourteenth Amendment
 - c Organization of the House
 - 3 Acts of Congress

- // The Federal Judiciary: its Jurisdiction
 - A Power of Congress over the Judiciary
 - B The Existing Federal Courts
 - 1 A Court of Appeals
 - 2 The Court of Claims
 - 3 The Court of Private Land Claims
 - 4 The Division of Jurisdiction
 - C The Federal Judges
 - D The District Attorney and the Marshal
- /// The Courts of the District of Columbia and of the Territories
- IV Procedure of a Federal Court
- V The Federal Executive
 - A Election of a President
 - 1 Practical Operation of the Plan: the Party Conventions
 - 2 Qualifications for the Office of President
 - 3 Duties and Powers of the President
 - a Reform of Methods of Appointment to Federal Offices
 - 4 The Presidential Succession
 - B Relations of the Executive to Congress
 - C The Executive Departments
 - 1 Department of State
 - 2 Department of the Treasury
 - a The Bureau of Printing and Engraving
 - 3 Department of War
 - 4 Department of the Navy
 - 5 Department of Justice
 - 6 Post-Office Department
 - 7 Department of the Interior

Department of Agriculture
Department of Labor
Interstate Commerce Commission
Civil Service Commission
Commission of Fish and Fisheries
Printing Office
Smithsonian Institution
National Museum

III

POSTSCRIPT

(In *Appreciations*, by Walter Pater. By permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Company.)

Theme

The words *classical* and *romantic* define two real tendencies in the history of art and literature.

Introduction

- I. The fact that these terms have been used in an exaggerated sense does not destroy their usefulness, inasmuch as
 - A. The æsthetic critic uses these divisions only so far as they enable him to enter into the peculiarities of the objects with which he has to do; that is,
 1. He uses the term *classical* not in the hard and merely scholastic sense which has developed from its clear relation to a well-defined literature and a well-defined group in art.
 2. He uses the term *romantic* in a real sense rather than in the vague and accidental senses in which it has often been used, for
 - a. The professional representatives of romanticism have not always been its most characteristic exemplars; for example,

- (1) Scott was less truly romantic than Emily Brontë.
 - (2) Tieck was less truly romantic than Meinhold.
- b. In Germany and France the word has been slightly obscured by being used to describe a particular school of writers.
 - c. The romantic spirit is, in reality, an ever present, an enduring principle, in the artistic temperament.

Main Discussion

- II. These terms indicate certain real distinctions, for
 - A. The opposition between the classicists and the romanticists is the opposition between the adherents, in the culture of beauty, of the principles of liberty or strength and those of authority or order, for
 1. The classic, as Sainte-Beuve says, is marked by the qualities of measure, purity, and temperance, for
 - a. In the classical literature of Greece and Rome, as in the classics of the last century, the essential classical element is that quality of order in beauty which they possess in a preëminent degree.
 2. It is the addition of curiosity to the desire of beauty that constitutes the romantic temper, for
 - a. It is the addition of strangeness to beauty that constitutes the romantic character in art.

- B. These two tendencies have each their place in art and in criticism, for
1. Both are needed, for
 - a. Curiosity is needed, to prevent us from valuing mere academical proprieties too highly; for example,
 - (1) Curiosity would prevent us from being satisfied with the insipid ornament of Racine, or with the prettiness of later Greek sculpture.
 - (2) Pope's work is also insipid because of the same defect.
 - b. An excess of curiosity leads us to be satisfied with what is exaggerated in art; for example,
 - (1) It leads to productions like some of those of the romantic school in Germany.
 - (2) It colours the work of Balzac.
 2. Both are at work at all times in art, moulding it, with the balance sometimes a little on one side, sometimes a little on the other, generating two principles, two traditions, in art and in literature, for
 - a. If there is a great overbalance of curiosity, we have the grotesque in art.
 - b. If the union of strangeness and beauty, under very difficult and complex conditions, be a successful one, then the resultant beauty is very exquisite, very attractive; for example

