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NATIONAL AID TO EDUCATION .

By

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MINNEAPOLIS , MINNESOTA ,

MAY 12 , 1908.

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NATIONAL AID TO SCHOOLS.

I Introduction.

At the present time few matters pertaining to public welfare have more significance for Americans than those which reveal the existing condition of our public schools, the places in which it fails to meet modern needs, and the logical and most expedient method by which to make the necessary changes and additions. Perhaps no features of American educational progress today mean more to us than those which pertain to industrial training and to securing national aid for its support.

This thesis is a brief study of the part the Federal Government has had in relation to education, the present condition of the public schools, their needs, their support, and the responsibility which devolves upon the National Government for their future support. It attempts, also, to meet the objections which may be advanced against the proposed national aid: that such aid will have a decentralizing tendency, that it will pauperize the states, and that it is unconstitutional.

Such a study seems particularly opportune. Greater efficiency is demanded of our present system of schools and there is a pressing need of such schools as shall accomplish for the masses that which, if we read the times correctly, must surely soon be done. Industrial education is an acute problem of tremendous significance.

In the following study an attempt has been made:

1. To show what the Federal Government has done up to the present time for schools in the United States.

2. To show the need of national aid to schools (a) by describing the actual condition of the public schools; (b) by indicating the place of industrial training in a modern system of education; (c) by comparing conditions in this respect with those in Germany; (d) by showing the inability of localities and states to do much more than at present; and (e) by showing that the welfare of the nation demands that a part of its revenue be used to further the education of its people.

3. To meet objections that are advanced by legislators against the proposed national aid to schools.

II History of Federal Aid To Schools.

A. The Development of State Education in the United States.

Dr. F. W. Blackmar, in his History of Federal and State Aid to Education, states: "There has been a manifest tendency in all legislation to foster learning and favor those connected with institutions of higher education, and it is no small matter that so many of the states of the Union have declared in their Constitutions for the protection and fostering care of higher education. Nearly every state constitution has a section relating to the encouragement of science, literature, learning, etc." Out of the forty six states, 3 have provisions authorizing the establishment and maintenance of a state university, while 24 states have established universities by statute laws.

The Federal Government has granted lands and funds to the states and the states have, in turn, appropriated large sums for education.

In another way have the institutions been favored by the states. In nearly every instance colleges have been exempted from taxation. In 1885 this exemption amounted to \$2797583. This means the education of some thousands of young men yearly, a constant factor in the encouragement of higher learning.

The attitude of the Federal Government and of the states is constantly increasing in favor of added encouragement to education, and not to do less.

"Whatever ideas men may have had of national education, or of national aid for higher education, the precedents of the colonies and states were already established in regard to all of the points considered. Land had been granted by the several colonies for the maintenance

of schools; schools had been supported from the public treasury. But ⁶ as public sentiment grew in favor of Union, there was also the accompanying development of the Federal idea of education. It was observed that education was to be the nation's defence, and as such it was advocated strenuously by the greatest statesmen. The sentiments in favor of distinctly national schools were not, however, sufficiently universal to carry out any well laid plans; and Congress, although encouraging and supporting education, has thrown the chief responsibility upon the several states.

Besides the Military Academy at West Point and the Naval Academy at Annapolis, the Federal Government has managed no schools, although by libraries and museums it has added to the general sum of knowledge. The great plan has been to furnish the various states with means for the education of all within their respective domains, although many statesmen desired a more decided policy on the part of the Federal Government.^a

George Washington exerted a profound influence over the early ventures made by our government. He diligently used his influence to create sentiment in favor of national education. In his first message to Congress he says: "Nor am I less persuaded that you will agree with me in opinion that there is nothing more deserving your patronage than the promotion of science and literature. Knowledge in every country is the surest basis of public happiness. In one in which the measures of government receive their impressions so immediately from the sense of the community as ours it is

^aBlackmar: Federal and State Aid to Higher Education, p. 29

proportionally essential"^a. In 1796, he says: "The assembly to which I address myself is too enlightened not to be fully sensible how much a flourishing state of the arts and sciences contributes to national prosperity and reputation." Advocating the establishment of a national university, he continues: "True it is that our country contains many seminaries of learning highly respectable and useful; but the funds upon which they rest are too narrow to command the ablest professors in the different departments of liberal knowledge for the institution contemplated, though they would be excellent auxiliaries. Among the motives to such an institution the assimilation of principles, opinions, and manners of our countrymen by the common education of our youth from every quarter well deserves attention; and a primary object of such a national institution should be the education of our youth in the science of government."^b

Previous to these declarations by Washington on national aid to education, two statesmen had taken a firm position in favor of a national university in their deliberations as members of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, over which Washington presided. These were Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, and James Madison, of Virginia. On the 29th of May the former offered to the Convention a plan for a Federal Constitution, which, among other powers of Congress, authorized it "to establish and provide for a national university at the seat of government of the United States"^c. His plan was not accepted, and in the discussion of the Randolph constitution, Mr. Pinckney, followed by Mr. Madison, moved, on the 14th of September, to insert in the list of powers vested in Congress a power "to establish a university in which no preferences or distinctions should be allowed on account of religion"^d.

^a Sparks, XII, 9
^b Ibid., 74

^c Madison Papers, II, 740
^d Madison Papers, III, 1577

The matter was dropped on the ground that Congress already had sufficient power to enact laws for the support, in any way it saw fit, of national education. Later Congresses have so construed their constitutional right that aid to schools has been given in numerous instances.

These brief statements show clearly that the leaders during early periods of our government urged measures favorable to education. More recently, in 1874, ex-President White, of Cornell University, defended state and national support of education in strong terms. He formulated the following propositions in answer to an address in which President Eliot, of Harvard, took strong grounds against state support to higher education: "The main provision for advanced education in the United States must be made by the people at large acting through their legislatures to endow and maintain institutions of higher learning, fully equipped and free from sectarian control. I argue, first, that the past history of the higher education in the United States raises a strong presumption in favor of making it a matter for public civil action, rather than leaving it to the prevailing system of sectarian development".—"I argue, next, that careful public supervision by the people for their own system of advanced instruction is the only republican and the only democratic method".—"Again, I argue that public provision, that is, the decision and provision by each generation as to its own advanced education, is alone worthy of our dignity

as citizens".—"Again, I argue, that by public provision can private gifts be best stimulated."—"Again, I argue, that not only does a due regard for the material prosperity of the nation demand a more regular and thorough public provision for advanced education, but that our highest political interests demand it."—"And, finally,^I insist that it is a duty of society to itself, a duty in the highest sense, a duty which it cannot throw off, to see that the stock of genius and talent of each generation shall have opportunity for development, that it may increase the world's stock and aid in the world's work?^a

Dr. White emphasized the needs of the higher institutions of learning. There is much to be said for national aid to elementary and secondary schools that his arguments, in view of present-day conditions, throw light on.

In 1796 a memorial was presented before Congress praying for the foundation of a University.^b Again in 1811 a committee was appointed to report on the question.^c In 1816, another committee failed to request favorable action.^d Not until 1873 was another attempt made. This bill did not pass.^e

There are several bills before the present Congress that have the purpose to establish a university of the United States. The movement has received an impetus that bids fair to result in favorable action at a time not far distant. In another section will be shown the steps the national government has already taken along lines that can properly be called university research work so that if the organization has not yet been formally made the work has actually been carried on for many years.

a^a National and State Governments and Advanced Education"; Am. Jour. of Soc. Sci., No. 7, 1874, 302-11
 b Ex. Doc., 4th Cong., 2d Sess.
 c " 11 " 3d "
 d " 14 " 2d "
 e Ho. R. No. 89, 42d Cong., 3d Sess., I, 90
 f H. R. 19465, 60th " , 1st "
 S. 6481, " " , " "

B. The History of Federal Aid to Education.

1. Massachusetts Constitution of 1780.

It is possible to give with some degree of accuracy the amount of public aid for promoting a project which was first distinctly mentioned and connected with free government in the Massachusetts constitution of 1780 and subsequently repeated, enlarged in matter and condensed in form, in connection with the so-called "Ordinance of 1787", or constitution for the new states that were to be formed in the interior of the continent. This original provision of the constitution of Massachusetts reads as follows:-

Wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused generally among the body of the people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties; and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country, and among different orders of the people, it shall be the duty of the legislatures and magistrates, in all future periods of this Commonwealth, to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them; especially to university at Cambridge, public schools, and grammar schools in the towns (nothing is said about rural schools); to encourage private societies and public institutions, by rewards and immunities, for the promotion of agriculture, arts, sciences, commerce, trades, manufactures, and a natural history of the country; to countenance and inculcate the principles of humanity and general benevolence, public and private charity, industry and frugality, honesty and punctuality in their dealings; sincerity, good humor, and all social affections and generous sentiments among the people.

