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# A Rhetorical Study of the Speeches of Elihu Root Centering on World War 1

Judith Leah Wallace

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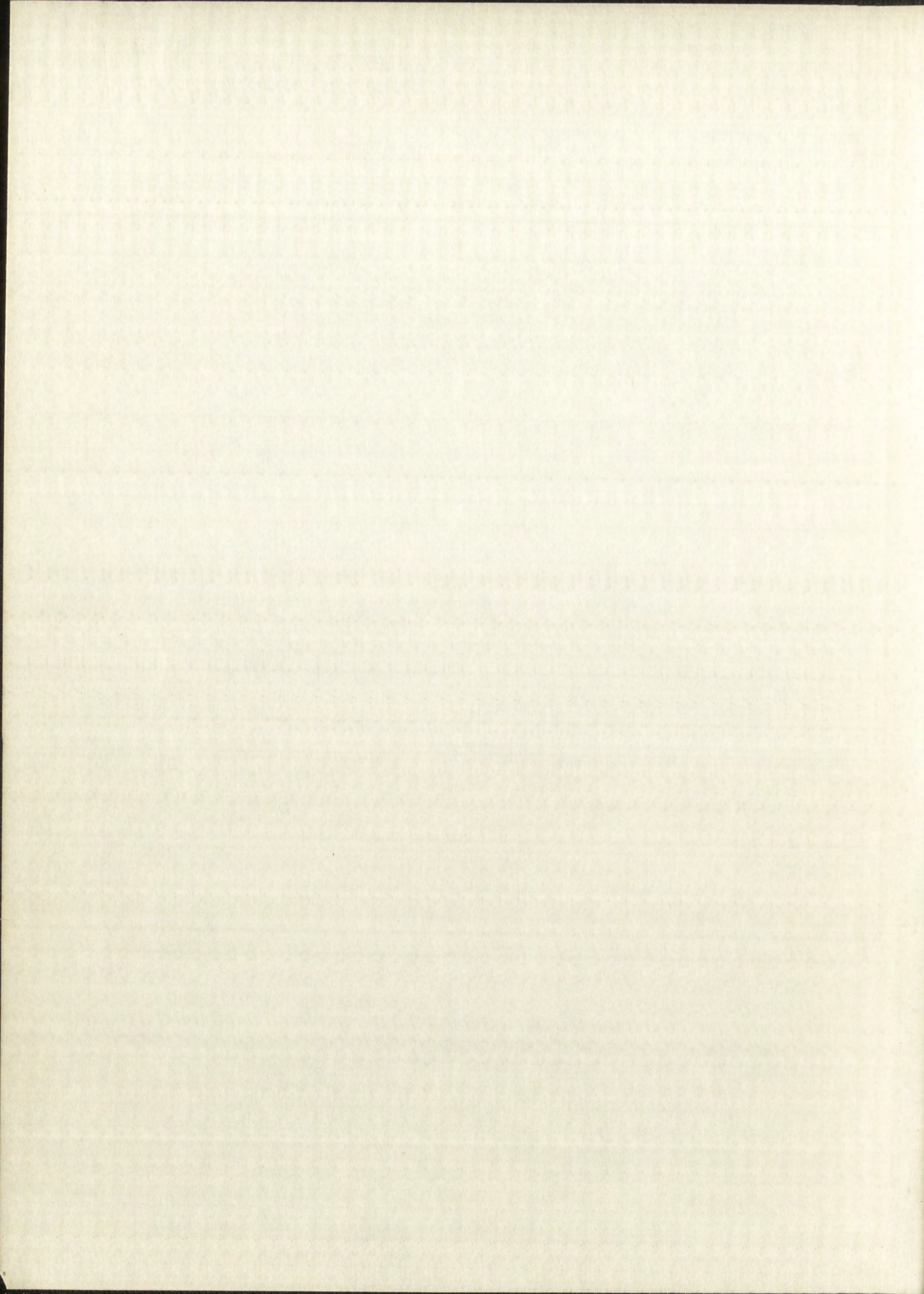














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A RHETORICAL STUDY OF THE SPEECHES OF  
ELIHU ROOT CENTERING ON WORLD WAR I

By

Judith Leah Wallace

A Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts in Speech

The University of New Mexico

1963





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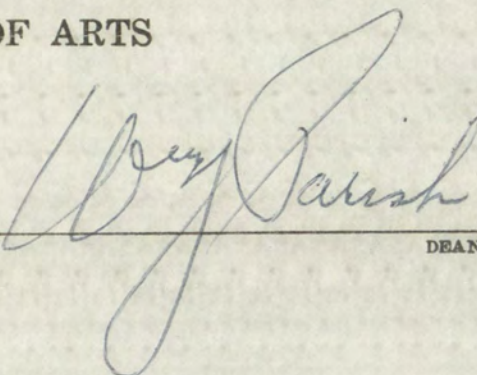
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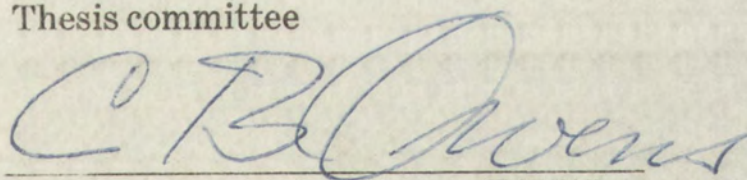
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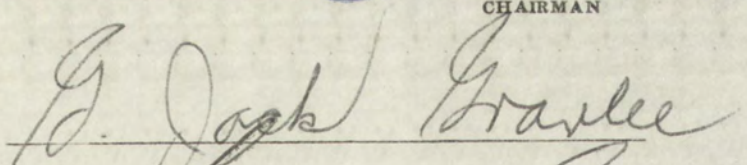
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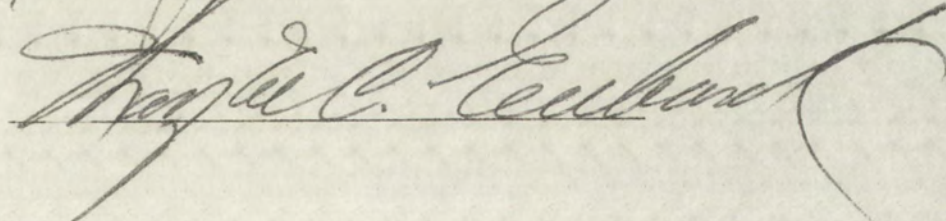
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INTRODUCTION

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### The Problem

Elihu Root was a public speaker for nearly fifty years. For most of the time from 1880 to 1930 he was a prominent and respected national figure. There probably is no complete record of the number of speeches he gave. The definitive biography of his life lists approximately three hundred and fifty "principle public speeches."

/1, II, 521-552./ The Harvard University Press published seven volumes of his addresses, primarily the same as those in the above list. The Yale University Press published a series of four lectures delivered at Yale, and the Princeton University Press published two of his lectures at Princeton. In a somewhat unusual practice, the United States government published a collection of his speeches given during his good will trip to Latin America. Later, nineteen of his addresses while in Russia were printed. Over four hundred of Root's presentations have been collected and published in these sources.

Further evidence of the importance of Root's speaking is that several of his speeches were printed for mass distribution. Two editions were printed of one speech on Latin American policy in 1906. The American Exporter distributed eight thousand copies of it.

/1, I, 491./ While Root was in Russia in 1917, "a million copies of Root's speech of June 15 had already been printed at British and







French expense," for distribution in Russia. /22, p. 105./

This writer has been unable to find any other rhetorical studies on Elihu Root. The great number of his speeches makes it necessary to take only a selection for rhetorical analysis. Sixteen have been chosen as representative, taken from a period beginning three months before American entry into World War One, until the end of the war. All sixteen deal with some aspect of the war. The First World War was the major event of Root's lifetime. He felt very strongly about the war issues and was highly motivated in his speaking.

In 1917 Root was seventy-one years of age; he had served sixteen years in major national public offices--Secretary of War for McKinley and Roosevelt, Secretary of State for Roosevelt, and Senator from New York. After leaving the Senate in 1916 he refused the many demands that he pursue the Republican nomination for President. He continued as a leader of the Republican Party and as a highly respected "elder statesman."

Root's influence on national policy in the war period was certainly not as great as that of the prominent office holders; however, he was an outstanding spokesman for the Old Guard Republicans. His addresses expressed the ideas which many Americans thought were the important considerations of the war.

#### Statement of the Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to present a rhetorical analysis of the speaking of Elihu Root centering on World War One. Sixteen of his speeches immediately preceding and during the war will be studied as a representative sampling of his speaking during this time.







### Materials Used in this Study

The sixteen speeches chosen from the period of December, 1916, to July, 1918, are all included in two volumes of the Harvard series of Root's addresses: Men and Policies, /9./ and The United States and the War, The Mission to Russia, Political Addresses. /8./ In these speaking situations Root was either the principal speaker at a meeting or speaker for a special occasion. He spoke before such groups as the National Security League, the Union League Club, the New York Republican Club, the American Bar Association, and various public meetings.

The definitive biography of Root's life is a two-volume work by Phillip C. Jessup. /1./ Since Mr. Jessup was an authority on international law, and a personal friend of Elihu Root for twenty-two years, he was particularly well-qualified to write Root's official biography. Since he began writing before Root's death, he had the advantage of consulting not only with family and friends but also with Root himself. Jessup remarked: "He [Root] never took much interest in this biography, never saw or asked to see a line that I had written, never tried to dictate what I should say nor how I should say it. He gave me full access to all of his papers and withheld nothing." /1, I, vi./

A later biographer of Root wrote of Jessup's work:

Professor Jessup had access not only to the Root Papers in the Library of Congress and personal letters still in family hands but also to the manuscript collection of a wide array of Root's contemporaries, some of whom read and criticized pertinent chapters. Painstaking in research, fair in judgment, lavish in detail, fully documented and with copious







quotations from letters and speeches, the eleven hundred pages of the Jessup volumes represent a major achievement in recent American biography. /2, p. 199./

The basic biographical material for this study has been taken from Jessup's book. Many quotations of Root and others taken from Jessup are not available in any other published source and were invaluable to this writer.

The materials used in this study are limited by necessity to readily accessible published material. It has been impossible for this writer to utilize the Library of Congress papers or other manuscript collections. However, abundant material was found in the published works.

Ample material was available to provide the historical background for this study. It has been forty-five years since the end of World War One and the great bulk of the war record is as complete as it will ever be. Emphasis has been placed on recent histories of the war, since the authors had the advantage of greater historical perspective.

#### Method of Analysis

The first step in understanding Elihu Root's speaking was to investigate the details of his life and the history of the period when his speeches were given. "Speeches take place in social settings. Hence their full understanding requires such reconstruction of past events as will help to reveal the meaning of the words used by the speaker." /29, p. 327./ It is impossible to provide a totality of data about any period of the past. However the major events which shaped Root's ideas have been reported.



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The classical divisions of rhetoric will be used as a framework for the analysis of Root's speeches. Invention, disposition, and style will be investigated.

### Invention

The chapter on invention will include an assessment of Root's intellectual resources, dealing with his conservatism, the premises of his thinking on the war as seen in the addresses, and the truth of his ideas in functional existence. The Aristotelian modes of artistic proof--ethical proof, emotional proof, and logical proof--will be examined in detail.

### Disposition

Disposition will be analyzed in terms of organizational patterns and the selection, omission, and emphasis of material as a function of audience adaptation. For simplification the texts will be divided into introduction, body, and conclusion and each analyzed in the light of the above criteria.

### Style

The style of Elihu Root's speaking will be analyzed in terms of clarity, simplicity, and forcefulness. The use of language--sentence structure and word choice--will be investigated and his use of traditional devices of rhetorical style will be noted.



The classical literature of the world will be used as a basis

for the analysis of the various literary forms, and the results will be investigated.

### Investigation

The chapter on literature will be devoted to an investigation of

intellectual resources, dealing with the various forms, the history

of the thinking on the way as seen in the literature, and the

his ideas in theoretical and practical. The theoretical part of the

proof-ethical proof, practical part, and the practical part will be

examined in detail.

### Disposition

Disposition will be made in the form of a theoretical and

and the selection, analysis, and synthesis of material as a

of audience adaptation. The disposition of the material will be

into introduction, body, and conclusion, and each part will be

of the above criteria.

### Style

The style of the literature will be analyzed in the

clarity, simplicity, and brevity. The use of language will be

structure and word choice will be investigated and the results

of the analysis will be reported.



## CHAPTER II

### THE SPEAKER

#### Biographical Sketch

##### Family Life

When Elihu Root was five years old his father, Oren "Cube" Root, became Professor of Mathematics, Astronomy, Mineralogy, Conchology, Botany, Geology and Civil Engineering, at Hamilton College in Clinton, New York. His father, who remained at Hamilton until his death, exerted a strong influence on Root. "Cube" Root combined a brilliant mind and a scientific attitude toward life with gentleness, humanitarianism, and love of nature.

Though his mother had been brought up under the strict rules of New England Puritanism, Elihu did not receive this same training. His father "was not a religious man in the 'church' sense." /1, I, 23./ Inasmuch as "Cube's" influence dominated the household, a more liberal religious atmosphere prevailed.

Elihu learned to love nature by constantly working with his father in the gardens and trees surrounding the family homestead, which adjoined the college campus. Intermittently throughout his nearly ninety-two years, he returned to this home in the Oneida Mountains as a refuge from pressures of public life.

Elihu had two older brothers, Oren "Square" Root, Jr., who later filled his father's place as Professor of Mathematics at Hamilton







College, and Wally, a Professor of Chemistry at Hamilton. His younger brother, Oliver, died at the age of nine.

While growing up in the shadow of Hamilton College, Root associated with the professors who visited his father and the college boys who boarded at his mother's table. He later appraised this influence in a speech before a Hamilton alumni audience in New York:

These professors were poor as the world goes, but they had a wealth that money cannot create. They loved their subjects and were happy in their work. They rejoiced in the exercise of their powers. They were content with simple pleasures. They filled the atmosphere about them with an enthusiasm for learning and literature. They sought for truth as one who strives in a game. They never talked or thought about money or investments or profits. They took little heed of all those things for which men are striving and wearing out their lives in the market-places of a materialistic civilization.

For a boy to live with such men, to be close to them during four of the most impressionable years of youth, to observe and become accustomed to their simple and sincere lives without money, made happy by the pleasures of their intellect and taste, to get their standards and become impressed by their estimates of the values of life, and learn enough out of books in the meantime to understand it all—that is an education beyond price. /6, p. 43./

Elihu's schooling began at a tiny one-room rural school on College Hill. At the age of twelve, he entered the Grammar School in Clinton. This formal education was augmented by extensive reading in the college library while preparing for his entrance into Hamilton in the fall of 1860 at the age of fifteen. "According to the college catalogue of that year, he must have passed entrance examinations in geography, arithmetic, algebra, English, Latin, and Greek. He was the youngest in a class of fifty-four freshmen who swelled the total enrollment of the college to one hundred and sixty." /1, p. 35./

The student estimated his own qualities by concluding: "I was a mushy, unindividual boy when I went to college." /1, I, 36./ One



College, and Kelly, a Professor of Chemistry at the University of

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classmate recalled, "Elihu Root was a veritable 'greeny' with pronounced features, particularly a prominent nose; thin, with a high pitched voice, but he was soon acknowledged to be an intellectual." /1, I, 37./ Elihu continued to live and eat at home and to lead the life of a normal college boy. He joined the Sigma Phi Society to which his two brothers and, later, his own two sons and a grandson belonged. He cherished his "Sig" friends throughout his life.

Root participated in many extracurricular activities, ranging from President of the Baseball Club to playing the calliope in the Contra Band. During his junior year the campus was swept by revival meetings. "Prayer meetings were held in students' rooms at noon . . . there were only two men in each class who were not confessed followers of the Lord Jesus Christ." /1, I, 38./ Elihu was among the converts, as he joined the College Church in 1863.

The Civil War broke out soon after Root entered college but it was so remote that it had little effect on his college life. When Lincoln issued the call for volunteers in the spring of 1862, the young student tried to enlist but was rejected because of his frail physique. The college publication recorded that "our position is so secluded here; we are so much removed from marching regiments, and mass meetings and flying banners, that the war excitement has not decimated us so badly as it has some other colleges; in fact, if it were not for the daily papers, we would almost forget there was a war." /1, I, 36./ The strife and tension experienced by most of the country during the war apparently had little effect on Root's collegiate experience.







Elihu recalled that "at my time in college the most noteworthy undergraduate was the one who could drink the most, drive the fastest horses, and be a perfect demon with the women." /1, I, 44./ Yet, at the same time, scholastic attainment was prized. Root achieved the distinction of valedictorian of his graduating class and earned a Phi Beta Kappa key.

### Professional Life

In order to earn money to study law, Root taught for a year in the Rome Academy, which was located ten miles from Clinton. He chose to pursue legal training in 1865 at the New York University Law School, an institution headed by John Norton Pomeroy, a Hamilton "Sig" of the class of 1847. Pomeroy arranged for Root to teach American history at a fashionable girls' academy, the Graham School, and the industrious young man secured additional employment at Miss Walker's School.

During his two-year course in law there were few students in the school, and all received constant personal attention from the professor. Root often visited Pomeroy at home, where he became an intimate member of the family circle. In the summer of 1867, he received his degree of Bachelor of Law and was admitted to the New York Bar.

Root obtained a position in the leading law firm of Mann and Parsons. After a year's apprenticeship without pay, he and John H. Strahan formed a partnership and opened their own office. They naturally became trial attorneys, since corporation law had not yet developed as a field.

The New Yorker made many friends and enjoyed important associations during his early years as a lawyer. He acquired a valuable client,



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the Bank of North America, through his friendship with the bank's president, John J. Donaldson. As a result of this prestige, many additional patrons were attracted.

In 1871, Root accepted a retainer for a case which was to plague him the rest of his life. He became a junior counsel defending Boss Tweed in the famous prosecution of the Tweed Ring. Later, when Root became prominent, the Hearst newspapers constantly labeled him a defender of Tweed. The Hearst papers exaggerated his part in the trials to the extent that he was represented as having been a member of the Tweed Ring for years. /1, I, 89./ Root, without a doubt, was not in sympathy with the Tweed Ring. He could justify his action on the traditional legal ground that every man is entitled to the best possible legal defense. Once the retainer was accepted, he was bound to defend his client to the best of his ability. Possibly, he was lured into the case by the honor of being asked and the prestige of associating with the distinguished lawyers of the defense. He actually played a very small part in the trial.

Root adopted the strictly legal attitude which he later expounded to the graduating class of Columbia University Law School on June 13, 1888:

One obligation I want to impress upon you . . . you must support the law even when in particular cases its justice seems doubtful. The inviolability of constitutional and statutory rights are [sic] more valuable than the punishment of any one criminal. Fifteen years ago the Court of Appeals freed Tweed, in the face of public opinion, on constitutional grounds. The press and public were against them, but time has served to show the wisdom of those eminent jurists. . . . No matter how vile the criminal, if he represents a constitutional right, you will do your country a service by defending him. /1, I, 93./







The New York attorney's practice continued to prosper. "Much of Root's strength as a trial lawyer and as counsel too, came from hard work--mastering every detail of a case until he knew his own side from A to Z and usually knew the side of his opponents better than they did themselves." /1, I, 97./

In 1869, Root was asked to join the Union League Club, a stronghold of Republican businessmen and political leaders. This membership affected both his public and private life. In 1877, he was invited to the home of a fellow member, Salem H. Wales, a director of the Bank of North America. There he met Wales' daughter, Clara Francis. They were married in January, 1878. In March, his father-in-law purchased a house for them on East Fifty-fifth Street in New York City.

The Roots entered the "best" society. Due to Elihu's legal fame, he was "always comfortably off financially, [though] he never reached the class of the very wealthy who became known as philanthropists." /1, I, 110./

Root became a "corporation lawyer" and represented some of the largest banks, railroads and industries. When he entered politics, his opponents hurled charges of corruption because of these associations. He never attempted to take advantage of the weak in order to add to his own, or his clients', wealth. He was determined to give his clients every advantage the law allowed. Although he can be accused of unconcern for the implications and effects of the law upon society, there is no question of his honesty and integrity in applying the laws as he found them. In later years, Root realized the need for considering legal effects beyond the letter of the law.







"For many years he was the unchallenged leader of our bar both in the state and in the nation. . . . Throughout his life he devoted himself to the constructive solution of problems arising in the administration of American justice." /2, p. 21./ An example of this effort came in 1894 when Root drafted a constitutional change to reorganize the Court of Appeals in New York. Finding the Appellate Courts hopelessly behind in their dockets, he worked out a system which solved the problem. He further contributed to his profession inasmuch as "it was by Mr. Root's originality and leadership that a great gathering of lawyers, Judges, and professors of law from all over the country organized and put into operation the American Law Institute." /2, p. 23./

Root always considered himself to be a lawyer first, last, and always. He entered politics because he felt it was every citizen's duty to serve the government. He once said: "I came to the conclusion that I would be a lawyer first and all the time. I decided to abjure politics except as it might be my duty to participate. I stuck to that always. I never took anything for political advantage. I have honestly never wanted to get an office. The office of being a leading lawyer in New York was the only one I ever cared about." /1, I, 115./

### Political Life

Root accepted his citizen's "duty" by becoming active in the Republican organization. He accepted the GOP nomination for Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1879. He was not in New York during the campaign due to a previously planned business trip to the West. Root recalled that "much to my relief I was not elected. Of course a Republican had no chance then in a city election against the Democratic



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Political Life

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vote . . ." /1, I, 117./ However, he did run ahead of the rest of the party ticket.

In 1883, Root was appointed United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York by President Arthur, who was his warm friend and a fellow member of the Union League Club. When he took over the office, Charles Evans Hughes, later to be Secretary of State and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was a young clerk on the staff.

Root held various committee positions and participated in other political activities in New York. He was a leader of the New York Republican Party when the call came to enter national politics in 1899. He related the story in a speech before the New York County Lawyers Association:

. . . Sixteen years ago, in the month of July, having just finished the labors of the year and gone to my country home, I was called to the telephone and told by one speaking for President McKinley, 'The President directs me to say to you that he wishes you to take the position of Secretary of War.' I answered, 'Thank the President for me, but say that it is quite absurd, I know nothing about war, I know nothing about the army.' I was told to hold the wire, and in a moment there came back the reply, 'President McKinley directs me to say that he is not looking for any one who knows anything about war or for any one who knows anything about the army; he has got to have a lawyer to direct the government of these Spanish islands, and you are the lawyer he wants.' Of course I had then, on the instant, to determine what kind of a lawyer I wished to be, and there was but one answer to make, and so I went to perform a lawyer's duty upon the call of the greatest of all our clients, the Government of our country. /10, pp. 503-504./

SECRETARY OF WAR: 1899 - 1904. Root took over the War Department toward the end of the imperialistic period of American history. The Spanish War had just been concluded. No order, or government, existed in the newly acquired possessions. Root set up the government in Cuba and the Philippines, constantly keeping in mind the needs of the people



vote . . . . . party liked.

In 1883, however, the Southern District of New York, United and a fellow member of the office, District Attorney, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Host held various political activities in New York. Republican Party when the story is repeated the story is repeated.