- (1) Victor Hugo, when his alchemy is complete, attains the energy, freshness, and masterly disposition which are characteristics of the classic, without omitting the note of strangeness.
- (2) As an illustration of these qualities of curiosity and love of beauty, the romantic spirit seeks the Middle Age, because there it finds unworked sources of a strange beauty, to be won, by strong imagination, out of things unlikely or remote.
- (3) The romantic movement has found its most characteristic expression in French literature, for
 - (a) Though Madame de Staël and Heine made the German romanticists familiar to the world, yet France is more representative of the romantic temper, which is there derived, historically, from such peculiar conditions as ever reënforce it to the utmost, for
 - (1') Romanticism is determined partly by individual temperament, partly by epochs, that is,
 - a'*. In a limited sense it may be said to be a product of special epochs, for
 - (i) There are times when

men come to art and poetry with a deep thirst for intellectual excitement, after a long *ennui*, or in reaction against the strain of outward, practical things; for example,

x. In the later Middle Age, represented by Dante.

y. In the period immediately preceding Dante, when Provençal literature flourished.

z. In the period beginning in the eighteenth century with Rousseau, and continuing throughout the nineteenth century, illustrated by two books which appeared in the first decade of that century; namely,

a''. Senancour's *Obermann*.

b''. Chateaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme*.

(ii) The works of French romanticism appeal to minds weary of the present but yearning for the spectacle of beauty and strength, for

x. They set a positive value on the intense, the exceptional; and a certain distortion is sometimes noticeable in them, which has the following characteristics:

a''. Something of a terrible grotesque, as in Victor Hugo's *Quasimodo*, or Gwynplaine, or Gautier's *La Morte Amoureuse*.

b''. Grim humour, as in the combat of Gilliatt with the devil-fish, or the incident of the gun in *Quatre-Vingt-Treize*.

at all times, in various degrees, in individual workmen and their work, and the amount of which criticism has to estimate in them taken one by one, for

(i) There are the born classicists who start with *form*.

(ii) There are the born romanticists who start with an original, untried *matter*.

C. The romantic or classical character of a picture, a poem, a literary work, depends, then, on the balance of certain qualities in it, for

1. Though all critical terms are relative, and though classical literature has many romantic elements, there are these two elements always recognizable, united in perfect art.

Conclusion

III. The problem of the present age is not so much to choose one school rather than the other, but to work out its own fit style, and to overcome the stupidity which is dead to the substance, and the vulgarity which is dead to form.

IV

SHOULD MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE DO AWAY WITH THE SPRING VACATION AND CLOSE TWO WEEKS EARLIER IN JUNE ?

Introduction

- I. The question of the utility of the spring recess, as compared with two weeks which might be added to the summer vacation, is of general interest to the students of this college, because
 - A. It is always the subject of some discussion during the second semester.
 - B. Colleges differ in their practice in this matter.
- II. The terms involved in the discussion may be explained as follows:
 - A. The spring vacation includes fifteen and a half days.
 - B. Although often called the Easter vacation, it does not always include Easter Sunday, as it begins on the fourth Tuesday in March.
 - C. The midyear examination period, according to the present arrangement, covers ten days in the latter part of January and the beginning of February.
 - D. Commencement usually occurs on the third Wednesday in June. Academic work continues up to the beginning of that week.

III. The arguments on the two sides of this question may be briefly summarized in the following lists:

A. Those who take the affirmative side in the discussion say that the change would be justified by these considerations:

1. There is no special reason, such as the existence of a holiday, for having the spring vacation.
2. There are many girls in college who live at such a distance that the extra two weeks in the summer would be more useful than the two weeks in the spring. For these and for others who cannot go home in the spring, the vacation brings little rest.
3. The vacation is expensive to these girls and to all who live at some distance.
4. The students have some free time during the period of midyear examinations, when they may rest.
5. The time from the midyears to the proposed commencement is only a little longer than the fall term. This arrangement would offer a better opportunity for work than the present system, in presenting an unbroken period of some weeks without the loss of time necessary for the adjustment before and after the spring vacation.
6. If commencement were two weeks earlier, we should avoid the necessity for studying during the hot weather that often occurs in the first half of June.