2. The Ordinance of 1787.

This ordinance^a set forth and declared it to be a high and binding duty of the government to support schools and advance the means of education. Section sixteen of every township was reserved for the maintenance of public schools and two townships of land were provided for the support of a university. Daniel Webster recognized the greatness of the Ordinance when he said:^b "I doubt whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more dis-

^a Webster's Works, III, 263

^b Ibid.

inct, marked, and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787."

3. Act of 1803.

In 1803 an Act Of Congress granted the sixteenth section of each township in the Mississippi valley for education, and later, by similar enactments, for other acquisitions, except Texas, which retained the title to her public lands under a bargain made at the time of her admission into the Union.

4. Act of 1848.

In 1848, on the organization of the Territory of Oregon, the quantity of land reserved for the benefit of the common schools was doubled; and to each new territory organized and state admitted since, except West Virginia, the sixteenth and thirtysixth sections of every township, one-eighteenth of the entire area, have been granted for common schools. Two or more townships have been granted to each state admitted since 1800 to endow a university.

5. Distribution of the Surpl^s Revenue in 1836.

Under an act^a of Congress passed in 1836, the surplus in the nation's treasury at the beginning of the next year was ordered to be distributed, after deducting the sum of five million dollars, among the several states. Eight of the twenty seven states that shared in the distribution used their funds to support education; two used one-half of the income from the funds for schools; and five states devoted a part of the income. A total of \$28,101,645^b was distributed of which one-half, at least, was used for education.

6. The Congressional Grant of 1862.

Next to the Ordinance of 1787, the Congressional grant of 1862 is the most important educational enactment in America. Though less

^a U.S. Statutes at Large, V 5, quoted by Blackmar.

^b Blackmar, Fed. and St. Aid to Hr. Educ., U.S. Dept. Educ., 1890, p. 46.

than a half century has elapsed since the acceptance of this gift by the majority of the states, far-reaching results have already been attained from this well-timed donation. With proper treatment the donation itself was a magnificent aid for the actual support of higher learning; but its chief excellence consists in the stimulation which it gave to state and local enterprise. By this gift 59 colleges and universities have received aid, at least to the extent of the Congressional grant; 44 of these, at least, have been called into existence by means of this act. In thirteen states the proceeds of the land scrip were devoted to institutions already in existence. The amount received from the sales of land scrip from twenty-four of these states aggregates the sum of \$13,930,456, with land remaining unsold estimated at nearly two millions of dollars. These same institutions have received state endowments amounting to over eight million dollars.

The origin of this gift must be sought in local communities. [must be sought in local communities]. In this country all ideas of national education have arisen from those states that have felt the need of local institutions for the education of youth. In certain sections of the Union, particularly the North and West, where agriculture was one of the chief industries, it was felt that the old classical schools were not broad enough to cover all the wants of education represented by growing industries. There was consequently a revulsion from these schools toward the industrial and practical side of education.

Evidences of this movement are seen in the attempts in different states to found agricultural, technical, and industrial schools.^a

a Blackmar, pp. 47, 48

This act stipulated to grant to each state thirty thousand acres of land for each Senator and Representative in Congress to which the states were respectively entitled in 1862 for the purpose of endowing at least one college where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, to teach such branches as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in such manner as the legislatures of the states may respectively prescribe. Military tactics were also to be taught.

This law has proved a stimulus to the generosity of the people and the liberality of the states. In 1890, the amount [the amount] of expenditures on the part of the states in response to the Congressional grant equals an amount nearly equal to that realized from the original gift.^a The states have continued to show that this governmental aid did not pauperize them, as some opponents of federal subsidies for education would lead us to suppose would be the case. The policy has rather aided to build up a rational education that has proved itself of immense value to the country.

"It is worthy of attention that the responsibility was thrown upon the states entirely, and that in so far as the administration of the funds was concerned, it was state rather than national education. The National Government charged upon the states the effective working of a system of education which allowed the most liberal construction."^b

a Blackmar, p. 50

b Blackmar, p. 50

7. Experiment Stations.

A supplementary act of Congress, approved Mar. 2nd, 1887, authorizes the establishment of experiment stations in connection with agricultural colleges. \$15,000 was appropriated at first to each state. This amount has been increased so that after 1905 each state received \$25,000 for this purpose.^C Up to the year 1886, \$8,000,000 had been appropriated for this work. Since that time the appropriation has been about \$1,700,000 annually.

8. Branch Experiment Stations.

These have been established thru later action by Congress. Minnesota has a branch station at Crookston, and a farm at Grand Rapids.

9. Pending Legislation.

A bill by Representative Davis, Of Minnesota, H.R. 18204, "to provide an appropriation for agricultural and industrial instruction in secondary schools, for normal instruction in agricultural and industrial subjects in normal schools, and for branch agricultural experiment stations, and regulating the expenditure thereof"^a has for its object the furtherance of industrial education in all states of the union.

A bill by Senator Burkett, Of Nebraska, S. 3392, "to provide for the advancement of instruction in agriculture, manual training, and home economics in the state normal schools of the United States"^b has for its object a purpose similar to that mentioned for the so-called Davis bill.

A bill by Representative Wiley, H.R. 536, "to aid in the establish-

a 60th Cong., Feb. 27, 1908. (1st sess.)

b " " Jan. 9, 1908. "

c SEE p. 20

ment and temporary support of common schools^a provides for aid to schools for eight years on the basis of illiteracy.

The movement in educational work that has caused these bills to be actively supported by a large and influential class of intelligent and far-seeing citizens will be discussed in Part III.

10. Proceeds of the Sale of Public Lands.

Besides ~~thru~~ these measures Congress has appropriated liberally the proceeds of the sale of public lands for schools. Up to 1876 it is estimated that \$2,997,234, have been devoted for educational uses.^b

Saline and swamp lands were granted the several states, by an Act passed in 1850,^c after being redeemed by the states. Many of the states devoted these lands to the cause of education.

11. Grants for Internal Improvements.

It was enacted by Congress in 1841 that some states should receive 500,000 acres of land for the purpose of internal improvements. By special stipulations in accepting this grant seven of the states more recently admitted^e have reserved the proceeds of the sales of these lands for the benefit of free schools.

12. Aid for Colored Schools.

"The General Government has also expended large sums for the benefit of colored schools^f."

13. West Point Military Academy.

It was mentioned early by several of the early statesmen, particularly Washington, and in 1802 it was formally established. It is significant to note that Jefferson in discussing the clause of Washington's

a60th Cong., 1st Sess., Dec. 2, 1907.

bBlackmar, p. 53

c Rev. Statutes of U.S., sec. 2479-90

d U.S. at large, V, 455.

e Cal., Nev., Oregon, Iowa, Wis., and Colo. from Blackmar, p. 54.

f Blackmar, p. 54.

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message of 1793 recommending the establishment of a military school at West Point thought that the power to create a military school lay outside of the Constitution. His opinion was not of sufficient weight to overrule the strong convictions of Washington and it seems that Jefferson himself after he became president had changed his views and strongly recommended the support of the academy.^a

14. The United States Naval Academy.

The United States Naval Academy was opened October 10, 1845.^b

15. The United States Naval Observatory.

In 1842 Congress authorized the Secretary of Navy to contract for the building of a U.S. Naval Observatory.^c

16. The Library Of Congress.

In 1800, the Library of Congress was established. The National Museum and The Smithsonian Institution have been formally taken over by Congress. In giving assistance to these institutions, the government has aided the cause of education and the spreading of universal knowledge in an important manner. The scientific and other resources of the government in Washington have been made available for advanced study and research as the government thru its educational agencies there established cooperates with universities, colleges, learned societies, and individuals.