Association

... . finished the labor of the day at the office. He called to the attention of the office, McKinley, the President of the United States, you to take the President of the United States. Then the President of the United States, know nothing about me. I know nothing about me. sold to hold the office, with a view to the office. 'President McKinley' office in the office. any one who knows anything about me or the office. anything about me, to the office. the Government of the United States, in want of a President of the United States. what kind of a President of the United States. answer to the office, only of the office, country. 1883-1884.

REMARKS OF MR. ... . toward the end of the ... . Spanish War had just been ... . in the early ... . and the Philippines, ... .



on these islands. In Cuba, to the amazement of the world, the United States kept its pledge to the Cuban people and withdrew their occupation forces on May 20, 1902.

Root's major contribution as Secretary of War was the reorganization of the War Department. His plan is still the basis of our contemporary Department of Defense, where civilian control is above the military command. His creation of the General Staff and organization of the War Department, according to the Secretary of War during World War One, Newton D. Baker, "was not only his outstanding contribution to the national defense of the country, but the outstanding contribution made by any Secretary of War from the beginning of history. Without that contribution from him, the participation of the United States in the World War would necessarily have been a confused, ineffective and discreditable episode." /3, p. 17./

The story was related by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, that he asked his friend, Richard Haldane, how a philosopher, a lawyer, and an intellectual, "who had never seen an army and who had very few generals among his acquaintance," could be appointed Secretary of State for War in the British government. Haldane said: "... let me tell you how a philosopher may become a successful Secretary of State for War. The American government has printed in a single volume five annual reports of Mr. Elihu Root as Secretary for War, and they are the last word as to the organization and management of an army in a democracy. I have nothing else to do but follow these reports." /3, p. 42./







When McKinley was assassinated, Root remained as Secretary of War under Theodore Roosevelt. He was instrumental in helping Roosevelt become mayor of New York City, and later Governor of New York State. They were warm friends and the new President valued Root's advice highly. Elihu often assisted in checking the impulsive action which was characteristic of Roosevelt. He encouraged calmness and restraint, several times preventing the Oyster Bay Republican from using military force to solve a problem, particularly in Latin American affairs.

Because of his wife's failing health, Root resigned as Secretary of War on February 1, 1904, and returned to his law practice in New York. Roosevelt wrote to Taft on February 14, 1903, following the announcement of Root's resignation: "The worst calamity that could happen to me officially is impending because Root tells me he will have to leave next fall. I wish to heaven I did not feel as strongly as I do about two or three men in public service, notably Root and you."

/1, I, 411./

In writing a farewell note to Mrs. Root, Roosevelt spoke of her husband as follows: "I shall never have, and can never have, a more loyal friend, a more faithful and wiser adviser; nor will the government ever be served by any man with greater zeal, efficiency, and success."

/1, I, 411./ Although Theodore was given to hyperbole, his praise was probably sincere.

For eighteen months after he left the Cabinet, Root refused to be drawn back into public office. He rejected an offer to succeed Mark Hanna as Republican National Committee Chairman, and would not yield to pleas, even from Roosevelt and Lodge, that he run for Governor of New York.







SECRETARY OF STATE: 1905 - 1909. Secretary of State John Hay died in June, 1905. At last Root heeded Roosevelt's insistence that he take the job. The President wrote the following note to Senator Beveridge: "I wished Root as Secretary of State partly because I am extremely fond of him and prize his companionship as well as his advice, but primarily because I think that in all the country he is the best man for the position and that no minister of foreign affairs in any other country at this moment in any way compares with him."

/1, I, 448./

One of the first policies Root initiated in the State Department was to adopt a friendly and a concerned attitude toward South and Central America. When he took over the office, there was little sympathy for our southern neighbors. Official Washington had little use for the Latin Americans and the Latin Americans hated the dollar-grabbing Yankees. Root set about to change both of these attitudes.

He became friendly with the Latin American diplomats in Washington and encouraged other officials to do the same. He associated the United States with Mexico in joint efforts to preserve peace in Central America and to avoid an imperialistic appearance. A third good neighbor effort was to secure representation for the Latin American nations at The Hague Conferences.

Root became the first United States Secretary of State to leave the country while in office when he departed on July 4, 1906, on a diplomatic trip to South America for the purpose of declaring America's good intentions. Upon his return, Senator Lodge wrote to Root: "You have done more to advance our good relations with South America and



STATEMENT OF SENATOR JAMES H. HANCOCK

... died in June, 1907. ...  
... take the job. The President ...  
... I never did. I ...  
... extremely kind of him ...  
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assure our moral supremacy in this hemisphere than has been effected in all the years since Henry Clay began it. Not a mistake as far as I can see." /1, I, 488./

Secretary of State Root was involved in all of the country's international affairs during the 1905-1909 period. For the most part, he continued the policies of Hay with Japan and the Far East. "The main object of diplomacy," he wrote on September 9, 1905, "is to keep the country out of trouble." /2, p. 50./ Once more he was responsible for the reorganization of the department, but the changes were limited.

Root made many contributions to world peace while serving as Secretary of State. For his peace-making efforts at Portsmouth, Roosevelt became the first American to receive the Nobel Prize. In 1912, Root became the second American to receive such an honor. He was recognized for his "contribution to the peace of the Western Hemisphere, to the cause of arbitration, and to the defense of the sanctity of treaties, as well as upon his earlier achievement in establishing an enlightened colonial system." /2, p. 53./

Root took great interest in matters of international law and was a leading authority in the field. He consistently supported efforts to establish a world court. In 1907, he was a delegate to the Second Hague Conference. Furthermore, he negotiated twenty-four bilateral arbitration treaties in 1908 and 1909.

Root's good relationship with the Senate was one of his most valuable assets. When he first entered the Cabinet as Secretary of War, he recognized the need for cultivating friendships in Congress. This action proved to be extremely beneficial in gaining the Senate's







consent to his colonial policy and to his reorganization of the War Department. When he returned as Secretary of State, his good relations with the Senate were invaluable. He held weekly meetings with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and carefully consulted them on all important policies. Otherwise it is possible to conclude that the arbitration treaties would have been blocked in the Senate. Both Secretary Hay and Secretary Olney failed to gain Senate approval for earlier arbitration treaties.

The Secretary was given careful consideration by party officials as a possible successor to Roosevelt. Lodge, along with many other Republican leaders, strongly urged him to seek the Presidential nomination. Roosevelt would have preferred Root over Taft to carry out his policies. In talking to Oscar Davis King, Roosevelt contended:

I would rather see Elihu Root in the White House than any other man now possible. I have told several men recently that I would walk on my hands and knees from the White House to the Capitol to see Root made President. But I know it cannot be done. He couldn't be elected. There is too much opposition to him on account of his corporation connections.

But the people don't know Root. I do. I knew him when I was Governor of New York, and I have known him here, very intimately, during the years he has been in my Cabinet. The very thing on account of which there is so much objection to him would make him an ideal President. He is a great lawyer. He has always given all that he had to his clients. He has great intelligence, wonderful industry, and complete fidelity to his clients.

What the people do not understand about him is that if he were President they would be his clients. He would be serving the Nation with absolute singleness of purpose, and with all that intelligence, industry, and fidelity. Nothing would be, or could be, paramount with him to the interest of his clients. I know that, for I have seen him repeatedly take that attitude as a Cabinet officer. /4, p. 54./



consent to his official position. When he returned to the Department, with the Senate was already in session. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee was then in session, and the important political situation was being discussed. Secretary Hay and Secretary Gifford were in the room, and the situation was being discussed.

The Secretary was then in the room, and the situation was being discussed. The Secretary was then in the room, and the situation was being discussed. The Secretary was then in the room, and the situation was being discussed. The Secretary was then in the room, and the situation was being discussed.

I would rather see him than any other man now possible. I would rather see him than any other man now possible. I would rather see him than any other man now possible. I would rather see him than any other man now possible.

But the people of the world are not so easily deceived. They are not so easily deceived. They are not so easily deceived. They are not so easily deceived. They are not so easily deceived.

What the people of the world are not so easily deceived. They are not so easily deceived. They are not so easily deceived. They are not so easily deceived. They are not so easily deceived.



In speaking to H. H. Kohlsatt, Roosevelt further declared:

"Root would make the best President but Taft the best candidate."

/5, p. 161./ Root persistently and emphatically denied any interest in becoming President. He passed up many opportunities to encourage public favor for his candidacy. For instance, he was strongly urged by Roosevelt and Taft to accept the GOP nomination for Governor of New York in 1904. At this time, the Republicans had firm control of New York which would have assured Root's election. /1, I, 427./ The governorship of New York could have been a stepping stone to the Presidency, as it was for Roosevelt.

In spite of Taft's desire to have Root remain in the State Department, the Secretary decided to resign. He left office as the Roosevelt administration drew to a close. On January 26, 1909, he received the following message from the President:

I have once had to accept your resignation as Secretary of War. Now I have to accept it as Secretary of State. On the former occasion you retired from a great office where you had done work which no other man could have done as well, and after a few months you came back to fill a still higher office. In this higher office you have again done work which no other man could have done as well. I do not suppose that this letter can be made public, for some foolish people would think I was speaking hyperbolically, whereas I am speaking what I believe to be the literal truth, when I say that in my judgment you will be regarded as the greatest and ablest man who has ever filled the position of Secretary of State. /5, p. 161./

SENATOR FROM NEW YORK: 1909 - 1915. On January 19, 1909, the New York State Legislature elected Elihu Root the United States Senator from New York. The new Senator's actions were not as outstanding as his earlier Cabinet work. He did not have to go through the usual apprenticeship because of his past positions of influence. He wrote







these comments to his daughter, Edith, on April 3, 1909: "My committees are: Foreign Relations, Public Expenditures, Library, Expenditures in the Department of State, of which I am chairman, Revolutionary Claims, Canadian Relations, and Coast Defense. The first three are of some importance, and if you have any Revolutionary claims to put in I shall be glad to take care of them." /1, II, 207./

He later served on the important Judiciary Committee. As a freshman Senator, Root had the advantage of his intimate friendship with the President of the Senate, Vice-President "Sunny Jim" Sherman.

On one occasion when Senator Beveridge was holding forth in one of those long, dull speeches which so often empty the Senate chamber, Root was conversing audibly with Senator Bacon of Georgia in the back of the room. The Vice-President, in the chair, rapped his gavel and shook his head at them; there was no result and he repeated his gesture of admonition. Root scribbled a note and sent it to the chair by a page: 'If the presiding officer means I am to keep quiet, I yield to his superior authority; if he means I am to listen to that damn bore, he can go to hell.' /1, II 208./

Root was responsible for some important legislation during his six years in the Senate, and his analytical ability was always valuable in debate. The last two years were spent under the Wilson administration when the Republicans lost the strong majority in Congress they enjoyed in former sessions.

During Root's Senate years, he was elected chairman of the 1912 Republican National Convention. This gathering produced the bitter split between Roosevelt and the Old Guard Republicans. Root was caught right in the middle of the feud as a result of his ruling on the seating of contested delegates. His decision was clearly justified by the Republican National Rules, but it marked the end of a friendship







because Roosevelt never forgave him for siding with Taft in the dispute. This split between the Progressives and the Old Guard contributed to a Democratic victory in 1912.

As a staunch conservative, Root fought the liberalism of the Progressive era. With his party divided and out of power, he had little opportunity to continue constructive work in government.

Root's years of public service were summed up as follows by Henry L. Stimson:

Throughout his sixteen years of service in the Cabinet and the Senate his thoughtful personality was universally recognized as one of the most potent influences in Washington. It was said of him by a visiting diplomat that his entry into any room of statesmen was the dominating event of the assemblage. Yet he was the most modest and sensitive of men. His heart always remained loyal to the home and the surroundings from which he had sprung and these were the influences which inspired and dominated his character. /2, p. 17./

**ELDER STATESMAN:** 1915 - 1937. Root did not hold public office after he left the Senate in 1915 at the age of seventy. However, he did perform several governmental services. In May, 1917, he headed a special mission to Russia to demonstrate American good will toward the revolutionary government.

After the war, Root took an active part in the discussion of the League of Nations and the Treaty of Versailles. He generally favored the League and long had hoped for such a world organization. Nevertheless, he objected to some provisions in the League covenant. He advocated that the Senate accept the treaty with reservations and drew up a public letter listing these reservations. He never went as far as Lodge and the irreconcilables, and would have welcomed American entry into the League.



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The elder statesman further served the cause of international peace when he participated in the League of Nations committee of international jurists entrusted with the task of drafting a statute for the New World Court in 1920. He was one of four American delegates to the conference on the Limitation of Armaments, held in Washington from November 12, 1921, to February 6, 1922.

Root continued to be active on domestic questions. He opposed the eighteenth amendment as an invasion of personal rights. In possessing no respect for Harding, he thought Hoover to be the ablest of the post-war Republican leaders.

On February 7, 1937, the eve of his ninety-second birthday, Root died of bronchial pneumonia. After a brief ceremony in the Hamilton College Chapel, he was buried on the hill in Clinton overlooking his beloved home.

The active New Yorker had no political ambition. He acted on principle, never for political expediency. He served his country faithfully and contributed significantly to its development.

He did not have the instincts of a reformer or a zealot, but with slow, careful steps he patiently fostered policies which he thought were pregnant with ultimate good rejecting in the meantime the nostrums of experiments which captivated the fancies of many of his more impetuous contemporaries. 'Growth is the law of life,' he wrote to James R. Sheffield in 1916, 'and the perennial problem is how to hold fast to what is good and essential and at the same time substitute new growth for dead matter.' /1, II, 503./

#### TRAINING AND EXPERIENCE AS A SPEAKER

##### Academic Training

Root's training in public speaking began when he entered Hamilton College in the fall of 1860. Speech held a prominent place in the







curriculum at Hamilton, being required all four years. The public address prizes were valued highly by the students. "In public speaking he [Root] did well but was not pre-eminent. He was always the youngest member of his class and his voice was high pitched . . ." /1, I, 45./

The future Senator was one of four members of the sophomore class chosen for the annual Prize Declamation during Commencement Week. In the annual Junior Exhibition, Root declaimed with thirty-four of his classmates. A reporter from the Utica [New York] Morning Herald wrote:

We have been told that Hamilton College graduates a greater number of accomplished rhetoricians in proportion to the students than any other collegiate institution in the country, and since listening to the class of '64 at their Junior Exhibition, we are ready to believe it. The style of composition and oratory successfully taught there . . . are equally removed from the two extremes in which eloquence stumbles and is lost--stiff formality and affectation, and uncurbed, unpolished individualities. The young men are trained with an eye both to the natural and the artificial . . . /1, I, 45./

Elihu Root's oration on "The Dedication of Solomon's Temple" inspired the same reporter to write: "A beautiful descriptive composition, indicating the possession of imaginative faculties of a high order by the author. Rapt, self-forgetful oratory, with only the fault of an occasional approach to the nasal tone." /1, I, 45./ The Clinton [New York] Courier described the same speech as "one of the most finished and polished orations of the evening which abounded in rich imagery, polished sentences, and illustrations sparkling with rare gems of thought." /1, I, 45./

The crowning event of the senior year at Hamilton was the Clark Prize Exhibition. Most of the class entered the competition by submitting written orations signed with pseudonyms. Elihu Root was one of



curriculum at Hamilton, being entitled "The World's  
address prizes were valued at \$100,000. The prizes  
he [Root] did well but a few prizes were  
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The future teacher was the one who  
chosen for the annual prize. The prizes were  
the annual Junior Exhibition, which was held at the  
classroom. A report was made by the Junior

We have been thinking of the prizes and the  
number of prizes which were given to the students  
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The opening event of the prizes was the  
Prize Exhibition. The prizes were given to the  
missing with the prizes. The prizes were given to the



the six competitors chosen for the exhibition. Speaking on "The Jew of Dickens, Scott and Shakespeare," he failed to win the prize.

It is a florid bit of writing, describing and comparing Fagin, Isaac and Shylock. The sentences are long and replete with constant antitheses. There was not much place for displaying that power of lucid exposition and keen analysis for which he was later to be famous. The concluding paragraph of the oration, which the Clinton [New York] Courier described as 'a brilliant flash of eloquence that elicited applause,' is a fair sample of the style: 'All together Fagin, Isaac and Shylock, display the virtues and the vices, which abstracted . . . and generalized, form the true generic portrait of that most marvelous of all national characters, the personification of the wonderful race; that living shall die, and dying shall live; that trampled by all shall trample upon all; that bleeding from a thousand wounds, shall be unhurt; that beggared shall wield the wealth of nations; that without a name shall sway the councils of kings; that without a city, shall inhabit all kingdoms; that scattered like the dust, shall be bound together like the rock; that perishing by the sword, by the chain, by famine, by fire shall be imperishable, un-numbered, glorious as the stars of Heaven. /1, I, 46./

"Cube" Root was instrumental in shaping his son's manner of thinking, which was to be evident in his public speaking as well as all other activities. Elihu recalled:

When I first entered [college] he ["Cube" Root] used to sit me at his table and put problems to me. I remembered the way he used to work; he would sit with his pencil poised in his hand and wait until he got all the data before he put pencil to paper and began to work out the problem. I learned his method. At first I wanted to jump right in before many of the facts were available. /1, I, 37./

### Speaking in Public

Early in his career, Root's only public speaking was in the courtroom. "In court he was always serious and, even at an early age, impressive. His voice was always high pitched and rather thin but he spoke slowly and with great distinctness. He never wasted his own time or that of the court by long flowery speeches. He made his points one







after another, piling them up and nailing them down with logical precision." /1, I, 97./

By 1875, Root was making many other speeches. However, he declined to serve as toastmaster for a Hamilton alumni dinner in 1878 by declaring that "a somewhat extended experience in such matters has taught me to be cautious in accepting positions the duties of which I have no reasonable expectation of properly performing." /1, I, 116./

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler recalled Root's manner of speaking:

His was a great voice. When Mr. Root spoke, his manner was peculiar. Many of you will remember that it took him some little time to get oratorically started. He began with an almost nervous self-inhibition, and with this motion of his right hand, and then in a moment or two when the flow of thought and stream of words had been established, it all stopped and he went on to those beautiful passages as full of sentiment frequently as they were of convincing reason. /2, p. 50./

His speaking was further described by Phillip Jessup:

Root's thin, high-pitched voice was unquestionably a handicap--especially when he addressed large meetings. He was conscious of it, hated speech-making and avoided it when he could. But there was something arresting, something commanding in his presence which drew attention and, to an attentive audience, his voice carried clearly. In a small room, his hoarse whisper, his heavily punctuated and halting utterance, his monotonous gestures with the right hand, were far more effective than the whole bag of tricks of accomplished oratory. It was natural with Root, but as a matter of fact, the effectiveness of the small thin voice is well recognized in the theater. /1, I, 234-235./

As a holder of public office, Root was required to do much public speaking. He participated in the Presidential campaigns of McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft, as well as presenting various occasional speeches which were required constantly.

After resigning as Secretary of War, he wrote the following note to Taft: "I am trying now to get out of speech making and to get into



after another five years in the same position.

Presented by the

St. Louis, Mo. 1911

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Mr. William A. Rorer, President

and was a great success in his

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the regular routine of law practice." /1, I, 413./ Although he refused to speak dozens of times, he never escaped the demand for his speeches.

While he was Governor of New York, Roosevelt developed the habit of sending all his major speeches to Root for suggested revisions. He continued this practice while he was President and even, on occasion, after his split with Root in 1912. Root referred to his readiness to accept advice by calling him "the most advisable man I ever knew."

/1, I, 429./

Roosevelt wrote to Root in 1903: "Alas! Hill has proved that I plagiarized from you. The worst of it is, that I did, you know! I am now busy looking through your last tariff speech with the firm intention of plagiarizing from it too." /1, I, 429./

In his fifty years of public speaking, Root gave thousands of speeches of all types, for all occasions. As a speaker he was listened to, respected, and continuously in demand.



The regular routine of the day was maintained, and the speaker continued to speak during the day. The speaker continued to speak during the day.

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The speaker continued to speak during the day. The speaker continued to speak during the day. The speaker continued to speak during the day.

In the fifty years of the speaker's life, the speaker continued to speak during the day. The speaker continued to speak during the day. The speaker continued to speak during the day.



### CHAPTER III

#### HISTORICAL SETTING: THE WORLD WAR

It has been observed that it takes a great event to make a great speech. /29, p. 313./ As we look over the highly praised speeches of history, this maxim appears to be true. However, a great speech need not occur at the point of crisis. Lincoln's Gettysburg Address was not spoken with the pressure of a demanding event--merely the dedication of a battlefield cemetery. Lincoln almost refused the invitation to speak. True, his speech dealt with the Civil War, a major eruption in American history, but November 19, 1863, required of President Lincoln only a few appropriate remarks after the principal speaker, Edward Everett, finished.

To judge a speech important, the problem under discussion must be important but the occasion need not be. In the speeches included in this study Root discussed an event of major importance. His attention was focused on the first global war in its worst days. The occasions for Elihu Root's speeches were often minor; however, the audience frequently included many important men. His influence spread further than his audience through the good coverage given most of his speeches by the New York newspapers. Root's numerous speeches on the conduct of the war may not be judged "great" but they were important.







### United States Neutrality

When the war broke out, Americans generally viewed it as a European affair which would never involve the United States. While they did not expect to be measurably affected, neutrality in heart and mind was difficult for a nation bred in the Anglo-Saxon tradition. There were some outspoken advocates of entry on the Allied side, particularly in the industrial East, and many more whose sympathies were with Britain. The Central Powers received some support from the German population in America. This group was never large nor very active.

Late in the autumn of 1914 a poll was taken among newspaper editors to assess their war bias. "... a prominent American Weekly magazine printed the results of a questionnaire sent to 367 American newspaper proprietors in which the question was asked: Which side in the European struggle has your sympathies? The results showed that 105 editors favored the Allied side; 20 sympathized with the Central Powers; while 242 or almost two-thirds of the total expressed no particular preference." /16, p. 45./ As the war progressed, more and more people became concerned and took sides. The balance always remained strongly in favor of the Allies.

### Cause of the War

The cause of the war in Europe in 1914 is a matter of controversy. To point to the assassination of the Austrian Archduke at Sarajevo on June 28, or to any other single event, is to oversimplify. A complexity of events entangled all of Europe in war.

Discovery of exactly how the war started is not necessary for this discussion. The important point is what Americans, during the war years, believed to be the cause of the war.



United States History

When the war broke out, Americans generally felt that it was a European affair which would never involve the United States. This was not expected to be measurably affected, especially in terms of the war effort. For a nation based in the English-speaking world, there were not expected advances of entry on the Allied side. In the industrial East, and many more than in the West, Britain, the United States received more support than the German population in America. This group was never large and very active. Late in the autumn of 1911 a poll was taken among newspaper editors to assess their war aims. The results showed that 100 percent printed the results of a questionnaire sent to 100 American newspapers. The question was asked: "What side in the European war?" The results showed that 100 percent of the newspapers favored the Allied side: 50 percent favored the Central Powers; 50 percent or almost two-thirds of the total expressed no particular preference. As the war progressed, there was more and more people coming over to the Allied side. The balance always remained strongly in favor of the Allies.

Causes of the War

The cause of the war in Europe is still a matter of controversy. To point to the assassination of the Austrian Archduke as the cause of the war is to say that the event, in so many respects, is completely of events entangled all of Europe in war. Discovery of exactly how the war started is not necessary for this discussion. The important point is that the war started, and it was believed to be the cause of the war.