- B. Those who take the negative side use the following arguments in favor of the present system:
1. If the spring recess were given up, the time from the Christmas holidays to the next vacation would be more than a semester — altogether too long for a term.
 2. Many people feel tired and languid in the spring, and their work is of poorer quality. The vacation with its change of scene and interests provides the needed tonic.
 3. The weather of June, though it may be warm, is to most people better for study in so beautiful a place as this than the disagreeable weather of early spring.
 4. The recess offers as one of its advantages the opportunity for the changes in wardrobe which are necessary in the spring, and which would be a great inconvenience and interruption to the college work if they had to be accomplished during the term.
 5. Girls who would prefer the change because they cannot go home in the spring are comparatively few.
- IV. The arguments may be analyzed thus :
- A. On the affirmative side we find these three general groups:
1. The second, fourth, fifth, and sixth arguments — that the girls who do not go home do not find the vacation restful, that there is time for rest during the examination season, that the unbroken term would be only a little

longer than the fall term, and that the weather in June is hot — make up the general argument that the spring vacation cannot be justified on the score of health.

2. The second and third arguments — that there are certain girls in college who cannot go home, and that the vacation is expensive both to them and to those who live at some distance — unite to form the general argument that the vacation is inconvenient.
 3. The fifth and sixth arguments, concerning the advantage of an unbroken term and the disadvantage of the hot weather, together form the general argument that the spring vacation is an injury to the academic work.
- B. The arguments on the negative fall under general headings similar to those on the affirmative; that is,
1. The first argument, that the term would be too long if the spring vacation were given up, concerns both health and academic work.
 2. The second and third arguments, concerning the comparative merits of the weather in the spring and in June, also fall under the headings of health and academic work.
 3. The fourth and fifth arguments — that the vacation is the time for securing spring clothes, and that the girls who do not go home are comparatively few — fall under the heading of convenience.

- C. The burden of proof must be considered in the light of the following facts:
1. In such a question the burden of proof naturally falls upon the side advocating a change.
 2. The first argument on the affirmative — that there is no special reason, such as the existence of a holiday, for having the spring vacation — is evidently an attempt to minimize this responsibility.
 3. Yet since the present arrangement is accepted as a matter of course by the college, and since most of the colleges in Massachusetts have the spring vacation, the affirmative side would be obliged to prove that there would be distinct advantages, outweighing all probable disadvantages, before the change could be considered advisable.
- D. The arrangement and the form of the issues are determined by the following considerations:
1. Because of the importance of health as a foundation for good academic work and as outweighing all questions of convenience, we should naturally discuss this issue first; and if we come to a decisive answer on this point, we may consider the controversy practically settled.
 2. If we find that the proof is not positive on this matter, we may go on to discuss the questions of convenience and of the effect upon the academic work.
 3. The issues should correspond with the propo-

sition, in being so stated as to throw the burden of proof upon the affirmative.

- V. From the foregoing analysis it is evident that the question may be decided by a discussion of the following three issues:
- A. Is the spring vacation unnecessary or inadvisable from the point of view of health?
 - B. Is the spring vacation on the whole an inconvenience?
 - C. Is the spring vacation an injury rather than a benefit to the academic work?

V

SHOULD UNITED STATES SENATORS BE ELECTED BY DIRECT VOTE OF THE PEOPLE?

A BRIEF FOR THE AFFIRMATIVE¹

Introduction

- I. Our national legislators are now elected according to the following regulations :²
 - A. The Constitution provides that United States senators shall be elected by an indirect method, that is, by the state legislatures which are chosen by the people. There are two senators from each state elected for a term of six years. Senators must be at least thirty years of age

¹ This brief is not intended as a model for students to follow in all respects. The arguments in the discussion are practically unsupported by evidence, and are therefore unconvincing. The evidence, which would of course be arranged in subheadings under the arguments, would make the completed work much longer, but the discussion here given is sufficient to serve as a guide in matters of form. The introduction contrasts with the preceding introduction, in containing a fuller statement of explanatory facts and a shorter analysis. Throughout a student's brief the statements should be supported by footnotes naming the sources of the information. Such references are given here only in some cases, but in sufficient variety, it is hoped, to suggest suitable forms for imitation.

² Constitution, Article I, Sections II and III.

and must have been for nine years citizens of the United States.

