

SUPPORT OF COMMON SCHOOLS.

MARCH 22, 1884.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed.

Mr. JOSEPH D. TAYLOR, from the Committee on Education, submitted the following as the

VIEWS OF THE MINORITY:

[To accompany bill H. R. 4980.]

The minority of the Committee on Education, having leave from the House to express its views, respectfully submits the following:

NOT OPPOSED TO NATIONAL AID.

In presenting this view and statement, it is not proposed in any way to antagonize any proper measure to facilitate the removal of the cloud of ignorance and illiteracy which now threatens the life of the Republic. On the contrary, the importance of the passage of a bill providing for Government aid, in the removal of the mass of ignorance which now stands as a menace to free government, is not to be questioned. The duty of avoiding the dangers of the future by wisely improving the present is now at our doors and demands immediate action. The slave of yesterday is the voter of to-day, and his ballot counts one in all the great national questions which involve the life and future of the country. The statistics of illiteracy at the South are appalling, and its continuance is inconsistent with our free republican institutions.

The object of this report is not to defeat or to interpose any objection to a suitable measure for giving Congressional aid to the cause of common-school education. The only object is to point out some objections to the bill presented by the majority of the committee, and to suggest a substitute which will more certainly secure, in the judgment of the minority, the great object sought by all. It is a matter of great moment, that no mistake shall be made in this new and untried measure of national aid. The great object is to secure an important end, the relief of the unfortunate, the qualification of the voter, the prevention of anarchy and communism, the perpetuity of the Republic. The spirit of education needs to be quickened in the dark corners of the land, and the public schools of the country need to be planted on a solid basis in every part of this great continent. And any bill that will not accomplish this will fail of its mission and will bring defeat and reproach on its advocates.

We do not think that the bill reported by a majority of the committee will accomplish the object intended by its friends, and we object to it for the following reasons:

1. Because it makes no provision for the safety, security, or proper application of the money appropriated. It appropriates at once, to be paid over on or before August next, \$10,000,000 in sums varying from

one-quarter of a million and under to three-quarters of a million and over, and so on from year to year until \$55,000,000 are appropriated, without requiring any bond or security from the officer or person to whom the money is to be paid, and without requiring any legislation on the part of the State or Territory which is to receive the same. Members of Congress, representing the General Government, would certainly be at fault in doing so unbusinesslike a thing as this. The numerous defalcations in all parts of the country suggest the danger of exposing such large sums of money to such great peril.

2. Because it makes it possible for the money appropriated to be used by the States and Territories *in lieu* of the money they now raise for school purposes by taxation, and thus be, in effect, a reduction of school taxes, instead of an enlargement of school facilities. In every memorial asking national aid, in every petition praying for this appropriation, in every address made before the committee, we were asked to recommend the passage of this measure, for the purpose of *stimulating* certain States to *greater* activity and more earnest zeal in the work of education. A distinguished gentleman from the South voiced the sentiment of all when he said this national aid was asked "to stimulate, not to intoxicate, the South in the work of education." We have been assured over and over again that this appropriation would give a most wonderful impetus to the progress of common-school education in those States where there is to-day a want of interest and a lack of zeal. If it is not to have this effect, it is to be a failure. The substitute proposes that the States and Territories shall do for the first three years just what is proposed in the bill favored by the majority (furnish an amount equal to what it receives from the Government), but after that we insist that the States and Territories shall raise, by taxation, an additional sum equal to the reduction in the appropriation of the Government, in order that there shall be as good schools after the first three years as there are during that period. The schools ought to be better, but we only ask that they shall be no worse. Bill 4980, recommended by the majority, requires the States and Territories, in order to get the appropriation for the second year, to raise in the aggregate, by taxation, the sum of \$10,000,000, while it only requires them to raise the next year \$9,000,000, the next \$8,000,000, and so on less and less each year.

3. Because it will distribute the money on a wrong basis, to wit, on that of illiteracy of ten years of age and over, embracing all of the illiterates over twenty-one years of age, while the substitute, in view of the fact that no State by law admits to its public schools men or women over twenty-one years of age, distributes the fund on the basis of the illiterates between and including the ages of ten and twenty, in the States and in the District of Columbia; and in the Territories where they have no fund from public lands, where the country is sparsely settled, and where the people are mainly poor, the fund is distributed to all children between and including the ages of six and twenty.