### Propaganda Efforts in the United States

Propaganda efforts exerted a strong influence on American public opinion during the war. Each of the warring governments published documentary evidence of their innocence. They disclaimed all guilt for starting the war and proclaimed their military maneuvers only self-defense. The first of these documents was the German White Book. Twenty-seven telegrams and letters supported their claim of self-defense against Russian aggression. This book was convincing to the German people; "outside of Germany, however, the White Book made the worst possible impression. It was quickly noted that among the 27 telegrams there was not a single despatch between Berlin and Vienna; yet everyone knew that during the July crisis there must have been a very active interchange of telegrams between the two Central powers." /15, p. 4./ To the people outside of Germany this proved Germany's guilt. After the war the White Book was found to contain a great deal of truth when more complete records became available.

The British Blue Book appeared soon after and contained one hundred and fifty-nine documents arranged in chronological order with no interpretative comments. To Americans this publication seemed candid and convincing. The British point of view, that German militarism started the war, was supported by the Russian Orange Book which "by falsification and suppression of documents . . . concealed the truth about Russia's mobilization and placed the war guilt on the Central Powers." /15, p. 5./ The Belgian Gray Book, the Serbian Blue Book, and the French Orange Book all contributed to the evidence against Germany. Austria finally published its Red Book in February, 1915, but it had little impact.



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This was only the first round of a large scale campaign by the belligerents to influence American opinion. The Central Powers lost the battle of the Books to the Allies but they did not quit propagandizing.

Realizing it was crucial to influence American public opinion, both sides began to set up a propaganda machine in the United States. The Germans were first in the field with their organization under Dr. Dernburg in New York City. "The Germans in their propaganda activities . . . made almost every kind of blunder. . . . They were far too open about their activity; far too obvious in their appeals; far too negligent of tact and finesse in spreading their message. By their methods they antagonized more than they converted." /16, p. 45./

Perhaps the British learned from these mistakes, as they carefully cloaked their activities. They could regulate most of the war news which reached the United States through their control of the atlantic cables. Even after the armistice, there was no official admission that British propaganda existed before United States entry into the war.

One of the leading techniques employed by both sides was the atrocity story. Atrocities occurred on both sides during the World War; however, some of the stories used for propaganda must have been invented.

Hoping to sway American neutrality, the Belgians dispatched a diplomatic mission to the United States. They presented documentary evidence to President Wilson of atrocities which, of course, were also widely publicized by the Belgian bureau in New York. Among the incidents reported, the chairman of the delegation told of seeing two men at Aerschot buried alive, heads downward. /17, p. 59./ The plight of the Belgians elicited widespread sympathy. Their country had been







unmercifully overrun, their homes devastated, and their people killed--all because they refused to give up their neutrality and allow German forces to pass through to attack France. To many this in itself was an atrocity. The poor Belgians were well received in America.

Propaganda did not excite Americans to the point of entering the war. It did play a large part in determining which side of the conflict America would eventually join.

### Violations of Neutrality

International law defined the rights and duties of neutral nations and prescribed rules of conduct for belligerents during war. Throughout the first World War the rights of neutral nations were constantly violated. This was not caused so much by deliberately aggressive intentions as by out-dated rules of gentlemanly warfare. The use of "modern" methods of warfare such as submarines and airplanes simply did not coincide with the rules.

The great bulk of American trade was with the Allies, mainly because the Central Powers were blockaded and Britain refused to allow shipments to neutral ports if she suspected they were headed for the enemy. By international law, Britain could stop only contraband materials. In practice, she stopped anything she wanted to, and constantly added to the list of contraband items. The United States had many causes to complain about violations by Britain. She insisted on taking neutral ships into port for inspection rather than use the legal method of visit and search on the high seas. /23, p. 20./



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Since these practices only affected commerce, most Americans were not really concerned. Germany's violations of neutral rights shocked the public far more, since they cost human lives, not money.

Germany's only effective weapon on the seas was her submarines. The U-boat practice of sinking ships on sight was a flagrant violation of international law. An attacking vessel was supposed to give warning and allow the crew and passengers to escape before sinking a ship. If a submarine surfaced to give warning, it could easily be sunk by the "defensive" guns on a merchant ship. This fact was overlooked by critics in the United States in denouncing the U-boats. Adverse criticism was strongly aroused over the sinking of the Lusitania, costing 1100 lives including 100 Americans, followed later by the sinkings of the Arabic, the Sussey, and the Laconia. All involved American lives.

Britain's violations of the freedom of the seas was inexcusable but Germany's violations cost American lives.

#### Attitudes of Official Washington

Upon the outbreak of war President Wilson immediately declared the United States neutral and asked the American people "to be neutral in fact as well as in name." /25, p. 48./ In spite of the official attitude, Wilson was surrounded with men who were pro-Ally. One notable exception was Secretary of State, William Jennings Bryan. A pacifist at heart, he worked to keep diplomatic actions truly neutral and resigned in protest over Wilson's leniency toward British restrictions of American trade. He was succeeded by Robert Lansing, one of the counselors in the State Department who had already played a large part in determining policy toward the belligerents. One historian, Charles C. Tansill, blames Lansing for leading Wilson toward belligerency and away from the







noble goals advocated by Bryan. Tansill said of Lansing: "From the moment he became Secretary of State he looked forward to a conflict between the United States and Germany as a necessary incident in the crusade against German militarism. . . . He firmly believed that the Allied Governments should be given all the assistance that was possible under a most liberal interpretation of American neutrality." /20, p. 66./ Tansill saw Bryan as fighting ". . . strenuously to counteract these militant suggestions of Mr. Lansing to the President. He was untiring in his efforts to find paths to peace rather than follow the broad highway to war . . ." /20, p. 256./ No doubt Secretary Bryan did earnestly desire neutrality and peace; however, to represent Lansing as single-handedly leading Wilson to war is not justified.

The man who was probably Wilson's closest advisor also sympathized with the British. As early as June, 1915, Colonel Edward M. House left Europe "for America to convince the President that immediate war with Germany was necessary in order that aid could be given the 'other great democracies in turning the world into the right paths.'" /20, p. 209./

Our British Ambassador, Walter H. Page, was highly impatient with the neutrality of the United States. "Sir Edward Grey thought him the most convinced believer in democracy he had ever known, and democracy to Page was so unmistakably the central issue of the war that neutrality seemed almost like treason." /24, p. 161./

Even though surrounded by advisors who wished to join the Allies in fighting the war, Wilson remained extremely reluctant to commit his country to war. He had high hopes of mediating the peace settlement and was constantly seeking to bring the belligerents together for peace



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talks. He sent Colonel House to talk to both sides about negotiating a settlement. In a Philadelphia address following the sinking of the Lusitania, the President made the famous declaration: "The example of America must be a special example. The example of America must be the example not merely of peace because it will not fight, but of peace because peace is the healing and elevating influence of the world and strife is not. There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight." /20, p. 295./ These remarks met with open criticism in portions of the American press. Wilson hastily explained that the expression "too proud to fight" did not refer to the sinking of the Lusitania, and that it was in no sense a declaration of policy. /20, p. 295./ The statement was also the cause of much complaint abroad, particularly in Britain.

Wilson worked until the last moment for "peace without victory." He felt that if America entered the war there would be no neutral left with enough stature to mediate peace. He declared war only when he felt there was no other hope.

### The United States Joins the Allies

In January of 1917, two things were needed to convince the United States of the necessity for fighting Germany. "The first was incontrovertible evidence that Germany was indeed, as the Allies and their supporters claimed, an international outlaw. The second was incontrovertible evidence that the German bid for power involved not simply the continent of Europe, but the United States as well." /23, p. 35./ These were not long in forthcoming. The sinking of the Cunard liner on February 25 was taken as proof of Germany's lack of regard for human life. On the previous day, the second point had been proven.







THE ZIMMERMAN TELEGRAM. Without detection or suspicion, Great Britain cracked the German message code early in the war. One of the enemy messages decoded in London was a directive to the German Ambassador in Washington, Count Bernstorff. This discovery served as the jolt which brought America into the war.

The telegram, decoded on January 17, 1917, was withheld from the United States in hope of finding some way to publish it without disclosing the fact that Britain had possession of the German code. Finally, the officials made it appear as if the leak had occurred somewhere in the United States. On February 24, 1917, the following decoded telegram was given to Secretary Lansing:

We intend to begin unrestricted submarine warfare on the first of February. We shall endeavor in spite of this to keep the United States neutral. In the event of this not succeeding, we make Mexico a proposal of alliance on the following basis: make war together, make peace together, generous financial support, and an understanding on our part that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. The settlement in detail is left to you. /24, p. 146./

Unrestricted warfare meant the sinking of all ships on sight and the loss of more American lives. The promise of American territory to Mexico meant that the United States was directly threatened by the war in Europe. There was some question of the authenticity of the telegram. Some thought it was merely a British plot to force America into the war. However, to the amazement of everyone, Zimmerman, the German Foreign Minister, admitted that he had sent the telegram. /24, p. 183./

The press of the country was united in accepting war as inevitable and many urged the immediate declaration of war. /23, p. 85./ Yet President Wilson continued to stall. On March 18, three American ships







were sunk without warning. On March 19, the revolution in Russia overthrew the Czar, removing the black sheep from the democratic herd, and the war could now safely be called a war to save democracy. On April 2, Wilson addressed a joint session of Congress:

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking . . . I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it . . ." /26, p. 475./

MOBILIZATION FOR WAR. As the United States moved closer to hostilities there were groups of pacifists who spoke loudly against war. Organizations for peace were numerous, such as the American Union Against Militarism, Emergency Peace Federation, League to Enforce Peace, and others.

After April 2, another group, of which Theodore Roosevelt was representative, strongly favored smothering criticism of national war policies. As America became more deeply involved in the war, the demands to silence pacifists increased. Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo was reported to have said in October: "America intends that those well-meaning but misguided people who talk inopportunistically of peace . . . shall be silenced. I want to say here and now and with due deliberation that every pacifist speech in this country made at this inopportune and improper time is in effect traitorous." /30, p. 148-149./ James W. Gerard was quoted in the New York Tribune as saying that "we should 'hog-tie' every disloyal German-American, feed every pacifist raw meat, and hang every traitor to a lamp post to insure success in this war." /30, p. 149./ Elihu Root was of the same opinion. He was quoted in the



were sent without warning. The first of these was the  
overturning the ship, resulting in the loss of the ship and  
and the way back to the shore. The ship was not seen again.  
April 2, Wilson announced a formal protest of the United States.

With a protest, which was the first of its kind, the  
character of the ship was changed. The ship was now  
declared the vessel of the United States. The ship was  
in fact not a ship, but a vessel of the United States.  
the United States. The ship was now a vessel of the United States.  
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HOSTILITIES FOR THE... In the United States, the  
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Against the ship, which was now a vessel of the United States.  
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After that, the ship was now a vessel of the United States.  
representation, which was now a vessel of the United States.  
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New York Times as declaring: "We must have no criticism now." /30, p. 14./ He told a cheering crowd at the Union League Club that "there are men walking about the streets of this city tonight who ought to be taken out at sunrise tomorrow and shot for treason." /8, p. 52./

There was some pro-German sentiment before American entry into the war, particularly among the German-American citizens. However, with the outbreak of war they "retreated across their hyphen to take their stand, somewhat sullenly, on the American side." /24, p. 186./

The great majority of Americans, of course, supported the war with increasing vigor as their sons, husbands, and neighbors entered the fighting. "In the months that followed, Americans came to accept Wilson's idealistic war aims, and some less idealistic ones of their own, too. Opposition or apathy changed to enthusiasm and even hysteria." /33, p. 375./

#### Social and Economic Conditions in the United States

The United States became the primary supplier of war materials to the Allied governments. Before the end of 1915, British and French gold reserves were drained as far as those countries thought it prudent to permit. /31, p. 220./ They began to arrange for extensive loans in order to continue purchasing. The loans served "as the foundation of a financial structure that was evoked Aladdin-like from the lamp of fabulous war profits. Prosperity now came to America with amazing swiftness. The business depression, that had so worried the Administration in the spring of 1915, suddenly vanished, and 'boom times' prevailed." /20, p. 114./



that last time as a result of the war.

It is not a matter of fact that the war has been a success.

and nothing more can be said at this time.

and as a result of the war, the world is a different place.

There was one other thing that I should mention.

and, particularly, the fact that the war has been a success.

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and, particularly, the fact that the war has been a success.

The great majority of the people of the world are in favor of the war.

increasing vigor as they go on, and the war has been a success.

lighting. In the morning, the sun is shining and the war has been a success.

Wilson's idealism and the fact that the war has been a success.

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(22 p. 322)

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When the World War broke out in 1914, factory workers received on the average a little more than eleven dollars per week. At the time America entered the war, they were receiving fourteen dollars per week. When the Armistice was signed, they were getting twenty-one dollars per week. Salaries almost doubled in four years. /32, p. 6./ Stocks were in a "bull market" period during 1915 and 1916, but began to decline in 1917. "It was then generally believed that their fall was largely caused by the realization that corporate taxes would be greatly increased" to finance the war effort. /32, p. 18./

"The culture of the people of the United States in this first year of war prosperity was ornamented with diversions and conveniences" never dreamed of before. "The spread of well-being ranged from multimillionaire to subsistence farmer and common labor." /31, p. 223./ The cultural changes were due largely to the genius and ingenuity of Thomas A. Edison and Henry Ford. Photography and motion pictures brought a view of the world to many people which had been limited previously to only a few. The spread of automobiles and the building of highways extended mobility. Automobile production never fell below one million units per year after 1914. /31, p. 231./

When America became one of the belligerents, the organization for war caused an upheaval on the economic scene. Administrative forces had to be created to marshal food and supplies. A Council of National Defense was established, along with the General Munitions Board, War Industries Board, a Food Administration, and others. Although the initial actions of these bureaus were often ineffective, prosperity increased as the demand for food and manufactured goods multiplied.







### Elihu Root and the War

After the Belgian invasion, Root's sympathies were naturally with the Allies. He had many friends in Britain and received his war news from these friends, or, in common with most of the American people, from the British controlled cables. Being exposed to these news sources, he soon blamed Germany for starting the war. He expressed his view of the war to Sir George Otto Trevelyan on March 5, 1915: "Underlying all the particular reasons and occasions for the war the principle of Anglo-Saxon liberty seems to have met the irreconcilable conception of the German state, and the two ideas are battling for control of the world." /1, II, 313./

Because he was a member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations Elihu Root refused to publicize his views on the war. Instead, he urged that all Americans should support the President's declaration of neutrality. As yet, he probably did not think that the United States would ever enter the war.

Root was convinced that the United States should fight after the sinking of the Lusitania. Nevertheless, he still insisted that all Americans should support the President's policy and he refused to join Lodge and Roosevelt in openly advocating war. He was elated when America at last joined the Allies. To James R. Sheffield, he said: "We're in it, thank God, we're in it!" /1, II, 323./ He devoted all his energy to the war, believing that Germany must be absolutely crushed. He continued to urge upon fellow Republicans that political partisanship must be abandoned for full loyalty to Wilson until the war was won. He spoke to the New York Republican Club on this theme a few days after the



THE NEW YORK TIMES

After the initial shock of the attack on Pearl Harbor, the United States government found itself in a position to take a more active part in the world situation. The United States had been a long time in coming to the aid of the Allies, but now it was in a position to do so. The United States had a large army and a large navy, and it was in a position to take a more active part in the world situation. The United States had a large army and a large navy, and it was in a position to take a more active part in the world situation.

APRIL 11, 1941

President Roosevelt in his message to Congress today, announced that the United States would enter the war against Germany. He said that the United States would enter the war against Germany, and that it would enter the war against Germany. He said that the United States would enter the war against Germany, and that it would enter the war against Germany. He said that the United States would enter the war against Germany, and that it would enter the war against Germany.



declaration of war: "As we love our country, we must now give the Democratic administration our whole-hearted, earnest, sincere support. . . . We must sweep all partisanship away. The men in Washington are our President, our Cabinet, and our Congress, no matter whose votes elected them." /8, p. 42./

THE MISSION TO RUSSIA. The Czar of Russia was overthrown two weeks before Wilson declared war. The United States was the first to recognize the new Provisional Government, soon followed by all the Allies. With the change in government, the main concern among the Allies was to prevent Russia from signing a separate peace agreement with Germany. If Russia quit fighting, Germany would be able to concentrate all of its force on the eastern battlefield and almost certainly would be victorious.

In order to keep Russia in the war, an Allied socialist mission was sent to its capital, Petrograd, on April 13 "to try to win over their Russian comrades to a more aggressively prowar [sic] position." /22, p. 51./ In May, the Belgians sent a mission to Russia for the same purpose. In June, Great Britain sent Arthur Henderson to Petrograd which is currently called Leningrad. At the height of this propaganda campaign, President Wilson sent the "largest and most elaborate of all the Allied missions . . . to spur on the war effort and lend the prestige of the United States to the support of the Provisional Government." /22, p. 96./

The Provisional Government declared itself determined to prosecute the war to the end. However, the efforts to influence the Provisional Government were futile, since it had neither control of the army nor the support of the people. "In brief, the Russian soldier and the Russian







people were heartily sick of the war." /22, p. 50./ Desertions in the army were high as the soldiers rushed to their homes to get a share of the liberated land.

To Americans rejoicing over the "democratic" triumph in Russia, these conditions were unknown. A mission was appointed "to convey to the Russian democracy the good will of America, her sister democracy; to seek to establish closer cooperation and friendship between the two nations, and to learn what the needs of Russia are and to assist her in every way possible." /1, II, 353./ Thus, they hoped to keep Russia in the war.

In selecting the members of the mission an attempt was made to represent the various elements of American society. One writer contends that "the personnel of the nine-man commission was one well calculated to meet with polite interest from the Russian bourgeoisie, apathy from the masses, and active hostility from their revolutionary spokesmen." /22, p. 97./ The only members with socialist convictions were James Duncan, an American Federation of Labor vice-president, and Charles Edward Russell, a publicist. These men were among the most conservative of American socialists. Their appointment did not even meet the approval of United States socialists let alone appeal to the Russians. /22, p. 98./

The reasons why Wilson chose Elihu Root to head the mission are not clear, although Secretary of the Treasury, William G. McAdoo, the President's son-in-law, suggested and urgently pressed his selection. /1, II, 356./ Even though Root was in sympathy with the revolution it seemed incongruous to send a confirmed conservative to extend friendship







to a socialist government. There was considerable opposition and criticism of his appointment. While historical perspective has demonstrated the hopelessness of the mission from the very beginning, a more liberal man certainly would seem to have been preferable.

When Root was offered the position, he accepted solely as a matter of duty. "You have no idea how I hate it," he wrote a friend, "but it is just like our boys going into the war; there can be no question about doing it." /1, II, 356./

The mission was welcomed in Petrograd with the usual diplomatic receptions, conferences and speeches. The delegates talked almost exclusively with Provisional Government officials. Duncan and Russell were the only members who attempted to talk with the Soviet leaders. These same leaders soon forced their way into a coalition government. No one spoke to the Bolsheviks, who were destined to win out in the power struggle.

While still in Russia Root urged Wilson to begin a large scale propaganda campaign. He suggested the immediate expenditure of one hundred thousand dollars and five million as a nominal sum for future operations. He saw that if Russia was to remain in the war, the vast German expenditures on propaganda would have to be counteracted. Wilson ignored his report and no action was ever taken. While waiting for an answer from Washington, Root and two other members of the mission contributed more than thirty thousand dollars of their own money for initial propaganda expenses. "A million copies of Root's speech of June 15 had already been printed at British and French expense, and half a million copies of Wilson's speeches were printed with the additional money." /22, p. 105./



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When the Mission returned to Washington, Wilson had one meeting with them and never consulted them again. Root was bitter over this apparent waste of effort; even his one major recommendation was ignored. Root came to the conclusion that "Wilson didn't want to accomplish anything. It was a grand-stand play. He wanted to show his sympathy for the Russian Revolution. When we delivered his message and made our speeches, he was satisfied; that's all he wanted." /1, II, 356./

In spite of his disappointment that no propaganda effort was launched, Root was enthusiastic about the situation in Russia. He admired the democracy and was impressed by the Russian people. He described them as "sincerely, kindly, good people but confused and dazed." /19, p. 201./



There are 12,000,000 people in the world who are not yet Christians. This is a very large number, and it is one that should give us much to think about. We must realize that the work of the Church is not yet finished. We must go on and on, until every man, woman, and child has heard the Gospel of Jesus Christ. This is our duty, and it is one that we must not shirk. We must be faithful and true, and we must be ready to sacrifice everything for the sake of the Kingdom of God. This is the way of life, and it is the way that leads to eternal life. We must follow it, and we must follow it to the end. This is our only hope, and it is our only duty. We must be faithful and true, and we must be ready to sacrifice everything for the sake of the Kingdom of God. This is the way of life, and it is the way that leads to eternal life. We must follow it, and we must follow it to the end. This is our only hope, and it is our only duty.



## CHAPTER IV

### INVENTION

The classical division of Invention is often thought of as the most important of the parts of rhetoric. It includes the speaker's stock of ideas, the premises of his thinking, the truth of his ideas in "functional existence," and his modes of proof.

In this chapter, Elihu Root's intellectual resources will first be examined. Next, the audiences will be described so that his arguments may be understood. Finally, his means of persuasion, divided into the three modes of proof, will be investigated.

#### Intellectual Resources

To understand why a speaker says what he does, a critic must know and understand the personal intellectual resources of the speaker. "The preparation and background that the speaker brings to the process of logical invention figures strongly in the determination of argumentative soundness and integrity." /29, p. 335./

The most significant thing that can be said about Root's intellectual resources is that he was a staunch conservative. His conservatism is easily explained. Everything in his family heritage, his youthful environment and his early professional career stimulated pride in American institutions. Root's ancestors came to America in 1639 and steadily prospered. His childhood environment was stable, secure, and







without hardship. He received a good education and advanced rapidly with his career. Nothing gave him firsthand acquaintance with adversity, with poverty, with social unrest, or with labor agitation. He had no reason to be unhappy with the world as he found it. At the same time that he felt no need for reform, he was actually being schooled in conservative ideas by his association with successful lawyers and business men in New York.

His conservatism is evidenced by his associations. He was a member of the Union League Club, which was a stronghold of conservative Republican businessmen; an Old Guard Republican; a leading figure in the New York Bar Association and the American Bar Association; and a counselor for various powerful business interests in and around New York.

Root believed in the principles of democracy and traditional American ways. But conservatism is not merely cherishing the old methods. He believed in change, but slow and orderly change. He worked out systems for improving the Courts in New York and sought many innovations in the field of international law. In working to improve general conditions, Root demanded that the traditional rights and principles be left undamaged.