17. The Bureau of Education.

The Bureau of Education has also done useful work in the collection and dissemination of knowledge. Its work has been generally confined to the collection, preservation, and arrangement of ed-

a Blackmar, p. 57

b Annual register of U.S.N.A., '84, from Blackmar, p. 59.

c Blackmar, p. 61

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educational statistics and the distribution of the same .The Bureau has also been intrusted with the work carried on by the government in establishing schools in the territory of Alaska.

18.A Summary .

From statistics gathered by the Commissioner of Education ^a ,it appears-

That the grant of 1787 and its successors in direct line to 1889 yielded \$5,000,000

That the grant of 1862 and its successors in direct line to 1889 yielded 10,500,000

That the grants of 1889-1894 including the earlier grants to the territories,now states,must yield 20,842,000

That Congress is annually appropriating

for agricultural and mechanical colleges a sum equal in 1897 to a capital,at 4 per cent,of 26,400,000

That Congress is annually appropriating for experiment stations a sum equal to a capital,at 4 per cent,of 18,000,000

Total \$80,742,000

Add to this sum the annual appropriations that have been made for the other educational projects that have received governmental aid since these statistics were published and the total will reach nearly \$125,000,000.This does not include aid for common schools.

According to the latest statistics ^b the permanent common school funds,state and local,amount at the present time to \$200,965,754.

Table I shows the area of lands donated by the government for educational purposes,under various general and special grants.

The participation by the federal government in the support of both elementary and higher education is thus shown to have been marked. It affords numerous precedents and shows that ,in general,the attitude of the lawmakers has been favorable toward granting such aid.

a U.S.Bureau of Ed.,Ch.XXIII,1896-7,p.1142.

b " " XIII,1906,p.315.

T A B L E I

STATE AND TERRITORY	Support of COMMON Schools	ACAD. SEM. or UNIV.	Agric or MECH. COLL.	INTER-NAL IMPROVEMENTS	SALINE LAND	SWAMP LAND	Agr. COLL. IN LIE of OTHER GRANT	Normal Sci. S. or College	RECAPITULATION
ALABAMA	901725	46080	240000	500000	23040	531355			
ARKANSAS	928057	46080	150000	500000	46080	8656372			
CALIFORNIA	5610702	46080	150000	500000				* 1000000	
COLORADO	3715555	46080	90000	500000	46080	1887685		* 1000000	
CONN.			180000						180000
DELAWARE			90000						90000
FLORIDA	1053653	92160	90000	500000		22244541			
GEORGIA			270000						270000
IDAHO	3063271	46080	90000				250000	* 1000000	
ILLINOIS	985141	46080	480000	500000	121029	3981784			
INDIANA	601049	46080	390000	500000	23040	1377727			
IOWA	978578	46080	240000	500000	46080	4570132			
KANSAS	2876124	46080	90000	500000	46080				
KENTUCKY			330000						330000
LOUISIANA	798085	46080	210000	500000		1176945			
MAINE			210000						210000
MARYLAND			210000						210000
MASS.			360000						360000
MICH.	1003573	46080	240000	500000	46080	7243159			
MINN.	2969991	92160	170000	500000	46080	4738549			
MISS.	838329	69120	210000	500000		3603921			
MO.	1162137	46080	330000	500000	46080	4843636			
MONT	5102107	46080	90000				250000	* 1000000	
NEBR.	2637155	46080	90000	500000	46080				

TABLE I [CONTINUED]

STATE AND TERRITORY	SUPPORT OF COMMON SCHOOLS	ACAD. SEM. or UNIV.	AGRIC. or MECH. COLL.	INT. IMPR.	SALINE	SWAMP	AGRIC. COLL. in lieu of other.	NORMAL U. or College	RECAPITULATION
NEVADA	3985422	46080	90000	500000				X 1000000	
NEW HAMPSHIRE			150000						150000
NEW JERSEY			210000						210000
NEW YORK			990000						990000
NORTH CAR.			290000						290000
NORTH DAK.	2581200	46080	90000				80000 40000	X 1000000	
Ohio	710610	69120	690000	500000	24216	117931		X	
OREGON	3387520	46080	90000	500000	46080	434428		X 1000000	
PENNA.			780000						780000
Rhode Is.			120000						120000
South Caro.			180000						180000
South DAK.	2812511	46080	120000				80000 40000 40000	X 140000 1000000	
TENN.			300000						300000
TEXAS			180000						180000
Utah	6007182	156080	200000				100000 100000	X 1000000	
VERMONT			150000						150000
Virginia			300000						300000
Washington	2458695	46080	90000				100000	X 1000000 1000000	
West VA.			150000						150000
Wisconsin	958649	92160	240000	500000		4569712			
Wyoming	3368924	46080	90000					X 1000000	
Arizona	4058946	46080							
New Mexico	4309369	46080						59920	
Oklahoma	1276204	59520	59520						
Total -	7112844 A	1644080 A	10429520 A	4500000 A	606045 A	8062032 A	130000 A	X 50000 200000 300000 130000 117000 A	186,262,402

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19. Legislation in Relation to Education by the 59th Congress, 1905-07.^a

b

(1) The Nelson Amendment.

The Nelson Amendment to the Act of 1890, generally known as the Second Morrill Act, provides for a more complete endowment for the maintenance of agricultural colleges now established under the Acts of 1862 and 1890. Each will receive \$5000 additional for five years, and annually thereafter, \$50,000. A provision was added allowing the use of a portion of this appropriation for the special preparation of instructors for the teaching of elementary agriculture and the mechanic arts. \$1,440,000 will be appropriated the year ending June 30th, 1908.

c

(2) The Adams Act.

The Adams Act increases the aid to the state experiment stations \$5,000 annually for the year ending June 30th, 1906, and adds \$2,000 annually for five years, or until the sum equals \$30,000 annually. This is an amendment to the Hatch Act of 1887.

(3) The Appropriations for Agricultural Education in the States by the National Government for the Years, 1907 and 1908.

Office of Experiment Stations	\$29,160	\$31,220
Agriculture Experiment Stations	803,500	827,000
Increase	<u>336,000</u>	<u>432,000</u>
	\$1,168,660.	\$ 1,290,000

(4) Land Grants.

There was appropriated for public schools a part of 10% of the income from Forest Reserves to be expended by the state legislatures.^d

Oklahoma received land for common schools^d, for a University

a U.S. Com. of Educ. Report, XXVI, 1906.
b, U.S. Stat. Chap. 2907; passed Mar. 4, 1907.
c " " " 951; " Mar. 16, 1906.
d " " " 3913; 6/30/06.

Preparatory School,^a

Sections 16 and 36 were granted to aid common schools; also, \$5,000,000, in lieu of those sections and other lands in Indian Territory.

A grant of 5 % of the proceeds of the sales of public lands was also passed.^b Besides this a grant of 1,050,000 acres was made for other purposes.

This, the most recent legislation by Congress of the same kind as that passed by previous Congresses from the beginning of our government.

a U.S.Stat. Ch. 3913, 1906.
b " " 3335, 1906.

III The Need Of National Aid.

A. The Present Condition of the Public Schools.

As a preliminary to my study of the need of national aid for elementary and secondary education in the United States, we need data concerning the efficiency of our schools in regard to what has been commonly regarded in the past the entire function of schools—to teach the three R's. Illiteracy data will supply that information in part. We need, also, information covering other significant facts concerning our present system of public schools, their standard of teaching, the average term, etc.

1. Illiteracy in the United States.

The 18th Census reports as illiterate ^a 4.6% of the native white population, 12.5% of the foreign born whites, and 44.4% of the non-Caucasians. Of the children of native whites, 3.3% are illiterate; 5.5% of the children of the foreign born whites; and 30% of the children of non-Caucasian parents are illiterate.

For the entire country 10.6% are illiterate. We have a greater per cent of illiteracy than have several European countries, notably Germany, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, and Switzerland, and Scotland. In Netherlands, England, and France the illiteracy is not much higher than in the United States.

Comparing the prevalence of illiteracy in the different parts of the country we find that in the South both adult and child illiteracy is more prevalent than elsewhere in the United States.

^a From US Census Bulletin, 26. Note: An illiterate is a person above 10 years of age who cannot write.

This is due, probably, to the smaller per capita wealth of the Southern states, to their larger proportion of children to the total population, and to their separate schools for the races.^a The per capita wealth of the ^{North} South Atlantic states, in 1900, was \$775; of the ^{South} North Atlantic states,^b \$309. In the North Atlantic states 30% of the population are of ages from 5 to 20, while in the South Atlantic states the percent is 39%.^c

A public school system with compulsory attendance is expensive entailing a heavy burden on a community with only a relatively small per capita wealth. This, and the larger number of children, are the reasons why illiteracy is so much more prevalent in the South Atlantic states.