- B. The Constitution provides that members of the House of Representatives shall be elected by direct vote of the people and shall serve for two years. They must be at least twenty-five years of age, and must have been for seven years citizens of the United States. The number from each state depends upon the population to be represented, and the whole number of representatives in the Sixty-first Congress is 391.
- II. The proposed change would affect only the method of election, and not the number, the length of term, or the requirements in regard to the age and the residence of senators. It is proposed that the two senators from each state be elected by the people of that state just as the governor is now elected.
- III. The popular election of senators would be legally authorized by an amendment to the federal Constitution. An amendment may be proposed by a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress, or in a convention called for by two thirds of the state legislatures; it can be passed only with the concurrence of three fourths of the states.¹
- IV. The question of a change in the method of election is of interest because
- A. It has been discussed with increasing attention since the Constitution was framed.

¹ Constitution, Article V.

- B. It brings into consideration the important questions of the success of popular government and the advisability of further extension of power to the people.
 - C. It concerns equally all parts of the country, for each state has the same number of senators.
- V. The history of the agitation on this subject may be very briefly summarized as follows:
- A. In the Constitutional Convention the situation was this:
 1. A motion to consider election of senators by the people was lost.¹
 2. The present method was adopted on the ground that election by the legislatures would be safer than popular election — that abler and more conservative men would be elected, and a suitable distinction between the House and the Senate would be insured.
 - B. In Congress the change has often been proposed; for example,
 1. In 1826 a resolution to this effect was introduced into the House.²
 2. In the years from 1850 to 1853 five resolutions on this subject were presented in Congress.³

¹ *The Writings of James Madison*, ed. by Gaillard Hunt, Vol. III, pp. 119–120. New York, 1902.

² *House Journal*, 19th Congress, 1st session, pp. 258, 309.

³ For exact references to these resolutions, see H. V. Ames, *Proposed Amendments to the Constitution* (Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1896, Vol. II), p. 61.

3. Since the Civil War many resolutions in favor of the popular election of senators have been introduced. There were twenty-five in the first session of the Fifty-second Congress.¹
 4. A joint resolution of the legislature of South Dakota, introduced into the Senate in February, 1909, mentioned the fact that four times the House has by two-thirds vote proposed an amendment in favor of direct election, and that each time the Senate has refused to consider or vote on it.²
 5. Such resolutions sent by state legislatures, and those introduced by members of Congress (for example, one introduced by Senator Gore on March 25, 1909), are referred to a committee and dropped.³
- C. The demand for popular election is now a prominent plank in the platform of the Democratic party, having been incorporated first in 1900.
- D. Many of the states have expressed their wish for an amendment; for example,
1. In one session of Congress, from December 2, 1901, to July 1, 1902, eight states presented memorials on the subject.⁴

¹ *Congressional Record*. Index to Vol. 23. See "Senators."

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 43, pt. 3, pp. 2667-2668 (60th Congress, 2d session).

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 44, pt. 1, p. 263; and pt. 4, p. 4169 (61st Congress, 1st session).

⁴ *Ibid.*, Index to Vol. 35.

2. A convention called by Iowa in 1906, consisting of thirty-three delegates, representing twelve states, formed a permanent organization to enlist the states, inasmuch as "the Senate persistently refuses" to submit an amendment.¹
 3. Of the seven states which petitioned Congress for action on this subject, between December 2, 1907, and May 30, 1908, five were different from those just mentioned as having submitted resolutions six years earlier.
- VI. Both sides in this controversy agree in regard to the following facts:
- A. The popular election of senators can be instituted legally by an amendment to the Constitution.
 - B. Senators are now practically elected by popular vote in certain states which have adopted an arrangement similar to that affecting the choice of President by the federal electoral college. Candidates for election to the state legislatures are pledged to vote for specified senatorial candidates. Because of such an arrangement the Republican legislature of Oregon in 1909 elected a Democratic senator.
 - C. The enacting of a constitutional amendment is a slow and momentous process, not to be entered upon without serious cause.
 - D. The conservative character of the Senate, con-

¹ *Outlook*, editorial, Dec. 15, 1906. Vol. 84, p. 902.

sidered very important by the framers of the Constitution, ought on the whole to be preserved. In this respect there should continue to be a difference between the two houses of Congress.

