

CONNECTING THE COMMON CORE GEORGIA PERFORMANCE STANDARDS AND THE GEORGIA HIGH SCHOOL WRITING TEST (GHSWT)



GRADE 11



*Dr. John D. Barge, State School Superintendent
"Making Education Work for All Georgians"*

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Overview

The Common Core Georgia Performance Standards (CCGPS) were fully implemented in Georgia’s English Language Arts (ELA) classrooms beginning in August 2012. This resource is intended to make explicit the connections between the Common Core Georgia Performance Standards for writing and the current Georgia High School Writing Test program. The Georgia High School Writing Test (GHSWT) will maintain its current format and rubric utilizing an on-demand persuasive prompt. The skills assessed are universal and are required in both GPS and CCGPS: the development of strong controlling ideas, organization, style, sentence fluency, usage, and mechanics. These are elements characteristic of all effective writing rubrics, including those for the Georgia Writing Assessments in grades 3, 5, 8, and 11.

By using this guide to focus CCGPS-based instruction in writing on the specific performance aspects of the GHSWT, students will be prepared not only to meet expectations on the GHSWT but also to successfully transition to future writing experiences.

One of the most important changes in writing as Georgia transitions to the CCGPS is the shift in focus from an extemporaneous persuasive prompt to a text-based argumentative prompt. In their common use as adjectives, the words “persuasive” and “argumentative” can be synonymous. In English Language Arts, there are subtle but very important differences in these two descriptors. Generally speaking, a persuasive response may focus on emotional appeals and appeals to authority (pathos and ethos), using rhetorical strategies not primarily based in the citation of facts or factual evidence. Argumentative essays and formal debate tend to depend more heavily on the citation of established facts (logos), and so are more text and research-based and depend on slightly more sophisticated rhetorical strategies to affect a strong response from the reader or listener. Given the increasing staircase of complexity in these two skill sets, it is clear that extemporaneous persuasive writing can serve both as an effective foundational exercise for text-based argumentative writing and as a useful formative assessment for both kinds of writing in this genre. Students who are exposed to a strong claims-based argument writing curriculum will bring more and better evidence from their own background knowledge to the GHSWT and will benefit from a deeper understanding of addressing counter-claims, organizing ideas optimally, and brainstorming for the best avenue of address (assessed through the more heavily weighted “Ideas” rubric domain).

Glossary of Terms

For clarity in all aspects of the writing process we are providing a short compendium of terms as they are defined by the CCGPS:

Editing – A part of writing and preparing presentations concerned chiefly with improving the clarity, organization, concision, and correctness of expression relative to task, purpose, and audience; compared to *revising*, a smaller-scale activity often associated with surface aspects of a text; see also *revising*, *rewriting*.

Evidence – Facts, figures, details, quotations, or other sources of data and information that provide support for claims or an analysis and that can be evaluated by others; should appear in a form and be derived from a source widely accepted as appropriate to a particular discipline, as in details or quotations from a text in the study of literature and experimental results in the study of science.

Focused question – A query narrowly tailored to task, purpose, and audience, as in a research query that is sufficiently precise to allow a student to achieve adequate specificity and depth within the time and format constraints.

Formal English – See *standard English*

General academic words and phrases – Vocabulary common to written texts but not commonly a part of speech.

Independent(ly) – A student performance done without *scaffolding* from a teacher, other adult, or peer; in the Standards, often paired with *proficient(ly)* to suggest a successful student performance done without *scaffolding*; in the Reading standards, the act of reading a text without scaffolding, as in an assessment.

More sustained research project – An investigation intended to address a relatively expansive query using several sources over an extended period of time, as in a few weeks of instructional time.

Point of view – Chiefly in literary texts, the narrative point of view (as in first- or third-person narration); more broadly, the position or perspective conveyed or represented by an author, narrator, speaker, or character.

Print or digital (texts, sources) – Sometimes added for emphasis to stress that a given standard is particularly likely to be applied to electronic as well as traditional texts; the Standards are generally assumed to apply to both.

Proficient(ly) – A student performance that meets the criterion established in the Standards as measured by a teacher or assessment; in the Standards, often paired with *independent(ly)* to suggest a successful student performance done without *scaffolding*; in the Reading standards, the act of reading a text with comprehension; see also *independent(ly)*, *scaffolding*.

Revising – A part of writing and preparing presentations concerned chiefly with a reconsideration and reworking of the content of a text relative to task, purpose, and audience; compared to *editing*, a larger-scale activity often associated with the overall content and structure of a text; see also *editing*, *rewriting*.

Rewriting – A part of writing and preparing presentations that involves largely or wholly replacing a previous, unsatisfactory effort with a new effort, better aligned to task, purpose, and audience, on the same or a similar topic or theme; compared to *revising*, a larger-scale activity more akin to replacement than refinement; see also *editing*, *revising*.

Scaffolding – Temporary guidance or assistance provided to a student by a teacher, another adult, or a more capable peer, enabling the student to perform a task he or she otherwise would not be able to do alone, with the goal of fostering the student's capacity to perform the task on his or her own later on

Short research project – An investigation intended to address a narrowly tailored query in a brief period of time, as in a few class periods or a week of instructional time.

Source – A text used largely for informational purposes, as in research.

Standard English – In the Standards, the most widely accepted and understood form of expression in English in the United States; used in the Standards to refer to formal English writing and speaking; the particular focus of Language standards 1 and 2.

Grade 11 CCGPS Curriculum Map



ELEVENTH GRADE CURRICULUM MAP			
First Nine Weeks	Second Nine Weeks	Third Nine Weeks	Fourth Nine Weeks
Reading	Reading	Reading	Reading
Focus: Literary	Focus: Informational	Focus: Literary	Focus: Informational
1 extended text from American literature 7 thematically connected short texts: 4 short texts from American literature 3 short informational texts including primary and secondary source documents from U.S. history ELACC11-12RL1-10, ELACC11-12RI 1-10	1 extended informational text from U.S. history 7 thematically connected short texts: 4 short texts from American literature 3 short informational texts including primary and secondary source documents from U.S. history ELACC11-12RL1-10, ELACC11-12RI 1-10	1 extended text from American literature 7 thematically connected short texts: 4 short texts from American literature 3 short informational texts including primary and secondary source documents from U.S. history ELACC11-12RL1-10, ELACC11-12RI 1-10	1 extended informational text from U.S. history 7 thematically connected short texts: 4 short texts from American literature 3 short informational texts including primary and secondary source documents from U.S. history ELACC11-12RL1-10, ELACC11-12RI 1-10
Writing	Writing	Writing	Writing
Focus: Argumentative	Focus: Informative/Explanatory	Focus: Informative/Explanatory	Focus: Argumentative
4-6 analyses Argumentative ELACC11-12W1, 4, 5, 6, 10	4-6 analyses Informative/Explanatory ELACC11-12W2, 4, 5, 6, 10	4-6 analyses Informative/Explanatory ELACC11-12W2, 4, 5, 6, 10	4-6 analyses Argumentative ELACC11-12W1, 4, 5, 6, 10
Research connection Brief or sustained inquiries related to the texts or topics ELACC11-12W7, 8, 10	Research connection Brief or sustained inquiries related to the texts or topics ELACC11-12W7, 8, 10	Research connection Brief or sustained inquiries related to the texts or topics ELACC11-12W7, 8, 10	Research connection Brief or sustained inquiries related to the texts or topics ELACC11-12W7, 8, 10
2-3 narratives Conveying experiences ELACC11-12W3, 4, 5, 6, 10	2-3 narratives Conveying experiences ELACC11-12W3, 4, 5, 6, 10	2-3 narratives Conveying experiences ELACC11-12W3, 4, 5, 6, 10	2-3 narratives Conveying experiences ELACC11-12W3, 4, 5, 6, 10
Routine writing Notes, summaries, process journals, and short responses across all genres ELACC11-12W1, 2, 3, 9, 10	Routine writing Notes, summaries, process journals, and short responses across all genres ELACC11-12W1, 2, 3, 9, 10	Routine writing Notes, summaries, process journals, and short responses across all genres ELACC11-12W1, 2, 3, 9, 10	Routine writing Notes, summaries, process journals, and short responses across all genres ELACC11-12W1, 2, 3, 9, 10

EVIDENCE FROM OR REFERENCE TO TEXTS SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN ALL WRITING

Language
Study and apply grammar
Use and understand both general academic and domain-specific vocabulary
ELACC11-12L1-6



Speaking and Listening
Engage in collaborative discussions; present findings; evaluate a speaker's claims, rhetoric, and strategy; incorporate multimedia components
ELACC11-12SL1-6

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The curriculum map for Grade 11 in CCGPS focuses on argumentative writing in the first nine weeks in order to better facilitate writing instruction that will optimally scaffold student performance on the GHSWT.

Additionally, within each 9 week writing genre focus, 1 of the minimum 4 writing samples may focus on an alternative genre, so a 2-3 week focus on argumentative writing can take place in any 9 week segment of instruction.

The routine writing opportunities and research options may also focus on particular areas in need of remediation (for example, the construction of a solid controlling idea, organization, transitions, sentence fluency, etc.).

Connecting the GHSWT Domains and the CCGPS

The four domains for the GHSWT are Ideas, Organization, Style, and Conventions, as described below. The alignments on the following pages illustrate the components that represent a strong meets or exceeds performance in each of these categories and the Common Core Georgia Performance Standards that support each of those skills. Note that the development of a strong controlling idea is weighted more heavily in the scoring of the GHSWT than any other category.

Four Domains of Writing

Domain 1: IDEAS. The degree to which the writer establishes a controlling idea and elaborates the main points with examples, illustrations, facts, or details that are appropriate to the persuasive genre.

Components

- Controlling Idea/Focus
- Supporting Ideas
- Relevance of Detail
- Depth of Development
- Awareness of the Persuasive Purpose
- Sense of Completeness

Domain 2: ORGANIZATION. The degree to which the writer's ideas are arranged in a clear order and the overall structure of the response is consistent with the persuasive genre.