In the states that are able financially to provide fairly efficient schools in which the instruction in the common branches is accessible to all, the census records show a decrease in the number of illiterates. It is significant to note that in many of the northern states east of the Mississippi River there has been a marked decline in rank, according to literacy, during the last census period. Maine fell from being the 19th state in point of illiteracy, in 1890, to becoming the 28th in 1900; Illinois fell from 7th to 15th; Massachusetts, from 2nd to 9th; New York, from 8th to 14th; New Jersey, from 15th to 21st. California, Montana, Nevada, and Arizona also lost rank.

Illiteracy statistics also show that due, doubtless, to the conservatism and the relatively slow progress of the schools in the

a Statistics of Illiteracy, U.S. Census, 1900, p. 8
 b " " Wealth, Taxation, and Debt, Census Bureau.
 c " " Illiteracy, p. 23

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rural communities, illiteracy is much more prevalent in the country than in the cities.^a

In 1900 1% of the people in cities of 25000 and over were illiterate. Outside of these cities the prevalence of illiteracy is denoted by 8.8%. In the northern states of the South Atlantic group, the illiteracy of the country population is six times that of the cities.^b The reports show that there has been very little change in the illiteracy in the country the last ten years.

This greater illiteracy in the rural communities does not necessarily indicate that the regard for education is less there than in the city. It shows--

First, that it is difficult to provide adequate school facilities sufficient even to give all the smattering of an education to keep them out of the illiterate class. This difficulty is increased on account of the scattered population but it is due mostly to the inadequate financial provision for education possible there through state and local support. To aid in decreasing illiteracy in the country districts it has been urged that the pupils be transported at public expense to better school centers. The decrease of illiteracy depends less upon this but the consolidation of schools will greatly aid in giving to the children of rural communities more expert instruction than they can get in the isolated country school. The increased cost of such schools has in most places proved to be, up to this time, an almost insurmountable obstacle.

a Census Report, Illiteracy, p. 25

b " " " " 26.

Secondly, that the smaller per capita wealth which means a smaller per capita local appropriation for school purposes, is evidently another reason for the greater illiteracy in certain parts of the country. Realizing that a certain minimum amount of public instruction is indispensable for the good of the state, some states have a general one-mill tax for school purposes which is distributed pro rata on the basis of school enrollment. In this way wealthier communities are made to assist the poorer ones. It naturally tends to lessen the difference between the illiteracy of the different parts of the state. The principle accepted by several states does not differ essentially from the principle underlying the subject of national aid to these same schools.

The Southern states in which the illiterate population is greatest tax themselves more heavily now for education than do the Northern states. In 1900, North Carolina, with a total population of 1,893,810, had 650,700 children of school age. Massachusetts with a total population of 2,805,346, in 1900, had only 634,510 children of school age. The per capita wealth for each child of school age in Massachusetts was \$6401 and in North Carolina, only, \$1301. A school tax to provide an equal per capita amount for education would necessarily have to be more than five times as large on \$1 of property in North Carolina as in Massachusetts, to say nothing of the extra expense of the separate schools that North Carolina must maintain for the negro children.^a

a N.E.A. Report on Taxation, 1905.

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The proposition of granting national aid to schools to assist the local and state agencies already in existence can be defended on the grounds that illiteracy is dangerous to the welfare of the nation as well as on grounds that an illiterate state is less productive than a literate state.

Education is necessary in all parts of the United States, everywhere, all the time, and for all the people.

There have been numerous studies made showing the effects of illiteracy in relation to pauperism and crime. Doubtless many conclusions have been drawn that have not found support in fact. Still the general statement may be made that illiteracy causes an increase of crime and of pauperism. Amos W. Butler, secretary of the board of state charities of Indiana, states that out of the last 500 inmates of the Indianapolis reformatory up to May 31, 1901, the larger proportion were notably deficient in education. More specifically: 13.2% were illiterate; 50.2% had not reached the fourth grade of the public schools; and only 5.2 had reached the high school. 81.2% claimed to have no trade^a.

Earlier statistics compiled by Mr. D. A. Hawkins, in 1882, state that illiterates provide 30 times their share of paupers, and 10 times their share of criminals. He estimated at that time that an annual saving of \$15,000,000 could be made if this pauperism and crime could be reduced. The added production that would come if the paupers and criminals were engaged in profitable work, ^{would} amount to \$25,000,000 according to his figures.

^a Prev. Pauperism and Crime thru Educ. --- J. W. Olsen

We have not data to substantiate figures of this kind but no one doubts the efficacy of education to add to the productivity of a country. This will be shown in another section of this paper.

2. Present Conditions in the Public Schools of the United States. Aside from the facts shown by the statistics on illiteracy there are other schools needs which the communities and the states have not been able to meet adequately.

A glance at the most recent educational statistics covering the country at large reveals these conditions. The average school term in the United States was only 150.6 days and but 70.43% of the total number of children of ages 5-18 were attending school. In 1900 72.43% of the children were in attendance, showing a decrease of 2% with a constantly growing population, in six years. Although the average term is 150 days, the average number of school days for each child of from 5 to 18 was only 74.1 days, and each pupil enrolled attended on the average only 106 days. From the same statistics we learn that each teacher has on the average 36 pupils.

Taken in connection with the illiteracy figures these facts show that our present schools are not adequate to the increasing needs and demands of the times.

The matter has been put tersely and plainly by a distinguished member of the Royal Prussian Industrial Commission of 1904 who in commenting upon school conditions in the United States mentions the following defects:

a U.S. Com. of Educ., 1906.

b Dr. Kuypers in German Views of Am. Educ., by Hailmann, 1907.

1. The fact that compulsory education is not as yet universal, and is, in many instances, not sufficiently comprehensive where it does exist.
2. The fact that there is no profession of elementary teaching.
3. The excessive employment of women in the school service.
4. The inadequate preparation of a number of district school-teachers, many of whom have had no normal training.
5. The inadequacy of salary and social position on the part of teachers, with the exception of ^{those of} a few cities.

In 1905-6 but 23.6% of the total number of teachers in the United States were men. The average salary of a teacher was but \$50 a month. Expert supervision and the full professional training of teachers rests largely upon more adequate compensation for those who are engaged in the work. The schools can become the efficient agencies a democracy demands only if they are supported fully. If the teachers are poorly paid, it follows that they will be poorly trained; if they are poorly trained, the schools must become weak. Men are needed in school work and the conditions that surround the work, and the reward they may expect in the work, must be made sufficiently attractive to secure them and to retain in the service the best men of the country.

The demands made upon our schools are too important to allow restricted support to decrease their efficiency.

B. Present Needs.

1. The Country Needs a Rational and Scientific Instruction in Agriculture and Domestic Science in the Rural Elementary and Secondary Schools.

Besides the need of strengthening our schools as organized at present there is a pressing need of this more rational country-life education. The conclusions reached by the Committee on Industrial Education in the Rural Schools^a embody an adequate conception of what those needs are and how the needs should be met.

Briefly, these are the important conclusions:

1. The existing one-room schools can give only in a very limited way the educational training that the children should secure. They can give but very inadequately any work in the elements of agriculture.
- (2) In the consolidated school having at least four teachers, one of whom is prepared to teach the elements of agriculture and manual training, and another domestic science, better teachers, more work, better results, longer school attendance, will result.
- (3) In the township or other distinctively rural high school, and in the village high school, work along industrial and agricultural lines should be given.
- (4) A large number of agricultural or industrial high schools should be organized. It is these schools, especially, that the national government should seek to establish and aid to maintain.
- (5) Agricultural colleges and experiment stations should put their body of knowledge into available form for use in elementary and secondary schools.
- (6) The increased productive capacity of those being educated is sufficient reason for the establishment of and aid to these schools by the national government.

The report continues:^a—"Nearly one half of the children of the United States who are in public schools are enrolled in the rural schools. It is safe to say, taking the country at large, that more than 95% of the rural school children attend no other than the district school. They are entitled to something better. The state is entitled to something better in the preparation of its youth for the duties of citizenship".