VII. The position of the persons who object to the suggested amendment may be described as follows:

- A. One class of opponents sees no reason for any change. They believe that the indirect method works successfully and that the conservatism and ability of the Senate are secured by this plan.¹
- B. A second class recognizes some evils in the present system, but thinks them not serious enough to justify so momentous a change as is involved in amending the Constitution.
- C. Other opponents of the plan might accept the arguments in favor of popular election, but might see no necessity for a constitutional amendment, because the situation is finding in many states its practical solution through the provisions of the primary election laws. This opinion may for the most part be disregarded, inasmuch as
 1. Those state legislatures which have arranged this substitute scheme have also been most active in submitting to Congress resolutions in favor of a constitutional amendment.

¹ See Emmet O'Neal, "Election of United States Senators by the People," *North American Review*, November, 1908. Vol. 188, p. 700.

- VIII. The advocates of the proposed plan hold the following opinions:
- A. They assert that conditions have changed since the Senate was established, especially because of the growth of political parties, and that now there are serious disadvantages in the present system. These may be considered under two heads :
 - 1. Disadvantages to the Senate.
 - 2. Disadvantages to the state governments.
 - B. They also say that there is no validity in the objections to a change.
- IX. The controversy resolves itself into a discussion of the two opinions set forth by the advocates of the change and disputed by their opponents, and may be decided by a consideration of the following questions:
- A. Does the present system involve serious disadvantages to the nation, which would be overcome by the proposed change in the method of election?
 - B. Is the change involved in amending the Constitution so serious as to outweigh the advantages of the proposed system?

Discussion

United States senators should be elected by direct vote of the people, for

- I. The present system involves serious disadvantages to the nation, which would be overcome by the proposed change, for

- A. The Senate is injured by the existing method of election, for
1. As a political institution it is discredited, for
 - a. It fails to accord with the principles of our government, for
 - (1) It is not representative.
 - (2) It is based on a distrust of government by the people.
 - b. It has shown too much favor to the interests of concentrated wealth.¹
 - c. It has too often resorted to a merely obstructive policy.¹
 2. The present arrangement permits the election of undesirable candidates, for
 - a. Corporate interests, and even bribery, have sometimes determined the choice, for
 - (1) The number of electors to be "influenced" is comparatively small.
 - b. Senators are able so to retain a hold on their state legislatures as to secure unwarranted election, for
 - (1) They dispense political patronage.
 - c. It is admitted that several important states have at times been represented in the Senate by men whose policies, like their bodies, were marked by the weakness of age.
 - d. It is a matter of common remark that the "giants" of the old days are gone, and

¹ Paul S. Reinsch, *American Legislatures and Legislative Methods*, pp. 85, 106, 124. New York, 1907.

that the personnel of the Senate has on the whole deteriorated.

- B. The proposed system would improve the character of the Senate, for
1. It would improve the Senate as a political institution, for
 - a. It would establish more complete confidence between the people and the Senate, for
 - (1) The league between the Senate and the state legislatures would be broken.
 - (2) The Senate would be responsible to the people.
 - b. It would provide for a full quota of members at all times, for
 - (1) There would be no delays in filling senatorships such as are now caused by deadlocks in the state legislatures.
 2. It would secure to the Senate better men, for
 - a. It would insure the election of more truly representative men, for
 - (1) The difference often existing between the policies of governor and senators of the same state proves that the senators do not always represent the people.
 - b. It would attract just as many able and strong men, for
 - (1) The honor of membership in the Senate would not be diminished.
 - c. It would provide for the conservatism and solidity for which the members of the Senate have always stood, for

- (1) The age requirement, the long tenure of office, the equality in the number of senators from each state, and the election at large would insure the choice of conservative, able, and experienced men.
 - (2) The ablest senators in recent years have been men who have previously held offices to which they were elected by the people.
- d. It would rid the Senate of some unworthy men, for
- (1) Machine politicians, bribers, and men of narrow, selfish interests would have less chance of election.
- C. The state governments are injured by the present system, for
1. State issues are often obscured in state elections, for
 - (a) There is a tendency to choose legislators who are known to favor a certain senatorial candidate.
 2. State business is delayed and neglected in the legislatures, for
 - (a) In cases of deadlock, such as have often occurred, the time and attention of the legislature is diverted from state affairs.
 3. Political corruption in the legislatures is caused by the method of indirect election, for
 - (a) The legislatures are often bound by party machines controlled in the interest of the senators.