Components

- Overall Plan
- Introduction/Body/Conclusion
- Sequence of Ideas
- Grouping of Ideas within Paragraphs
- Organizing Strategies Appropriate to Persuasion
- Transitions

Domain 3: STYLE. The degree to which the writer controls language to engage the reader.

Components

- Word Choice
- Audience Awareness
- Voice
- Sentence Variety

Domain 4: CONVENTIONS. The degree to which the writer demonstrates control of sentence formation, usage, and mechanics. *Note: In general, sentence formation and usage are weighted more heavily than mechanics in determining the overall conventions score.*

Components:	Sentence Formation	Usage	Mechanics
Elements:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • correctness • clarity of meaning • complexity • end punctuation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • subject-verb agreement • standard word forms • verb tenses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • internal punctuation • spelling • paragraph breaks • capitalization

Scoring Domain	Domain Weight
Ideas	2 x the sum of raters' scores
Organization	1 x the sum of raters' scores
Style	1 x the sum of raters' scores
Conventions	1 x the sum of raters' scores

ELACC11-12W1: Write arguments to support claims in an analysis of substantive topics or texts, using valid reasoning and relevant and sufficient evidence.

To show the relationship between the CCGPS and the GHSWT’s rubric, the following tables show how the goals of each GHSWT domain align with the CCGPS.

***** CCGPS CONNECTIONS: IDEAS *****

GHSWT Interpretive Guide	CCGPS
<p>The paper contained a fully developed controlling idea that was fully focused on the assigned topic and persuasive purpose. (Source: GHSWT Interpretive Guide Fall 2011, p. 16)</p>	<p><i>ELACC11-12W1: a. Introduce precise, knowledgeable claim(s), establish the significance of the claim(s), distinguish the claim(s) from alternate or opposing claims, and create an organization that logically sequences claim(s), counterclaims, reasons, and evidence.</i></p>
<p>The validity of the writer’s position was established. Supporting ideas were relevant to the writer’s argument and audience and were fully elaborated throughout the paper with logical examples, details, and evidence. (Source: GHSWT Interpretive Guide Fall 2011, p. 16)</p>	<p><i>ELACC11-12W1: b. Develop claim(s) and counterclaims fairly and thoroughly, supplying the most relevant evidence for each while pointing out the strengths and limitations of both in a manner that anticipates the audience’s knowledge level, concerns, values, and possible biases.</i></p>
<p>The writer used rhetorical devices to support assertions. The response fully addressed reader concerns, counterarguments, biases, or expectations. (Source: GHSWT Interpretive Guide Fall 2011, p. 16)</p>	<p><i>ELACC11-12W2: c. Use words, phrases, and clauses as well as varied syntax to link the major sections of the text, create cohesion, and clarify the relationships between claim(s) and reasons, between reasons and evidence, and between claim(s) and counterclaims.</i></p>

NOTE: The evaluation of rhetoric is taught explicitly within multiple standards of the CCGPS. Students will be thoroughly familiar with rhetorical strategies and their implementation. The Writing standards specify the “establishment of claims” inferring that students will use all skills at their disposal, including the knowledgeable use of rhetorical strategies. Specifically, rhetoric appears in the following standards:

ELACC11-12RI6: Determine an author’s point of view or purpose in a text in which the **rhetoric is particularly effective**, analyzing how style and content contribute to the power, persuasiveness, or beauty of the text.

ELACC11-12RI9: Analyze seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century foundational U.S. documents of historical and literary significance (including The Declaration of Independence, the Preamble to the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and Lincoln’s Second Inaugural Address) for their themes, purposes, and **rhetorical features**.

ELACC11-12SL3: Evaluate a speaker’s point of view, reasoning, and use of evidence and **rhetoric**, assessing the stance, premises, links among ideas, word choice, points of emphasis, and tone used.

***** CCGPS CONNECTIONS: ORGANIZATION *****

GHSWT Interpretive Guide	CCGPS
<p>The overall organizational plan was appropriate to the writer’s argument. Ideas were logically and appropriately sequenced within paragraphs and across parts of the paper. (Source: GHSWT Interpretive Guide Fall 2011, p. 17)</p>	<p><i>ELACC11-12W1 c. Use words, phrases, and clauses as well as varied syntax to link the major sections of the text, create cohesion, and clarify the relationships between claim(s) and reasons, between reasons and evidence, and between claim(s) and counterclaims.</i> <i>ELACC11-12W4: Produce clear and coherent writing in which the development, organization, and style are appropriate to task, purpose, and audience. (Grade-specific expectations for writing types are defined in standards 1–3)</i></p>
<p>The introduction set the stage for the writer’s topic and persuasive purpose . . . (Source: GHSWT Interpretive Guide Fall 2011, p. 17)</p>	<p><i>ELACC11-12W1 a. Introduce precise, knowledgeable claim(s), establish the significance of the claim(s), distinguish the claim(s) from alternate or opposing claims, and create an organization that logically sequences claim(s), counterclaims, reasons, and evidence.</i></p>
<p>. . . and the conclusion provided a sense of closure without repetition. (Source: GHSWT Interpretive Guide Fall 2011, p. 17)</p>	<p><i>ELACC11-12W 1e. Provide a concluding statement or section that follows from and supports the argument presented.</i></p>
<p>Related ideas were grouped logically within paragraphs. Varied and effective transitional elements were used to link all elements of the response. (Source: GHSWT Interpretive Guide Fall 2011, p. 17)</p>	<p><i>ELACC11-12W1 c. Use words, phrases, and clauses as well as varied syntax to link the major sections of the text, create cohesion, and clarify the relationships between claim(s) and reasons, between reasons and evidence, and between claim(s) and counterclaims.</i></p>

***** CCGPS CONNECTIONS: STYLE *****

GHSWT Interpretive Guide	CCGPS
<p>Carefully crafted phrases and sentences created a sustained tone. Varied, precise, and engaging language was used throughout the response. Figurative or technical language was used for rhetorical effect. (Source: GHSWT Interpretive Guide Fall 2011, p. 18)</p>	<p><i>ELACC11-12W4: Produce clear and coherent writing in which the development, organization, and style are appropriate to task, purpose, and audience. (Grade-specific expectations for writing types are defined in standards 1–3.)</i> <i>ELACC11-12W1 c. Use words, phrases, and clauses as well as varied syntax to link the major sections of the text, create cohesion, and clarify the relationships between claim(s) and reasons, between reasons and evidence, and between claim(s) and counterclaims.</i></p>
<p>Sustained attention to the audience was demonstrated throughout the paper. An evocative or authoritative voice was used throughout the response. (Source: GHSWT Interpretive Guide Fall 2011, p. 18)</p>	<p><i>ELACC11-12W1 b. Develop claim(s) and counterclaims fairly and thoroughly, supplying the most relevant evidence for each while pointing out the strengths and limitations of both in a manner that anticipates the audience’s knowledge level, concerns, values, and possible biases.</i> <i>d. Establish and maintain a formal style and objective tone while attending to the norms and conventions of the discipline in which they are writing.</i></p>
<p>An extensive variety of sentence structures, beginnings and endings were used. (Source: GHSWT Interpretive Guide Fall 2011, p. 18)</p>	<p><i>ELACC11-12W1 c. Use words, phrases, and clauses as well as varied syntax to link the major sections of the text, create cohesion, and clarify the relationships between claim(s) and reasons, between reasons and evidence, and between claim(s) and counterclaims.</i></p>

**** CCGPS CONNECTIONS: CONVENTIONS ****

GHSWT Interpretive Guide	CCGPS
<p>Simple, compound, and complex sentences were clear and correct with correct end punctuation. A variety of coordination and subordination strategies were used. All elements of usage and mechanics were consistently correct in a variety of contexts. Errors were infrequent in all components. (Source: GHSWT Interpretive Guide Fall 2011, p. 19)</p>	<p><i>ELACC11-12L1: Demonstrate command of the conventions of Standard English grammar and usage when writing or speaking.</i> <i>ELACC11-12L2: Demonstrate command of the conventions of standard English capitalization, punctuation, and spelling when writing.</i> <i>ELACC11-12L3: Apply knowledge of language to understand how language functions in different contexts, to make effective choices for meaning or style, and to comprehend more fully when reading or listening.</i> <i>a. Vary syntax for effect, consulting references (e.g., Tufte’s Artful Sentences) for guidance as needed; apply an understanding of syntax to the study of complex texts when reading.</i> <i>ELACC11-12L5: Demonstrate understanding of figurative language, word relationships, and nuances in word meanings.</i></p>

These modules are a collection of tasks that use standards-based CCGPS instructional strategies to scaffold student performance using an actual released prompt (see “Culminating Assessment” box at the top of the module). Ideally, the final assessment in the module (requiring students to address the released prompt) should emulate the actual time limits and circumstances of the GHSWT as closely as possible. The modules may be used consecutively or spread throughout your routine instruction in the weeks leading up to the assessment. For additional resources please visit

<http://www.gadoe.org/Curriculum-Instruction-and-Assessment/Assessment/Pages/WA-High-School-Resources.aspx>

CULMINATING ASSESSMENT
Released GHSWT Writing Topic 128
Writing Situation Technology has changed our country a great deal in the last 10 years. Your social studies class is debating the importance of many new inventions in today’s world. Decide which invention you think is the most important.
Directions for Writing Write a letter to convince your classmates that your selection is the most important invention in today’s world. Use specific examples and details to explain why the invention you select is so important.
ESSENTIAL QUESTION: What constitutes strong evidence for a claim?
TASK: Examine and deconstruct effective arguments.
Standards: ELACC11-12RI1: Cite strong and thorough textual evidence to support analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences drawn from the text, including determining where the text leaves matters uncertain. ELACC11-12RI2: Determine two or more central ideas of a text and analyze their development over the course of the text, including how they interact and build on one another to provide a complex analysis; provide an objective summary of the text. ELACC11-12RI5: Analyze and evaluate the effectiveness of the structure an author uses in his or her exposition or argument, including whether the structure makes points clear, convincing, and engaging. ELACC11-12RI8: Delineate and evaluate the reasoning in seminal U.S. texts, including the application of constitutional principles and use of legal reasoning (e.g., in U.S. Supreme Court majority opinions and dissents) and the premises, purposes, and arguments in works of public advocacy (e.g., The Federalist, presidential addresses). ELACC11-12W9: Draw evidence from literary or informational texts to support analysis, reflection, and research. ELACC11-12SL1 a. Come to discussions prepared, having read and researched material under study; explicitly draw on that preparation by referring to evidence from texts and other research on the topic or issue to stimulate a thoughtful, well-reasoned exchange of ideas.
Instruction: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Model for students the concept of “reverse engineering” an argumentative or persuasive essay (see elements of this process below). Using a straightforward example, model the process.• Provide copies of Thomas Paine’s “Thoughts on the Current State of American Affairs” from <u>Common Sense</u> (full text in Appendix A of this document). Widely acknowledged as one of the great pieces of rhetoric in American History, this document will take serious consideration to

deconstruct. For a shorter task, use Patrick Henry's famous "Give Me Liberty or Give me Death" speech.