Root would have to be classed with the imperialists of his time. He did not actively campaign for the acquisitive policies although he did not think them wrong. "Realistic and unsentimental about most things, he discerned no essential flaw in the acquisitive America of the post-Civil War period; and he agreed with, though he would never himself have put them in cold print, the eulogistic views of Andrew Carnegie's Triumphant Democracy." /2, p. 10./



without hesitation. He accepted a good reputation for himself and  
with his own. He had a good reputation for himself and  
city, with power, with a good reputation for himself and  
had no reason to be angry with the world. He had no reason  
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things, he discovered an essential thing in the world. He had a good reputation for himself and  
the post-World War period. He had a good reputation for himself and  
himself have put them in a good reputation for himself and  
Germans's reputation for himself and



He was not concerned by the social problems and the discontent among lower classes that were to power the progressive and liberal followers of Roosevelt (after 1912) and Wilson. He thought the great principles of individual initiative and laissez faire too important to be compromised by yielding to the demands of the laboring class. This was not just cold indifference, but the accepted philosophy among his associates. The movement for social legislation had not even begun when Root's attitudes were being formed.

He not only neglected social needs but he was wholly indifferent to popular esteem. He never made an effort to gain popular approval for his programs or for himself. He did not berate or downgrade the common man, he just did not consider it important to spend time wooing the public. His only attempt at elective office came at the age of thirty-four when he ran for Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in New York City. He did not participate in the campaign and was not elected. His other public offices were presidential appointments except for his Senatorship, for which he was chosen by the New York Legislature.

Root always attempted to maintain good relations with those men and organizations which could be instrumental in accomplishing what he felt needed to be done. He frequently sought help from friends in the Senate, business organizations, and other influential friends. His campaign to enlist popular support for the war was the only time he ever attempted to influence the American public as a whole. He thought that public approval was necessary because it was supremely important that the Allies emerge victorious.







### Approach to a Problem

As Secretary of the War Department and, later, of the State Department, Root was notorious among his assistants and clerks for demanding that all available information on a problem be gathered for him. He would carefully study all of the facts and opinions on the problem before arriving at his own solution. Having decided upon a course of action, he did all in his power to see that it was adopted.

Root had a powerful mind and a persuasive manner that forced people to yield to his arguments and to follow his counsel. Incisive, witty, and urbane, he could strip issues of the unessential, get to the main point quickly, and devise with what appeared to be unanswerable logic, original and reasonable solutions. Skilled in the art of human relations, he had a positive genius for reconciling the irreconcilable. Even those who disliked and distrusted him freely admitted his ability to conciliate conflicting views.

/2, p. 174./

Trained in the law, Root was in the profession of giving advice. In later years he devoted his entire time to consultation services, never actually trying a case in court.

In his public life he was constantly in the role of advisor. Throughout the almost eight years of Roosevelt's stay in the White House, Root was one of his closest advisors. Taft sought his opinion many times and Root occasionally advised Wilson. In direct contrast to the services he gave, Root rarely relied on others to advise him. While in the cabinet he had, of course, to accept the reports of staff members when he could not discover information for himself, but in determining policy he took their facts and recommendations and made his own decisions on the policy to be adopted.

As a matter of fact, Root was not a good administrator in the theoretical sense because he took a vast amount of the work on his own shoulders when it might have been delegated







to subordinates. . . . In his case this habit did not turn out badly because he had a terrific appetite and capacity for work. . . . He also had a capacity for distinguishing the big things from the little things. /1, II, 109./

### Premises of His Thinking

By 1917, Root had very definite ideas about the nature of the World War. The premises of his thinking about the war are rooted in the broader attitudes of his conservatism and legal training. He applied these principles to the war situation and derived several premises about the war.

Underlying Root's whole attitude toward the war was his judgement on the desirability of the various forms of government. He was convinced that only a democratic form of government could insure the freedom of its citizens. He considered autocracies, such as Germany, to be inherently oppressive. This view led him to declare that the World War was a battle between the two for supremacy.

The war, however, is more than a conflict between nations. It is a conflict between two hostile principles; the principle of democracy which rests upon individual freedom, and the principle of autocracy which rests upon military force. The two are as far apart as freedom and slavery.

This opinion led him to believe that Germany and Austria were solely responsible for starting the war; that they had deliberately plotted to conquer the world. But, more important, he was convinced that the United States must prosecute the war for total victory. Germany must be absolutely crushed if the world was ever to be safe for democracy. He continued the above statement as follows:

President Lincoln said the country could not endure half free and half slave. It is also true that the world cannot



to substantiate... in the same way...  
our best evidence to find a...  
for... the...  
the... the...

### Statement of the...

In 1911... the...  
World War. The...  
The...  
applied these...  
provisions about the...

Unauthorized...  
on the...  
witness...  
den of...  
be...  
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The...  
national...  
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always...

This...  
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placed to...  
that the...  
Germany...  
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endure half free and half Prussian. Democracies cannot live in the same world with aggressive military autocracies. To remain alongside such a military power means that the democracy must submit to the will of the autocracy, or the democracy must make itself always ready for defense against attack; but the conditions of modern war make it impossible for democracy to keep itself always prepared for defense against the attack, and to continue its free democratic institutions; for the successful conduct of war involves extensive and essential surrenders of individual liberty. /8, p. 41./

This last statement goes back to his belief that individual freedom is the only moral condition of life.

Root firmly believed that the government of a nation should be a government of laws, not men. He expanded this principle to apply to the relations among nations. He devoted much time to establishing workable international laws. The world should have a government of laws, not nations. He saw Germany's actions as a flagrant violation of international law and felt that her leaders were trying to set themselves up to govern as much of the world as they could conquer. He expressed this idea as follows:

We did think a few years ago that the reign of law had come into the world; we did think that the rules of law that all civilized nations had agreed to be bound by, were a protection to the peaceful, to the weak; we did think that the faith of treaties was a protection; but we have had a sad awakening. Neither the rules of law nor the faith of treaties nor the instincts of humanity, nor the teachings of civilization, nor the requirements of religion, stand in the way of those powers that are now seeking in the world, with fire and sword, what they call the liberty of national evolution . . . /8, p. 35./

He gave specific evidence that Germany had no respect for law in another speech, when he said:

It has become startlingly evident that if Germany wins this war, the same principles under which she treated the covenant with Belgium as a scrap of paper, and laid







waste and sacked and burned the towns, and murdered the people of that poor and peaceful country, and under which she has violated every rule of international law and the obligations of treaties, will be applied by her to the rest of the world. /8, p. 40./

Because Root felt the necessity of total victory, he constantly urged non-partisan support of the Democratic administration. Along with this advocacy, he admitted that it was necessary to increase the powers of the federal government. But he always insisted that as soon as the war was over and there was no longer any need for these powers that they should be taken away.

The basic premises of his thinking on Russia were, first, a conviction that Russia had adopted the democratic form of government and her people were now free; second, that her people were good and their leaders had good intentions. That is, Russia would fight to defeat Germany and to insure her people's freedom.

The principles of Root's thinking in these sixteen speeches were based on his beliefs as a conservative. They can be summarized as follows: (1) democracy is the only desirable form of government, (2) the war is a battle to the finish between democracy and autocracy, (3) German militarism caused the war, (4) democracy must achieve total victory over autocracy.

#### The Functional Truth of His Ideas

"In the long run, integrity of ideas depends also upon the accuracy and potency of the intellectual conceptions in functional existence." /29, p. 350./ It is necessary to examine the truth or integrity of Root's concepts in evaluating his speaking. The premises listed above, other than the first one, seem very narrow to a modern







reader. Root thought of the war in black and white terms. The Allies were innocent of any aggressive actions and were forced into a war in self-defense. There was nothing good about Germany and the Central Powers. With the aid of historical perspective, this assertion appears most naive; however, it must be remembered that Root did not have all the facts.

It is a commentary rather on the irresistible force with which war passions sweep people's minds than on Root's own judgement that, in this instance, he failed to exercise that coldly critical power of analysis which so often made him outstanding as a lawyer and as a statesman. Granting the truth of what Root believed to be true on the basis of the evidence available to him, his reactions were natural, if not inevitable. The fundamental fallacy of those days was in believing all the reports from Allied sources and in doubting every word from the Central Powers. /1, II, 310-311./

Root fell into the trap that many Americans are in today. On the contemporary scene, we know that the Communists have lied; therefore we believe them to lie always. Once a nation is identified as the enemy it would be dangerous to think that nation might have any good motivations.

Root's ideas were probably the least reliable concerning Russia. On his mission he saw only a limited portion of the conditions in Russia and made the mistake of accepting it as a view of the whole country. In many cases, his conclusions were logical, based on the evidence available to him. However, other opinions were colored by transferring his own belief in democracy to the people of Russia.

In spite of these faults, many of Root's judgements were sound. History has proven his statement in the previously quoted paragraph to be true. Root said: "To remain alongside such a military power



...thought of the ...  
...were innocent ...  
...in self-defense ...  
...General ...  
...most alive ...  
...the facts.

It is a ...  
...which was ...  
...and ...  
...that ...  
...made his ...  
...extending ...  
...the ...  
...were ...  
...of those ...  
...sources ...  
A. H. ...

Root felt that the ...  
...contemporary ...  
...we believe ...  
...it would be ...  
...motivations.

Root's ideas were ...  
...On his ...  
...results and ...  
...country. ...  
...evidence ...  
...translating ...  
...In spite of ...  
...History has ...  
...to be true.



means that the democracy must submit to the will of the autocracy, or the democracy must make itself always ready for defense against attack . . ." /8, p. 41./ Although the autocracy has changed, our democracy is plunged deeply into the arms race which Root predicted in 1917.

Root's constant plea for non-partisan support of Wilson's policies by all Americans, was, no doubt, valid. He was right, that there must be unity among the people to fight a war effectively.

Root often argued that once a decision had been reached through the democratic process it must be accepted and abided by, especially in time of war. He stated:

A democracy which cannot accept its own decisions made in accordance with its own laws, but must keep on endlessly discussing the questions already decided, has failed in the fundamental requirements of self-government; and, if the decision is to make war, the failure to exhibit capacity for self-government by action will inevitably result in the loss of the right of self-government. /8, p. 67./

There is no question that government needs the power to act forcefully during war. In the normal governing processes it might well be argued that decisions need to be constantly re-evaluated if advancement or improvement is to occur.

The ultimate objective of Root's speeches was to insure the victorious prosecution of the war. Here the familiar question arises: do the ends justify the means? Most Americans today as well as most Americans in 1917 would agree that fighting the war was the correct path for the United States to follow. Some of Root's reasons for desiring this goal have been proven invalid but the goal has not yet been proven false.



means that the... on the... attack... democracy is... in 1917.

Root's... by all... be unity among... Root of the... the democratic... in time of war... a democracy... the... the... for self-government... ideas of the... There is no... having... that... improvement is to... The... victorious... do the... Americans in 1917... path for the... leading... been proven false.



There is no question of Root's sincerity. He cannot be accused of warmongering for his or anyone else's profit. He did not act for any political purpose. Root believed in the idealistic concepts that he preached to the American public.

### The Audiences

A speech always takes place before a specific audience at a given time and place. To be effective, a speaker must constantly keep his audience in mind and adapt his remarks to their needs. Thus, the audience is a major force in shaping the utterances of a public speaker. Correspondingly, the audience cannot be ignored in rhetorical analysis. A speech can only be criticized in reference to the audience.

Reasonably good estimates of the size and type of audience can be made for the speeches under consideration. Most of these speeches were presented before a specific group whose attitudes can be assumed with some degree of certainty.

### Congress of Constructive Patriotism

The Congress of Constructive Patriotism was held under the auspices of the National Security League in Washington, January 25, 1917. The Congress was meeting to urge war preparedness for the United States. More information on Root's audience is available for this speech than for any other. Outlook magazine carried a complete report of the proceedings. "There was [sic] a thousand delegates in attendance. . . . There were no pacifists present. And no opponents of universal military training." The Outlook reporter also noted, "the Congress was anything but neutral in thought, word and deed. The



There is no question as to the fact that the  
of carrying out the policy of the Government  
and political system. It is the duty of the  
that the Government is the Government and the

### The Government

A speech is a form of communication which  
given time and place. It is a form of communication  
his audience is his and his audience is his. It is  
audience is a group of people who are interested in  
Consequently, the speaker must be aware of the audience  
A speech can only be successful if it is given to the audience  
Respectfully, it is the duty of the speaker to be aware of  
be made for the speaker to be aware of the audience  
were presented before a speech is given and the speaker  
with some degree of certainty.

### Characteristics of a Good Speech

The characteristics of a good speech are as follows:  
analysis of the situation and the speaker's position in it.  
1917. The speaker must be aware of the audience and the  
States. The speaker must be aware of the audience and the  
speech must be given in a clear and concise manner.  
of the presentation. The speaker must be aware of the audience  
canon. . . . The speaker must be aware of the audience  
universal principle of the speaker. The speaker must be aware  
Congress was the first to be aware of the audience and the



number of sympathizers with the Central Powers was a mere handful."

/42, p. 228./

The president of the National Security League, Stanwood Menken, was reported to have referred to the delegates as a

free and unfettered roll of names of men and women appointed unreservedly by governors, by mayors, by colleges and universities, by National [sic] and commercial organizations, by patriotic and civic and military and learned societies, by bar and aero and automobile associations, by women's clubs,--a great variety of interests, but all distinctively free and distinctively American.

/42, p. 227./

The reporter commented on Root's speech: "This quality of the gathering [sturdy moral virility] appeared also in the unmatched National [sic] analysis of Elihu Root. If ever a man spoke his mind, he spoke it." He noted that at the end of Root's address there was "tremendous applause, while the Congress rose to its feet as one man."

/42, p. 228./ On the next day when one of the delegates criticized his speech as "the rankest outrage ever permitted or perpetrated upon a deliberative body!" the crowd drowned him out "with hisses and cries of 'No, No!'" /42, p. 228./

Root had a friendly audience on this occasion, except for a "handful."

#### Union League Club

Root addressed the Union League Club on March 20, 1917, only sixteen days before Congress declared war on Germany and again on August 15, 1917, following his return from Russia. It is likely that the audiences were almost identical on both evenings. The Union League Club was a New York City organization founded in 1863 (Root joined in 1869) by a group of Republicans who wished to do everything



number of organizations in the United States, and a new number.  
/42, p. 225/

The President of the American Bar Association, Mr. Wood, was reported to have taken the following position:

Five and six hundred million dollars of new money  
apportioned among the various States, Territories, and  
legions and municipalities, and the various  
organizations, of which the United States  
learned nothing, and the various municipalities and  
elections, in which the United States  
but all distinctive of the United States.  
/42, p. 227/

The reporter stated that the President of the  
gathering [American Bar Association] in the United States

National [Bar] Association at the United States  
he again is, "no need to say the end of the United States

"transmission system", and the United States  
/42, p. 230/ On the new system, the United States

his speech as "the United States" and the United States  
a distinctive system, the United States, and the United States

of the United States, and the United States  
most had a very high system, and the United States

"United States".

United States Club  
Root addressed the United States Club on June 15, 1917, and

sixteen days before the United States Club was organized, and

August 15, 1917, following the United States Club was organized, and

the end of the United States Club was organized, and the United States Club

League Club was a League Club, and the United States Club was organized, and the United States Club



possible to help Lincoln bring the Civil War to a speedy close. It remained a stronghold of Republicanism, numbering many business and political leaders among its members.

Root's audience possibly was composed of not more than seventy-five middle-aged and elderly gentlemen. The speaker had been a member of the club for nearly fifty years and considered it his home. He probably knew all of the members personally and was undoubtedly highly respected by the club members. The introduction by the club's president, Charles E. Hughes, attests to this fact: "Our fellow-member, whom we have long honored and loved, returns to us from a service of vast importance, most admirably and nobly performed. . . . The nation has no abler statesman and no finer patriot than Elihu Root." /8, p. 45./

The members who listened to Elihu Root were financially well-off and probably well-informed on the war conditions. Many undoubtedly had a business interest in providing supplies for the war. More than likely, on March 20, every member shared Root's pro-Ally attitude. On August 15, they were all strong supporters of the war effort.

#### New York Republican Club

On April 9, 1917, three days after the declaration of war, Root delivered an extemporaneous address to the New York Republican Club. This audience must have been quite similar to the Union League Club. It possibly was a less exclusive audience, however, and included many men of average financial, social, business or political influence. They were probably enthusiastic about the American entry into the war. Root had many friends in this audience also. He had been a leader of the New York Republican Party for twenty-five years and would have







been respected and listened to by any group of Republicans.

#### American Bar Association

Root addressed a special conference of delegates from the American Bar Association on September 3, 1917. This conference was held in conjunction with the annual meeting of the American Bar Association but was not actually sponsored by the ABA. Root had originated this conference the previous year while he was president of the Association. Its purpose was to unite the local, state, and national bar associations into a federation which could channel the power of each toward their common goals. Root was presiding officer of the conference.

Lawyers have consistently been upholders of the conservative views and many of them would have shared the beliefs of Root toward national policies. There were five hundred and eighty-nine delegates registered at the convention and most of these were probably in the audience. /41, p. 150./ Root's prestige must have been high, since he had been president of the ABA the previous year and was the originator of the special conference. By this time the United States was deeply involved in the war and practically all Americans supported the effort.

Three days later, Root was the principal speaker at the annual banquet of the ABA. "The annual dinner was given in honor of Elihu Root and was held on Thursday evening September 6, 1917 at the Grand Union Hotel, Saratoga Springs, New York." The three hundred and eighty members and guests who attended /41, p. 155./ this dinner were probably all participants in the special conference. The attitudes of this audience would be identical with the special conference audience.







### Reception Upon Return from Russia

Root spoke at a reception by the City of Seattle, August 4, 1917. Seattle was the Mission's first landing in America after their boat trip from Russia. There are no details on the size or attitude of the crowd available to this writer.

"A great popular reception at the City Hall was tendered the Russian Mission by Mayor Mitchel upon its arrival in New York City, August 15, 1917." /8, p. 154./ Mr. Root was presented with the first medal of valor of the National Arts Club for accepting what the Mayor called "the very real hazards of this Mission." /8, p. 154./ Again Root's prestige should have been high and the audience was presumably friendly.

Later the same day the Mission was given a reception by the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York. Here Root addressed an audience that was probably smaller than the two earlier receptions. Again the welcome was enthusiastic. The audience predominantly included successful businessmen.

### In Honor of the Archbishop of York

"The Most Reverend Cosmo Gordon Lang, Archbishop of York since 1908, visited the United States in the early part of 1918. A large and representative body of American citizens met in Carnegie Hall on the evening of March 7, 1918, to do him honor--among them the Governor of the State of New York." /9, p. 173./ Root delivered a speech expressing the brotherhood of the American people and the British people and America's eagerness to help their brothers in time of need (the war).







This audience must have assembled because of friendliness toward the Archbishop. There can be no question of any motives of self-interest or business profit in this situation.

#### National Security League

Root spoke before the National Security League in Philadelphia on April 24, 1918. At this point in the war the League was "addressing itself to a systematic campaign of instruction, of edification, of exhortation . . . in tens of thousands of places in this country which have been found to be asleep or to be wrong upon these great and vital questions." /2, p. 182./ The League had many members and was respected by many others.

Root was a member of the League and had recently been named honorary president. The audience probably was receptive to his ideas and readily agreed with his views.

May 8, 1918, Root gave an address as chairman of the annual meeting of the National Security League in New York City. The meeting must have been quite large, since in 1916 the League reported ninety-seven branches. /31, p. 293./ His positions of honorary president and chairman of the convention certainly assured him an attentive audience.

#### Republican State Convention

Root addressed the New York Republican State Convention at Saratoga on July 18, 1918. Again he was among friends who shared his political views. Here, the audience would not only be businessmen but also many representatives of the upstate New York farming interests.







Root did not go to the convention for politics. He opened his speech by saying: "There is only one thing I have come here to talk about, and that is the war." /2, p. 192./ He reminded the Republicans of their wartime duties and probably met little opposition.

### The Mass Meetings

Root spoke at three mass meetings. Two were in New York, including one at Madison Square Garden, and the third was at the Coliseum in Chicago. These audiences typified the common national public attitude toward the war. They were probably pro-Ally and in favor of United States participation in the war.

### The Over-All View

All of Root's audiences in these sixteen speeches, with the possible exception of the three mass meetings, were friendly. In most cases he held a high position in the organization he addressed, which would add to his already high prestige as a national figure. He was not an outsider but a member of these organizations and had many personal friends in the audience.

His listeners usually were businessmen and/or lawyers. Except at the mass meetings, he was not speaking to the ordinary man in the street but to the active and influential elements of society.

### The Artistic Modes of Proof

The division of Invention into the three modes of proof comes to us from Aristotle's Rhetoric: "Of the means of persuasion supplied by the speech itself there are three kinds. The first kind reside [sic]



had not been in the country for some time.

by saying "There is a very good reason for this."

and that is the fact that the country is very large.

their various duties and responsibilities.

## THE OVER-ALL VIEW

Most people are familiar with the fact that the country is very large.

and one of the main reasons for this is the fact that the country is very large.

in Chicago. There are many reasons for this, and one of the main reasons is the fact that the country is very large.

side toward the east. This is a very important fact, and one of the main reasons for this is the fact that the country is very large.

United States participation in the war.

## The Over-All View

All of these things are in the country, and one of the main reasons for this is the fact that the country is very large.

possible exception of the fact that the country is very large.

most cases he held a high office in the country, and one of the main reasons for this is the fact that the country is very large.

which would add to his already high position in the country, and one of the main reasons for this is the fact that the country is very large.

was not an outsider but a member of the country, and one of the main reasons for this is the fact that the country is very large.

personal friends in the country, and one of the main reasons for this is the fact that the country is very large.

His list of friends is very long, and one of the main reasons for this is the fact that the country is very large.

at the same time, he was not a member of the country, and one of the main reasons for this is the fact that the country is very large.

arrested but to the contrary, the country is very large.

## The Over-All View

The Division of the country is very large, and one of the main reasons for this is the fact that the country is very large.

to be from the country, and one of the main reasons for this is the fact that the country is very large.

by the speech itself, and one of the main reasons for this is the fact that the country is very large.



in the character of the speaker; the second consist [sic] in producing a certain attitude in the hearer; the third appertain [sic] to the argument proper, in so far as it actually or seemingly demonstrates."

/40, p. 8./

It must be remembered that these modes are not a trichotomy in which the parts are clearly distinct from one another. It is difficult to draw a line between logical and emotional proof or between emotional and ethical proof. The human response is always a combination of these elements. The three modes of proof are used only as a tool for understanding this unified reaction of man.

#### Ethical Proof

The character [ethos] of the speaker is a cause of persuasion when the speech is so uttered as to make him worthy of belief; for as a rule we trust men of probity more, and more quickly, about things in general, while on points outside the realm of exact knowledge, where opinion is divided, we trust them absolutely. . . . We might almost affirm that his [the speaker's] character is the most potent of all the means to persuasion. /40, pp. 8-9./

As is so often true in rhetoric, this judgement, which is basic to modern speech criticism, was stated by Aristotle. Much has been written on the subject since Aristotle's time and all "the writers are virtually of one mind, however, in declaring that the force of the speaker's personality or character is instrumental in facilitating the acceptance of belief." /29, p. 383./

Aristotle limited the concept of persuasion through character to only the duration of the speech. He said that the influence of good character "should be created by the speech itself, and not left to depend upon an antecedent impression that the speaker is this or that kind of man." /40, p. 9./ It is now thought that the "antecedent







impression" plays a large part in the speaker's ethos. Aristotle's limitation is too restrictive "since the attitude of the audience toward the speaker--based on previous knowledge of the latter's activities and reputation--cannot accurately be separated from the reaction the speaker induces through the medium of the speech."