The introduction of instruction and work in domestic science, manual training, and agriculture, including the study of soils, crops, tillage, of plant life and animal life must come to the rural schools and to the village schools in rural communities. This will cost more for buildings, equipment, and for teachers, but it will pay the nation in practical results.

Congress has already taken the lead in establishing in the centers of higher learning agricultural colleges and experiment stations managed by the states under general provisions set forth by Congress.

Several bills are before Congress urging the additional legislation that the leaders in agricultural education have recommended. There is a growing feeling that Congress should take the logical step of giving to the boys and girls the advantages that they deserve and we may expect such action to be taken.

This legislation has the hearty endorsement of President Roosevelt who desires that the rural schools should not educate away from the farm as they do at present.

a N.E.A Report ,p.14.

2. The Need of Industrial and Technical Secondary Schools in the Cities of the United States.

A study of the problem of the education of pupils after the compulsory period, especially of those who do not enter high school, and of those who can attend a secondary school but do not intend to go to college, reveals a broad field for further education of those classes.

In a study of the Continuation School in the United States, ^a Mr. A. J. Jones, has compiled some statistics and formulated some conclusions that throw light on this heretofore neglected aspect of education.

(1) Withdrawals from Public Schools.

There are certain well-defined classes that are not reached by the regular public day schools as organized at present: (a) Many who lack mental ability to profit by the work in the upper grades and the high school. The training there given does not adequately meet their needs. (b) Of those who are mentally capable, many drop out of school and go to work at the end of the elementary school period, or even before. They and their parents can see little practical value in the traditional four years spent in the high school, compared with the same time spent in learning some occupation. As a result, the "out-of-school" class above 14 years old greatly outnumbers the class in school..

^b DR. E. L. Thorndike, of Teachers College, Columbia University, has compiled a study on the subject of withdrawal from the public schools. He estimates that of 100 children who enter the public schools of cities of 25000 or over (excluding colored children in southern cities),

a Continuation Schools in the U.S., Com. of Educ. Bulletin; A. J. Jones, 1907.

b " " " " " p.9

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and who live till 19,90 stay till the fourth grade,81 stay till the fifth grade,68 stay till the sixth grade,54 stay till the seventh grade,40 stay till the last grammar grade,27 stay till the first year of the high school , 17 stay till the second year,12 stay till the third year,and 8 stay till the fourth year of the high school.

With respect to age the retention is estimated by Professor Thorndike as follows:-100 till 10 years of age,98 till 11 years of age,97 till 12 ,88 till 13,70 till 14,47 till 15,30 till 16,16.5 till 17,and 8.6 till 18 years of age.

The increased proportionate withdrawal in the higher grades is of great importance.It indicates that the schools do not meet the enlarged needs and interests of a large proportion of the pupils. Society should demand that this withdrawal be reduced to a minimum or some educational means be employed by which the young people may be given the opportunity of continuing their education.

In his study of the Continuation School the author has an investigation of school conditions in 16 selected cities,widely distributed,of a population of 25,000 or over.The school enrollment in all classes of schools based on the number of children 14 years of age was found to be:

14 years,83.77%;15 years,57.65%;16 years,39.64%;17 years,23.84%;
18 years,14.74%;19 years,9.99%;20 years,6.93%.

Diagram 1 represents the enrollment in the different types of schools for the 16 selected cities.Diagram 2, Springfield, Mass.³, for Manchester, England;and 4, for Weurtemberg schools.

^a These diagrams and tables are taken from The Continuation School in the United States.

Diagram I
Sixteen cities of the United States

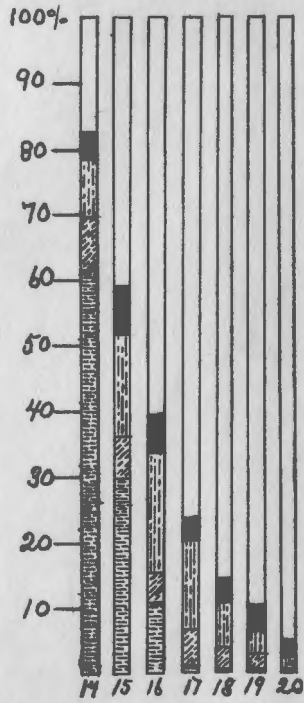
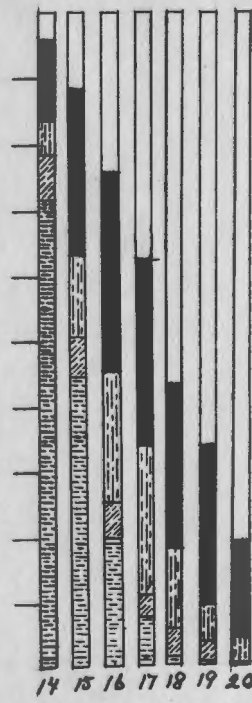


Diagram II
Springfield, Mass.



1925

- Evening Schools.
- ▨ Public Secondary Schools.
- ▩ Private and Parochial Schools.
- ▧ Public Elementary Schools.

Diagram III
Manchester, England

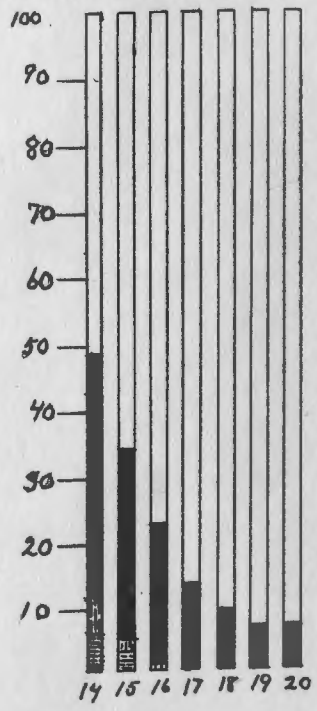
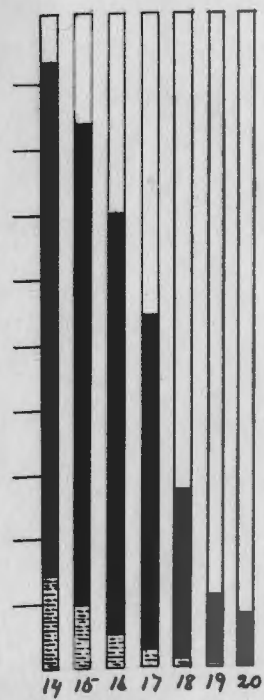


Diagram IV
Wurtemberg



- Evening Schools.
- Fortbildungsschulen.
- "Secondary" Schools.
- Elementary and Higher Schools.
- Elementary Schools.
- Private Schools.

(Note in explanation of diagrams: Springfield, Mass., has inaugurated a system of industrial schools and has therefore a larger enrollment at the different ages than the 16 cities. In diagram 4, for Weurttemberg there is no account taken of those that attend higher technical schools or the universities. It is said that over 90% of the young people up to the age of 19, in this country, attend some kind of a school.)

The matter of withdrawals from the schools leads to ^{The INVESTIGATION} ~~ascertaining~~ what the boys and girls who have left school do during the years 14 to 18.

(2) The Occupations of Boys and Girls of Ages 14-17.

This subject received careful attention by the Industrial Commission ^a that the legislature of Massachusetts appointed to investigate conditions in that state.

The report of the Commission shows that 33% of the young people of the ages 14 to 16 are engaged in unskilled occupations; 65%, in low-grade industries; and less than 2% in high grade industries. Grouped more broadly Dr. Kingsbury classes 69% in undesirable occupations, 26% in low grade, and less than 5% in high grade occupations. See Diagrams 5-8 taken from her report ^b.

As observed from this report by far the greater number of the 25,000 who annually leave school early in Massachusetts enter work that has little or no educational value. *68% of the children are subjected to influences that are evil in these unskilled industries or are in mills. They have wasted the years as far as industrial

a Report of Mass. Industrial Comm., 1906, 1907.

development is concerned, and in many cases they have forfeited the chance ever to secure it, because of lack of education."

The apprentice system has been forced to give way and there is now no organized educational agency to prepare the pupils for the work that they shall do in the world.

Several states besides Massachusetts, notably New York, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island have appointed state commissions on industrial training. Several cities and private individuals have, also, initiated some action toward that end. It is clearly a function of the government to provide for the education of the many as well as for the few, as it has done in the past. It is recognized as a national problem in Germany and it will be profitable to notice some of the experiences of Weurtemberg where the idea has been worked out thoroly the past forty years.