- Students will create a graphic organizer of the speech showing theme, topics of each text section, primary claims, counter-claims, and supporting evidence. Provide explicit instruction on these terms as necessary.
- Identify, through notation, which claims (if any) are unsupported or fallacious. For a concise list of the major types of fallacy, see Appendix B of this document.
- Identify the nature of each appeal (pathos, logos, and ethos).
- Guide students in a collaborative discussion about which parts of this persuasive piece are extemporaneous and which represent research and text-based evidence used by the author.

ESSENTIAL QUESTION: How is text-based evidence/argument different from extemporaneous evidence/persuasion?

TASK: Compare and contrast of persuasive techniques.

Standards:

ELACC11-12RI1: Cite strong and thorough textual evidence to support analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences drawn from the text, including determining where the text leaves matters uncertain.

ELACC11-12RI5: Analyze and evaluate the effectiveness of the structure an author uses in his or her exposition or argument, including whether the structure makes points clear, convincing, and engaging.

ELACC11-12RI6: Determine an author's point of view or purpose in a text in which the rhetoric is particularly effective, analyzing how style and content contribute to the power, persuasiveness, or beauty of the text.

ELACC11-12W7: Conduct short as well as more sustained research projects to answer a question (including a self-generated question) or solve a problem; narrow or broaden the inquiry when appropriate; synthesize multiple sources on the subject, demonstrating understanding of the subject under investigation.

ELACC11-12SL3: Evaluate a speaker's point of view, reasoning, and use of evidence and rhetoric, assessing the stance, premises, links among ideas, word choice, points of emphasis, and tone used.

ELACC11-12L5: b. Analyze nuances in the meaning of words with similar denotations.

Instruction:

- Introduce students to text excerpts from Barbara Kingsolver's Animal, Vegetable, Miracle, and a variety of television or print commercials for fast food restaurants. The Kingsolver book contains a wealth of information on the unhealthy ways in which some of our foods are processed, statistics about the average fat, calories, sodium, and preservative content of many of our foods, the fuel expended to move those foods to non-local environments, etc. Skim or read the book to help students locate 10-20 usable, cited pieces of information that argue against the consumption of large amounts of fast food. For the opposing arguments, a wide variety of fast food commercials are available on YouTube (if YouTube is blocked at your location, download the pieces onto a thumb drive in advance or consult your media specialist) and of course print ads for fast and processed foods are in nearly every mass market periodical.
- Guide students in a discussion about whether they eat fast food very often, which kinds they enjoy or don't enjoy, and what their reasons are for their food choices in this category.
- Watch several of the television commercials (or provide magazine or other print ads) for fast food and have students take notes detailing whether their impressions of the product are positive or negative, and the types of appeals they can identify. See list of logical fallacies and definitions of pathos, logos, and ethos above). Students should note which kinds of appeals appear most often in the advertisements. Do they refer to statistics about heart disease and obesity, or do they just show people having fun?
- Next, have students read a number of excerpts from Kingsolver's book and take notes on their impressions. How do they feel about eating fast food when they read Kingsolver's compiled research and anecdotal evidence about the food her family grows, buys, prepares, and consumes? What types of appeals does Kingsolver use? Are her claims based in logos, ethos, or pathos?
- Students may complete a T-Chart or Venn diagram comparing these two images of the fast food

industry to facilitate a deep understanding of the aims and strategies of these two different approaches. It is important to understand that not every persuasive text will stoop to the use of logical fallacies or deception, but the comparison should serve to highlight the differences in approach.

ESSENTIAL QUESTION: What are the most effective ways to build background knowledge?

TASK: Consume information proactively and responsibly.

Standards:

ELACC11-12W7: Conduct short as well as more sustained research projects to answer a question (including a self-generated question) or solve a problem; narrow or broaden the inquiry when appropriate; synthesize multiple sources on the subject, demonstrating understanding of the subject under investigation.

ELACC11-12SL1: Initiate and participate effectively in a range of collaborative discussions (one-on-one, in groups, and teacher-led) with diverse partners on grades 11-12 topics, texts, and issues, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

c. Propel conversations by posing and responding to questions that probe reasoning and evidence; ensure a hearing for a full range of positions on a topic or issue; clarify, verify, or challenge ideas and conclusions; and promote divergent and creative perspectives.

Instruction:

- Construct a simple pre-test that will allow students to gauge how informed they are about local, national, and world news, as well as on a variety of topics broadly considered to be “common knowledge.” Augment questions such as these with your own questions about current events or fun facts, etc. For example, who is your senator? Who are the current candidates running for office? Is Georgia currently experiencing drought conditions? What is the speed limit on I-285 at Spaghetti Junction? How many continents are there? etc.
- Have fun discussing the results of these pre-tests, engaging students in establishing an idea of whether or not they feel themselves to be well-informed citizens.
- Broaden this discussion to include sources of information. What sorts of information do students routinely seek out? (Do you check the weather before you come to school? Do you routinely watch the news? Do you listen to news radio? Do you get most of your information from friends?) Make a chart listing the kinds of information your students are interested in and where they go to get that information.
- Challenge students to brainstorm a list of avenues through which they could acquire more and better information about the world around them in their daily lives; from this list cull the sources that are most reliable and appropriate.
- Place students in teams and ask them to commit to consuming information responsibly and proactively over the next week, and come to tutorial or class prepared to compete in teams on their new background knowledge.

ESSENTIAL QUESTION: What is the most important information in a writing prompt?

TASK: Deconstruct the prompt.

Standards:

ELACC11-12RI1: Cite strong and thorough textual evidence to support analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences drawn from the text, including determining where the text leaves matters uncertain.

ELACC11-12RI4: Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including figurative, connotative, and technical meanings; analyze how an author uses and refines the meaning of a key term or terms over the course of a text.

ELACC11-12W5: Develop and strengthen writing as needed by planning, revising, editing, rewriting, or trying a new approach, focusing on addressing what is most significant for a specific purpose and audience. (Editing for conventions should demonstrate command of Language standards.)

ELACC11-12SL1: Initiate and participate effectively in a range of collaborative discussions (one-on-one, in groups, and teacher-led) with diverse partners on grades 11-12 topics, texts, and issues, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

a. Come to discussions prepared, having read and researched material under study; explicitly

draw on that preparation by referring to evidence from texts and other research on the topic or issue to stimulate a
b. thoughtful, well-reasoned exchange of ideas.

Instruction:

- Place the prompt for this culminating writing task (see above) on chart paper or Smart Board.
- Lead students in a thorough deconstruction of all parts of the prompt so that they thoroughly understand what they will be asked to do in the assessment. For example,

Provides background information. What are the parameters of the topic? What kinds of background knowledge can you use? Notice the key words.

Writing Situation

Technology has changed **our country** a great deal in the last **10 years**. Your **social studies** class is debating the importance of many new inventions in today's world. Decide **which invention you think** is the most **important**.

*Things to notice: We are talking about technology. What do you know about technology in general? Consider how broad this topic is; it does not say "computers," "cars," "medical equipment," but it could include any of these things. Think outside the box, remembering that developing your controlling idea or thesis is weighted more heavily than any other domain. The prompt is talking about the United States only; be careful not to refer to something from another country such as the Japanese SuperRail Train, etc. Notice the time parameter: 10 years. The context is social studies class and you are being asked for your **opinion**. Think about the kinds of **support** you can give for that opinion. Do not choose a topic you know very little about. For example, you may think the television was the most important piece of technology, but if you brainstorm for a moment and realize you don't know when it was introduced, who invented it, how it works, etc., you may want to choose another topic.*

A careful reading of the directions for writing is crucial. Here your audience and purpose are established, helping to establish the tone of your piece. Is this an article for the school newspaper or a letter to the President? What is your format?

Directions for Writing

Write a **letter** to convince your **classmates** that **your selection is the most important** invention in today's world. Use **specific examples** and details to explain why the invention you select is so important.

You may receive hints and reminders of things to include.

- Examine the vocabulary of the prompt and share examples of the elements that will be inherent in a good response. Use responses from the students' own portfolios or responses to other prompts to avoid having students draw too much from the content of the arguments in model papers on this prompt.
- Provide worksheets and copies of the GHSWT rubrics to students and engage them (in teams, pairs, or whole groups) in determining what they need to work on or be sure to do during the assessment in order to succeed.
- Have students brainstorm a check-list of peer review items for their mock assessment; that is, what should you check your paper for before the final edit to make sure it meets the requirements of the rubric. For example, check sentence fluency to make sure you have employed diverse and interesting sentence construction; check for passive voice; check that all items are backed up by evidence and that evidence is properly cited, etc.

ESSENTIAL QUESTION: What is the most effective way to present and organize an argument?

TASK: Explore organizational strategies.

Standards:

ELACC11-12W1: a. Introduce precise, knowledgeable claim(s), establish the significance of the claim(s), distinguish the claim(s) from alternate or opposing claims, and create an organization that logically sequences claim(s), counterclaims, reasons, and evidence.

ELACC11-12W4: Produce clear and coherent writing in which the development, organization, and style are appropriate to task, purpose, and audience.