4. Because the bill objected to does not provide for the proper or indeed for any distribution of the fund after it reaches the State or Territory. The only provision on this subject is that, where separate schools for white and colored children are maintained, the fund must be divided pro rata. As illiteracy is the ground upon which this appropriation is asked, and the only ground, we insist that it shall not only go to the States on this basis, but that it shall go from the State to the county, township, and school district on the same basis. In the language of the distinguished state superintendent of public instruc-

tion of the State of Virginia, who urges in a letter the importance of this provision, "*that will bring it closer to the people.*"

5. Because it does not provide for any board of trustees to carry out the measure proposed. This we regard as fatal to any law on this subject. In view of the fact that no State in the Union has any legislation on this subject, that no provision has been made anywhere for carrying out this great undertaking, there must necessarily be a board of trustees to guard and direct the management of the fund. Difficulties seen and unseen suggest the necessity of this. This is as necessary to the people who are to be benefited by the appropriation as it is to the General Government, charged with a prudent expenditure of all Government money. The Peabody fund, the Slater fund, has no greater need of a board of trustees than this. Why this has been omitted in this bill we cannot divine. The bill prepared by the inter-State commission, composed of seven men from the South and five from the North, provides for a board of trustees, seven in number. And when this bill was sent to the leading men in the South, State superintendents of public instruction, presidents of colleges, governors, and judges, for criticism, not one man was found there or in any State in the Union, North or South, that objected to the section providing for trustees.

6. Because the bill does not provide for the erection of school-houses, nor for any aid to local schools where the State or Territory neglects or fails to comply with the law, nor for the continuance of the schools for a definite length of time, nor for the withholding of the money in certain cases where it is misappropriated by counties or other local subdivisions. These and other equally important provisions are thought to be embodied in the substitute which the minority recommends.

SUBSTITUTE.

To avoid these objections and to embrace the essential features of the bill prepared by the "Inter-State Educational Commission," a copy of which will be found in this report, the following is proposed, and will at the proper time be offered, as a substitute:

A BILL to establish an educational fund to aid in the support of public schools in the several States and Territories.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for twelve years after the passage of this act there shall be apportioned from the money in the Treasury, not otherwise appropriated, for each illiterate person between the ages of ten and twenty, inclusive, in the several States of the United States, as shown by the United States census of eighteen hundred and eighty; and for each person in the several Territories between and including the ages of six and twenty, as shown by the said census, the following amount, to wit: First, second, and third years, each year, three dollars and fifty cents; fourth, fifth, and sixth years, each year, two dollars and fifty cents; seventh, eighth, and ninth years, each year, one dollar and fifty cents; tenth, eleventh, and twelfth years, each year, one dollar; at which time appropriations under this act shall cease.

SEC. 2. That before any State or Territory shall be entitled to receive its share of said fund after the first year it shall have provided by law for the free common-school education of all its children, of school age, without distinction of race, color, or sex; and no State or Territory shall be entitled to receive, under the provisions of this act, during the first, second, and third years, a greater sum than such State or Territory shall provide by State, Territorial, or local taxation for like purposes of public instruction, exclusive of the sums paid for grounds, school buildings, or repairs on the same. And no State or Territory shall be entitled to receive its share of said fund, after said third year, that does not thereafter increase its common-school fund, to be expended in like manner and for like purposes, in the same proportion and to the same extent that the fund received from the General Government diminishes: *Provided*, That separate schools for white and colored children shall not be considered a distinction of color.

SEC. 3. That to superintend the carrying into effect the provisions of this act, a board of trustees is hereby created, which shall be composed of seven members, to wit: The President of the United States, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Commissioner of Education, *ex officio*, and two members of the United States Senate, and two members of the House of Representatives, not belonging to the same political party, to be appointed at the opening of each Congress by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House, respectively, and to serve until their successors are appointed. And the said board of trustees are hereby authorized to make all needful rules and regulations for carrying into effect the provisions of this act.