(3) The Industrial Improvement Schools of Weurtemberg.^a

The object of the industrial schools there is the training of young workers, after they have left school, in the direction of their increased efficiency as citizens. No attempt is made to teach skill, nor even to teach a special trade, but the effort is made to give to each pupil a full and complete technical knowledge of the trade in which he is engaged, and a realization of its place and function in the activities of the community. The schools are flexible in method and in kind and amount of instruction. They are under local control and are admirably adapted to the needs of a large number of boys and girls.

^a Snowden, Industrial Improvement Schools of Weurtemberg.

The schools recognize the dignity of manual work, and seek to elevate it, and the working man, and to advance both trade and commerce. This system has been permanently established and highly successful results have been wrought.

In 1909, in Weurtemberg, a law^{will} goes into effect making three years of 280 hours a year compulsory attendance in all but the smallest villages.

With a population equal to that of New Jersey Weurtemberg has 243 schools of this nature, with an enrollment of 28,574, in 1907. National aid to the amount of \$73,500 was given in 1906, of this \$66,500 went for industrial and commercial improvement schools alone. The number of schools has grown from 84, enrolling 7273, in 1862, to 243, enrolling nearly 30,000 in 1907. Weurtemberg has no illiteracy, has an average of 97.3% attendance during the compulsory period, 6 to 14, and has better teachers than we have here. The question of the efficiency of the industrial schools there has long since passed the pale of doubt. All are enthusiastic over the results that are secured.

(4) Classes that Need Industrial Training in the United States.

In the United States where trade and industrial education has been offered in a very few cities, mostly in evening schools, the fact has been demonstrated that not only is there a great need for such schools, but that many are eager to take advantage of the opportunities that may be offered.

Our present system provides for the training of the 15% who continue thru the high school. The 85% do not have any means of securing that training which will materially aid them in their work. Many who are compelled to leave school to support themselves should be provided with industrial school privileges. They are too valuable to be allowed to come to maturity without securing the training which will develop their powers and their aptitudes.

The third class is that class which has passed partly thru high school or which has not attended high school, nor cannot, but which would attend a secondary industrial school.

The interest that is shown in the Y.M.C.A. classes, in private industrial schools, in correspondence courses, etc., indicates the demand that exists for more adequate school facilities for the many between the ages of 14 and 19. No one would change to any great extent the schools for those of ages 6 to 14, except as has been mentioned to make them more efficient, and to introduce the industrial element into the elementary city school where this may be done. The demand is for schools for the workers.

Both workers and producers are interested in this problem. The leaders in both industry and education are urging local, state, and national action.

The idea that industrial schools will engender class distinctions is ably met by Dr. Kingsbury, who says: "If anyone believes technical schools will bring class distinction, let me ask him by what means

he can secure a basis for a class line more quickly than by letting the bright boy, or the boy who has influence, get into the skilled trades and the other boy become a laborer in an unskilled industry. That is what the absence of technical training is doing."^a

(5) The Attitude of the Parent, the Pupils, and the Employer.

(a) Of the Parents.

"A large majority of the parents could and would afford Industrial Training for their children. (Based on attitude of 3,157 families.)

76% of these families could give their children industrial training. (Based on the family income being more than \$2 per week per person exclusive of rent, and on apparent conditions.)

66% of the children could have continued in school. (Based on statement of parent.)

55% of the families declared they would send their children to trade schools."^b

(b) Of the Children.

"Two distinct agencies are at work impelling the child to withdraw from school----the positive dislike for books which comes at the stage of development when it is the tendency of the child to do and not to study, and the ineffectiveness of the school to meet that natural demand of the child; and the desire to follow 'all the other boys' into work, or to earn money 'to dress as well as the other girls who are at work'."

40.

(c) Of the Employer.
^a

See diagram 6.

Finally from the social worker's standpoint industrial education is an urgent necessity."A way must be found for making -available the whole of that prime essential wealth of the nation which lies in the nascent capacities of the new generation. Every child in the obvious interest of the nation must have its inborn productive capabilities put into effect. So much of social equality is a clear dictum of economic patriotism ,a thing to be concretely worked for and expected. A type of society in which it had come about, besides being vastly more successful materially ,would develop large new capacity for associated action, and would even throw into the background some of those temperamental traits of human nature which seem at present incompatible with profound social progress."
^b

C. The Support of Schools.

Some things have already been touched upon regarding the support of the schools that modern conditions demand. The leaders in the study of industrial conditions and the strong men of the world's legislative bodies are joining the ranks of those who favor larger appropriations for education related to the industries.

With the constantly increasing demands that are made upon the cities it is not reasonable to expect that they can bear the entire cost. A glance at recent statistics relating to municipal taxation will convince anyone that this is true. According to Harris, in

a Dr. Kingsbury, Charities and Commons, XIX, 808-814
b Woods, Cand C, 852-856

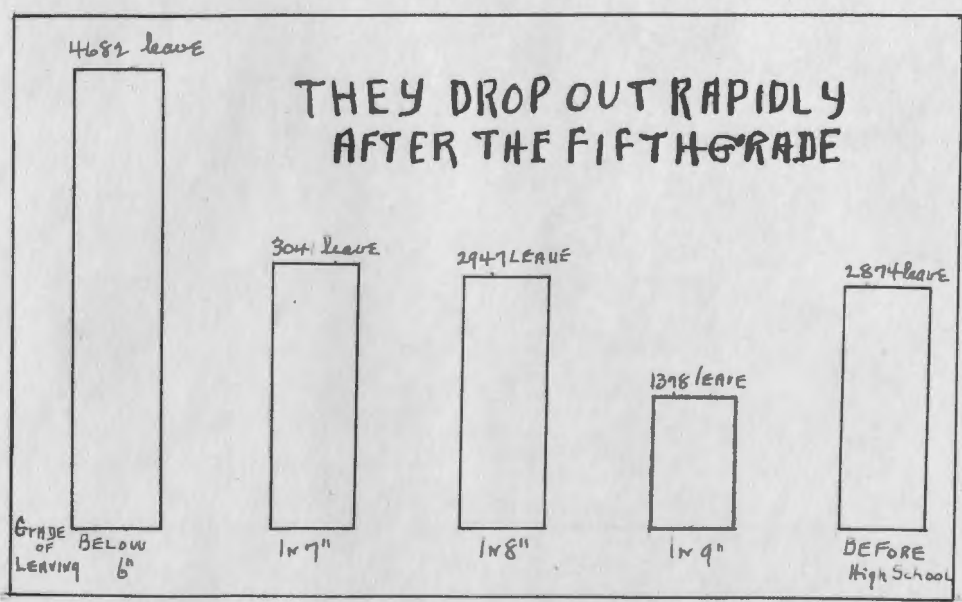


Fig. 5. Withdrawals From School . Mass. REPORT.