ELACC11-12W5: Develop and strengthen writing as needed by planning, revising, editing, rewriting, or trying a new approach, focusing on addressing what is most significant for a specific purpose and audience. (Editing for conventions should demonstrate command of Language standards.)

ELACC11-12SL1: Initiate and participate effectively in a range of collaborative discussions (one-on-one, in groups, and teacher-led) with diverse partners on grades 11-12 topics, texts, and issues, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

Instruction:

- Place 5 or 10 brief argumentative or persuasive writing prompts on a chart or Smartboard for consideration. Very brief outlines of prompts are acceptable for this exercise; for example, "Should the driving age be lowered?" "Are cell phones dangerous when driving?" "Should the United States require 2 years of public service from its young people as some other countries do?" etc.
- Have the students brainstorm some possible responses for each prompt (identifying audience and purpose as well).
- Introduce several of the most basic organizational styles for persuasive writing:
 - Logical
 - Chronological
 - Compare/Contrast
 - Cause/Effect
 - Problem/Solution(There are several more of these; choose at your discretion and for a good match to the topics you choose.)
- Individually, in groups, or in teams, challenge students to apply the best, most effective organizational strategy to the ideas brainstormed for each topic. For example, if they brainstormed that a lowered driving age would result in more accidents, more crime, and more school absences, they should be able to determine that cause and effect would be the most effective strategy. Likewise, if they brainstormed that the best time to require community service from young people is before college instead of after college, logical or chronological order would seem appropriate.
- After students have made their determinations about optimal organizational styles, ask them to articulate or write their rationales for their choices.

CULMINATING ASSESSMENT

Released GHSWT Writing Topic 135

Writing Situation

Over the past 25 years, the U.S. government has spent billions of dollars on space exploration. Some citizens believe exploring outer space is an important use of government money. Others believe the money could be better spent helping people here on Earth.

Directions for Writing

Write a letter to convince your U.S. Congressional representative to either continue funding space exploration or to redirect those funds to other projects. Include specific details and examples to support your position.

ESSENTIAL QUESTION: What characteristics separate an effective essay from an ineffective one?

TASK: Comparison of student writing samples.

Standards:

ELACC11-12RI2: Determine two or more central ideas of a text and analyze their development over the course of the text, including how they interact and build on one another to provide a complex analysis; provide an objective summary of the text.

ELACC11-12RI3: Analyze a complex set of ideas or sequence of events and explain how specific individuals, ideas, or events interact and develop over the course of the text.

ELACC11-12RI5: Analyze and evaluate the effectiveness of the structure an author uses in his or her exposition or argument, including whether the structure makes points clear, convincing, and engaging.
ELACC11-12RI6: Determine an author's point of view or purpose in a text in which the rhetoric is particularly effective, analyzing how style and content contribute to the power, persuasiveness, or beauty of the text.

Instruction:

- Using released writing prompts and student samples from the GHSWT Resource link of the GaDOE website
<http://www.gadoe.org/Curriculum-Instruction-and-Assessment/Assessment/Pages/WA-High-School-Resources.aspx>
have students complete the following activities. The culminating assessment for this module is a student response to the 2009 prompt above, so avoid using 2009 student samples in this exercise.
- This exercise will be followed by an in-depth rubric study, and is not intended to focus on the rubric. We want students to bring their own common sense conclusions to this exercise. It will be useful for them to compare those to the rubric in the next exercise and see the ways in which the academic language of the rubric aligns with what plainly and simply makes for good, clear writing.
- Provide the prompt from which you pull your writing samples to the students for review. In small groups have them review the rubric and, using skills from the previous module, read and understand the audience, purpose, and parameters of the prompt.
- Purposefully provide student samples of work from varying performance levels (Meets, Does not Meet, Exceeds). Students will read the papers round-robin style within their small groups. After a single reading, have the students assign a number between 1 and 5 that indicates their initial impression of the paper, with 5 being the best score. Students will not share their scores with each other until all papers have been read.
- Have students compare their initial impressions. Did they agree about which papers were best? Students in each group should defend their assessments of the paper, giving evidence from the work sample that supports their assertion. The group will arrive at a consensus as to which paper is high, which is middling, and which is lowest.
- Students should examine the highest and lowest papers to determine the elements that set them apart. It is not necessary to use the official rubric or even to use academic language in this exercise, but only to identify their perceptions. For example, "This paper didn't seem to make any sense, the ideas didn't flow together." "This paper gave many very good pieces of evidence." "This paper used very simple, boring words and short sentences." "This paper was funny and engaging while making a good point." Ask students to clearly write each of these comments leaving space between them. They will be cut apart in a future task.
- Students should take very complete notes on their analyses of the papers. These will be used to compare to the rubric and performance domains in the next task.

ESSENTIAL QUESTION: How will my paper be scored and what do the rubric items mean?

TASK: Explore and understand the rubric.

Standards:

ELACC11-12RI1: Cite strong and thorough textual evidence to support analysis of what the text says explicitly as well as inferences drawn from the text, including determining where the text leaves matters uncertain.

ELACC11-12RI4: Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including figurative, connotative, and technical meanings; analyze how an author uses and refines the meaning of a key term or terms over the course of a text.

ELACC11-12RI7: Integrate and evaluate multiple sources of information presented in different media or formats (e.g., visually, quantitatively) as well as in words in order to address a question or solve a problem.

ELACC11-12L1: Demonstrate command of the conventions of standard English grammar and usage when writing or speaking.

ELACC11-12L2: Demonstrate command of the conventions of standard English capitalization, punctuation, and spelling when writing.

Instruction:

- In the small groups in which they analyzed model student papers, students will gather with their notes from the previous task.
- Provide students with a copy of the full GHSWT performance rubric:
<http://archives.doe.k12.ga.us/DMGetDocument.aspx/GHSWT%20rubrics.pdf?p=39EF345AE192D900F620BFDE9C014CE65F48E7E4CC653240504EB3D2B367434FFDDEB924F72E5D11&Type=D>.
- If you have the resources to make reusable posters of the rubric domains in your media center they can be used.
- Students should use scissors to cut apart their comments from the previous activity. Challenge students to match their comment to the precise rubric domain to which it correlates. For example, the comment “This paper gave many very good pieces of evidence” would correlate to Domain 1: Ideas, bullet point 4, descriptor level 5.
- After the matches have been found, ask students to notice which domains they commented on and which they did not. For example, did they notice good organization but tend not to notice the quality of evidence? Did they notice grammar and conventions problems but not notice controlling idea? Students should then determine a score for the paper in the domains they have not previously scored.

ESSENTIAL QUESTION: What are the habits of effective pre-writers and planners?**TASK: Learn effective pre-writing strategies.****Standards:**

ELACC11-12SL1: Initiate and participate effectively in a range of collaborative discussions (one-on-one, in groups, and teacher-led) with diverse partners on grades 11-12 topics, texts, and issues, building on others’ ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

d. Respond thoughtfully to diverse perspectives; synthesize comments, claims, and evidence made on all sides of an issue; resolve contradictions when possible; and determine what additional information or research is required to deepen the investigation or complete the task.

ELACC11-12W5: Develop and strengthen writing as needed by planning, revising, editing, rewriting, or trying a new approach, focusing on addressing what is most significant for a specific purpose and audience.

ELACC11-12RI2: Determine two or more central ideas of a text and analyze their development over the course of the text, including how they interact and build on one another to provide a complex analysis; provide an objective summary of the text.

Instruction:

- Engage students in a collaborative discussion about pre-writing and drafting, making notes of their primary points on chart paper or Smartboard. Many students prefer to skip pre-writing and drafting, and may not be convinced of the degree to which their writing can profit from these steps. Use their input to have a discussion about the ways in which pre-writing can make the difference between a Does Not Meet and an Exceeds score.
- Discuss and model the following steps of pre-writing and drafting, providing the positive rationale for each:
 - Before you begin writing, **read the prompt** carefully. Determine your topic, audience and purpose and double check that you have clearly understood your instructions.
 - Begin **brainstorming for your controlling idea**. Some comments that could be made to students: *Make it your practice to always determine more than one possible controlling idea, making a thoughtful choice. Your most obvious first idea may not always be the one you can support most thoroughly or tackle with the most enthusiasm. The one day of your academic career that you take the GHSWT is not the one day you need to be in a big hurry! Why not slow down and use every single advantage you can, including thinking carefully at the front end.*
 - In considering your controlling idea or thesis, **consider all parts of the heavily-weighted “Ideas” domain:**

* **Focus** (your OPINION on this issue)

- What kind of **support** for this opinion do you have at your disposal? Do you have lots of good reasons why you hold this opinion? If not, think again.
 - Look at your reasons and determine whether they would be **relevant** to your audience. You might argue that Coke is better than Pepsi because you like the taste more, but that is not a relevant detail when trying to convince someone else.
 - Look at your reasons and think about how **well developed** your essay will be. Are these trivial supports or truly meaningful ones? Arguing for broccoli on the lunch menu because it is your favorite vegetable is not as effective as arguing that there is an epidemic of obesity among America's youth, that students between the ages of 6 and 18 only get 1/10th of the vegetables they need in their diet, that broccoli is a much more cost effective menu choice than french fries—all will contribute to a more well-developed essay.
 - **Outline** the points you intend to make, the evidence that will support each, and the order in which you intend to organize them. Strongest to weakest? Point by point comparison. NOTE: when discussing an outline with students, address the "5 paragraph essay" problem. Students should avoid a formulaic essay, striving to write as many paragraphs as are necessary to make a strong paper and not writing within pre-established ideas of the number of paragraphs. Avoid formulaic phrases like "I am going to tell you" or "here are my three reasons."
 - Think about how you will **conclude** your paper, using one of the less traditional strategies. That is, do not plan to simply summarize your points.
- Use the input from the students at the beginning of the lesson to address the topic of writing a rough draft. Show effective models of rough drafts that have made the kinds of revisions that moved the level of the paper up.
 - In pairs or groups, have students make a list of the top ten things one should check a paper for in a timed-writing situation. Have students compare their lists and collaborate to create one list upon which everyone can agree.
 - When pre-writing and drafting, always remember to keep a close watch on your time.