SEC. 4. That the amount of the fund appropriated by this act for each year shall be apportioned by the board of trustees among the several States and Territories, and the Secretary of the Treasury shall pay such apportionments into the hands of the duly authorized officers of such States and Territories as are certified by the board of trustees to be entitled to receive the same, and the first apportionment shall be made on or before the first day of September, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-four, and succeeding apportionments on or before the same day in succeeding years, and the first apportionment shall be paid on or before the first day of October, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-four, and succeeding apportionments shall be paid on or before the same day in succeeding years, subject to the approval and direction in all cases of the board of trustees.

SEC. 5. That the funds paid to the several States shall be apportioned and expended by their duly authorized officers among the counties, townships, and school districts, or corresponding divisions of such States in proportion to the number of illiterate persons in the same between the ages of ten and twenty, inclusive, as shown by the United States census of one thousand eight hundred and eighty, and shall be applied within the same to the free common-school education of children, without distinction of race, color, or sex, between and including the ages of six and twenty, and that the sums apportioned to the several Territories shall be likewise applied to the free and impartial education of children between and including the ages above named, as nearly as may be in accordance with the number of the same in the several counties; and in States or Territories, or portions of the same, where separate schools for white and colored children are sustained, the moneys received under this act shall be divided and expended among such schools in proportion to the respective number of white and colored illiterates enumerated therein at the said United States census of one thousand eight hundred and eighty.

SEC. 6. That to entitle them to receive aid under the terms of this act, the several States and Territories shall comply with the following provisions:

1. They shall designate the officers to whom shall be paid, and by whom will be disbursed, the sums annually apportioned under this act.

2. That it shall have applied all moneys by it previously received under the provisions of this act in accordance therewith.

3. That no part of said fund shall be expended, directly or indirectly, under any pretense whatever, for the purchase, erection, preservation, repair, or rent of any building or buildings, or for sites or lots for the location thereof, or in paying the salary of any public officer or other person not engaged in teaching.

4. That suitable buildings and accommodations shall be provided for all the children of school age, without respect to race, color, or sex; and where the erection of school buildings depends upon the action of local authorities, their quota of such fund shall be withheld until suitable accommodations are provided.

5. That a free public school must be maintained in each school district in said States and Territories at least six months in each year where the number of illiterates between the ages of ten and twenty in such district shall be forty or more; and where the number is less the length of the school term shall be in this proportion; and a suitable school shall be provided wherever there are forty children of school age twenty of whom are illiterates between the ages of ten and twenty, within a radius of five miles, for the period of at least four months in each year.

6. State and Territorial superintendents or officers of public instruction shall cause to be made to them, and shall transmit to the Commissioner of Education, on or before the first day of July in each year, such reports concerning the condition of the schools in the same as the trustee of this fund shall deem desirable, and shall especially report for each county as follows: The number of public schools of every grade; the whole number of days actually taught in each during the year preceding; the total amount received from State taxes and from local taxes and the total amount expended for educational purposes in the preceding year; the total amount expended for white and colored schools separately where separately maintained; the number of public school buildings owned and rented, and the character, condition, and value of the same; the number of children, white and colored, male and female, in attendance on the public schools, and the length of attendance; the number of children, male and female, white and colored, of school age; the number of male and female teachers, white and colored, employed at the same time and at different times in the

same year, with particulars as to qualifications of same; the number of school libraries, and the number of volumes therein; the branches taught and the text-books used; the total and average amount of wages paid to teachers, male and female, white and colored; which said statistics, together with such other facts and suggestions as he may deem proper, shall be submitted to the board of trustees and to Congress by the Commissioner of Education in connection with his report now required by law; and said Commissioner shall prepare forms of such blanks as shall facilitate the making of the reports herein provided for, and transmit the same to the proper State and Territorial authorities.

SEC. 7. That in any State or Territory in which any county or division shall neglect or refuse to comply with the State or Territorial laws made in pursuance of and for the purpose of carrying into effect the terms of this enactment, the duly-constituted authorities of said State or Territory may withhold from such county or division its apportioned share of this fund, and may expend the same for the maintenance of schools for the instruction of teachers; provided that a report of such intended action and such use of funds is immediately made to and receives the approval of the trustees of this fund.