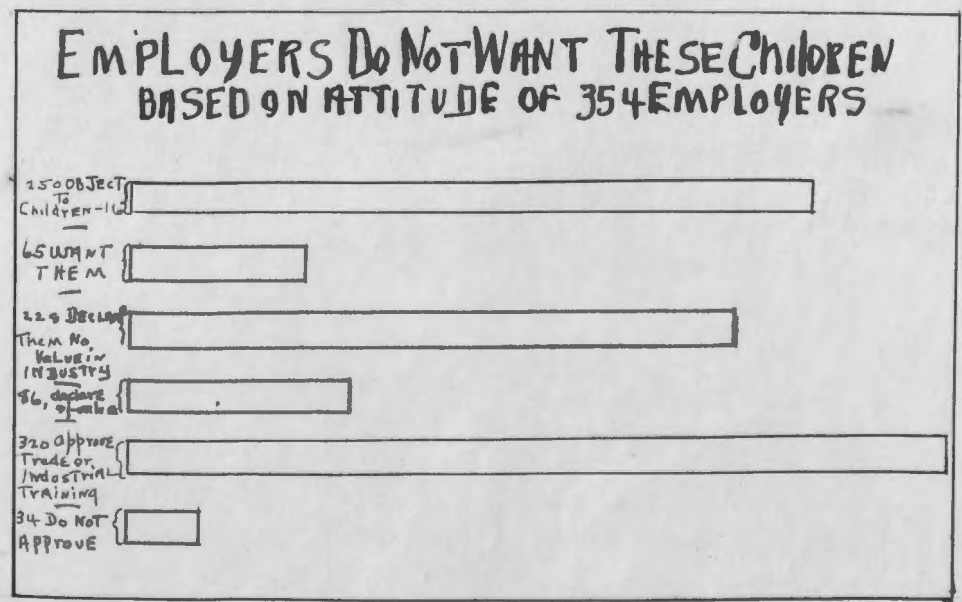
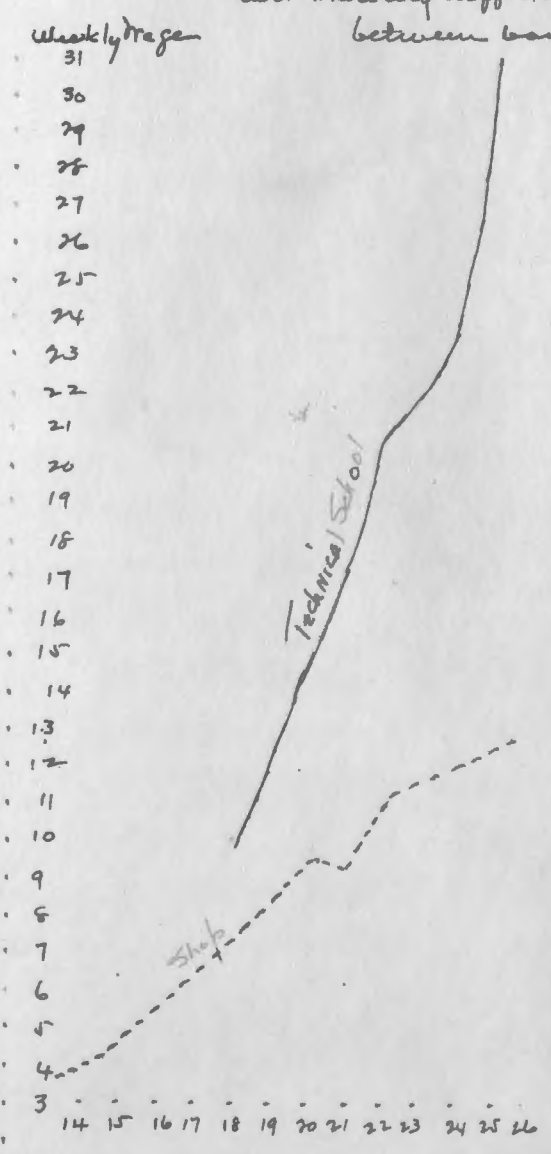


Fig. 6 Attitude of Employers Toward Employment of Children, Ages 14-17. MASS. REPORT

Chart showing differences in wages at successive ages between boys having shop training & technical school training.



Age of boy	Technical School	Shop
14	55	70
15	40	74
16	38	97
17	29	92
18	24	75
19	15	78
20	12	53
21	5	20
22	0	14
23	0	0
24	0	0
25	0	7
26	0	7

Figure 7 - Mass. Report

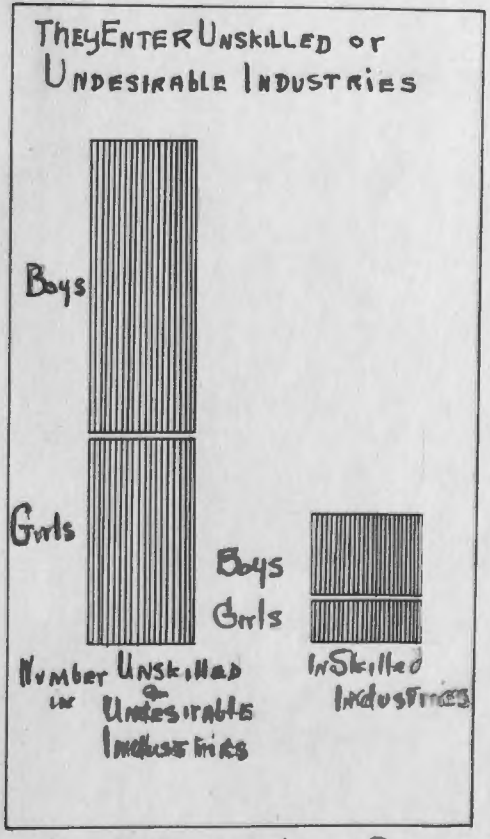


Figure 8. Occupations of Boys & Girls - Ages 14-17 - Mass Report

Age of boy
 Technical School } Numbers Considered
 Shop } at
 Successive Ages.

Commissioner of Labor report, 1902, in the 137 largest cities of the U.S., \$3.53 was expended for the maintenance and support of schools per \$1000 of property, while \$16.40 was expended for municipal activities per \$1000 of property. The growing demands of other departments of city government seem to be continually encroaching on the resources of the schools.^a

In the South the amount raised by taxation for schools has been doubled within ten years so that the charge cannot be made that the localities are not doing all in their power to further that work. Yet there will be for many years communities there and elsewhere that cannot raise thru public taxation all the money needed to maintain modern schools.

State aid has proved helpful in some states in the past. In Minnesota, high schools have been built and maintained where none could have been built because the state has granted a special fund to those who would expend a like sum. There has been no centralization of power here. The act has not caused lower tax rates. It has stimulated local action.

National aid can be offered upon the same conditions. The giving that awakens faith to meet the problems and to care for self is justified. Without national aid the localities that need ^{most} agricultural and technical education, and practical work in domestic science ^{the} most, will be greatly handicapped, and, perhaps, will be unable to give the instruction at all. On the other hand such communities would

a N.E.A. Report on School Taxation.

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be stimulated, energized, and encouraged to attempt doing that which modern conditions have laid at their door, if national encouragement were given to aid them in carrying the burden.

Our lawmakers since the earliest days of the republic have been thoroly in sympathy with the proposition that the general government should, out of the general revenue, extend its hand to aid the states that are not able to support such schools as are necessary. The fact that the general government has the indirect, and therefore easy, methods of raising revenue is a good reason for asking the general government to aid the states by cooperating with them. Congress with \$800,000,000 can afford to aid the states with their \$200,000,000 so that the states can by increasing their \$200,000,000 improve their elementary and secondary schools.

The general government can extend this aid without entering upon any new policy of administering public funds. The Morrill Act and its successors provide the way. The money may be appropriated by Congress and expended by the states without Congress losing any grip on curtailing the expenditure if not done properly and without the state losing any power in following certain broad general principles which the state need not accept, in case no funds are needed, and which are simply safeguards in case the aid is accepted. The responsibility for the proper expenditure is placed upon the states, and the self interest of the state will determine that the money will be expended wisely.

D.The Responsibility of the National Government in Regard to Education.

It is a long time since any one questioned seriously whether or not the welfare of the nation demands universal free education.Schools have been established and the principle that each citizen must have, at least,a certain minimum education is accepted and ,to a certain extent,in the United States,enforced.In a democracy a minimum education, at least,must be assured every child.The national government has no higher duty than to encourage the progressive community thru material aid to those that desire to improve their standard of living and their material productivity.And it can do no greater good than to point its finger in condemnation to those that seek to elevate vice over virtue, ignorance over intelligence.

It is commonly accepted that the direction of the schools should be left to the communities and the states because of the immediate personal interest the local district feels in school affairs evidenced by the local pride,the desire to excel every other community,and,at least,to equal the best elsewhere.

Dr.Chancellor,in his Motives,Ideals,and Values in Education, takes a view of national responsibility for education that because of the prominence given the subject in recent discussions,is important.

He states that it is but a national conviction to state that the safety of a democracy rests wholly upon education and that this is too important to be left to municipalities."Indeed,the conviction is spreading that the nation itself should organize a central office of

education and build up a school system as wide as its own boundaries. Otherwise, the contrasts between the states in respect to intelligence, efficiency, and morality may become so great as to be a cause of sectional separation and antipathies. In particular, the establishment of great national universities, in the several regions of the country, with picked students on salaries and pledged to enter the government service as consuls, teachers, clerks, scientists, after graduation, is advocated as a practical necessity. Similarly, to prevent child-illiteracy and the child-slaughter due to child-labor carelessly or callously permitted in certain states, to insure the industrial training of all citizens, whatever their nationality, race, religion, or color, to encourage proficiency in the sciences and the arts,—metallurgy, forestry, engineering, agriculture, and all other useful occupations requiring skill,—and to diffuse generally a knowledge of the principles of morality in the common and the uncommon affairs and relations of life, national regulation and subsidizing of state school systems are urgently advocated. Of course, such a national system of education should not be operated by Congress, but by a national board of education to be provided by the national constitution and to control the national school. Undesirable, even disagreeable as such a development may seem to many, it appears to lie in the natural and, therefore, the inevitable course of events in a democracy, which is government according to human nature."