ESSENTIAL QUESTION: Which kind of appeal works best in persuasion: pathos, logos, or ethos?

TASK: Choose the optimal persuasive approach for your topic.

Standards:

ELACC11-12W1: Write arguments to support claims in an analysis of substantive topics or texts, using valid reasoning and relevant and sufficient evidence.

- b. Develop claim(s) and counterclaims fairly and thoroughly, supplying the most relevant evidence for each while pointing out the strengths and limitations of both in a manner that anticipates the audience's knowledge level, concerns, values, and possible biases.

ELACC11-12SL2: Integrate multiple sources of information presented in diverse formats and media (e.g., visually, quantitatively, orally) in order to make informed decisions and solve problems, evaluating the credibility and accuracy of each source and noting any discrepancies among the data.

ELACC11-12SL3: Evaluate a speaker's point of view, reasoning, and use of evidence and rhetoric, assessing the stance, premises, links among ideas, word choice, points of emphasis, and tone used.

Instruction:

- Aid students in choosing an effective rhetorical strategy by thoroughly acquainting them with the concepts of pathos, logos, and ethos.
- Provide students with collections of magazines, or allow them to access public service announcements and television commercials via computer lab. As you provide explicit instruction in these concepts, stop and conduct a search for examples of each.
- **Logos:** or the logical appeal, means persuading by the use of reasoning. When you are employing cold, hard facts you are appealing to reason and logic. For example, cigarette smoking is proven to cause lung cancer.
- **Ethos:** or the ethical appeal, is based on the character, credibility, or reliability of the writer. This can mean establishing yourself as trustworthy through your tone and content, or it can mean referring to the expertise of trusted experts. The Purdue Owl website says that an MLA paper has

a one inch margin all around.

- **Pathos:** or the emotional appeal, means emotional appeal; is an appeal to an audience's needs, values, and emotional sensibilities (if you don't support your local ASPCA, some cold, hungry, stray puppies may not be able to be adopted).
- Some tips:

Argument emphasizes reason, but used properly there is often a place for emotion as well. Emotional appeals can use sources such as interviews and individual stories to paint a more legitimate and moving picture of reality or illuminate the truth. For example, telling the story of a single child who has been abused may make for a more persuasive argument than simply the number of children abused each year because it would give a human face to the numbers.

Only use an emotional appeal if it truly supports the claim you are making, not as a way to distract from the real issues of debate. An argument should never use emotion to misrepresent the topic or frighten people.

- At the conclusion of this activity, put students into groups to review their choices of samples for each type of appeal, having them debate the merits to come to a group consensus about which pieces belong in which category. Students should consider which types of appeals work best with which types of subject matter. They should also think about which types of appeals they favor and can best use to their advantage.

ESSENTIAL QUESTION: What are some effective strategies for conclusion?

TASK: Use interesting conclusion strategies and avoid repeating your points.

Standards:

ELACC11-12SL1: Initiate and participate effectively in a range of collaborative discussions (one-on-one, in groups, and teacher-led) with diverse partners on grades 11-12 topics, texts, and issues, building on others' ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.

ELACC11-12W1: Write arguments to support claims in an analysis of substantive topics or texts, using valid reasoning and relevant and sufficient evidence.

e. Provide a concluding statement or section that follows from and supports the argument presented.

d. Establish and maintain a formal style and objective tone while attending to the norms and conventions of the discipline in which they are writing.

Instruction:

- Engage students in a discussion of effective strategies for conclusion. Remind students to avoid old-fashioned, formulaic strategies including repeating the arguments you have just made, or "summing up."
- Provide students with several high-scoring student work samples from the GaDOE GHSWT resource website (see link provided on page 16). White out or cut off the concluding paragraphs to these essays. After studying the following alternative conclusion strategies, have students choose one of them. They can pick from a hat, spin a wheel, etc., but use some system to ensure that they try a variety of the strategies and not just one or two that they find easy and approachable.

Alternative ideas for concluding your essay:

- Call to action (so join your local ASPCA today)
- Ask a question (How can you start a recycling program in your own community?)
- Use parallel structure, repeating an evocative sentence from the opening paragraph
- "Make them laugh or make them cry." (America has given me so much. I only hope that someday I can repay these great gifts by serving my country.)
- Provide ideas for further thought (Once space has been conquered, will the world within our consciousness be next?)
- Connect to a larger theme (Electric cars are just the beginning for the big picture of stopping the consumption of fossil fuels around the world.)

Additional Instructional Tasks Developed by the GaDOE Curriculum Division

The following CCGPS integrated sample tasks for writing appear in the Grade 11 Teacher Guidance Document that can be found on the CCGPS ELA page on the GaDOE website:

<http://www.gadoe.org/Curriculum-Instruction-and-Assessment/Curriculum-and-Instruction/Pages/English-Language-Arts-Program.aspx>

Each of these tasks is accompanied by a list of Skills and Concepts for students, Suggested Instructional Strategies for teachers, and a list of Vocabulary for Teaching and Learning. The tasks listed here are for teaching argumentative essay writing skills that will scaffold successful performance on the extemporaneous persuasive prompt students will encounter on the GHSWT. For more lessons on grammar, conventions, sentence fluency, etc., see the Teacher Guidance Document for the standard you wish to address. These lessons may be used to supplement the modules provided above.

Sample Task #1

In pairs, have students trade writing portfolios. Students will write a literary review of the collected works of the other student, which may or may not be facilitated by a template steering reviewers towards items for their attention. For example students may be required to count the number of works in the portfolio, sort by genre or by quality, read at least 3 pieces in their entirety, and choose a favorite for commentary. An extension of this activity may include a study of literary criticism and allowing students to use a chosen critical lens to review their partner's work (such as feminist, structuralist, etc.). Reviewing partners will complete the review template and produce a 250-500 word literary criticism of at least one extended essay in the partner's portfolio.

GHSWT Connection

Use this activity or a similar one to have students produce in a paired-peer review style a list of "hits and misses" in their partner's writing to be put on a short list for remediation in advance of the test.

Sample Task #2

Following the completion of a novel study, have the students undertake the reading of a complementary text independently. For example *Jane Eyre*, by Charlotte Bronte, and *Wuthering Heights*, by Emily Bronte, both deal with unrequited love and are representative of the concept of the Bildungsroman. Have the students conduct an in-depth comparison and contrast of the novels and their unique treatments of similar themes. Using specific evidence from the texts, students will construct a coherent analysis that adheres to an organizational structure (comparison by subject, by chapter, by character, etc.) that makes the writer's points clear. An extension of this activity could be the delineation and evaluation of the elements of Bildungsroman in both books.

GHSWT Connection

Use this activity as a study of organizational styles the students may adopt in their persuasive essays. Comparison and contrast will always be one of the best choices in this genre.

Sample Task #3

Provide students with a list of current disputes in English grammar. This list can include preposition stranding, split infinitives, generic use of “you,” and gender neutrals. Students can prepare position papers garnering all the current authoritative advice they can on a given subject and present the most current accepted positions on usage to the class. This activity, beyond being instructional, actively highlights the fact that the English language is constantly in flux. An extension of this activity might include research into the list of words added to the Oxford English Dictionary each year for the past five or ten years.

GHSWT Connection

This activity can be completed without the research portion, inviting students to persuade their audience of a change they would like to see in grammar, or arguing for or against the fluid nature of the rules in English language.

Sample Task #4

In a text currently under consideration by the class, have students conduct a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the author’s syntax. Students may be able to find statistical resources on certain texts or may conduct their own by using various software applications that analyze text. A simple analysis can be conducted by simply taking a sample excerpt of text and conducting a word count and sentence analysis (average words per sentence, average number of sentences per paragraph, numbers of simple, compound, complex, and compound/complex sentences, and common usages, such as introductory phrases, etc.). The qualitative aspect will be a text-based analysis of the connotative and tonal impact of the author’s syntactical choices.

GHSWT Connection

This activity addresses the critical components of style and voice.

Sample Task #5

Using a poem that is largely or entirely figurative, have students rewrite the poem using only concrete and literal language. This exercise is not only instructive in determining the impact of figurative language on the reader, but can also be useful in identifying the meaning, theme, audience, and/or purpose of a poem. Students will annotate the poem using evidence from the text and may read aloud both the original and translated versions to hear the difference in musicality and cadence.

GHSWT Connection

This activity addresses the critical components of style and voice.

Supplemental Materials

For GHSWT Resources including:

- GHSWT Interpretive Guide
- GHSWT Released Topic and Sample Papers
- Test Data/Results

<http://www.gadoe.org/Curriculum-Instruction-and-Assessment/Assessment/Pages/Georgia-High-School-Writing-Test.aspx>

For Common Core Initiative Student Writing Samples

http://www.corestandards.org/assets/Appendix_B.pdf

APPENDICES

The following appendices contain resources that are the property of their respective owners. The Georgia Department of Education collected the resources to assist teachers in the conduct of their classes. The following resources shall be used for noncommercial educational classroom purposes only in accordance with standards for Fair Use. It remains the school's responsibility to evaluate the resources to determine their value and appropriateness for its students' situations and needs.

Paine, Thomas. "Common Sense." *Gutenberg Project*. The Gutenberg Literary Archive, 2012. Web. 6 Jul 2012. <<http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/147/pg147.txt>>.

APPENDIX A: THOMAS PAINE

In the following pages I offer nothing more than simple facts, plain arguments, and common sense; and have no other Preliminaries to settle with the reader, than that he will divest himself of prejudice and prepossession, and suffer his reason and his feelings to determine for themselves; that he will put ON, or rather that he will not put OFF the true character of a man, and generously enlarge his views beyond the present day.

Volumes have been written on the subject of the struggle between England and America. Men of all ranks have embarked in the controversy, from different motives, and with various designs; but all have been ineffectual, and the period of debate is closed. Arms, as the last resource, decide this contest; the appeal was the choice of the king, and the continent hath accepted the challenge.

It hath been reported of the late Mr. Pelham (who tho' an able minister was not without his faults) that on his being attacked in the house of commons, on the score, that his measures were only of a temporary kind, replied "THEY WILL LAST MY TIME." Should a thought so fatal and unmanly possess the colonies in the present contest, the name of ancestors will be remembered by future generations with detestation.