SEC. 8. That an amount not exceeding five per centum of the sum apportioned to each State or Territory may be used by them for the education of the teachers in normal schools, teachers' institute, or otherwise.

SEC. 9. That in case any State or Territory shall misapply or misappropriate the money, or any part thereof, received under this act, or shall fail to comply with the conditions thereof, or to report as herein prescribed, such State or Territory shall forfeit its right to any subsequent apportionment by virtue hereof until the amount so misapplied or misappropriated shall have been replaced by such State or Territory and applied as herein required; and all money so retained and not paid to such State or Territory shall be kept separate in the Treasury until disposed of by Congress.

SEC. 10. That in case any State or Territory shall neglect or refuse to comply with the provisions of this act, or to avail itself of the benefits of this appropriation, the board of trustees are hereby authorized to confer with the local authorities in any county, township, school district, or other subdivision therein, and cause to be paid thereto, under such conditions and regulations, and at such times and in such manner as the board of trustees shall determine upon, its quota of this fund, a full report of which shall be embodied in the next annual report of the Commissioner of Education.

SEC. 11. That the board of trustees shall certify to the Secretary of the Treasury and to the governors of the several States and Territories the amounts apportioned to the several States and Territories under the provisions of this act; and in case any apportionments are withheld, the names of the States or Territories from which such amounts are withheld; and shall place these facts in the hands of the Commissioner of Education to be by him submitted to Congress, in connection with his annual report, in which shall be stated the sums withheld, together with the reasons therefor, and the results of its investigations and labors in connection with the same.

SEC. 12. That any State or Territory in which the number of persons ten years of age and upward who cannot read and write is not over five per centum of the whole population thereof shall have the right to receive its allotment and to apply the same for the promotion of common-school and industrial education, or the education of teachers therein, in such way as the legislature of such State or Territory shall provide.

SEC. 13. That the District of Columbia shall be entitled to the privileges of the several States under the provisions of this act, but its existing laws and school authorities shall not be affected by the operation thereof. The Commissioner of Education shall be charged with the duty of superintending the distribution of its allotment, and make full report of his doings to the board of trustees and to Congress.

SEC. 14. That the first annual appropriation under this act shall be apportioned as herein directed and those States and Territories which have provided by law for the free common-school education of their children of the same school age, without distinction of race, sex, or color, shall be entitled to their apportionment of said sum when the said board of trustees shall so direct, without having complied with the conditions precedent herein, when they satisfy the said board that they intend to carry out the provisions of this act in good faith, and when they have given such security for the safety of the money as the said board shall require.

SEC. 15. That the board of trustees are authorized to conduct such inquiries as shall seem necessary in order to satisfy them that the terms of this act are being complied with in the several States and Territories; provided that such inquiries shall be conducted in co-operation with the duly constituted school authorities of the several States.

SEC. 16. That the annual contingent expenses of the board of trustees, including secretarial expenses, shall not exceed _____ dollars, and shall be paid out of funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

SUPPORT OF COMMON SCHOOLS.

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION.

(Total appropriation, \$55,876,696.50.)

The following table, prepared by the Hon. John Eaton, Commissioner of Education, states the amount to which each State and Territory and the District of Columbia would be entitled under this bill:

Amounts required for distribution to the several States and the District of Columbia proportionate to their illiterate population between ten and twenty years old in 1880, and to the organized Territories proportionate to their minor population between six and twenty years old in 1880, according to the rates per capita specified below; also, the total of twelve such distributions.