/29, p. 385./

This discussion of Elihu Root's ethos will be divided into two parts: first, the knowledge of his character which the audience brought with them to the occasion; and second, his ethos while on the platform.

ANTECEDENT IMPRESSION. This will again have to be divided into those of the audiences who knew Root personally and those who knew him only by reputation.

To those who did not know him, Root appeared cold and aloof. He was reputed to be entirely unemotional. Theodore Roosevelt's valet wrote: "Mr. Root is known to the world as a great lawyer and is generally regarded as a man of austere manner and cold, unemotional character." This factor can be explained by Root's "reticence of soul."

/1, II, 137./ It was difficult for him to express emotion, especially in public. His brother, Oren, wrote to Elihu on the latter's sixtieth birthday: ". . . I cannot catalogue what you have done for me. It has been very much, and I feel it all But [sic] the reticence of soul which is in & of the race from which we come is with me as it is with you and I cannot write it." /1, I, 32./ Other evidence that this reserve stemmed from his family background is encompassed in a letter from his mother during those early years in New York City. His mother



impression" plays a large part in the formation of the  
impression is the result of the action of the  
toward the object - we are not conscious of the  
activities and we are not conscious of the  
reaction the object causes in the mind.

122 p. 303

This discussion of the mind is a very  
interesting one. It is a very  
brought with them to the mind. It is a  
platform.

ATTENTION. The mind is a very  
thing of the mind is a very  
him only by reaction.

To those who think that the mind is a  
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generally regarded as a very  
character. It is a very

A. II, 137. It is a very  
in public. It is a very  
birthdays. It is a very  
has been very much. It is a very  
which is in it of the mind. It is a very

you and I cannot with it. It is a very  
nervous system. It is a very  
from his mother during which was very much.



wrote: "Do you not know that we are approaching a point in civilization and refinement when we shall neither weep nor laugh nor express anger, though we may be boiling to death inside? Well-bred persons will present the same calm exterior, under all circumstances." /1, I, 88-89./ Root apparently learned this lesson well for he was known for his "calm exterior."

This reputation must have limited his popularity as a speaker just as it limited his appeal politically. Roosevelt and others did not urge him to run for the Presidency because they did not think he would have enough popular appeal because of his coldness and his reputation as a Wall Street lawyer. William Randolph Hearst had for years been painting a picture of Root as a "jackal" to the "hyenas" of Wall Street. /1, I, 82./ Root was a corporation lawyer and numbered some of the largest business interests in the nation among his clients. To the people of the progressive era, Wall Street was synonymous with corruption. They had been exposed to muckraking, and the novels of Upton Sinclair. They were ready to condemn all who so openly associated themselves with big business.

Many factors of Root's reputation were in his favor. The many years as a leader of the GOP brought him good-will among those Republicans who had not defected with the Roosevelt faction. His sixteen years in public office probably lent authority to his views on national problems. The natural respect from the average man for the leaders of the country benefited him.

Root's services in the government impressed the business and political leaders more than the general public. With this group



wrote: "Do you not know that we have been...  
tion and refinement...  
anger, though we may be...  
will present the same...  
88-89. Most apparently...  
his "only extent."

This reputation...  
just as it listed his...  
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tation as a...  
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Street, A. I. 82...  
of the largest...  
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corruption. They...  
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Many...  
years as a...  
license who had...  
years in...  
problems. The...  
of the country...  
Root's...  
political...  
THE



Root's affiliation with big business was no detriment, although his reputation for being reserved remained. They were aware of his great intellectual abilities and respected his influence.

Root had two strikes against him before the general public--his temperament and his profession. These were not consistent handicaps, since he rarely went to the general public for support. He probably put more emphasis on persuading the public during the war than at any other time, and even then he did not speak frequently to the general populace. He could accomplish much more by speaking to one New York Chamber of Commerce meeting than to a dozen public meetings. There were no mass media, such as radio and television, for communicating with a vast number of people. Root's popular appeal was limited, but his need for popular support was equally limited.

To those who knew him personally, Root was thought of as warm and friendly. Roosevelt's valet continued the previously quoted statement saying: "And yet some of us in the White House used to call him [Root] 'cry baby'. This was not done disrespectfully or disparagingly. It was because several times we had seen him moved to tears." /1, II, 137-138./ His coldness in public was merely reserve. One of his office boys remembered him as "the most democratic and kindly gentleman a person ever worked for." /1, I, 111./ Toward his friends he was affectionate and responsive. His sympathetic nature is exemplified by the following story:

On one occasion Root was closeted with Bacon discussing an important question of policy. The Chief Clerk [of the State Department] came in and Root asked him sharply what he wanted. The Chief Clerk explained that there was a clerk who had served the Department for many years and who had become old and rather inefficient. He was ill and his wife







had come in to carry on his work. She did it badly, but she did it until she also fell ill. Under the law, the man should have been dropped from the payroll but the couple were destitute. Root listened in his characteristic pose, tilting back in his chair, eyes fixed on the ceiling, finger tips pressed together. When the Chief Clerk finished, the Secretary got up and paced the room without speaking, looked out of the window and paced again for minutes. He then began to talk and devoted over half an hour to finding a way to keep the man on the rolls, saying "I don't give a damn what the statute says, he's got to be kept on." /1, II, 109./

Root was well-known among his friends for his wit. Leopold described it as "an irrepressible sense of humor that kept his associates constantly amused and lifted prosaic matters into the realm of mirth." /2, p. 14./ His correspondence with Roosevelt is filled with his wit. When a directive was sent to the State Department prohibiting Sunday work, Root sent a note to Roosevelt with the following comment:

I shall see hereafter that such work is confined strictly to the Secretary and Assistant Secretaries. Would it be deemed improper if we were to do work on Sunday regarding the affairs of the Far East where it is already Monday, and transfer our labors as Monday comes around and Sunday recedes, westward through the Near East and Europe? /2, p. 14./

Root was always amused by Roosevelt's moralizing and verbosity. When the President resorted to platitudes, the Secretary observed gravely: "The thing I most admire about you, Theodore, is your discovery of the Ten Commandments." /2, p. 178./ After reading one of Roosevelt's prolix messages to Congress, Root told him: "Your mental powers are failing. A really active president would have much more than 63 pages." /2, p. 178./

When Root took over the job of Secretary of State, he found in one of the desk drawers a dossier on the subject of uniforms for the



had come in to see me at the time. The fact is that I had  
the day it was the day that I had been told that the  
man should have been in the office at that time. I  
couple were dead. I had been told that the man  
lasted good. I had been told that the man  
nothing. I had been told that the man  
Oleik. I had been told that the man  
without. I had been told that the man  
again for me. I had been told that the man  
half an hour. I had been told that the man  
saying "I don't know what the man is doing."

Root was well-known every day. I had been told that the man

described it as "an extraordinary case. I had been told that the man  
states constantly. I had been told that the man  
with." (2, p. 14). I had been told that the man

with his. I had been told that the man  
prohibiting Sunday work. I had been told that the man  
lowing comment.

I had been told that the man  
nately to the Secretary. I had been told that the man  
it had been told that the man  
giving the office of the Secretary. I had been told that the man  
Sunday, and I had been told that the man  
Sunday. I had been told that the man  
(2, p. 14).

Root was always known to be a man of great ability. I had been told that the man  
When the President returned to the office, the Secretary had been told that the man  
gravely: "The thing I don't want to see is the Secretary. I had been told that the man  
covery of the Ten Commandments." (2, p. 14). I had been told that the man  
Roosevelt's public message to Congress. I had been told that the man  
powers are falling. I had been told that the man  
than 65 pages." (2, p. 14).

When Root took over the office of Secretary of the Navy, he had been told that the man  
one of the best drivers in the office. I had been told that the man



diplomatic corps. It outlined an elaborate scheme for silk stockings, satin knee britches, and a silk coat with a red satin sash and lace frills. Root annotated the proposal: "The only suggestion I would make for the improvement of this costume is that a sprig of mistletoe be embroidered on the coat tails." /1, II, 107./

Among his friends he was known for his great intellectual ability. He was constantly called upon for advice and his opinion was always respected.

As usual, different members of his audiences brought with them varied opinions of his character--ranging from reputation to personal knowledge. The range of opinion has been summed up by Leopold:

To his close associates, Root was gracious, generous, companionable, and just, a constant source of advice and inspiration, a symbol of wisdom, truth, and great honor. To those who knew him less well, he appeared reserved, rigid, dispassionate, and impartial, intolerant of sham or stupidity, the inhumanly cold personification of sheer intellect. To his enemies and critics, he seemed shrewd, arrogant, ruthless, and morally blind, adept at legalistic quibbling, an attorney whose superior talents were available to any client for any case. A cautious, capable, and compelling man, he could neither be ignored nor regarded with indifference. /2, pp. 173-174./

ON THE PLATFORM. An audience not only brings a preconception of the speaker with them, but they start to judge him as soon as he appears on the platform before he even begins to speak. Root was tall and slim. He was always carefully and appropriately dressed. At the time of the war, his hair was white and he wore a mustache. He had the dignity which was expected of a man of his reputation. He remained reserved on the platform with an air of being somewhat detached from his audience.



diplomatic corps. It consisted of a number of...

and a small group of...

trifle. But...

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be embodied in the...

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He was constantly called upon...

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To his...

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ON THE PLATOON. The...

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There are few overt ethical appeals in the texts of Root's addresses. The audience is impressed with his character by all the elements of a speech, including not only his appearance and delivery but also his handling of the subject and his choice of words.

The dominant impressions of the audience were probably of patriotism, idealism, and morality. His patriotism was consistently in evidence. He praised the great men of American history, eulogized democracy, and constantly lauded the war effort. His idealism became manifest in his manner of speaking about the war. He spoke of a battle between "Odin and Christ." /2, p. 177./ He described the soldiers as fighting for democracy and freedom. There were no realistic details of the hardships of the soldier or of the devastation and ruin in the countries where the war was being fought. His reverence for those things which an American reveres illustrated his morality. He spoke of God giving riches of the spirit to all those who sacrificed for the war effort; "for every garment knitted by the dear women whose hearts have urged them to minister as best they could to the health and comfort of their defenders; for the millions of eager youth counting life as nothing that they might do a man's part in the great battle for liberty and law . . ."

Root appeared as an authoritative and educated man, not by any special knowledge of the subject, except in reference to Russia. Instead, the evidence of his education is in the material he used to support his assertions about the war. He exhibited a broad knowledge of American history and frequently quoted famous men. His vocabulary and grammar further attested to his education. He held the status of







an authority on Russia by virtue of his official trip to Russia in the summer of 1917.

Root expressed humility in a mild and sincere way. On one occasion he noted: "I find that I am set down upon the program to speak upon America's present needs. I should not have dignified the few remarks that I have to make by any such stupendous title." /8, p. 11./ Upon returning from Russia and receiving high praise for his accomplishments from the chairman of the New York City Mayor's committee, he replied: "It is not the first time that the importance of the cause has been transferred to the individuals who have represented the cause. It was a great cause, it was a great errand." /8, p. 155./

Root appeared fair and generous in his willingness to support Wilson's policies and to urge all others to do likewise. He never criticized Wilson or his policies. He even praised Wilson indirectly by saying: "Thank Heaven our President has assumed the leadership of the free opinion of the American democracy, and has spoken for it to Germany." /8, p. 9./

It is difficult to point to any one place in the text of a speech which illustrates the sincerity of a speaker. However, a hint of Root's sincerity is contained in the following passage: "I am bound to confess to you that I am so tired of talking and of hearing talk that it is difficult for me to reconcile myself to it. I have the feeling that we in America have talked so much that it is time to shut up and make good . . ." /2, p. 178./ One witness attested to his sincerity in reporting that "he has always been a plain speaker, with little art and color, but with a sincerity and earnestness that carry his point when oratory would fail." /42, p. 310./



an authority on Russia in 1917.

Root expressed himself in a letter to the President.

upon America's present needs. I think that the President

remains that I have to make by and with the President.

Upon returning from Russia and looking at the situation

dissemination from the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

he replied: "It is not the fact that the President

cases has been transferred to the President and has suggested

the cause. It is a great thing, it is a great thing.

Root appeared in the President's office in 1917.

Wilson's policies and the President's policies.

outlined Wilson's policy. The President's policy.

by saying: "Thank Heaven our President has a great

of the free opinion of the President's policy. The President's policy.

to Germany." The President's policy. The President's policy.



One can speak of "positive" ethos and "negative" ethos. This is common in the speaking during a political campaign where the speaker tries to build up his own character and tear down the character of his opponent. Root was not actually facing an opponent in 1917 and 1918, but he identified himself with the Allied cause and set the Central Powers up as the opposition.

In this conflict he makes a very determined effort to establish the "positive" ethos of the Allies and democracy, and the "negative" ethos of the Central Powers and autocracy. He constantly draws the contrast of good and evil. "The struggle is between liberty and justice on one side and oppression and barbarism on the other." /8, p. 39./ In Root's descriptions, Germany has absolutely no virtue. For example, he said: "To seize what she desires is right in her eyes. To lie when it will benefit his country, is honorable to a German gentleman. Not one of the principles that have illustrated the civilization of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is held in the slightest regard by the military autocracy that rules Germany." Such degradation of Germany occurs constantly throughout all of the speeches.

In contrast, the Allies have no fault in Root's picture of the war. "We [the United States] have entered the war to fight for liberty, for democracy, not in the abstract, but in order that our children may inherit a free land, and be subject to no master, be subservient to no arrogant military caste." /8, p. 55./ The theme of his speeches was concentrated on the Allied fight for morality and freedom.

This praise of the Allies and degrading of the Central Powers not only increases the Allies' prestige in the minds of his audience,



TOP SECRET

One can speak of "positive" and "negative" forces in the speaking during a political speech. The speaker tries to build up his own character, and then the character of his opponent. He is not normally happy in regard to the latter, but he identified himself with the Allied cause and not the latter. Powers up as the opposition.

In this conflict of values a very important effect is the effect of the "positive" effect of the Allied and American, and the negative effect of the German, Japanese and Japanese. The constantly increasing threat of good and evil. The struggle is between liberty and justice for one side and oppression and brutality on the other.

In the description, Germany has been a victim of the world. He said: "The nation that the Allies is right in their eyes. It will humble this country, the American, the British, the French, one of the principles that have illuminated the civilization of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is that in the highest regard to the military emergency that makes Germany." The leadership of Germany occurs constantly throughout all of the speeches.

In contrast, the Allies have no such in their program of the war. "The United States" have entered the war in a different spirit, for democracy, not in the spirit, and in order that the civilization may inherit a free land, and to suggest as we have, be devoted to an arrogant military state. Mr. J. V. The theme of his speech was concentrated on the Allied fight for liberty and justice.

This praise of the Allies and denigration of the German forces not only increases the Allied, but also the morale of the Allies.



but the speaker also becomes associated with the virtues of the war effort. The audiences raise their estimate of Root's character with a subconscious syllogism in this manner: the cause of the Allies is praiseworthy; Root strongly supports the cause of the Allies; therefore, Root is praiseworthy.

### Logical Proof

The importance of logic in serious speech making has long been recognized. Aristotle believed that the most essential parts of a speech are rational exposition and argument. The premises of Root's thinking about the war have already been examined. The methods by which he proved the truth of his beliefs to the audience will be investigated in this section. "Fundamentally, the constituents of logical proof are evidence and argument or reasoning." /29, p. 341./

REASONING. "The process of . . . argument serves as the cohesive force; through the relationships it establishes, the mind is led from the recognition of discernible facts to a conclusion." /29, p. 344./ All argumentation depends upon exposition to make certain ideas clear before it can be persuasive. Definition and explanation are pre-requisite to argumentative development. Throughout these speeches Root gives adequate exposition to make his ideas clear. The exposition is most extensive in the speeches about Russia, where Root spent a major portion of his time explaining the conditions in Russia so that the audience could understand his judgements.

In Aristotelian logic the reasoning processes are labeled inductive and deductive. This dichotomy has persisted in the western civilizations until the present. In reality it is unlikely that the



but the answer also became necessary in the history of the  
effort. The audience is not a passive recipient of the  
orator's words. It is an active participant in the process  
of understanding. The orator must be aware of the audience's  
thoughts and feelings. He must be able to anticipate the  
audience's reactions and to respond to them in a timely  
manner. This is the essence of the art of oratory.

### Logical Progress

The importance of logic in oratory is often overlooked.  
Aristotle's *Art of Rhetoric* is a masterpiece of logical  
reasoning. It is a work that has inspired generations of  
orators. It is a work that has shaped the course of  
Western civilization. It is a work that is as relevant  
today as it was in the time of Aristotle. The orator  
must be able to think clearly and to express his thoughts  
in a logical and coherent manner. He must be able to  
anticipate the audience's objections and to respond to them  
in a logical and convincing manner. This is the essence of  
the art of oratory. The orator must be able to think  
clearly and to express his thoughts in a logical and  
coherent manner. He must be able to anticipate the  
audience's objections and to respond to them in a logical  
and convincing manner. This is the essence of the art of  
oratory. The orator must be able to think clearly and to  
express his thoughts in a logical and coherent manner. He  
must be able to anticipate the audience's objections and to  
respond to them in a logical and convincing manner. This is  
the essence of the art of oratory.

In Aristotle's *Art of Rhetoric*, the orator is  
described as a person who is able to persuade the audience  
by the use of logic and emotion. The orator must be able  
to think clearly and to express his thoughts in a logical  
and coherent manner. He must be able to anticipate the  
audience's objections and to respond to them in a logical  
and convincing manner. This is the essence of the art of  
oratory.



logical processes are always distinctly one or the other. As with the modes of proof, the induction and deduction classifications are a convenient tool for analysis.

The category of induction traditionally includes causal relation, specific instance, authority, and analogy. /29, p. 248./ In Root's speeches, authority and analogy predominate while causal relation and specific instance are less frequent.

Argument from authority is usually thought of as expert testimony. Root's reasoning, however, was rarely from testimony. He was more likely to rely on the authority of documents, such as the United States Constitution and international agreements. To prove that Germany's invasion of Belgium was a violation of international law, he quotes two passages from the agreements reached at The Hague Conference. /8, pp. 4-5./ He supports his statement that "the theory of the modern republic is that right begins with the individual" by quoting the Declaration of Independence. /8, p. 19./

Root did, on occasion, present testimony to justify his proposition. In arguing that Germany would violate the Monroe Doctrine if she won the war in Europe, he quoted Bismarck's statement that the Monroe Doctrine was "a piece of colossal impudence." /8, p. 53./ In one speech he even refers to a statement by President Wilson as evidence for his point. /8, p. 24./

Literal analogies are more frequent in Root's speaking than figurative analogies. The literal analogies are almost exclusively historical. For example:



logical processes are at a distance from the  
the modes of proof, the method of reasoning  
a conventional tool for analysis.  
The category of induction, which is a method of reasoning  
specific instances, and which is a method of reasoning  
specimen, authority and history are a part of the  
specific instances are instances of induction.  
Argument from authority is a method of reasoning  
very, foot's reasoning, however, the method of reasoning  
likely to rely on the authority of a person or a group  
States Committee and the Committee on the  
invasion of Belgium was a violation of the  
two passages from the agreement between the  
/p. 4-5/. He suggested his statement was a  
republic is that right before the public eye, in  
Declaration of Independence, 1776, 1777.  
Foot did, on occasion, present evidence in his  
evidence. In arguing that the evidence was not  
the war in Europe, he gave a number of reasons  
Mentor Hoffman was a case of a person's  
in one speech he even refers to a person's  
evidence for his point. 1776, 1777.  
literal analysis of the evidence, however, is  
literary analysis. The evidence, however, is  
historical. For example, 1776, 1777.



All history teaches us that the rich and defenseless peoples, the peoples who are too luxurious, too fond of their comfort, their prosperity, their wealth, their ease, to make sacrifice for their liberty, surely fall a prey to the aggressor. So Rome fell at the hands of barbarians, not more barbarous, not more cruel, not more arrogant and overbearing than the military class that rules Germany today. So Persia fell, with all her magnificence, before the arms of Alexander. So poor, peaceful China fell, three hundred years ago, before the invading Manchus . . . So we will fall if our luxury, our wealth, our ease, our unwillingness for sacrifice make us unable to defend our independence and our liberty! All history shows that to defend a nation's rights you must begin at the beginning.

In this example the contemporary conditions are compared to three analogous cases.

In his address at the meeting in honor of the Archbishop of York, Root draws an extended analogy between England's help for the Union in the Civil War and American's help for England in World War One. Mutual love of freedom is the basis of the analogy. In the past, England helped the United States fight for freedom and now the United States is helping England fight for freedom. Root said: "They [the men of Manchester and their countrymen in 1862] were speaking of striking the shackles from the slaves, a freedom for others, but we speak now of freedom for the men of Manchester themselves and the men of Lincoln's America themselves, for their children and our children in all time to come." /2, p. 174./

Root's analogies are appropriate and valid for the purposes of his speaking. To be valid, all of the essential features of the two situations being compared must be similar. In the analogy cited on the previous page, lack of defense caused by a fondness for comfort is the essential element which must be identical in all four cases.







Root used his analogies carefully so that the essential points were always similar.

Root occasionally used a figurative analogy. In one speech he noted: "As well go to sleep with a burglar sitting in your front hall as to talk about the peace and the security of a democracy with Germany still competent to pursue its career of domination!" /8, p. 60./ This is used to illustrate his argument that "if you are to maintain your democracy you must kill autocracy." /8, p. 60./

He used another figurative analogy before the National Security League in the conclusion of his address:

You remember seeing a steam fire-engine go through a crowded street, a street through which it seems impossible that anybody or anything could go; and when the mighty power of the steam fire-engine comes, away go the crowds and through goes the engine. All the idlers and triflers, all the men who think they are getting along pretty well if they draw their pay and do a little something every day within office hours, all who are without a strong desire to move up further, will start for the wall when the mighty power of an aroused people, united universally in their determination that their work shall be done, makes itself manifest, pressing on the legions in Washington, whose action will give victory to the legions in Flanders. /9, p. 184./

This analogy is to show the power public opinion can have in forcing the war effort to a faster pace.

Root's use of argument through specific instance is limited. He usually presents the conclusion first, then lists the specific instances which support it. In one speech his proposition is: "But in one thing Germany has failed; she has been incapable of measuring, of understanding, the great moral forces that move mankind, the great moral force leading modern civilization to higher and better things." /8, p. 49./ He then specifies cases during the war where Germany



Root uses his analysis especially to show the contrast between

always similar.

He occasionally uses a phrase which is

noted: "as well as to show with a measure of force that this

as to talk about the power and the ability of the United States

still constant to permit the United States to

This is used to illustrate the point that the United States

your democracy you must still maintain it

He used another phrase: "the United States must

be in the forefront of the world

For example, he says in a speech at the United States

crowded streets, a place where the United States

that anybody is saying anything and then the United States

power of the United States is the power of the United States

and through good and bad times, the United States and the United States

all the men and women who are in the United States

if they have the right to a free and open society

within their borders, all men and women have the right to

move up and down the ladder of opportunity

power of an American people, and the United States

determination that the United States will be a free and open

united, peaceful, and democratic world

action will give victory to the United States

p. 184

This analogy is to show the power of the United States

the war effort to a better end.