The sun never shined on a cause of greater worth. 'Tis not the affair of a city, a county, a province, or a kingdom, but of a continent--of at least one eighth part of the habitable globe. 'Tis not the concern of a day, a year, or an age; posterity are virtually involved in the contest, and will be more or less affected, even to the end of time, by the proceedings now. Now is the seed-time of continental union, faith and honour. The least fracture now will be like a name engraved with the point of a pin on the tender rind of a young oak; the wound will enlarge with the tree, and posterity read it in full grown characters.

By referring the matter from argument to arms, a new aera for politics is struck; a new method of thinking hath arisen. All plans, proposals, &c. prior to the nineteenth of April, i. e. to the commencement of hostilities, are like the almanacs of the last year; which, though proper then are superseded and useless now. Whatever was advanced by the advocates on either side of the question then, terminated in one and the same point. viz. a union with Great-Britain: the only difference between the parties was the method of effecting it; the one proposing force, the other friendship; but it hath so far happened that the first hath failed, and the second hath withdrawn her influence.

As much hath been said of the advantages of reconciliation which, like an agreeable dream, hath passed away and left us as we were, it is but right, that we should examine the contrary side of the argument, and inquire into some of the many material injuries which these colonies sustain, and always will sustain, by being connected with, and dependent on Great Britain: To examine that connection and dependence, on the principles of nature and common sense, to see what we have to trust to, if separated, and what we are to expect, if dependant.

I have heard it asserted by some, that as America hath flourished under her former connection with Great Britain that the same connection is necessary towards her future happiness, and will always have the same effect. Nothing can be more fallacious than this kind of argument. We may as well assert that because a child has thrived upon milk that it is never to have meat, or that the first twenty years of our lives is to become a precedent for the next twenty. But even this is admitting more than is true, for I answer roundly, that America would have flourished as much, and probably much more, had no European power had any thing to do with her. The commerce, by which she hath enriched herself, are the necessaries of life, and will always have a market while eating is the custom of Europe.

But she has protected us, say some. That she has engrossed us is true, and defended the continent at our expense as well as her own is admitted, and she would have defended Turkey from the same motive, viz. the sake of trade and dominion.

Alas, we have been long led away by ancient prejudices, and made large sacrifices to superstition. We have boasted the protection of Great Britain, without considering, that her motive was INTEREST not ATTACHMENT; that she did not protect us from OUR ENEMIES on OUR ACCOUNT, but from HER ENEMIES on HER OWN ACCOUNT, from those who had no quarrel with us on any OTHER ACCOUNT, and who will always be our enemies on the SAME ACCOUNT. Let Britain wave her pretensions to the continent, or the continent throw off the dependence, and we should be at peace with France and Spain were they at war with Britain. The miseries of Hanover last war ought to warn us against connections.

It has lately been asserted in parliament, that the colonies have no relation to each other but through the parent country, i. e. that Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, and so on for the rest, are sister colonies by the way of England; this is certainly a very round-about way of proving relationship, but it is the nearest and only true way of proving enemyship, if I may so call it. France and Spain never were, nor perhaps ever will be our enemies as AMERICANS, but as our being the subjects of GREAT BRITAIN.

But Britain is the parent country, say some. Then the more shame upon her conduct. Even brutes do not devour their young, nor savages make war upon their families; wherefore the assertion, if true, turns to her reproach; but it happens not to be true, or only partly so and the phrase PARENT or MOTHER COUNTRY hath been jesuitically adopted by the king and his parasites, with a low papistical design of gaining an unfair bias on the credulous weakness of our minds. Europe, and not England, is the parent country of America. This new world hath been

the asylum for the persecuted lovers of civil and religious liberty from EVERY PART of Europe. Hither have they fled, not from the tender embraces of the mother, but from the cruelty of the monster; and it is so far true of England, that the same tyranny which drove the first emigrants from home, pursues their descendants still.

In this extensive quarter of the globe, we forget the narrow limits of three hundred and sixty miles (the extent of England) and carry our friendship on a larger scale; we claim brotherhood with every European Christian, and triumph in the generosity of the sentiment.

It is pleasant to observe by what regular gradations we surmount the force of local prejudice, as we enlarge our acquaintance with the world. A man born in any town in England divided into parishes, will naturally associate most with his fellow-parishioners (because their interests in many cases will be common) and distinguish him by the name of NEIGHBOUR; if he meet him but a few miles from home, he drops the narrow idea of a street, and salutes him by the name of TOWNSMAN; if he travel out of the county, and meet him in any other, he forgets the minor divisions of street and town, and calls him COUNTRYMAN, i. e. COUNTRYMAN; but if in their foreign excursions they should associate in France or any other part of EUROPE, their local remembrance would be enlarged into that of ENGLISHMEN. And by a just parity of reasoning, all Europeans meeting in America, or any other quarter of the globe, are COUNTRYMEN; for England, Holland, Germany, or Sweden, when compared with the whole, stand in the same places on the larger scale, which the divisions of street, town, and county do on the smaller ones; distinctions too limited for continental minds. Not one third of the inhabitants, even of this province, are of English descent. Wherefore I reprobate the phrase of parent or mother country applied to England only, as being false, selfish, narrow and ungenerous.

But admitting, that we were all of English descent, what does it amount to? Nothing. Britain, being now an open enemy, extinguishes every other name and title: And to say that reconciliation is our duty, is truly farcical. The first king of England, of the present line (William the Conqueror) was a Frenchman, and half the Peers of England are descendants from the same country; therefore, by the same method of reasoning, England ought to be governed by France.

Much hath been said of the united strength of Britain and the colonies, that in conjunction they might bid defiance to the world. But this is mere presumption; the fate of war is uncertain, neither do the expressions mean any thing; for this continent would never suffer itself to be drained of inhabitants, to support the British arms in either Asia, Africa, or Europe.

Besides what have we to do with setting the world at defiance? Our plan is commerce, and that, well attended to, will secure us the peace and friendship of all Europe; because, it is the interest of all Europe to have America a FREE PORT. Her trade will always be a protection, and her barrenness of gold and silver secure her from invaders.

I challenge the warmest advocate for reconciliation, to shew, a single advantage that this continent can reap, by being connected with Great Britain. I repeat the challenge, not a single advantage is derived.

Our corn will fetch its price in any market in Europe, and our imported goods must be paid for, buy them where we will.

But the injuries and disadvantages we sustain by that connection, are without number; and our duty to mankind at large, as well as to ourselves, instruct us to renounce the alliance: Because, any submission to, or dependence on Great Britain, tends directly to involve this continent in European wars and quarrels; and sets us at variance with nations, who would otherwise seek our friendship, and against whom, we have neither anger nor complaint. As Europe is our market for trade, we ought to form no partial connection with any part of it. It is the true interest of America to steer clear of European contentions, which she never can do, while by her dependence on Britain, she is made the make-weight in the scale of British politics.

Europe is too thickly planted with kingdoms to be long at peace, and whenever a war breaks out between England and any foreign power, the trade of America goes to ruin, BECAUSE OF HER CONNECTION WITH ENGLAND. The next war may not turn out like the last, and should it not, the advocates for reconciliation now, will be wishing for separation then, because, neutrality in that case, would be a safer convoy than a man of war. Every thing that is right or natural pleads for separation. The blood of the slain, the weeping voice of nature cries, 'TIS TIME TO PART. Even the distance at which the Almighty hath placed England and America, is a strong and natural proof, that the authority of the one, over the other, was never the design of Heaven. The time likewise at which the continent was discovered, adds weight to the argument, and the manner in which it was peopled increases the force of it. The reformation was preceded by the discovery of America, as if the Almighty graciously meant to open a sanctuary to the Persecuted in future years, when home should afford neither friendship nor safety.

The authority of Great Britain over this continent, is a form of government, which sooner or later must have an end: And a serious mind can draw no true pleasure by looking forward under the painful and positive conviction, that what he calls "the present constitution" is merely temporary. As parents, we can have no joy, knowing that THIS GOVERNMENT is not sufficiently lasting to ensure any thing which we may bequeath to posterity: And by a plain method of argument, as we are running the next generation into debt, we ought to do the work of it, otherwise we use them meanly and pitifully. In order to discover the line of our duty rightly, we should take our children in our hand, and fix our station a few years farther into life; that eminence will present a prospect, which a few present fears and prejudices conceal from our sight.

Though I would carefully avoid giving unnecessary offense, yet I am inclined to believe, that all those who espouse the doctrine of reconciliation, may be included within the following descriptions. Interested men, who are not to be trusted; weak men, who CANNOT see; prejudiced men, who WILL NOT see; and a certain set of moderate men, who think better of the European world than it deserves; and this last class, by an ill-judged deliberation, will be the cause of more calamities to this continent, than all the other three.

It is the good fortune of many to live distant from the scene of

sorrow; the evil is not sufficient brought to their doors to make THEM feel the precariousness with which all American property is possessed. But let our imaginations transport us for a few moments to Boston, that seat of wretchedness will teach us wisdom, and instruct us for ever to renounce a power in whom we can have no trust. The inhabitants of that unfortunate city, who but a few months ago were in ease and affluence, have now, no other alternative than to stay and starve, or turn and beg. Endangered by the fire of their friends if they continue within the city, and plundered by the soldiery if they leave it. In their present condition they are prisoners without the hope of redemption, and in a general attack for their relief, they would be exposed to the fury of both armies.

Men of passive tempers look somewhat lightly over the offenses of Britain, and, still hoping for the best, are apt to call out, "COME, COME, WE SHALL BE FRIENDS AGAIN, FOR ALL THIS." But examine the passions and feelings of mankind, Bring the doctrine of reconciliation to the touchstone of nature, and then tell me, whether you can hereafter love, honor, and faithfully serve the power that hath carried fire and sword into your land? If you cannot do all these, then are you only deceiving yourselves, and by your delay bringing ruin upon posterity. Your future connection with Britain, whom you can neither love nor honor will be forced and unnatural, and being formed only on the plan of present convenience, will in a little time fall into a relapse more wretched than the first. But if you say, you can still pass the violations over, then I ask, Hath your house been burnt? Hath your property been destroyed before your face! Are your wife and children destitute of a bed to lie on, or bread to live on? Have you lost a parent or a child by their hands, and yourself the ruined and wretched survivor! If you have not, then are you not a judge of those who have. But if you have, and still can shake hands with the murderers, then are you unworthy of the name of husband, father, friend, or lover, and whatever may be your rank or title in life, you have the heart of a coward, and the spirit of a sycophant.