The States, District of Columbia, and Territories.	Annually.				Total of the proposed twelve distributions.
	First, second, and third, at \$3.50 per capita.	Fourth, fifth, and sixth, at \$2.50 per capita.	Seventh, eighth, and ninth, at \$1.50 per capita.	Tenth, eleventh, and twelfth, at \$1 per capita.	
Alabama	\$582,382 50	\$415,987 50	\$249,592 50	\$166,895	\$4,243,072 50
Arkansas	291,678 00	208,340 00	125,004 00	83,336	2,125,068 00
California	30,467 50	21,762 50	13,057 50	8,705	221,977 50
Colorado	10,444 00	7,460 00	4,476 00	2,984	76,092 00
Connecticut	12,558 00	8,970 00	5,382 00	3,588	91,494 00
Delaware	17,559 50	12,542 50	7,525 50	5,017	127,933 50
Florida	103,407 50	73,862 50	44,317 50	29,545	753,897 50
Georgia	704,917 50	503,512 50	302,107 50	201,405	5,135,827 50
Illinois	124,754 00	89,110 00	53,466 00	35,614	908,922 00
Indiana	87,076 50	62,197 50	37,318 50	24,879	634,414 50
Iowa	30,926 00	22,090 00	13,254 00	8,838	225,318 00
Kansas	38,090 50	27,207 50	16,324 50	10,883	277,516 50
Kentucky	465,258 50	332,327 50	199,396 50	132,931	3,389,730 50
Louisiana	366,723 00	261,945 00	157,167 00	104,778	2,671,839 00
Maine	19,603 50	14,002 50	8,401 50	5,601	142,825 00
Maryland	118,916 00	84,940 00	50,964 00	33,976	866,388 00
Massachusetts	31,808 00	22,720 00	13,632 00	9,088	231,744 00
Michigan	40,850 00	29,185 00	17,511 00	11,674	297,687 00
Minnesota	21,462 00	15,330 00	9,198 00	6,132	156,866 00
Mississippi	490,515 00	343,225 00	205,935 00	137,290	3,500,385 00
Missouri	274,655 50	196,182 50	117,709 50	78,478	2,001,061 50
Nebraska	11,238 50	8,027 50	4,816 50	3,211	81,860 50
Nevada	2,184 00	1,560 00	936 00	624	15,912 00
New Hampshire	12,344 50	8,817 50	5,290 50	3,527	89,938 50
New Jersey	28,199 50	20,142 50	12,085 50	8,057	205,453 50
New York	95,956 00	68,540 00	41,124 00	27,416	699,108 00
North Carolina	606,851 00	433,465 00	260,079 00	173,388	4,421,343 00
Ohio	87,776 50	62,697 50	37,618 50	25,079	639,514 50
Oregon	7,462 00	5,330 00	3,198 00	2,132	54,366 00
Pennsylvania	133,619 50	95,442 50	57,265 50	38,177	973,513 50
Rhode Island	17,650 50	12,607 50	7,564 50	5,043	128,596 50
South Carolina	474,075 00	338,625 00	203,175 00	135,450	3,453,975 00
Tennessee	577,671 50	412,622 50	247,573 50	165,049	4,208,749 50
Texas	453,208 00	323,720 00	194,292 00	129,488	3,301,944 00
Vermont	9,926 00	7,090 00	4,254 00	2,836	71,318 00
Virginia	507,528 00	362,520 00	217,512 00	145,008	3,697,704 00
West Virginia	113,739 50	81,242 50	48,745 50	32,497	828,673 50
Wisconsin	30,726 50	21,947 50	13,168 50	8,779	223,864 50
District of Columbia	9,667 00	6,905 00	4,143 00	2,762	70,431 00
Total for the 38 States and District of Columbia	7,033,883 50	5,024,202 50	3,014,521 50	2,009,681	51,246,865 50
Arizona	83,498 50	23,927 50	14,356 50	9,571	244,060 50
Dakota	126,469 00	90,335 00	54,201 00	36,134	921,417 00
Idaho	29,232 00	20,880 00	12,528 00	8,352	212,876 00
Montana	27,352 50	19,537 50	11,722 50	7,815	199,282 50
New Mexico	141,137 50	100,812 50	60,487 50	40,325	1,028,287 50
Utah	182,644 00	130,460 00	78,276 00	52,184	1,330,692 00
Washington	79,334 50	58,667 80	34,000 50	22,687	578,008 50
Wyoming	15,799 00	11,285 00	6,771 00	4,514	115,107 00
Total for the 8 organized Territories	635,467 00	453,905 00	272,343 00	181,562	4,629,831 00
Aggregate for the whole Union	7,669,350 50	5,478,107 50	3,286,864 50	2,191,243	55,876,696 50

SUPPORT OF COMMON SCHOOLS.

THE INTER-STATE COMMISSION BILL PROVIDING FOR FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION.