Root's use of the word "democracy" is

He usually presents the word "democracy" in a

instances which suggest that the United States

in the thing being said, and the United States

of understanding the great power of the United States

normal force leading to the United States

to the United States and the United States



misunderstood the moral forces in various countries. He begins with Italy's switch from the Central Powers to the Allied side of the war. He goes on with the "moral power in England that would array her against the damnable wrong that Germany did to Belgium"; the loyalty of the British colonies to England during the war; the loyalty of the Boers to England; the fact that the United States would forget "sordid considerations of prosperity and wealth" to fight for right in the war; and that Germany did not understand the moral power in Russia. /8, pp. 49-50./ Such a list of specific instances is designed to impress the listener with German's blindness toward the moral forces in the world.

Root's use of causal reasoning is not extensive. One major example is the argument which is basic to his attitude toward the war. He believed that if Germany won the war, the people of the United States would lose their freedom. The cause would be German victory and the effect would be loss of freedom for the American people. Another example of causal reasoning appears in part of the exposition concerning the plight of Belgium. He shows that Belgium's economy was destroyed "by exactions of money and of produce. Every effort to revive her industries has been denied, and now because she has suffered thus, her men are being carried away to forced labor as slaves."

/8, p. 3./

Deductive argument is far more important in Root's speeches than induction. The basic reasoning is usually deductive in nature. "It is generally recognized that reasoning from a general truth to a particular conclusion (deduction) occurs most typically through the



misunderstood the world, even in its own right. The logic with  
Italy's action is not the central focus of the world, but the  
its goes on with the world, even in its own right. The logic with  
against the world, even in its own right. The logic with  
of the British colonies in the world, even in its own right. The logic with  
to the world, even in its own right. The logic with  
considerations of the world, even in its own right. The logic with  
and the world, even in its own right. The logic with  
pp. 49-50. Such a list of specific instances is found in the  
the list of the world, even in its own right. The logic with  
world.

But a use of causal reasoning is not necessary. The world  
example is the argument which is based on the world, even in its own right. The logic with  
He believed that if Germany was not a, the world, even in its own right. The logic with  
States would lose their freedom. The world, even in its own right. The logic with  
and the world, even in its own right. The logic with  
another example of causal reasoning is found in the world, even in its own right. The logic with  
concerning the world, even in its own right. The logic with  
destroyed by the world, even in its own right. The logic with  
live her industries has been destroyed, and now the world, even in its own right. The logic with  
thus, her men are being carried away to the world, even in its own right. The logic with

10. p. 3.

Deductive argument is the world, even in its own right. The logic with  
induction. The world, even in its own right. The logic with  
is generally recognized that reasoning from the world, even in its own right. The logic with  
particular conclusion (induction) is the world, even in its own right. The logic with



sylllogism." /29, p. 346./ In oral communication, the three parts of a syllogism--major premise, minor premise, and conclusion--are rarely presented in complete form. Usually one of the premises is omitted when it is unnecessary for clarity. The form of the syllogism commonly used in speaking is what Aristotle called the enthymeme. One of the ablest of Aristotelian scholars, W. D. Ross, said: "The enthymeme is discussed in many passages in the Rhetoric, and it is impossible to extract from them a completely consistent theory of its nature."

/43, p. 399./ Perhaps the most usable definition for speech criticism has been given by Lloyd F. Bitzer. "This view holds that the enthymeme succeeds as an instrument of rational persuasion because its premises are always drawn from the audience." He defines an enthymeme as "a syllogism having one or more suppressed premises . . . the speaker does not lay down his premises but lets the audience supply them out of its stock of opinion and knowledge. This does not mean that premises are never verbalized, although to verbalize them often amounts to redundancy and poor rhetorical taste." /43, pp. 407-408./

The enthymeme is the foundation of Root's logical argument. All of the three basic types of syllogism, the categorical, the disjunctive, and the hypothetical, are reduced to enthymemes. His statement that "in order that it [the world] shall be safe, the domination of the Prussian caste must be prevented," /8, p. 41./ comes from the categorical syllogism:

Major Premise: The destruction of democracy must be prevented.

Minor Premise: The domination of the Prussian caste will destroy democracy.







Conclusion: Therefore, the domination of the Prussian caste must be prevented.

The audience is left to supply the first two premises as Root only presents the conclusion.

In another case, a disjunctive syllogism became an enthymeme when Root said: "It is either war or it is submission to oppression."

/8, p. 27./ The syllogism would be:

Major Premise: It is either war or submission to oppression.

Minor Premise: We do not want to submit to oppression.

Conclusion: Therefore, we must fight a war.

The major premise is stated in the enthymeme; the minor premise is obvious and, therefore, unnecessary, and the conclusion is also left to the audience.

A hypothetical syllogism is the basis of this enthymeme: "If the civilized world of the twentieth century is willing to stand silent and see these things done, in cumulative progression, in violation of the laws of humanity and of nations, then the civilization of the twentieth century is worse than the savagery of Roman times." /8, p. 4./ Here only one premise is omitted. The minor premise that the crimes Germany has committed in the war are worse than the savageries of Rome is not stated.

Infrequently, Root included an entire syllogism in his argument. In an extended discussion of the legality of Germany's actions in Belgium, he included the following categorical syllogism:

Major Premise: A crime against Belgium is a crime against all nations.



Conclusion: Therefore, the Government of the United States

must be prevented.

The evidence is left to you, and the evidence is left to you.

present the conclusion.

In another case, a hypothetical syllogism is presented

when Root says: "It is evident that if the Government of the United States

\p. 27. The syllogism is as follows:

Major Premise: It is either war or a decision to withdraw.

Minor Premise: We do not want to withdraw from the situation.

Conclusion: Therefore, we must fight a war.

The major premise is stated in the syllogism. The minor premise is

obvious and, therefore, unnecessary. The conclusion is also

to the audience.

A hypothetical syllogism is the basis of the following argument:

The civilized world of the twentieth century is not a world of hand-to-hand

and not these things done, in a primitive condition, in which an

the laws of humanity and of justice, that the civilization of the

twentieth century is worse than the primitive of the first century.

p. 4. Here only one premise is stated. The minor premise that the

crimes Germany has committed in the past are worse than the atrocities

of Rome is not stated.

Intentionally, Root included an unexpressed premise. As an argument,

in an extended discussion of the League of Nations, Root included

Belgium, he included the following syllogism:

Major Premise: A crime against Belgium is a crime against all

nations.



Minor Premise: Germany committed a crime against Belgium.

Conclusion: Therefore, Germany committed a crime against all nations.

Root supported his minor premise by reading the clause in the First Hague Conference agreement which outlawed any violation of a neutral's rights in time of war.

Deductive reasoning in the form of enthymemes is the basic type of Root's argumentation. All of the forms of inductive reasoning occur but are of secondary importance. The validity of his logical proof is limited by his narrow view of the war. From his basic premises his argumentation proceeds logically and is well supported by evidence.

EVIDENCE. Evidence is used to prove the premises of logical argumentation. "It may include the testimony of individuals, personal experiences, tables of statistics, illustrative examples, or any of the so-called 'factual' items which induce in the mind of the hearer or reader a state of belief--a tendency to affirm the existence of the fact or proposition to which the evidence attaches and in support of which it is introduced." /29, p. 341./

In these speeches, Root does not use evidence in the way it would be used in a legal brief. Many of the premises are left to stand as assertions; however, the main propositions are supported by evidence. A review of the forms of evidence in Root's speeches indicates that he did not use statistics at all and that the recounting of personal experiences is rare. His use of authority is notable in that he repeatedly quotes the speeches and writings of Abraham Lincoln. For example, he quotes from Lincoln's address to the 164th Ohio Infantry in September,







1864, to support his plea that there be no criticism of the conduct of the war.

For the purposes of his speeches, Root supplied ample "factual items." Most of these sixteen speeches were inspirational in nature and rigorous proofs were not necessary. There are many illustrative examples. These are primarily factual rather than hypothetical. Again, Root often relied upon history for his illustrative material.

### Emotional Proof

The most difficult distinction between the modes of proof is between intellectual and emotional appeals. It is impossible to say with certainty that a specific statement appeals solely to the emotions and not to the intellect. Because of this difficulty, it is necessary to establish criteria for what will be called emotional appeal in a speech.

In a speech on a theme such as why the Germans must be defeated in the war, which was basic to all sixteen of Root's addresses, almost all of the material could be called emotional under a broad definition of the term. Emotional appeal will be defined as those appeals which are extraneous to the logical argument and are intended to arouse emotion. If Root points out that his audience's security is in jeopardy because the Germans have no regard for international law, this statement is intended to arouse fear for their own safety, and anger at the Germans. This appeal is not emotional under the above definition, if the statement is part of his logical argument that the United States should enter the war. We reserve the term emotional appeal for those statements which tend to cloud the issue and the minds of the audience



1864, to support his plan that there be no compromise with

of the war.

For the purpose of his speech, Mr. Lincoln made a list of

items. Most of these items were not mentioned in the original

and rigorous proofs were not necessary. These items and

examples. These are generally factual matters and are not

most often relied upon by any man in his private life.

### Intellectual Freedom

The most difficult question between the two is

between intellectual and emotional appeal. It is important to

with certainty that a speaker should not be misled by the audience

and not to the intellect. Because of this fact, it is necessary

to establish criteria for what will be called emotional appeal in a

speech.

In a speech on a theme such as the theme of the

in the war, which was made by Mr. Lincoln in his famous

all of the material could be called emotional, and a speaker

of the form. Intellectual appeal will be called emotional appeal

are extremely to the speaker's advantage and are essential to

emotion. If both points are made and the speaker's message is

because the Germans have no regard for human life, this statement

is intended to arouse fear and is not itself, and even so the

man. This appeal is not emotional under the old definition of the

statement is part of his logical argument that the British

enter the war. He reminds the speaker that the British

ments which tend to show the speaker's attitude of the



rather than to show them how their basic interests are affected. The use of loaded words would have to come under this definition of emotional appeal.

Root always assumed the highest motives on the part of his audience. He never appealed to base and degrading values but to what Americans classified as noble virtues. One emotional appeal was based on the exalted fathers of American liberty:

I say that the mightiest power that man knows, is ready to be awakened and brought to bear for the prevention of such crimes in the future, provided we and others like us are true to our duty and speak out in condemnation of horrid crimes. . . . Ah! Remember across the half-century, the words of Lincoln: "Four score and seven years ago our Fathers brought forth upon this Continent a new nation conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." They came here across the stormy seas in their little boats and braved the rigors of winter and perils of savage foes that they might be free. Some of us remember how they gave their lives that the blacks might be free. It was the spirit of freedom that took the pioneers across the mountains and the plains and the rivers, and gave this vast continent to the reign of law and justice and peace. We have cherished ideals, we have had dreams, we have had ideals of a world made better and happier and nobler because America was a free democracy. We cannot remain silent now while these poor Belgians, without fault, are carried into slavery, without abjuring our past, and being false to our country.

Land where my fathers died,  
Land of the Pilgrims' pride,  
From every mountain side,  
Let Freedom ring!

Our fathers' God to Thee  
Author of Liberty  
To Thee we sing.  
Long may our land be bright,  
With Freedom's holy light. /6, pp. 7-8./

Root is saying that America has a responsibility to defend freedom in the world. This premise in itself might be questioned by some but certainly the praise of America's forefathers is an emotional appeal.



rather than to know how their hearts are  
use of loaded words would have to come later and later  
rational appeal.

Foot always assumed the highest position in the  
audience. He never appealed to any and everyone alike but to what  
humanities identified as noble. The rational appeal was made  
on the exalted plateau of American literature.

I say that the slightest word that he uttered, to every  
to be answered and brought to bear for the preservation of man  
crimes in the future, guided us and others who were with  
to our duty and speech not in the language of words alone  
and remember across the mill-ennia, the words of Lincoln  
"Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth  
upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and  
dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."  
They came here across the empty ocean, their hands upon  
and braved the rigors of winter and heat in all seasons, and  
that they might be free. One of the founders of this great  
their lives that the human rights of man. It was the  
spirit of freedom that made the western world the land of  
and the plains and the rivers, and everywhere that we stand  
to the reign of law and justice and peace. In a word,  
ideal, we have had freedom, we have had liberty of a world  
and better and happier and richer because of it. We have  
free democracy. We cannot walk about with our hands upon  
Belgium, without feeling, we cannot look at Germany, without  
adoring our past, and being true to our spirit.

Land where my fathers died,  
Land of the Pilgrims' pride,  
From every mountain side,  
Let freedom ring.

Our fathers' God, to Thee,  
Author of liberty,  
To Thee we sing,  
Long may our land be bright,  
With Freedom's holy light.

Foot is saying that America has a responsibility to stand for freedom  
in the world. This promise is made in the Constitution of the  
certainly the praise of America's responsibility as a national appeal.



Not all of the material is relevant to the conditions in Belgium or to the need for America to enter the war. The quotations from two stanzas of America seem particularly trite and emotional to the modern reader.

After his return from Russia, he made a similar emotional appeal in the conclusion of one of his speeches:

I have been thinking as I drove about the streets of your splendid city this morning, of that great migration which saved this noble and smiling land to our American republic. I have been thinking of that worn and travel-stained and wearied procession that came across the long trail in the forties and saved the Oregon country for the United States by taking possession of it in the name of the American republic.

This noble city, these splendid palaces, your comfort and your luxury, all rest upon the endurances, the hardships, the sacrifices and suffering of those early pioneers. It is not the possession that counts; it is the building. /8, p. 152./

He continues in this manner to make the point that "liberty is founded upon hardship, upon sacrifices and upon sufferings." /8, p. 152./

This historical allusion does not directly contribute to the argument.

Another type of emotional appeal is made in the introduction to his speech before the American Bar Association. He describes the conditions of the war as follows:

There are no persons now; there is only a country. There are no countries now: there is only a world in which the great conflict has come between right and wrong, between the angels of light and the angels of darkness; and we are, each one of us, but an indistinguishable particle in the great conflict that is to determine the future of mankind. /8, p. 170./

This highly idealistic, poetic passage is an eloquent emotional appeal.

Its content does not contribute to the development of the theme of



Not all of the material is relevant to the subject at hand.

to the need for knowledge of the subject at hand.

studies of American literature and thought in the

modern world.

After this introduction, the author proceeds to the

in the conclusion of one of the chapters.

I have been thinking of the American scene in a new way  
your splendid study of the American scene in a new way  
which saved this study and made it a new study  
republic. I have been thinking of the American scene in a new way  
stated and wanted to know how the American scene in a new way  
great in the history of the American scene in a new way  
United States by taking possession of the American scene in a new way  
American republic.

This study of the American scene in a new way  
and your study, all of which are the same, are the same  
the American scene in a new way, the American scene in a new way  
not the possession of the American scene in a new way.

He continues in this manner to the end of the book.

upon history, upon the American scene in a new way.

The historical scene in a new way, the American scene in a new way.

Another type of the American scene in a new way.

has again before the American scene in a new way.

ditions of the war as follows.

There are no American scene in a new way.  
There are no American scene in a new way.  
The great conflict in a new way, the American scene in a new way.  
The great conflict in a new way, the American scene in a new way.  
The great conflict in a new way, the American scene in a new way.  
The great conflict in a new way, the American scene in a new way.  
The great conflict in a new way, the American scene in a new way.  
The great conflict in a new way, the American scene in a new way.  
The great conflict in a new way, the American scene in a new way.

This highly idealistic, great, perfect in a new way.

The content does not contribute to the American scene in a new way.



the speech, which involves conditions in Russia. This passage apparently was used only for its emotional effect.

In the use of loaded words, Root's appeals concentrate on both anger and fear--anger about Germany's actions in the war and fear that they will be extended to the United States. For example:

We are going to fight, that our old men and children shall not be murdered, and our women outraged, that our opportunities in life shall not be cut off, and that our people who have lived with no political superior for more than a hundred years may not be reduced to a condition of vassals. /8, p. 55./

This passage accurately describes Root's reasons for supporting the war. However, he does not just state that the fight is for freedom. Instead he uses emotionally loaded words to give a detailed account of what might happen. On another occasion he expresses the same idea by saying: "There is no other issue but this: Shall the German principle of evil, dark, cruel, pagan, control this world and oppress our children?" /2, p. 177./ This series of loaded words constitutes an emotional appeal for an audience which fears the Germans.

He describes the past actions of Germany with similar pathos:

We see that for the sake of ambition, of lust for military glory, laws are violated, treaties held as naught, peaceful nations are overrun, the rule of morality is repudiated, the laws of humanity are forgotten; burned homes and devastated lands, outraged women and murdered children, mark the pathway by which this reincarnation of cruelty and barbarism is marching to the domination of the world. We see now that the principles of good and evil, the principles of liberty and slavery, the principles of humanity and cruelty have locked horns in a conflict which cannot be downed. We see that the ideals of our fathers in this republic must go down to earth before the triumphant march of this German Moloch, or the men who are loyal to those ideals must muster their manhood in their support. /8, p. 151./



2. 151\



Again by the choice of language, one of Root's frequently expressed ideas becomes a strong emotional appeal.

Root did not use the first type of emotional appeal too often in these addresses, but he did express his ideas repeatedly by using loaded words. The emotional appeals occur primarily in the introductions and conclusions of the addresses. Root probably was sincere in making these appeals. Apparently, he was not attempting to pressure his audience into doing what they would not rationally choose to do. His purpose was to communicate his own intense belief that America must win the war.

#### The Modes of Proof in Summary

Root was known to his friends as a warm and witty man; he was known to the general public as a reserved and austere man; and he was known to all as a highly intelligent man. His reputation as a capable authority on national and international problems was substantiated by the knowledge and the intelligence displayed in his speeches dealing with the war. Most of the addresses included in this study were given before organizations where he was well known. Therefore, his ethical appeal must have been exceptionally forceful.

The reasoning in Root's addresses was always clear and solidly based on fact, as far as the facts were available to him. His arguments were valid, assuming the truth of his basic premises. Although some of his premises can be challenged on the basis of facts about the war which are known today, they must have seemed acceptable to most of his listeners. Root supplied ample evidence to support his arguments, which were probably persuasive.



Again by the choice of imagery and the choice of words, the idea becomes a strong emotional appeal. Root did not use the literary style of a poet, but in these addresses, but he did choose all those words which are loaded with meaning. The emotional appeal comes through in the metaphors and conclusions of the addresses. Root said that the purpose of these appeals was not to bring about a change in the audience's mind, but to bring about a change in the audience's heart. His purpose was to communicate his own feelings and to inspire the audience to fight with the war.

The Ethics of Propaganda

Root was known to his audience as a man who was known to the general public as a lawyer and statesman and was known to all as a highly intelligent man. His reputation as a lawyer, his authority as a statesman, and his reputation as a man of high intelligence, by the knowledge and the intelligence of the audience, helped him with the war. Most of the addresses which he gave were given before organizations which were well known. The ethical appeal which he gave had been a successful one. The reasoning in Root's addresses was largely based on the basis of fact, as far as the facts were available at the time. The appeals were valid, assuming the facts of the basic premises. Although some of his premises can be challenged on the basis of facts, the way which are known today, they were a good enough basis for the audience of his listeners. Root applied these premises to the war, which were probably persuasive.



## CHAPTER V

### DISPOSITION

"Dispositio, almost always, is translated "arrangement," which suggests to most persons the order of points, and nothing more."

/37, p. 285./ Russell H. Wagner begins his treatise on disposition with the above statement. He goes on to explore the classical writings on the subject and quotes Cicero as saying: ". . . since all the business and the art of the orator is divided into five parts, he ought first to find out what he should say; next to dispose and arrange his matter, not only in a certain order, but according to the weight of the matter and the judgment of the speaker." /37, p. 286./

For convenience, Root's texts will be divided into introduction, body, and conclusion. The arrangement, selection, and emphasis of arguments in each division will be examined.

### INTRODUCTION

The introduction to a speech should accomplish three things: gain the good will, the interest, and the attention of the audience.

/38, p. 233./ It is well known that this "problem of establishing contact varies with the kinds of audiences and their dominant attitudes." /38, p. 233./

Two distinct types of introductory material can be seen in Root's speeches. The first is found in all of his speeches included in this study. It is the material designed to introduce the listener to the







subject of the speech. The other type includes the remarks recognizing the particular occasion or audience. All the speeches were about some aspect of the war and have introductory information on that theme but only in some of them is reference made to the audience or occasion. It is possible that his opening amenities have been edited out of the printed texts of some speeches. This is an unlikely possibility, since Bacon and Scott include the opening remarks in many of the speeches. It could be that the texts of these addresses were taken from Root's manuscript, which would not include this portion of the speech.

Another possible reason for this variation in the opening of Root's addresses can be noted. The nature of the audience apparently controlled his response. When speaking to an audience of close associates, Root usually offered some warm personal remarks before introducing his subject. But when speaking at a mass meeting or to an unfamiliar audience, he began immediately to introduce the subject matter. The remarkable difference under the two conditions can best be seen with a sample of each. Root spoke before the Union League Club upon his return from the mission to Russia. He responded to the welcoming speech as follows:

I wish to explain to my associates of the Special Diplomatic Mission that some of the nice things which our president has said tonight are a matter of habit. He says them to me because this is my home. The gray-headed old men you see about you and I have lived together in this club, have cultivated and stimulated each other's patriotism here in the atmosphere created by the founders of the club, for the last forty years, and the younger members have come into the fellowship of the club and have inherited the tradition; and they say these nice things because I am theirs and they are mine, and we love each other, and we have confidence each in the other's love of country, and sincerity of purpose and the willingness to sacrifice and to labor for the common good of our beloved country. /3, p. 46./







He then began to talk about the war conditions. The contrast between this opening and his opening at a mass meeting in Chicago is obvious:

The declaration of war between the United States and Germany completely changed the relations of all the inhabitants of this country to the subject of peace and war.

Before the declaration everybody had a right to discuss in private and in public the question whether the United States should carry on war against Germany. . . . /8, p. 65./

In this introduction there is no acknowledgement or personal greeting to the audience. This example is typical of all his speaking before an unfamiliar audience. Not limited to the war years, this practice generally is prevalent throughout the time he was a well-known public speaker.

This type of approach added to his reputation for being cold and reserved. Possibly his natural reticence explains his lack of warmth on these occasions. He could be free and easy only with people he knew.

One function of an introduction is to gain the good will of the audience. Judging Root's introductions by this standard, he does not follow the most effective policy. In order to be persuasive, a speaker should make more effort to establish rapport with an unfamiliar audience than with an audience that is already friendly toward the speaker. Root's opening remarks to the Union League Club undoubtedly increased or renewed the auditors' good will. Certainly these comments should not be omitted, but the members of the club already had abundant good will for him. He did not have this advantage when speaking in Chicago and should have made an effort to gain their good will with remarks of flattery, praise, or other means.

Although he did not attempt to develop good will in some of his speeches, Mr. Root usually aroused interest and attention in the



He then began to talk about the way people feel, and how they feel about this country and how they feel about the world.

The feeling of the people is very important. It is the feeling of the people that makes the difference between a good government and a bad government.

Before the war, the feeling of the people was very good. They were happy and they were proud of their country.

In this time of war, the feeling of the people is very different. They are sad and they are angry.

The feeling of the people is very important. It is the feeling of the people that makes the difference between a good government and a bad government.

Generally, the feeling of the people is very good. They are happy and they are proud of their country.

This type of feeling is very important. It is the feeling of the people that makes the difference between a good government and a bad government.