This is not inflaming or exaggerating matters, but trying them by those feelings and affections which nature justifies, and without which, we should be incapable of discharging the social duties of life, or enjoying the felicities of it. I mean not to exhibit horror for the purpose of provoking revenge, but to awaken us from fatal and unmanly slumbers, that we may pursue determinately some fixed object. It is not in the power of Britain or of Europe to conquer America, if she do not conquer herself by DELAY and TIMIDITY. The present winter is worth an age if rightly employed, but if lost or neglected, the whole continent will partake of the misfortune; and there is no punishment which that man will not deserve, be he who, or what, or where he will, that may be the means of sacrificing a season so precious and useful.

It is repugnant to reason, to the universal order of things, to all examples from former ages, to suppose, that this continent can longer remain subject to any external power. The most sanguine in Britain does not think so. The utmost stretch of human wisdom cannot, at this time, compass a plan short of separation, which can promise the continent even a year's security. Reconciliation is NOW a fallacious dream. Nature hath deserted the connection, and Art cannot supply her place. For, as Milton wisely expresses, "never can true reconcilment

grow, where wounds of deadly hate have pierced so deep."

Every quiet method for peace hath been ineffectual. Our prayers have been rejected with disdain; and only tended to convince us, that nothing flatters vanity, or confirms obstinacy in Kings more than repeated petitioning--and nothing hath contributed more than that very measure to make the Kings of Europe absolute: Witness Denmark and Sweden. Wherefore, since nothing but blows will do, for God's sake, let us come to a final separation, and not leave the next generation to be cutting throats, under the violated unmeaning names of parent and child.

To say, they will never attempt it again is idle and visionary, we thought so at the repeal of the stamp-act, yet a year or two undeceived us; as well may we suppose that nations, which have been once defeated, will never renew the quarrel.

As to government matters, it is not in the power of Britain to do this continent justice: The business of it will soon be too weighty, and intricate, to be managed with any tolerable degree of convenience, by a power so distant from us, and so very ignorant of us; for if they cannot conquer us, they cannot govern us. To be always running three or four thousand miles with a tale or a petition, waiting four or five months for an answer, which when obtained requires five or six more to explain it in, will in a few years be looked upon as folly and childishness--There was a time when it was proper, and there is a proper time for it to cease.

Small islands not capable of protecting themselves, are the proper objects for kingdoms to take under their care; but there is something very absurd, in supposing a continent to be perpetually governed by an island. In no instance hath nature made the satellite larger than its primary planet, and as England and America, with respect to each other, reverses the common order of nature, it is evident they belong to different systems; England to Europe, America to itself.

I am not induced by motives of pride, party, or resentment to espouse the doctrine of separation and independance; I am clearly, positively, and conscientiously persuaded that it is the true interest of this continent to be so; that every thing short of THAT is mere patchwork, that it can afford no lasting felicity, --that it is leaving the sword to our children, and shrinking back at a time, when, a little more, a little farther, would have rendered this continent the glory of the earth.

As Britain hath not manifested the least inclination towards a compromise, we may be assured that no terms can be obtained worthy the acceptance of the continent, or any ways equal to the expense of blood and treasure we have been already put to.

The object, contended for, ought always to bear some just proportion to the expense. The removal of North, or the whole detestable junto, is a matter unworthy the millions we have expended. A temporary stoppage of trade, was an inconvenience, which would have sufficiently balanced the repeal of all the acts complained of, had such repeals been obtained; but if the whole continent must take up arms, if every man must be a

soldier, it is scarcely worth our while to fight against a contemptible ministry only. Dearly, dearly, do we pay for the repeal of the acts, if that is all we fight for; for in a just estimation, it is as great a folly to pay a Bunker-hill price for law, as for land. As I have always considered the independancy of this continent, as an event, which sooner or later must arrive, so from the late rapid progress of the continent to maturity, the event could not be far off. Wherefore, on the breaking out of hostilities, it was not worth while to have disputed a matter, which time would have finally redressed, unless we meant to be in earnest; otherwise, it is like wasting an estate on a suit at law, to regulate the trespasses of a tenant, whose lease is just expiring. No man was a warmer wisher for reconciliation than myself, before the fatal nineteenth of April 1775, but the moment the event of that day was made known, I rejected the hardened, sullen tempered Pharaoh of England for ever; and disdain the wretch, that with the pretended title of FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE can unfeelingly hear of their slaughter, and composedly sleep with their blood upon his soul.

But admitting that matters were now made up, what would be the event? I answer, the ruin of the continent. And that for several reasons.

FIRST. The powers of governing still remaining in the hands of the king, he will have a negative over the whole legislation of this continent. And as he hath shewn himself such an inveterate enemy to liberty, and discovered such a thirst for arbitrary power; is he, or is he not, a proper man to say to these colonies, "YOU SHALL MAKE NO LAWS BUT WHAT I PLEASE." And is there any inhabitant in America so ignorant as not to know, that according to what is called the PRESENT CONSTITUTION, that this continent can make no laws but what the king gives leave to; and is there any man so unwise, as not to see, that (considering what has happened) he will suffer no law to be made here, but such as suit HIS purpose. We may be as effectually enslaved by the want of laws in America, as by submitting to laws made for us in England. After matters are made up (as it is called) can there be any doubt, but the whole power of the crown will be exerted, to keep this continent as low and humble as possible? Instead of going forward we shall go backward, or be perpetually quarrelling or ridiculously petitioning. --WE are already greater than the king wishes us to be, and will he not hereafter endeavour to make us less? To bring the matter to one point. Is the power who is jealous of our prosperity, a proper power to govern us? Whoever says No to this question, is an INDEPENDANT, for independancy means no more, than, whether we shall make our own laws, or whether the king, the greatest enemy this continent hath, or can have, shall tell us "THERE SHALL BE NO LAWS BUT SUCH AS I LIKE."

But the king you will say has a negative in England; the people there can make no laws without his consent. In point of right and good order, there is something very ridiculous, that a youth of twenty-one (which hath often happened) shall say to several millions of people, older and wiser than himself, I forbid this or that act of yours to be law. But in this place I decline this sort of reply, though I will never cease to expose the absurdity of it, and only answer, that England being the King's residence, and America not so, makes quite another case. The king's negative HERE is ten times more dangerous and fatal than it can be in England, for THERE he will scarcely refuse his

consent to a bill for putting England into as strong a state of defense as possible, and in America he would never suffer such a bill to be passed.

America is only a secondary object in the system of British politics, England consults the good of THIS country, no farther than it answers her OWN purpose. Wherefore, her own interest leads her to suppress the growth of OURS in every case which doth not promote her advantage, or in the least interferes with it. A pretty state we should soon be in under such a secondhand government, considering what has happened! Men do not change from enemies to friends by the alteration of a name: And in order to shew that reconciliation now is a dangerous doctrine, I affirm, THAT IT WOULD BE POLICY IN THE KING AT THIS TIME, TO REPEAL THE ACTS FOR THE SAKE OF REINSTATING HIMSELF IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCES; in order, that HE MAY ACCOMPLISH BY CRAFT AND SUBTLETY, IN THE LONG RUN, WHAT HE CANNOT DO BY FORCE AND VIOLENCE IN THE SHORT ONE. Reconciliation and ruin are nearly related.

SECONDLY. That as even the best terms, which we can expect to obtain, can amount to no more than a temporary expedient, or a kind of government by guardianship, which can last no longer than till the colonies come of age, so the general face and state of things, in the interim, will be unsettled and unpromising. Emigrants of property will not choose to come to a country whose form of government hangs but by a thread, and who is every day tottering on the brink of commotion and disturbance; and numbers of the present inhabitants would lay hold of the interval, to dispense of their effects, and quit the continent.

But the most powerful of all arguments, is, that nothing but independence, i.e. a continental form of government, can keep the peace of the continent and preserve it inviolate from civil wars. I dread the event of a reconciliation with Britain now, as it is more than probable, that it will be followed by a revolt somewhere or other, the consequences of which may be far more fatal than all the malice of Britain.

Thousands are already ruined by British barbarity; (thousands more will probably suffer the same fate.) Those men have other feelings than us who have nothing suffered. All they NOW possess is liberty, what they before enjoyed is sacrificed to its service, and having nothing more to lose, they disdain submission. Besides, the general temper of the colonies, towards a British government, will be like that of a youth, who is nearly out of his time; they will care very little about her. And a government which cannot preserve the peace, is no government at all, and in that case we pay our money for nothing; and pray what is it that Britain can do, whose power will be wholly on paper, should a civil tumult break out the very day after reconciliation! I have heard some men say, many of whom I believe spoke without thinking, that they dreaded an independence, fearing that it would produce civil wars. It is but seldom that our first thoughts are truly correct, and that is the case here; for there are ten times more to dread from a patched up connection than from independence. I make the sufferers case my own, and I protest, that were I driven from house and home, my property destroyed, and my circumstances ruined, that as man, sensible of injuries, I could never relish the doctrine of reconciliation, or consider myself bound thereby.

The colonies have manifested such a spirit of good order and obedience to continental government, as is sufficient to make every reasonable person easy and happy on that head. No man can assign the least pretence for his fears, on any other grounds, than such as are truly childish and ridiculous, viz. that one colony will be striving for superiority over another.

Where there are no distinctions there can be no superiority, perfect equality affords no temptation. The republics of Europe are all (and we may say always) in peace. Holland and Switzerland are without wars, foreign or domestic: Monarchical governments, it is true, are never long at rest; the crown itself is a temptation to enterprising ruffians at HOME; and that degree of pride and insolence ever attendant on regal authority, swells into a rupture with foreign powers, in instances, where a republican government, by being formed on more natural principles, would negotiate the mistake.