Probably no bill before the Forty-eighth Congress has had as careful preparation as the one framed by the Inter-State Commission, and in view of the fact that the printed copies of this bill failed in some way to reach members of Congress and the Committees on Education, having been lost in transit, we present herein a brief sketch of the way in which it had its origin, and the names of the eminent men who had the matter in charge, with a copy of the bill, with notes, as it came from the hands of the Commission. And so anxious were these gentlemen that their plan should be as perfect as possible, that they sent a copy of this bill to the leading educators and to prominent statesmen in every part of the country, including presidents of colleges, State superintendents of public instruction, governors of States, judges of courts, &c., who were asked to criticize the bill and make such suggestions as they thought would improve it. The responses to these letters are now in the hands of the writer of this report, having been kindly furnished by Hon. Thomas W. Bicknell, LL. D., the president of the Commission, from which we have gleaned some most valuable suggestions, which have been incorporated into the bill we propose as a substitute. Among the most prominent of these suggestions is the one requiring the States to increase their educational fund and educational facilities. And among all the gentlemen who have considered this measure not one expressed a doubt about the necessity of a board of trustees. This section was assented to by all.

The bill prepared by the Commission, as will be seen, contains several important principles not hitherto recognized in any of the proposed legislation for Congressional aid for education.

First. The amount of money asked of the General Government for education is to be distributed over a period of twelve years.

Second. The basis of its distribution among the States is the illiteracy within the school age—that is, between the ages of ten and twenty, inclusive—and not the total illiteracy of the country; each State receiving its *pro rata* of money as its school illiteracy, including illiterates between the ages of ten and twenty, bears to the total illiteracy of the United States within the same ages. In the Territories the distribution is made to all persons between the ages of six and twenty, inclusive. This distinction is made on the principle that the *pro rata* of property to population in the Territories is much less than in the States, and hence another basis of apportionment should be made to foster education in the weaker communities which need aid in their struggle for existence and growth.

INTER-STATE EDUCATIONAL CONVENTION, COMPOSED OF DELEGATES APPOINTED BY GOVERNORS OF THE VARIOUS STATES, HELD AT LOUISVILLE, KY., SEPTEMBER 19, 20, 21, 1883.

The Inter-State Educational Commission on Federal Aid to Education, which was created by the Inter-State Educational Convention, composed of delegates appointed by the governors of the various States, and held at Louisville, Ky., September 19, 20, 21, 1883. Twenty-seven States were represented by two or more delegates each, and among the representatives present were Drs. Harris, Miner, Dickinson, and Bicknell, of Massachusetts; Dr. Northrop, of Connecticut; Dr. Waite and Professor Ellis, of New York; General Eaton, of Washington; Ex-Senator Gwin, of Califor-

nia; Hon. Mr. Morey, of Mississippi; Hon. Mr. Willis and Judge Beckner, of Kentucky; Dr. Laws, of Missouri; Dr. Curry, of Virginia; Hon. Mr. Coward, superintendent of education of South Carolina; Hon. Mr. Foster, superintendent of education of Florida; Hon. Mr. Scarborough, superintendent of education of North Carolina; Hon. Mr. Holcombe, superintendent of education of Indiana; Hon. Mr. Raab, superintendent of education of Illinois; M. S. Lytle, esq., Pennsylvania; Hon. Mr. Newell, superintendent of education of Maryland; Hon. O. P. Fitzgerald, Tennessee; Col. William Preston Johnson, Louisiana; Judge Bullock, of Kentucky, and many others.

The subject of Federal aid to education was discussed in its various phases during the several sessions, and on the third day the following preamble and resolutions were reported to the convention from a committee of twenty-seven, or one from each State represented in the convention:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE.

In view of the necessity of education to the perpetuity of free institutions and of the inability of some of the States and Territories to sustain efficient common-school systems without assistance: Therefore,

Resolved, That this convention cordially approves the principle of giving Federal aid, to be distributed among the several States and Territories upon the basis of illiteracy: Provided, That such aid shall be distributed under State laws and by State authorities exclusively, but with proper guarantees for its faithful application.

Resolved, That a commission be appointed whose duty it shall be to memorialize Congress upon this subject, and to assist, in any manner which their judgment may approve, in securing the legislation necessary.