- (b) The motive for bribery is greatly increased, for
 - (1) The office of senator has in some cases been so desirable that an attempt to bribe a legislature has been made.
- 4. States are sometimes unrepresented, for
 - (a) Deadlocks in the legislatures have occurred more than once.
- D. These injurious effects of the present arrangement upon the state governments would disappear if the direct method of election were adopted, for
 - 1. The whole business of election would be taken from the legislatures.
- E. The argument that the proposed system involves a radical change in our government is fallacious,¹ for
 - 1. It involves a change no greater than that which has actually taken place
 - a. In the election of the President.
 - b. In the election of senators from certain states.
 - 2. It involves a less radical change than that which has affected the character and functions of the Senate, for
 - a. "In the earlier years senators were looked upon as ambassadors of their respective states, limited in their individual discretion, and subject to instructions from the legislatures which had elected them."²

¹ On this as well as other parts of the argument see various debates reported in the *Congressional Record*, e.g. Vol. 28, pp. 3003, 3069-3071, 6151-6156, 6157-6162; Vol. 35, pp. 6589-6597.

² Reinsch, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

b. The Senate is now regarded as a national rather than a federal body.¹

II. The change involved in amending the Constitution is not so serious as to outweigh the advantages of the proposed system, for

A. The objections to such an amendment are not valid, for

1. The Constitution has needed, and presupposes the need of, amendments.

2. The condition which dictated the present arrangement has changed, for

a. When the Constitution was framed democratic government was an experiment, not a proved success.

3. The efficacy of the Constitution will not be thereby impaired, for

a. This change will not be an unthought-of innovation, for

(1) Two states opposed the present system at the time of its adoption, the vote being nine to two.²

(2) The plan has received the official support of the House of Representatives and of many state legislatures.³

b. The qualities which the Constitution was designed to assure to the Senate will be retained, for

¹ *Ibid.*

² *The Writings of Madison*, Vol. III, p. 282; *Elliot's Debates* (Journal of the Federal Convention), Vol. I, p. 188.

³ See above, Introduction, V, D.

- (1) The conservatism of the Senate, in so far as it is a desirable quality, will be retained, for
 - (a) The long tenure of office, the honor of the position, the age requirement, and the election at large will secure this end.
 - (2) Ability and experience are assured by the same conditions and by the small size of the Senate.
- B. A constitutional amendment is the only proper solution to the question, for
1. Public opinion strongly favors popular election, for
 - a. This is shown by the resolutions submitted to Congress, and by the action of various states in providing virtually for popular election.
 2. Many states are practically evading the law,¹ for
 - a. One third of the thirty vacancies in the Senate for 1907 were filled by virtually popular election.
 3. It will be better to change the Constitution than to evade its meaning or make any part of it a "dead-letter" law, for
 - a. The effect upon people of evaded or unheeded laws is demoralizing.
 - b. It is absurd to favor and carry out direct

¹ James Schouler, *Constitutional Studies, State and Federal*, p. 108. New York, 1897.

popular election of senators and yet refuse to incorporate and legalize the principle by a constitutional amendment.

Conclusion

- I. Since the present indirect method of electing senators works positive injury to the state and federal governments, and the method of electing by direct popular vote would be open to no such objections;
- II. Since, moreover, there is no good reason for refusing to amend the Constitution so as to legalize the proposed change;

Therefore it is evident that an amendment should be adopted and senators should be elected by direct vote of the people.



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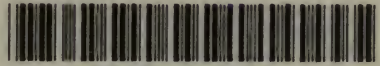
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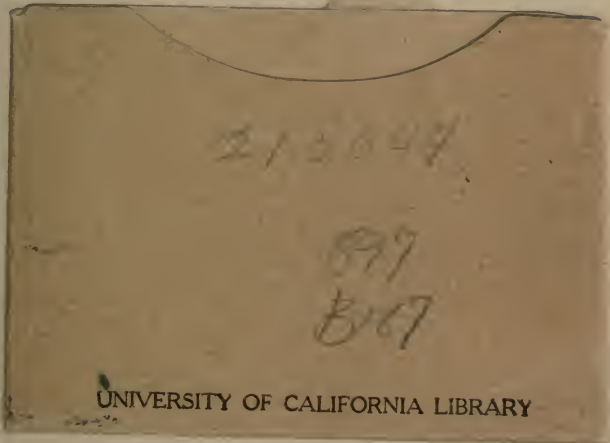
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