Reserved. Possibly his nature is to be reserved. He is not very open to the world.

On these occasions, he is not very open to the world. He is not very open to the world.

One function of an individual is to be open to the world. He is not very open to the world.

Another function of an individual is to be open to the world. He is not very open to the world.

Follow the most effective policy. It is to be open to the world. He is not very open to the world.

Should make more effort to be open to the world. He is not very open to the world.

Then with an audience that is already there, he is not very open to the world.

opening presents to the public. He is not very open to the world.

the audience's good will. He is not very open to the world.

but the members of the club. He is not very open to the world.

did not have this advantage. He is not very open to the world.

an effort to gain their good will. He is not very open to the world.

other means.

Although he did not have this advantage, he is not very open to the world.

speeches, Mr. Root usually speaks. He is not very open to the world.



introductory material to the subject. This goal was accomplished by a variety of means. However, the primary method of introduction in these speeches is to give detailed information about the war or to draw a striking picture of some particular war condition. He frequently began by describing the threat to the security of his audience and all Americans. He relied on the fact that his audience was already interested in the war before he began speaking. Thus any information about or descriptions of the war would focus their interest and attention on his remarks. He selected the introductory material to channel their interest toward the basic theme of the speech.

Speaking before the United States entered the war, he wished to convince the audience that the enslavement of the Belgians was final proof that America should at last take an active part in the hostilities. He began with a vivid picture of Belgium's plight:

I am glad to join voice tonight with my fellows in this free land in condemnation and protest against this new outrage that is visited upon poor and bleeding Belgium.

I could not remain silent. I should not respect myself if I remained silent, and I hope, I trust, I pray, that my country will not remain silent.

Explain it as you may, excuse it as you may, disguise it as you may, the people of Belgium by the tens and hundreds of thousands are being carried away into slavery,--a thing that has not been done by any nation that claimed to be civilized in modern history.

Poor Belgium, peaceful, industrious, God-fearing, law-abiding Belgium, she had no quarrel with any one; she sought no nation's territory; she coveted no neighbor's goods; she threatened no one's security, but she stood in the way of a mightier nation's purpose--and she was stricken to the earth! /8, p. 3./

These enumerated characteristics are those which Root expected his audience to value the most. They will sympathize with Belgium if they



introduction material in the subject. However, the variety of material is given in the subject. The material is given in the subject. The material is given in the subject.

by describing the subject in the subject. The material is given in the subject. The material is given in the subject. The material is given in the subject.

interest toward the subject. The material is given in the subject. The material is given in the subject. The material is given in the subject.

I am glad to hear that the material is given in the subject. The material is given in the subject. The material is given in the subject. The material is given in the subject.

Explain it as you can, and the material is given in the subject. The material is given in the subject. The material is given in the subject. The material is given in the subject.

For Belgium, the material is given in the subject. The material is given in the subject. The material is given in the subject. The material is given in the subject.

These are the material is given in the subject. The material is given in the subject. The material is given in the subject. The material is given in the subject.



value the "peaceful, industrious, God-fearing, law abiding" characteristics. The audience will agree that she has been wronged if they denounce slavery, quarrels, coveting, and so on. This introduction appears designed to set the mood for the body of his address and get the audience interested not only in the plight of Belgium but also in what can be done to correct this wrong.

In a speech on March 20, 1917, shortly before the United States entered the war, he tried to show the audience that America was being threatened by the war in Europe:

I have a deep conviction that we none of us not one of us appreciates how serious the conditions are which confront us-- not one of us really understands how fraught with good or ill with perpetuity for our institutions, or with the ruin of our country, is the course of the American people within the next few months.

It is difficult in the midst of a great crisis, to feel how great it is, but no one need suppose that this mighty war which has shaken the world and which has involved all the continents but ours, will leave the world as it was on the first of August, 1914. /8, p. 27./

In this address Root speaks in more general terms than he did in the speech about Belgium, but he gets the interest of the audience by telling them that they are endangered and will be affected.

Root did not use stories or anecdotes in his introductions to these sixteen speeches. In spite of his reputation for wit, there is no levity in these discourses. He probably felt it was far too serious a crisis for humor of any kind. The audiences were vitally interested in the war and did not need to be coaxed into listening. In the presentations on other subjects before the war, his approach was lighter if not humorous. He used more imagery. He said that Lincoln's statue (speaking at the



...the ...  
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dedication ceremony) was standing "where the living tides of London will ebb and flow about it." /2, p. 63./

There is no distinct break between the introduction and the main body of Root's speeches. The ideas flow smoothly from one division to another. In many cases it is difficult to determine the precise place in the manuscript where the transition occurs.

There is no single transitional sentence or statement announcing the body of the speech. However, in some orations a statement of the central idea marks the beginning of the main body of the speech. For example, in his address to the American Bar Association in September, 1917, he states the theme of his speech in the second sentence of the paragraph which marks the start of the body: ". . . this war is not solely a conflict between specific ambitions, but . . . it is a conflict between two opposed and inevitably opposed systems of government, of policy, of human society." /8, p. 59./

#### BODY

The majority of speaking time usually is devoted to the main body of a speech, for the full development of the central idea. Rhetorical organization includes the selection and the arrangement of material. Dispositio is most important in the body and, of course, is chosen to persuade a particular audience.

Elihu Root was not flexible in choosing an organizational plan to suit the audience. He was trained to consider a problem methodically and thoroughly. His many years of law practice deeply ingrained this process of thinking until it was an automatic response when confronted



dedication ceremony, was announced in the Spring of 1917.

and the above is the result.

There is no history of the building of the building.

body of the building, the building is a building.

another, in many cases is a building, in many cases.

in the building where the building is a building.

There is no history of the building of the building.

the body of the building, the building is a building.

central idea with the building of the building.

example, in his building of the building, in his building.

1917, he states that the building of the building.

paragraph which states the history of the building.

solely a building of the building, in his building.

list between two building, in his building.

of policy, of human building, in his building.

### THE

The history of building, in his building, in his building.

of a speech, for the building of the building.

organization includes the building and the building.

Building is most important in the building, in his building.

personate a particular building, in his building.

Within the building, in his building, in his building.

to suit the building, in his building, in his building.

and thoroughly, in his building, in his building.

process of thinking, in his building, in his building.



with a problem. His speeches were always well organized but limited to a "legal brief" approach.

### Pattern of Organization

In these sixteen speeches, Root invariably followed the logical method of organization where "the arrangement of materials is determined by the continuity of the reasoning process; materials are placed at those points where they serve as links in the uninterrupted sequences or chains of thought." /29, p. 87./ Usually this structure embodied the problem-solution format. In other words, he would present a problem or a need for a change from the status quo, then present a solution or plan of action for the problem. In speaking on the war, Root did not attempt to show that his solution was practical. It is difficult to show the advantages of a war to people who do not desire to conquer other lands. He spent more time discussing the problem than the solution. The solution was always some form of the basic idea that the United States should enter the war and give all possible effort to winning the war.

Root's method of arrangement can best be seen in an outline of the body of one typical speech on the war. In the introduction he listed the things which had been accomplished in preparation for the war, but declared that much more needed to be done.

I. Most Americans do not understand that a German victory means the death of liberty for the world.

A. Germany's action in Russia has shocked many into this realization.

B. We must awaken all the public to this fact.







II. The war is to be won or lost by the exercise of moral qualities.

A. The war is a great struggle between Christian civilization and pagan cruelty.

B. The moral forces of this country must be exercised in two ways.

1. Money, men and supplies must be furnished.

2. The machine in Washington must provide the plans for the war.

a. The people of the country must provide the power for the machine.

III. We must all work to mobilize public opinion in favor of the war.

A. The people must be united in their effort if we are to win.

1. So that no politician dare oppose the war.

2. So we will have the moral force to win the war.

B. Organizations such as the National Security League must accept the task of arousing public opinion.

Root built his speeches in either climactic or anti-climactic order to suit the audience. The most powerful arguments included the description of the German military threat and the need for complete victory in the war. They would naturally be presented first in the problem-solution approach. When speaking to an audience who needed to be convinced that the war was a threat, Root did present this argument first, thus in anti-climactic order. When the audience was already concerned about the war, he began by discussing the actions the United States should take. Then he concluded with a recapitulation of the problem.



II. The war is not a war of races, it is a war of ideas.

A. The war is a war of ideas, it is a war of ideas.

B. The war is a war of ideas, it is a war of ideas.

C. The war is a war of ideas, it is a war of ideas.

D. The war is a war of ideas, it is a war of ideas.

E. The war is a war of ideas, it is a war of ideas.

F. The war is a war of ideas, it is a war of ideas.

G. The war is a war of ideas, it is a war of ideas.

H. The war is a war of ideas, it is a war of ideas.

I. The war is a war of ideas, it is a war of ideas.

J. The war is a war of ideas, it is a war of ideas.

K. The war is a war of ideas, it is a war of ideas.

L. The war is a war of ideas, it is a war of ideas.

M. The war is a war of ideas, it is a war of ideas.

N. The war is a war of ideas, it is a war of ideas.

O. The war is a war of ideas, it is a war of ideas.

P. The war is a war of ideas, it is a war of ideas.

Q. The war is a war of ideas, it is a war of ideas.

R. The war is a war of ideas, it is a war of ideas.

S. The war is a war of ideas, it is a war of ideas.

T. The war is a war of ideas, it is a war of ideas.

U. The war is a war of ideas, it is a war of ideas.

V. The war is a war of ideas, it is a war of ideas.

W. The war is a war of ideas, it is a war of ideas.

X. The war is a war of ideas, it is a war of ideas.

Y. The war is a war of ideas, it is a war of ideas.

Z. The war is a war of ideas, it is a war of ideas.



The speech dealing with Belgium is an example of anti-climactic order. He described the great wrongs done to the Belgians, then discussed the specific international laws which were broken by Germany, and concluded by demanding that the public opinion of the world be brought against Germany. The first argument has the most force, with a vivid description of the wrongs done to Belgium; the second argument is somewhat academic; and the third tells the audience what must be done.

He adopted the climactic order when speaking to the National Security League (an organization devoted to war preparedness) in January, 1917. He began with a historical discussion of compulsory and voluntary military service in the United States. He then reviewed present conditions which made it desirable to re-enact a compulsory military service law.

The material for each of the main points in his speeches was arranged in a deductive manner. That is, he presented the concept fully before bringing in his evidence to support the point. He never listed a series of facts before drawing a conclusion from them. In the above address to the National Security League, his first point developed the American need for universal military service (military training for all men). He supported this proposition by showing historical precedent and tracing the development of America's military needs from 1792 to the contemporary period. The proposition was stated, then supported with evidence.

Root included certain arguments and omitted others, depending upon the audience. He would put more time and emphasis on the arguments which he felt created audience interest. For example, in many speeches he



The speaker... order. He... crossed the... and concluded... brought against... vivid description... somewhat academic... He adapted the... Security... January, 1917. He... voluntary... present... military... The material... arranged in a... before... a series of... address to the... American... (nam), He... treating the... contemporary... evidence... Foot... the audience... he left...



stated the need for bi-partisan support of Wilson's policies. When he spoke to the New York Republican Club he directed most of his time to that theme. He must have felt that it was necessary in order to convince the delegates that party politics should be temporarily put aside.

### Organizational Clarity

Root did not begin with a preview of his main points, nor did he conclude by summarizing. The summary technique was not necessary for Root to achieve clarity of organization. He did not treat his main points as separate units to be developed and then left behind when moving on to the next point. This method of speaking would require a summary to be coherent. Root maintained a unity of thought by frequently bringing in previous points to support the present argument. There is a flowing continuity of thought with several points running as a thread of unity throughout.

Only in two of the sixteen speeches does he list or enumerate the points of an argument. One occurs in the address previously outlined in this chapter. Root said: "There are two things which we should understand about this war." Under the first of these two things he stated: "There are two ways in which the moral forces of this country are to be exercised." /2, p. 180./ On the other occasion he listed the five duties of the Republican Party in the war. /2, pp. 197-198./

Normally, Root did not give any such guiding statements when speaking. The lack of guide-post statements probably was not a detriment to his speaking. He was not presenting a legal brief, or advocating that a specific program be adopted. His purpose was to stir up enthusiasm for the war effort. His calls for support and action were not specific, detailed plans, but general formulas. His typical theme was,



stated the need for a...  
spoke to the New York...  
that theme. He...  
the delegates that many...  
the...  
the...

Organizational Matters

Root did not...  
conclude by...  
Root to achieve...  
points as separate...  
moving on to the next...  
summary to be...  
quantity bringing...  
There is a...  
a threat of...  
Only in two of the...  
points of an...  
this chapter. Root...  
stand about this...  
"There are two...  
examined." \p. 181. On...  
dunes of the...  
Normally, Root...  
speaking. The lack...  
ment to his...  
that a specific...  
less for the...  
specific, detailed...



"let us have a real war. Let us lose no opportunity in public or in private to urge and insist upon a vigorous and real war." /8, p. 43./

His purpose was to arouse the war spirit, not to advocate that the government adopt any one plan for the war. A clear enumeration of points is not essential for this type of material.

### CONCLUSION

"The conclusion of a persuasive speech has the customary dual function, to summarize and wind up the speech and to motivate. Of particular importance is the second function, motivation." /39, p. 379./

In these speeches Root put more emphasis on the second function. He did not summarize the main points, nor did he conclude with quotations, anecdotes or stories. Twelve of the speeches ended with a patriotic appeal. He labeled the war as a battle to save democracy and freedom from the tyranny of German militarism. Although all twelve speeches concluded with this basic theme, in each the appeal is presented in a different way. He adapted this basic theme to the theme of the speech so that the structure and content of the appeal is varied constantly. This procedure can be seen by comparing the conclusions of two of the speeches. In a speech before the United States entered the war he phrased the idea as follows:

It is one of the best qualities of human nature that makes us as we enjoy the blessing of freedom of intellect, freedom of religion, freedom of action, look back with gratitude to the men who sacrificed themselves in the long struggle of the ages for these things. Whether they be martyrs at the stake, or Cameronians in the Highlands of Scotland, or Huguenots in the Gvennes, or lawyers pleading for justice against popular clamor and disapproval, or brave men fighting in defense of their country's liberty, we are all grateful to them because our blessings came from their noble sacrifice.







My friends, so sure am I that liberty and security in this land of ours depend upon the destruction and abandonment of the hated principle of national aggrandizement and immorality, and the enthronement of the principles of national responsibility and morality, that for all the countless generations to come after us in our dear land, I am grateful with all my heart to those men who are fighting in the trenches in France and Belgium and Russia and Italy and the Balkans today for the liberty and peace of my children's children. /8, p. 26./

Seven months later, after the United States was in the war and Root had just returned from Russia, he concluded with the same theme:

Russia has again taken up the heavy burden; she has to a great extent restored the discipline of her army; she has put away the bright vision of peace and rest, and returned yet again to the sacrifice and suffering of war in order that she may continue free. Ah! If we love freedom, if we are true children of our fathers, and cherish their ideals, confidence and hope will go out from us to those brave Russians who are fighting our battles as they are fighting their own; and we will uphold the hands of our Government and encourage the spirit of our people to do our duty beyond measure, to help them in their great and noble work. /8, p. 167./

The other four speeches vary from this appeal but do not abandon the theme of victory. When he spoke to the American Bar Association his introduction discussed the Bar Association; the body of his speech was about the war; then he tied the two together in the conclusion with the following:

This change to warlike conditions does not supersede what we were talking about a year ago. It only illustrates the importance of it; it adds a thousand fold to the importance of it; it calls for an increase of power through association and organization that we were seeking for last year and makes it a hundred times as pressing in its demand, a hundred times as important in its results.

. . . a federated union of all the bars which, in time will produce by the natural processes of growth the American bar, the greatest power for liberty and justice, for right and manhood, that this world has ever produced.

The conclusions to Root's speeches were always in the appropriate tone with the appropriate content to match the mood and subject matter







of the body. He did not appeal for any direct or overt action, only for a certain mental attitude. He brought in new material and new ideas to round out the speech rather than merely summarizing the body. His conclusions were well suited to the speeches. The conclusions are idealistic and highly patriotic which was in keeping with the tone of idealism and patriotism in the bodies of the speeches.

#### SUMMARY JUDGMENT

Elihu Root's organization was always clear and precise. If any defect can be found, it is his exclusive use of the logical arrangement. This certainly is not a serious fault. The weakest part of his speaking was probably the introductions. This was particularly true before an unfamiliar audience. There is ample evidence in the manuscripts that he observed the principles of audience adaptation and gave more time to those propositions which suited a specific audience. It was an ingrained mental habit of Root to keep his ideas well-ordered, thus it was natural for his speeches to be well-ordered.







## CHAPTER VI

### STYLE

Style is the least clearly defined of the classical divisions of rhetoric. The term is applied to the manner in which a speaker or writer uses language. But the definitions of style are as numerous as the authors who attempt to define it. Perhaps the most sensible approach to the study of style was taken by Wayland Maxfield Parrish when he said: "Since no standard rubrics are generally accepted for the analysis of style, one may feel free to use whatever analysis seems most fitting for the study of a given writer or speaker." /44, p. 395./

Style is as firmly based in the background and intellectual resources of a speaker as any other part of rhetoric. The style of Elihu Root can be traced to his training at Hamilton College, to his long years of practice as a lawyer, and to his character. The predominant characteristics of his style are clarity, simplicity, and forcefulness. Clarity is a necessity to a lawyer whose case must stand or fall on his ability to communicate precisely to a jury. Root's reticence of soul prevented him from speaking in an ornate or embellished manner. Clarity and simplicity can be dull and boring if they are not accompanied by the vividness of quick intellect and training in the art of persuasion.

In examining his style it must be remembered that these speeches were very serious in tone and at times had the urgency of the need



STYLE

Style is the least clearly defined of the elements of rhetoric. The term is applied to the manner in which a speaker or writer uses language. But the definition is not always the same as the authors who attempt to define it. Before the first scientific approach to the study of style had been made, Aristotle, when he said: "Since no standard exists, and personal style is the analysis of style, one must look for the history and the most fitting for the study of a given subject or speaker." Style is as firmly based in the argument and the subject-matter as the resources of a speaker or any other part of rhetoric. His first foot can be traced to his first principles. Aristotle, in his long years of practice as a lawyer, had a keen sense of the great characteristics of his style and of the principles which govern it. His clarity is a necessity to a lawyer whose words are weighed and fall on his ability to communicate precisely to a jury. His force of sense of soul prevented him from drifting in an aimless and unorganized manner. Clarity and simplicity are his chief aims, and they are not accompanied by the vivaciousness of Galen, Aristotle, and Aristotle in the art of persuasion.

In examining his style it must be remembered that these speeches were very nervous in tone and at times had a tendency to be more



for quick action. There were no anecdotes or stories and few digressions from the main theme of the addresses.

Root's audiences were very much alike for all sixteen of these speeches, hence there is little variation in style among the speeches. Root was speaking to educated audiences in large metropolitan areas--primarily New York City, but also Chicago and Philadelphia. This, of course, did not eliminate the need for audience adaptation but it did allow Root to speak in his natural manner of expression.

### Clarity

The elements of invention and disposition are an integral part of the clarity of a speaker. If a speaker does not have a knowledge and understanding of the problem and does not present his arguments logically, his style will not be clear. Root's arguments were always clear and easy to follow. He presented sufficient supporting materials, such as examples, illustrations, and analogies to insure clarity of ideas. Although the use of this material in logical argumentation has been discussed, its contribution to lucid expression is worthy of examination.

As instruments of clarity, the primary function of examples, illustrations, and analogies is to relate the familiar to the unfamiliar. To explain a condition in Russia, Root compared it to a corresponding condition in America:

Then came the propaganda of the extreme socialists and anarchists, of the internationals, the analogue in Russia to the I. W. W. of this country: the men whose motto is that the worst is the best; the men who seek to destroy the industrial organization of the world, to



for quick action. There were no other speakers at the time.  
When this was said, the speaker.

Heed's attention was attracted by the speaker's  
speeches, hence when he spoke he was very  
Heed was speaking to the speaker in a very  
primarily for the first time, but also in a very  
course, and not otherwise. The speaker was  
after that to speak in the same manner.

The elements of invention and of expression are in the  
of the clarity of a speaker. It is a matter of fact that a speaker  
and understanding of the speaker and the speaker's  
logically, his style will be clear. But a speaker's style  
clear and easy to follow. It is a matter of fact that a speaker's  
such as examples. Illustrations, and analogies to make clear  
ideas. Although the use of these methods in the speaker's  
been discussed, the speaker's style is a matter of fact that a speaker's  
examination.

As instruments of clarity, the speaker's style is a matter of fact that a speaker's  
illustrations, and analogies to make clear the speaker's  
familiar. It is a matter of fact that a speaker's style is a matter of fact that a speaker's  
corresponding condition in the speaker's style is a matter of fact that a speaker's  
Then came the presentation of the speaker's style is a matter of fact that a speaker's  
and examples, of the speaker's style is a matter of fact that a speaker's  
familiar to the speaker's style is a matter of fact that a speaker's  
note in that the speaker's style is a matter of fact that a speaker's  
during the speaker's style is a matter of fact that a speaker's



destroy the nationalism of the world with a far-off dream in its place of a universal brotherhood to govern all the world in harmony and peace. /8, p. 156./

The speaker conveys this idea to his audience by combining analogy with explanation.

Root illustrated the barbarity of Germany by saying: "From 1914 until the present, in a war waged with a revolting barbarity unequalled since the conquests of Genghis Khan, Germany has violated every rule agreed upon by civilized nations . . ." /8, p. 73./ All of this type of material contributes greatly to perspicuity of style.

The value of a clear arrangement of ideas can hardly be over-emphasized. As stated before, Root's ideas and arguments always followed clearly in a logical order.

The main elements of clarity in Root's style are short sentences, concise expression, details, and repetition of ideas.

Short sentences are characteristic of Root's style. They often appear in a series to constitute a forceful presentation of an idea.

For example:

Into this condition of vast confusion and bewilderment was thrust a great German propaganda. Thousands of German agents swarmed over the line immediately upon the coming of the revolution. They awakened all the pro-Germans in Russia. They spent money like water. Millions upon millions were used. They bought people; they bribed people; they bought newspapers; they established newspapers; they circulated literature; they went to and fro among the troops on the front. /8, p. 156./

The last sentence of this example illustrates the sentence construction where a series of independent clauses are put together, to achieve the same effect as a series of short sentences. "It is not the length of the sentence that determines its clarity and simplicity . . . but







rather the length of the units that compose it and the nature of their relation to each other." /44, p. 397./ His longer sentences frequently were compound and composed of short units of thought, as in the following examples:

To do it, we must each one be willing to surrender all minor motives and desires, and have but one overwhelming purpose in life till this war is won; and that purpose is to help our country to win the war. /2, p. 187./

Before the decision of a proposal to make war, men may range themselves upon one side or the other of the question; but, after the decision in favor of war, the country has ranged itself, and the only issue left for the individual citizen to decide is whether he is for or against his country. /8, p. 67./

The short units of thought are combined into a flowing sentence.

However, occasionally they are combined in a series of rapid strokes which prevents monotony. The short units of thought bring clarity to his speaking.