After a spirited discussion, the resolutions were adopted unanimously, and subsequently the committee, through Hon. Mr. Morey, M. C., from Mississippi, reported the following Commission:

MEMBERS OF COMMISSION.

HON. W. M. BECKNER, Kentucky, judge superior court.

HON. THOMAS W. BICKNELL, LL. D., Massachusetts, editor National Journal of Education.

HON. J. L. M. CURRY, LL. D., Virginia, agent Peabody fund.

REV. O. P. FITZGERALD, D. D., Tennessee, editor Methodist Advocate.

HON. JOHN M. GREGORY, D. D., LL. D., Illinois, commissioner United States Civil Service.

REV. ATTICUS G. HAYGOOD, D. D., Georgia, agent Slater fund.

MILTON S. LYTLE, esq., Pennsylvania.

HON. M. A. NEWELL, LL. D., Maryland, secretary State board of education.

HON. B. G. NORTROP, LL. D., Connecticut, ex-secretary State board of education.

HON. THOMAS H. PAYNE, Tennessee, State superintendent public schools.

HON. HUGH S. THOMPSON, South Carolina, governor of South Carolina.

HENRY RANDALL WAITE, Ph. D., New York, statistician in charge of educational division United States Census.

Subsequently the Commission organized by the election of Hon. T. W. Bicknell, LL. D., of Massachusetts, as president; Henry Randall Waite, Ph. D., of New York, secretary, and Hon. M. A. Newell, of Maryland, as treasurer.

The Commission held several sessions in New York and Washington for the purpose of securing an agreement of opinion as to the purposes

for which Federal aid to education should be solicited, and the best methods of administration, provided such aid is granted by the Federal Congress. At these meetings, attended by a majority of the Commission, and representing in person or by letter all parts of the country, the freest expression of opinion was given, and information and valuable testimony was sought from all sources.

In the progress of these discussions it seemed wise for the Commission, as advised from several influential sources, to set forth the result of these discussions in the form of a bill for Federal aid, which should embody the principles unanimously agreed to in the Commission. This was done, and the result of their work appears in the bill herein transmitted, as follows:

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION.

30 FRANKLIN STREET, Boston, December 29, 1883.

DEAR SIR: In obedience to instructions received from the Inter-State Educational Convention, convened at Louisville in September last, the Commission on Federal Aid to Education, appointed by that convention, at a meeting held in New York, October 9, after a careful consideration of the whole subject, and with all of the various bills previously submitted to Congress before them, unanimously adopted the draft of a bill, copy of which is sent herewith. They believe that it embodies all of the essential features of the previous measures proposed; and that its provisions are calculated to meet, so far as possible, the divergent views which other measures have not seemed calculated to sufficiently harmonize.

The commission are, however, exceedingly desirous of securing an expression of the views of a few of the most eminent friends of popular education as to the wisdom of the several provisions proposed before submitting it to Congress, and have accordingly decided to address this circular to the governors and representatives of public instruction of the different States, and to a few of the most eminent of the presidents of our institutions of learning, in all about seventy-five persons, including yourself. Will you kindly inform us before the reassembling of Congress after the holiday recess (if possible prior to January 5), as to your views of the measure? If it meets your approval, will you kindly so state, and if not, please give us the benefit of your criticism, with suggestions as to such amendments as may seem desirable? Awaiting your reply, we have the honor to be, respectfully yours,

HENRY RANDALL WAITE,

Secretary.

THOMAS W. BICKNELL,

President.

A BILL to establish an educational fund to aid in the support of public schools in the several States and Territories.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That for twelve years after the passage of this act there shall be apportioned from the money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for each illiterate person between the ages of ten and twenty, inclusive, in the several States of the United States,† as shown by the United States census last preceding; and for*

* APPORTIONMENT IN STATES.—Previous bills have proposed a distribution on the basis of the total amount of illiteracy, thus including 4,204,363 persons who have passed the age of twenty years, and are therefore beyond the reach of common school instruction. If the provisions for Federal aid are to specifically include only those who may possibly be benefited by its bestowal (which seems just and wise) out of the total of 6,239,958 illiterates, ten and over, plans for apportionment will include only those under the age of twenty-one, numbering 2,035,596, as herein provided for.