We cannot go the entire length with Dr. Chancellor at the present time

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because of the confidence ,unshaken by any event of the past,that the states and the localities will do all in their power to support their schools.We are firmly of the opinion that all cannot at the present time do all that should be done and that,therefore,the national government should encourage that class.

President Eliot,^aof Harvard University,recently stated that the schools had been the most important agency for the promotion of intelligence and righteousness the past century;that they have held their hold on the democratic masses since their inauguration;that they have gained more and more of public confidence;and that they have been receiving more and more from democracy for their moral and material support.He states that the schools are a democracy's greatest uplifting agency and ,as such,afford the strongest inducement possible for the government to spend every dollar on popular education that can be spent advantageously.

Others have emphasized the importance to the nation of having efficient schools.Says Ward,^b"The present enormous chasm between the ignorant and the intelligent,caused by the unequal distribution of knowledge,is the worst evil under which society labors.....The people support the government out of the daily labor of their hands.They do it for their own good,and therefore schools may be supported from taxation" be it local,state,or national.

Regarding industrial education,^cSeager says that education is the greatest important influence in moulding industrial capacity.Even in this country the advantages in educational work are limited.He gives as reasons for this limited opportunity that exists that:First,Those to whom the education would be invaluable are too young or too ignorant to appreciate the fact or are without capital to invest.Parents

aMore Money for Schools,Ch. in U.S.Com.Ed.Report,1903.

b Dynamic Sociology,p 604.

c Seager,Economics,p.234 ff.

often have no capital. Men with capital do not invest as there is no form of contract under which they could claim a part of the returns. Here we have a reason for the conservatism in enacting educational legislation as compared with legislation behind which there are powerful business interests that hope for profit under the new law.

Seager adds that for communities, as a whole, investments in educational opportunities adding to the industrial capacities of the boys and girls, and are a certain means of adding to our collective wealth. Capital so used, especially to inculcate a higher standard of living and efficiency among the children of the poor, yields a princely return and will continue to do so until the present inequality disappears.

Here we have the gist of the whole matter. Adequate school facilities for all are universally needed and will yield invaluable returns.

IV Should Congress Grant National Aid ?

A. The Constitutionality of Such Legislation.

The Federal Government has already in numerous instances granted aid to the states for the support of education. This has been done because the people must be made competent to govern themselves. And as education is the only foundation upon which a civilized state can endure, the right to educate the child is judged to be coextensive with the jurisdiction of the government itself. Our government guarantees a republican form of government to the people and this necessitates educating the citizens thereof. Our government has power to provide for the general welfare of the people and this general welfare demands their education. It has been suggested that the government has the power to promote education thru its power "to make internal improvements". To rid the country of thousands of illiterates is not one of the lesser improvements that the country demands, and to increase the efficiency of its workers is not less than the other in importance and magnitude.

There are many precedents for Congressional action in granting national aid to state education. The attitude of the Confederation Congresses by the acts of 1785 and 1787, the attitude of the early statesmen toward education, the acts of 1862, 1867, 1890, 1895, 1906, and 1907, and many other important laws, show that Congress has the power and has exercised it to pass educational measures.

In the debate on the Blair Bill, before the Senate of the United States, in 1884, Senator Brown said:^a "There is constitutional authority for the Congress of the United States to make a grant of land or money to any purpose clearly within the general welfare; as for instance, to aid the states in the education of their people therein." Further,^b "The jurisdiction of the government does not depend upon the kind of grant that is made.... if it is a grant of land, of money from the sale of land, or from taxation." Senator Vest said:^c "Chief Justice Marshall decided in regard to the quarantine laws that the Federal officers might go and assist the officers of the states in carrying out the quarantine laws of the state.... The United States may give the states that which may be used for education, and not decide the method of its use."

Numerous other facts may be mentioned to show that Congress has the power to pass such laws as are necessary to place our schools upon a proper basis. The case settled by the Supreme Court known as the *Kissell vs. Saint Louis Public Schools Board*, decided by that same court unanimously, has determined once for all the constitutionality

a Cong. Record, Vol. 15, 48th, 1st Sess., p.

b p. 2293

c p. 2213

d p. 2205

of legislation similar to that demanded.

Senator Garland outlines ^a the entire history of such legislation and the court decisions which have legalized governmental aid to schools. The limits of this study do not require that those decisions be given. Senator Brown summarizes ^b the matter in a statement that the Federal Government had repeatedly granted land for the states for the establishment of common schools, normal schools, scientific schools, state universities, agricultural colleges, etc. He further states that the distinction between granting land and money has never received serious consideration. The power to grant lands implied the power to grant money.

Precedent has been made in earlier legislation, declared constitutional by the Supreme Court, so that Congress may pass the laws aiding schools within the state. It now remains to see whether any objectionable results may come from such action.

B. National Aid to Education in Relation to Possible Centralization of Power.

An objection to granting direct national aid to state schools pointed out by conservative legislators is that such legislation will strongly intrench the central government and eventually cause education to become entirely national. This would be entirely objectionable, indeed, at the present time. It is not probable that this would be the result. It is true that, in most instances, if aid is once given to an enterprise by the national government, it is always thereafter sought and usually granted.

a Cong. Record, 48, 1 Sess., p. 2205

b same p. 2592

In this case, however, the control of the schools, according to precedents already enacted, is to be left with the states. And from the very nature of the results of education any increase in the universality and efficiency of schools adds to the general intelligence of the masses, and becomes a most potent influence for the preservation of liberty and against the enslavement by the general government. Lack of support of schools is a greater centralizing weapon than is the granting of liberal aid for schools by the national government.

Building up local institutions decentralizes rather than centralizes. Local sacrifice must precede federal aid. This will serve to intensify local interest instead of killing it.

With national aid to build up a higher class of citizenship, which is a legitimate function of government, we need not fear centralization of power.

Earlier enactments by the national government to aid in building up the schools of localities have given no support to those who oppose granting such aid. On all sides may be seen evidences of great good done, securing results that, in most cases, would not have been secured otherwise.

The people need surrender no rights in accepting national aid. The nation surrenders no principle.

C. National Aid a Stimulus to Local and State Action.

In this connection a letter from Hon. E. E. Brown, National Commissioner of Education, to a member of Congress, of recent date,

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states that federal aid encourages and stimulates the states to greater activity. Commissioner Brown writes as follows: " I am inclined to favor the view that more aid should be extended by the national government in furtherance of education thruout the country. One strong argument in favor of such national aid, when extended to such special forms of education which are in special need of encouragement, may be drawn from the workings of the appropriation for the support of land-grant colleges, contained in the second Morrill act of August 30, 1890. The recent effect of the national appropriations under that act has been to stimulate greatly the support of the land-grant colleges by the states in which they are situated. Ten years ago, the amount which these institutions received from their several states was \$2,218,000, while in 1906 this amount was \$7,531,502, showing an increase of about 240%. In 1896 these institutions received, the country over, 29% of their support from the national government. Ten years later, in 1906, owing to the increase of state appropriations, the grants from the treasury covered only 15.4% of their total support. In 1896, twenty-five of these institutions received more than one-half of their support from the government. In 1906 only fifteen received more than half of their support from the national government. These figures are altogether encouraging as showing that, in this instance at least, national appropriations have not tended to relieve the states of a sense of responsibility, but have, in fact, quickened the sense of responsibility in the states which are benefited."

The history of state aid to localities in Minnesota disproves any statement that localities will seek to evade voting money if the state aids that community. No pauperization has resulted here. The system has built up high schools that are efficient along the narrow lines that they give instruction in.

There is every reason to believe that national aid, on conditions which shall require local sacrifice to secure the greater advantages of a well-sounded schools that are heeded, will do for the country at large just what the aid to high schools has done for Minnesota high schools.

The passage of any bill to aid schools will stimulate the states to do more for their schools and thereby put education upon a higher plane in every part of this great nation.

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