The use of short sentences and briefly stated concepts are the main factors which make his style concise. He is not verbose or rambling. All of his words are directed to the point under consideration. But while he is concise, there is a definite repetition of ideas within a series of statements. The exact meaning never becomes lost or vague in rapid shifts of ideas. Coherence is a mark of Root's speaking. Each sentence is related to the preceding ideas while advancing to a new aspect of the proposition. This can be seen in the following passage:

Now there is great financial difficulty in Russia; the old regime brought the country into a very involved and critical condition financially; and there is great disturbance industrially. But when I have met people, and I have, a great many, who shake their heads over the industrial and financial conditions there, I have thought always, with a



rather the length of the units that compose the sentence.

relation to each other. The units are not always

were composed of short units. The units are not always

the examples:

To do it, we must each one be willing to sacrifice his  
motives and desires, and have but one purpose in view  
in life till this war is over, and that purpose is to  
our country to win the war.

Before the decision of a person to do this, and to  
themselves upon one side or the other of the question  
after the decision in favor of war, the person must  
ask, and the only real question is: Is it worth  
decide is whether he is for or against the war.

The short units of thought are essential in a sentence.

However, occasionally they are combined in a sentence of

which prevents monotony. The short units of thought are

to his speaking.

The use of short sentences and short units of thought

main factors which make his style concrete. In his sentences in

plain. All of his words are direct and the meaning is

But while he is concrete, there is a definite purpose in

within a series of statements. The short units of thought

or vague in rapid shifts of ideas. The short units of

speaking. Each sentence is related to the preceding one

advancing to a new aspect of the proposition. This can be seen

the following passage:

Now there is great financial distress in America; the  
old regime brought the country into a very financial and  
cal condition financially; and there is great financial  
distress. But when I have met people and have  
great many, who shake their heads and sigh and say  
financial conditions there, I have heard them say:



cheerful reassurance, of what a character these people have, and I have remembered that our dollar in the Civil War was as low as the Russian ruble, and I have no doubt that the character of the Russian will pull up their finances just as the character of Americans pulled up our finances. /g, p. 165./

Every advance in ideas is clearly referred back to the preceding concept so that no confusion results. Coherence is achieved in this manner.

Root often presents a series of words to express his meaning fully. For instance he says: ". . . and that the government they had must be supported, sustained, promoted, strengthened, if they would be free." /g, p. 158./ Each additional verb adds its own shade of connotation and denotation to explain the total concept. In another case he does the same thing with a series of adjectives: ". . . and with him in the government are wise, prudent, sagacious men of affairs." /g, p. 158./

The use of detail also adds to the lucidity of Root's addresses. Detail removes argument from the realm of generalization to a feeling of tangible reality. Root does not merely refer to all the people of Russia but he says: "The hundred and eighty million people of Russia were left without a government . . ." /g, p. 155./ In describing the members of the mission to Russia he points out that they were "drawn from all parts of the country, selected with an evident purpose to represent different points of view of the American people." To clarify this generalization he goes on with a list of points of view which were represented, "--a soldier, a sailor, a manufacturer, a retired capitalist, a banker, a labor leader, a socialist, a religious worker, a New York lawyer." /g, p. 155./ Such detail not only







supports his statement but makes his idea more concrete.

Root achieves clarity through the use of short sentences and a progression of thought in short, easy steps. His choice of words is precise, with ample details and supporting material to assure that the ideas are understood.

### Simplicity

Most of the elements of clarity can also be considered constituents of simplicity. The use of short sentences particularly adds to the feeling of simplicity. Root does not use any involved or flowery figures of speech. He makes limited use of the more poetic qualities of style, such as imagery, metaphors, similes, and other figures of speech.

When these occur they are of a mild and restrained type. Some examples are: "But if it is understood that we are a weak, flabby, divided, and indifferent people, who can be insulted and assaulted and abused with impunity, then the tide flows over us and we are gone." /8, p. 31./

"If the people of the United States thought that there was any real danger of somebody's attacking us they would wake up soon enough and get ready. But they do not. So they turn the cows out to pasture and are no more disturbed about things than the cows." /8, p. 19./

"They were helpless as a sheep before a wolf." /8, p. 17./ It can be seen in these examples that Root's imagery was commonplace; there are no striking new comparisons or contrasts. It is typical that his imagery and figures of speech are those of everyday conversation rather than of poetic creation. The simplicity of his imagery and figures of speech is consistent with the simplicity of his language and sentence structure.



supports his statement but makes his own statement.  
Most scholars of English literature in the last century and  
progression of thought in that century. The last century  
process, with a few exceptions, is a process of  
these are understood.

Most of the elements of literary criticism are  
of singularity. The way of thought is a way of thought  
ing of singularity. Most of the elements of literary criticism  
of speech. He makes himself one of the many people who are  
such as imagery, metaphor, simile, and other figures of speech.  
When these occur they are of a kind and are not to be  
are: "But it is a mistake to think of them as a kind of literary  
indifferent people, and not to think of them as a kind of literary  
language, then the idea is over and over again. It is a  
"If the people of the United States are to be free and  
danger of somebody's attacking us, we must be ready to  
get ready. But that is not the way to get ready. We must  
are no more disturbed about things than we are about  
"They were helped in a number of ways. They were helped in a  
seen in these examples that the way to get ready is to  
no striking new development or combination. It is a process  
imagery and figures of speech are the same. They are the same  
than of poetic creation. The language of the last century  
of speech is a process of thought. It is a process of thought  
structure.



Root's word choice is another factor in his unaffected style. The vocabulary used in these speeches would have given no difficulty to the audiences he addressed. He made no ostentatious display of superior knowledge or education. He did not try to impress his listeners with literary allusions. His audiences were businessmen and lawyers who would probably not be enlightened or interested by literary references. Root did reveal a sound knowledge of history. War is the type of subject where historical comparisons can be of great value.

Further simplicity is achieved by the use of "I" and "we" in Root's speaking. This practice lends an air of informality and makes circumlocutions to express ideas in the passive voice or impersonal pronouns unnecessary. He uses "I" frequently to state his own opinion on a subject, although not always.

Root's speeches have simplicity of construction and word choice. He avoided ornate literary embellishments and any display of superior knowledge. His reasoning is not involved or complex but easy to follow.

#### Forcefulness

The elements of sentence structure, word choice, and word series which give rise to clarity in Root's addresses are also fundamental to the forcefulness of his speaking.

The power of a series of short units of thought is evident in the following passage:

There are two ways in which the moral forces of this country are to be exercised. One is in the furnishing of money, in the furnishing of men, in the building of ships, in the building of aeroplanes, the furnishing of all the material supplies of war. There is another. Money can be wasted. Money is







wasted. It is inevitable that it should be. Men may remain idle, ships may not be completed, may not be launched. Aeroplanes may go wrong, machinery may go wrong. /2, pp. 180-181./

There are three series of like constructions which build in force. There is a condensation and economy of wording which gives the listener a feeling of sharp, rapid movement of ideas.

The same power that is achieved by a series of short sentences is accomplished with parallel structure. Root used parallel constructions constantly in his speaking. The fact that this structure was also common in his college orations indicates the likelihood that Root's training at Hamilton College included the use of that element of rhetorical style. Many examples of his parallel statements can be found in the sixteen speeches studied here:

. . . then the tide flows over us and we are gone. Our country is gone. Our Union is gone. Our liberty is gone. /8, p. 31./

We have the sentiment, we have the feeling, we have the desire; but the work is not yet completed of carrying that sentiment, that feeling, and that desire throughout all the American people. /2, p. 181./

We have been attacked with arms for refusing; our ships have been sunk; our people have been murdered; our men, our women, our children have been sent to their death by shot and shell and torpedo sped from German men-of-war because we refused to obey the order of Germany. /8, p. 34./

Do not argue about the cause of the war. Do not argue about why we are in the war or whether we should be in the war. Do not argue the whys and wherefores, but realize this, that the time has now come when America's liberty, America's justice, the independence and freedom of every one of us, is a stake for which we must fight. /8, p. 153./

The parallel structure has all the vividness of the short statement plus the unity of form which makes it stand out. Many well-remembered and often-used phrases are of parallel construction, for







example, "of the people, by the people, and for the people," from Lincoln's Gettysberg Address. Such structure has novelty which makes an idea possess impact.

Root's style is also forceful in the use of a series of terms to make a point, as well as series of sentences. He said: "We have fondly believed that the world was growing better, more humane, more just, more devoted to justice, more willing to permit our fellow-men to enjoy freedom." /8, p. 150./ The same idea could be expressed by using almost any one of these terms alone, but the abbreviated statement would not have the force offered by the cumulative effect of the series.

In the following paragraph the techniques of parallel structure and repetition of ideas are combined: "They can do nothing except through the executive department at Washington. Nothing. No ship can sail; no regiment can march; no gun can be fired; no insult or injury can be repelled except through the executive departments at Washington." /8, p. 28./ This is a carefully constructed expansion of the opening statement of the paragraph. The first idea, that "they can do nothing," is elaborated in parallel structure and the last half of the phrase, "except through the executive departments in Washington," is repeated to close the paragraph. Simplicity is preserved while the idea is given force.

Root's word choice also contributes to the forcefulness of his speaking. He uses colorful and descriptive nouns and adjectives. This is particularly noticeable in his references to Germany; practically every possible term of insult and vilification is used. For



example, "of the people, by the people, and for the people," which  
Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. Each sentence has been a little  
an idea possess image.

Root's style is also powerful in the use of a number of words  
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boldly believed that the world was growing better, more humane, and  
just, more devoted to justice, more willing to yield our inferior  
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and repetition of ideas are combined: "They can do nothing and  
through the executive department at Washington. Nothing. It can  
can sail; no regiment can march; no gun can be fired; no signal  
injury can be repaired except through the executive department at  
Washington." (E. p. 150.) This is a carefully constructed sentence  
of the opening statement of the paragraph. The first part, "They  
can do nothing," is elaborated in parallel structure in the last  
half of the phrase, "except through the executive department at  
Washington," is repeated to close the paragraph. The effect is  
nerved while the idea is given force.

Root's word choice also contributes to the effectiveness of his  
speaking. He uses colorful and descriptive nouns and adjectives.  
This is particularly noticeable in his references to "inferior  
inferior every possible form of human and artificial inferiority."



instance he says: "It means the renewed ascendancy of the cruel and brutal and conscienceless power of a dark and horrid past, a wicked and heathen past, taking the place of that Christianity which we fondly hoped we were, little by little, approaching in these years." /2, p. 176./ The force of his style is further increased by the use of active verbs.

A very important part of Root's style is his constantly recurring rhetorical questions. This may also have been a habit derived from his training at Hamilton College. The rhetorical questions often serve as a starting point for the development of an argument. For example: "Now, why is it that we are going into this fight?" "Do you remember what Bismarck said about the Monroe Doctrine?" or "What is the effect of our entering upon the war?" Rhetorical questions usually involve the audience with the speaker more than declarative statements. Such questions renew the listeners' interest and attention and make them curious about the answer.

The matter of building to a climax in a speech is primarily a function of disposition; however, a speaker can build his language to a climax. The following is a good example of Root's ability to build a climax:

We are none too soon in beginning our preparation for the preservation of our liberty. There will be sacrifices. Ah, yes! They will be bitter. There will be wounds and death. Some of us will die. There will be orphaned children and widowed homes. There will be discouragement and doubt and almost despair, but in the end there will be a great free country re-made in the spirit of our fathers and competent to perform its divine mission of carrying liberty and justice throughout the earth. /8, p. 152./

Root creates a realistic feeling of the pain and loss which will



instances he says: "It means the loss of something, of the old and  
familiar and comfortable place of a home, and the loss of the  
and better part, taking the place of that which was once  
lovely hope to have, little by little, again, and in many ways,  
p. 176. The force of his style is in the language, and the  
of active verbs.

A very important part of Wood's style is his command of  
rhetorical questions. This may also have been a result of his  
his training at Hamilton College. The rhetorical questions which serve  
as a starting point for the development of an argument, are especially  
"Now, why is it that we are going into this thing?" "To what purpose  
what Bismarck said about the North American continent? That is the only  
of our entering upon the war?" Rhetorical questions are used in many  
the audience with the speaker and then descriptive statements. These  
questions never are rhetorical, but are intended to lead the  
audience about the answer.

The matter of building to a climax is a very important  
function of disquisition; however, a speaker may build his disquisition to  
a climax. The following is a good example of this: "I believe  
a climax:

We are none too soon in beginning our prayers for the  
the preservation of our liberty. There will be no second  
Ah, yes! They will be better. There will be freedom and  
peace. Some of us will die. There will be tribulation and  
and widowed homes. There will be sorrow and grief and  
and almost despair, but in the end there will be a great  
free country re-made in the spirit of our fathers and  
patriots to perform the divine mission of our people  
and justice throughout the earth. (p. 176.)

Wood creates a realistic feeling of the pain and loss which will



accompany the war. The tension is then resolved with the optimistic view of the peace and goodness which will follow the war. Climax, both in arrangement and in use of language, adds very notable force to reasoning and argument.

Root achieves force through short sentences and parallel construction. His choice of descriptive nouns and adjectives, particularly when combined in a series, gives power to his style. The use of rhetorical questions and climax focused the auditors' attention and interest upon his ideas.

James Grafton Rogers summed up Root's style as follows:

His voluminous addresses are even in tone and undecorated to the point of severity. He has been always a plain speaker, with little art and color, but with a sincerity and earnestness that carry his point when oratory would fail. /42, p. 310./

This judgement is probably valid for many of Root's speeches. However, in the sixteen speeches considered in this study his speaking did have art and color. His purpose was to inspire enthusiasm for the war effort and some vividness was necessary. Root felt strongly about the subject and this feeling was evident in the style of his speeches, as illustrated by the following passage:

The thing that among nations is the most potent force is the universal condemnation of mankind. And even during this terrible struggle we have seen the nations appealing from day to day, appealing by speech and by pen and by press for favorable judgment from mankind, the public opinion of the world. That opinion establishes standards of conduct. In Roman times, the standard of conduct permitted the carrying off of slaves to the mines; permitted the impaling of prisoners; permitted the sacking of towns. At the time of the Thirty Years' War, outrages almost as bad as those which have been perpetrated in Belgium were in accord with the practice and acquiescence of the world; but we



accompany the war. The necessity for this is obvious  
view of the peace and good order which is the aim of the  
both in arrangement and in the very nature of the  
to reasoning and argument.  
Hoot schisms force through their own nature and  
statement. His choice of language is simple and direct, and  
when combined in a series, gives power to his style. The use of  
rhetorical questions and other figures of speech is  
interest upon the ideas.

James Griffin Rogers, in his book on the  
His voluminous statements are given in some one hundred  
to the point of severity. He has been at the point  
against, with little rest and only a few days of  
and continues to say that the present situation is  
fall. Vol. 1, p. 218.  
This judgment is probably valid for many of the  
over, in the sixteen speeches contained in this book the  
did have art and color. His purpose is to inspire confidence  
the war effort and some vividness was necessary. But the  
about the subject and the feeling was evident in the style of his  
speeches, as illustrated by the following passages:

The thing that I want to say is that we are not  
in the universal condemnation of mankind. And even if  
this terrible struggle we have just the nation appealing  
from day to day, appealing to youth and to men and to  
for favorable judgment from mankind, the quality of the  
the world. That opinion and criticism is a constant  
in Roman times, the standard of conduct was the  
carrying off of slaves to the distant parts of the world.  
lay of prisoners, the carrying of slaves, the  
time of the Thirty Years' War, when the world was  
those which have been represented in English and in French  
with the practice and the language of the world.



thought that we had been building up new standards of conduct, that the world had grown more compassionate, and more kindly, and it had. The public opinion of the world was establishing, had established, a more humane and Christian standard of conduct, both in peace and in war. That standard is now beaten down, it is destroyed, it is set at naught. And if we remain silent, the standard is gone forever. /8, pp. 6-7./

This paragraph is typical of Root's style in his war speeches. There is parallel structure, series of short units of thought, descriptive adjectives and nouns, forceful verbs, and simplicity of expression. It is clear and forceful and characterized by his passion against the German conduct of war.



thought that we had been waiting for some time, but  
that the world had been waiting for us, and we  
kindly, and it had. The public of the world  
establishing, had established, and the world  
standard of conduct, with the world, and the world  
and is now being done, it is being done, it is being done  
naughty, and it is being done, it is being done, it is being done  
over. (S. pr. 6-7)

This paragraph is written in a style which is  
is parallel structure, action of the world, and the world  
adjectives and nouns, for the world, and the world  
It is clear and concise, and characterized by a  
the German conduct of war.



## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSION

At the age of seventy-two Elihu Root had many years of public speaking experience. He received four years of training at Hamilton College where he won several public speaking prizes. After he entered New York politics in about 1870 the demands for his speaking increased steadily. He became a national leader in both politics and his profession. It was constantly necessary for him to speak in connection with his duties as a member of the Cabinet and the Senate, as a leader of the Republican Party, as president of the New York State Bar Association and the American Bar Association, and as Honorary President of the National Security League.

At the time of World War One Root was an elder statesman of wide fame in the United States and was known and respected in many foreign countries. His only work for the government during the war years was as head of the Special Diplomatic Mission to Russia in 1917. But he was deeply involved with work for various organizations devoted to promoting the war effort.

From the outbreak of war in Europe in 1914, Root's sympathies were with the Allied countries. However, he did not express his opinion in public because of a belief that all Americans should cooperate with President Wilson's plea for neutrality. It was not until early in







1917, after the Germans resumed unrestricted warfare and the Zimmerman telegram was made public, that he abandoned neutrality. He was convinced that American participation in the war was necessary if freedom and democracy were not to be destroyed.

As he became more certain that America's vital interests would be affected by the outcome of the war, he dropped all pretense of neutrality and spoke out strongly in favor of the Allied cause. After Congress declared war on April 6, 1917, Root was one of the most outspoken supporters of a vigorous war. In the speeches included in this study his basic attitude is very clear. He thought that the principles of liberty and freedom were in conflict with the principles of despotism and slavery; he blamed German aggression for causing the war; and he felt that total victory was absolutely necessary.

Root did not frequently speak to the general public. Most of his addresses were before organizations. In these sixteen speeches, three were at public meetings and thirteen before selected audiences, such as the Union League Club, the National Security League, and the American Bar Association.

Root always prepared and wrote his own speeches. While he was a member of the Cabinet he usually sent any speeches on national policy to Roosevelt for approval before they were delivered. Judging from the available evidence, it is not likely that Roosevelt made many requests for revision. On the other hand, Roosevelt often used material, ideas, even whole paragraphs from Root's speeches in his own. Roosevelt always sent his own addresses to Root for suggestions.



1917, after the German revolution, and was elected to the Reichstag. He was elected to the Reichstag in 1917, after the German revolution, and was elected to the Reichstag. He was elected to the Reichstag in 1917, after the German revolution, and was elected to the Reichstag.

As he became more and more active in the movement, he was elected to the Reichstag. He was elected to the Reichstag in 1917, after the German revolution, and was elected to the Reichstag. He was elected to the Reichstag in 1917, after the German revolution, and was elected to the Reichstag. He was elected to the Reichstag in 1917, after the German revolution, and was elected to the Reichstag.

He did not, however, remain in the Reichstag. He was elected to the Reichstag in 1917, after the German revolution, and was elected to the Reichstag. He was elected to the Reichstag in 1917, after the German revolution, and was elected to the Reichstag. He was elected to the Reichstag in 1917, after the German revolution, and was elected to the Reichstag.

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Root's political philosophy was always conservative. He had great faith in the traditional American concepts of individual freedom and capitalism. He wished any changes in American life to be slow and orderly and within the traditional framework.

The most striking qualities of Root's addresses were his arrangement and argumentation. His many years as a practicing lawyer deeply ingrained the mental habits of logical order, sound reasoning, and of using ample evidence in support of his propositions.

His organization was always clear and precise. In these speeches he used the logical order of arrangement exclusively. His introductions were notable for their variation with the type of audience. When speaking before an unfamiliar audience he would begin immediately with the subject of his speech in the introductions. But when he was before a familiar audience he usually began with a few remarks about the occasion or the audience before starting on his subject.

In the body of his speeches the subject was always presented in a problem-solution pattern. He adopted climactic or anti-climactic order according to the attitude of his audience toward the war. If the audience was already agitated over the war he would use the climactic order. However, if it was necessary to develop a concern for the war during the speech he would use the anti-climactic order so that they would be interested in the solution he had to offer.

His conclusions usually were highly patriotic appeals for the preservation of freedom and democracy in the world. He never used the summary technique to conclude his addresses.



Boer's political philosophy was always conservative. He was  
 great faith in the traditional American concepts of individualism,  
 democracy and capitalism. He wished any changes in American life to be  
 slow and orderly and within the traditional framework.  
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 deeply ingrained the mental habits of logical order, sound reasoning  
 and of using ample evidence in support of his propositions.  
 His organization was always clear and precise. In these respects  
 he used the logical order of arrangement exclusively. His introductions  
 were notable for their variation with the type of audience. When  
 speaking before an unfamiliar audience he would begin tentatively  
 with the subject of his speech in the introduction. But when he  
 was before a familiar audience he usually began with a remark  
 about the occasion or the audience before starting on his subject.  
 In the body of his speeches the subject was always presented in  
 a problem-solution pattern. He adopted elements of an old-fashioned  
 order according to the attitude of his audience toward the war. If the  
 audience was already agitated over the war he would use the old-fashioned  
 order. However, if it was necessary to develop a concern for the war  
 during the speech he would use the anti-climactic order so that the  
 would be interested in the solution he had to offer.  
 His conclusions usually were highly patriotic appeals for the  
 preservation of freedom and democracy in the world. He never used the  
 summary technique to conclude his addresses.



His arguments were always logical and well-supported by evidence. He relied primarily on deductive arguments in the form of enthymemes. His emotional appeals were motivated by his own passionate concern about the war. He hoped to communicate this feeling to his audiences. Root's reputation as a national leader and for intellectual ability aided him in persuading the audiences. His reputation for coldness, among those who did not know him, was not often a serious liability in these speeches, since he spoke mainly to men who knew him personally.

Root's style of speaking reflected his "reticence of soul." The outstanding characteristics are clarity, simplicity, and forcefulness. He made clear, simple statements of his ideas. His word choice attested to his education and knowledge. While he used vivid and descriptive words to express his ideas, he did not use ornate imagery or figures of speech. When he did use imagery or figures of speech, they were of a very simple and common type.

Elihu Root had many years of experience as a public speaker. He was good but not great. He was skilled in the organization of ideas and the use of language. Much of the demand for his speaking was due to his reputation for intelligence and authority. He was easy to listen to but did not have the warmth nor did he give audiences the sense of personal communication which is characteristic of spell-binding speakers. Root's stature and the magnitude of the issues made his speeches important. He could speak clearly and well and his speeches during this crisis undoubtedly influenced many of his contemporaries.



His arguments are clear and convincing.

He called attention to the fact that...

His emotional appeal was well received...

The way he spoke of the subject...

reputation as a historical figure...

in presenting the case...

the fact that the subject...

since he spoke with authority...

Booth's style of argument...

The audience...

himself. He spoke clearly...

chosen subject...

and described it...

or figures of speech...

they were of a very high...

Alfred Booth had many years...

was good but not great...

and the use of language...

to his reputation...

to put this into...

personal communication...

Booth's character and the...

portant. He spoke with...

crisis and Booth's influence...



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