If there is any true cause of fear respecting independence, it is because no plan is yet laid down. Men do not see their way out-- Wherefore, as an opening into that business, I offer the following hints; at the same time modestly affirming, that I have no other opinion of them myself, than that they may be the means of giving rise to something better. Could the straggling thoughts of individuals be collected, they would frequently form materials for wise and able men to improve into useful matter.

LET the assemblies be annual, with a President only. The representation more equal. Their business wholly domestic, and subject to the authority of a Continental Congress.

Let each colony be divided into six, eight, or ten, convenient districts, each district to send a proper number of delegates to Congress, so that each colony send at least thirty. The whole number in Congress will be at least 390. Each Congress to sit and to choose a president by the following method. When the delegates are met, let a colony be taken from the whole thirteen colonies by lot, after which, let the whole Congress choose (by ballot) a president from out of the delegates of that province. In the next Congress, let a colony be taken by lot from twelve only, omitting that colony from which the president was taken in the former Congress, and so proceeding on till the whole thirteen shall have had their proper rotation. And in order that nothing may pass into a law but what is satisfactorily just not less than three fifths of the Congress to be called a majority-- He that will promote discord, under a government so equally formed as this, would have joined Lucifer in his revolt.

But as there is a peculiar delicacy, from whom, or in what manner, this business must first arise, and as it seems most agreeable and consistent, that it should come from some intermediate body between the governed and the governors, that is, between the Congress and the people. Let a CONTINENTAL CONFERENCE be held, in the following manner, and for the following purpose.

A committee of twenty-six members of Congress, viz. two for each colony. Two Members from each House of Assembly, or Provincial

Convention; and five representatives of the people at large, to be chosen in the capital city or town of each province, for and in behalf of the whole province, by as many qualified voters as shall think proper to attend from all parts of the province for that purpose; or, if more convenient, the representatives may be chosen in two or three of the most populous parts thereof. In this conference, thus assembled, will be united, the two grand principles of business KNOWLEDGE and POWER. The members of Congress, Assemblies, or Conventions, by having had experience in national concerns, will be able and useful counsellors, and the whole, being empowered by the people, will have a truly legal authority.

The conferring members being met, let their business be to frame a CONTINENTAL CHARTER, or Charter of the United Colonies; (answering to what is called the Magna Carta of England) fixing the number and manner of choosing members of Congress, members of Assembly, with their date of sitting, and drawing the line of business and jurisdiction between them: (Always remembering, that our strength is continental, not provincial:) Securing freedom and property to all men, and above all things, the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; with such other matter as is necessary for a charter to contain. Immediately after which, the said Conference to dissolve, and the bodies which shall be chosen conformable to the said charter, to be the legislators and governors of this continent for the time being: Whose peace and happiness may God preserve, Amen.

Should any body of men be hereafter delegated for this or some similar purpose, I offer them the following extracts from that wise observer on governments DRAGONETTI. "The science" says he "of the politician consists in fixing the true point of happiness and freedom. Those men would deserve the gratitude of ages, who should discover a mode of government that contained the greatest sum of individual happiness, with the least national expense."^[1]

But where, says some, is the King of America? I'll tell you. Friend, he reigns above, and doth not make havoc of mankind like the Royal Brute of Britain. Yet that we may not appear to be defective even in earthly honors, let a day be solemnly set apart for proclaiming the charter; let it be brought forth placed on the divine law, the word of God; let a crown be placed thereon, by which the world may know, that so far as we approve of monarchy, that in America THE LAW IS KING. For as in absolute governments the King is law, so in free countries the law OUGHT to be King; and there ought to be no other. But lest any ill use should afterwards arise, let the crown at the conclusion of the ceremony, be demolished, and scattered among the people whose right it is.

A government of our own is our natural right: And when a man seriously reflects on the precariousness of human affairs, he will become convinced, that it is infinitely wiser and safer, to form a constitution of our own in a cool deliberate manner, while we have it in our power, than to trust such an interesting event to time and chance. If we omit it now, some^[2] Massanello may hereafter arise, who laying hold of popular disquietudes, may collect together the desperate and the discontented, and by assuming to themselves the powers of government, may sweep away the liberties of the continent

like a deluge. Should the government of America return again into the hands of Britain, the tottering situation of things will be a temptation for some desperate adventurer to try his fortune; and in such a case, that relief can Britain give? Ere she could hear the news, the fatal business might be done; and ourselves suffering like the wretched Britons under the oppression of the Conqueror. Ye that oppose independence now, ye know not what ye do; ye are opening a door to eternal tyranny, by keeping vacant the seat of government. There are thousands, and tens of thousands, who would think it glorious to expel from the continent that barbarous and hellish power, which hath stirred up the Indians and Negroes to destroy us; the cruelty hath a double guilt, it is dealing brutally by us, and treacherously by them.

To talk of friendship with those in whom our reason forbids us to have faith, and our affections wounded through a thousand pores instruct us to detest, is madness and folly. Every day wears out the little remains of kindred between us and them, and can there be any reason to hope, that as the relationship expires, the affection will increase, or that we shall agree better, when we have ten times more and greater concerns to quarrel over than ever?

Ye that tell us of harmony and reconciliation, can ye restore to us the time that is past? Can ye give to prostitution its former innocence? Neither can ye reconcile Britain and America. The last cord now is broken, the people of England are presenting addresses against us. There are injuries which nature cannot forgive; she would cease to be nature if she did. As well can the lover forgive the ravisher of his mistress, as the continent forgive the murders of Britain. The Almighty hath implanted in us these unextinguishable feelings for good and wise purposes. They are the guardians of his image in our hearts. They distinguish us from the herd of common animals. The social compact would dissolve, and justice be extirpated the earth, or have only a casual existence were we callous to the touches of affection. The robber, and the murderer, would often escape unpunished, did not the injuries which our tempers sustain, provoke us into justice.

O ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose, not only the tyranny, but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia, and Africa, have long expelled her--Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O! receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind.

APPENDIX B: A SAMPLING OF LOGICAL FALLACY TYPES

Weida, Stacy. "Using Rhetorical Strategies for Persuasion." *Purdue Online Writing Lab*. Purdue Owl, 2012. Web. 6 Jul 2012. < <http://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/588/04/>>.

Slippery slope: This is a conclusion based on the premise that if A happens, then eventually through a series of small steps, through B, C,..., X, Y, Z will happen, too, basically equating A and Z. So, if we don't want Z to occur A must not be allowed to occur either.

Example: If we ban Hummers because they are bad for the environment eventually the government will ban all cars, so we should not ban Hummers.

In this example the author is equating banning Hummers with banning all cars, which is not the same thing.

Hasty Generalization: This is a conclusion based on insufficient or biased evidence. In other words, you are rushing to a conclusion before you have all the relevant facts.

Example: Even though it's only the first day, I can tell this is going to be a boring course.

In this example the author is basing their evaluation of the entire course on only one class, and on the first day which is notoriously boring and full of housekeeping tasks for most courses. To make a fair and reasonable evaluation the author must attend several classes, and possibly even examine the textbook, talk to the professor, or talk to others who have previously finished the course in order to have sufficient evidence to base a conclusion on.

Post hoc ergo propter hoc: This is a conclusion that assumes that if 'B' occurred after 'A' then 'A' must have caused 'B.'

Example: I drank bottled water and now I am sick, so the water must have made me sick.

In this example the author assumes that if one event chronologically follows another the first event must have caused the second. But the illness could have been caused by the burrito the night before, a flu bug that had been working on the body for days or a chemical spill across campus. There is no reason, without more evidence, to assume the water caused the person to be sick.

Genetic Fallacy: A conclusion is based on an argument that the origins of a person, idea, institute, or theory determine its character, nature, or worth.

Example: The Volkswagen Beetle is an evil car because it was originally designed by Hitler's army.

In this example the author is equating the character of a car with the character of the people who built the car.

Begging the Claim: The conclusion that the writer should prove is validated within the claim.

Example: Filthy and polluting coal should be banned.

Arguing that coal pollutes the earth and thus should be banned would be logical. But the very conclusion that should be proved, that coal causes enough pollution to warrant banning its use, is already assumed in the claim by referring to it as "filthy and polluting."

Circular Argument: This restates the argument rather than actually proving it.

Example: Politician X is a good communicator because he speaks effectively.

In this example the conclusion that X is a "good communicator" and the evidence used to prove it "he speaks effectively" are basically the same idea. Specific evidence such as using everyday language, breaking down complex problems, or illustrating his points with humorous stories would be needed to prove either half of the sentence.

Either/or: This is a conclusion that oversimplifies the argument by reducing it to only two sides or choices.

Example: We can either stop using cars or destroy the earth.

In this example where two choices are presented as the only options, yet the author ignores a range of choices in between such as developing cleaner technology, car sharing systems for necessities and emergencies, or better community planning to discourage daily driving.

Ad hominem: This is an attack on the character of a person rather than their opinions or arguments.

Example: Green Peace's strategies aren't effective because they are all dirty, lazy hippies.

In this example the author doesn't even name particular strategies Green Peace has suggested, much less evaluate those strategies on their merits. Instead, the author attacks the characters of the individuals in the group.

Ad populum: This is an emotional appeal that speaks to positive (such as patriotism, religion, democracy) or negative (such as terrorism or fascism) concepts rather than the real issue at hand.

Example: If you were a true American you would support the rights of people to choose whatever vehicle they want.

In this example the author equates being a "true American," a concept that people want to be associated with, particularly in a time of war, with allowing people to buy any vehicle they want even though there is no inherent connection between the two.

Red Herring: This is a diversionary tactic that avoids the key issues, often by avoiding opposing arguments rather than addressing them.

Example: The level of mercury in seafood may be unsafe, but what will fishers do to support their families.

In this example the author switches the discussion away from the safety of the food and talks instead about an economic issue, the livelihood of those catching fish. While one issue may affect the other, it does not mean we should ignore possible safety issues because of possible economic consequences to a few individuals.