† APPORTIONMENT IN TERRITORIES.—As the necessities of the Territories are based on the fact that educational needs are in advance of material development rather than excessive illiteracy, and since an apportionment of funds on the basis of illiteracy would secure to most of them a comparatively insignificant sum, it would seem wise that the apportionment therein be made on the basis proposed in lines 10, 11, and 12 of sec. 1. (See tables, pages 8 and 9, for exhibit of amounts apportioned on each basis.)

each person in the several Territories between and including the ages of six and twenty, as shown by the United States census of eighteen hundred and eighty, the following amounts,* to wit: First, second, and third years, each year, four dollars; fourth, fifth, and sixth years, each year, three dollars; seventh, eighth, and ninth years, each year, two dollars; tenth, eleventh, and twelfth years, each year, one dollar; at which time appropriations under this act shall cease.

SEC. 2. That to superintend the carrying into effect of the provisions of this act, a board of trustees is hereby created, which shall be composed of seven members, to wit: The Secretary of the Interior, *ex officio*, two members of the United States Senate, and two members of the House of Representatives, not belonging to the same political party, to be appointed at the opening of each Congress by the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House, respectively, and to serve until their successors are appointed, and, *ex officio*, of the Commissioner of Education and the Fourth Auditor of the Treasury Department.

SEC. 3. That the amount of the fund appropriated by this act for each year shall be paid into the hands of the Secretary of the Interior upon a warrant presented by him to the Secretary of the Treasury certifying the same; and the said sum shall, under his direction, be annually apportioned among the several States and Territories and paid into the hands of the duly authorized officers of such of the same as are certified by the board of trustees to be entitled to receive their apportionment for the said year; and the first apportionment shall be made on or before the first day of July, eighteen hundred and eighty-four, and succeeding apportionments on or before the same day in succeeding years; but no State or Territory, after the second appropriation § under this act, shall receive under its provisions a greater sum than such State or Territory shall have expended during the previous year, for purposes of public instruction from moneys raised in said year by State or Territorial and local taxation.

SEC. 4. That the funds paid to the several States shall be apportioned and ex-

‡ GRADUATED SCALE.—It is obviously expedient that the bestowal of aid be so apportioned, year by year, as to coincide in amount with the expected increase in the ability of the States to financially provide for their own educational needs.

Two of the most favorably considered of previously proposed enactments have provided for the withdrawal of Federal aid, one upon a final bestowal of \$10,000,000 at the end of five years, and another upon a final bestowal of \$6,000,000 at the end of ten years. The sudden withdrawal of aid to either of the amounts named would require a correspondingly sudden increase in the State revenues in order to prevent the partial collapse of school systems. It is probable that instead of the sudden increase in State revenues thus made necessary, Federal aid would be again sought, and the way thus opened to the perpetuation of grants intended to meet a present and temporary necessity of the character of an emergency.

The plan of apportionment herein provided for contemplates a decrease of Federal aid so graduated as to accord with an increase in State revenues, which may be easily provided year by year, until, and including, the year when Federal aid shall cease. (See tables, pages 8 and 9.)

† TRUSTEES.—To meet the evident necessity for a proper supervision of the contemplated expenditure of funds on the part of the National Government, a board of trustees, composed of officers of the Government, who shall act *ex officio*, would seem the simplest and most effective provision. The creation and payment of new officials, whose special acts might prove a source of mischief, is thus avoided, and the onerous and responsible task which would devolve upon the Commissioner of Education were he alone to be charged with the execution of the provisions of the bill is so divided among existing officials of the highest competency and fitness, including the said Commissioner, as to remove all possibility of the personal criticism which might follow individual acts in themselves just and proper, and which could hardly fail to be received with favor as emanating from a board of the character contemplated.

‡ In view of the important work devolved upon its members, and the fact that the pressure of their ordinary duties will make it difficult for any one of them to undertake the added duties of the office, the services of a secretary may be required, and could be utilized in the conduct of any inquiries as to the administration of funds in the several States and Territories which may with propriety be instituted, or which are provided for in conjunction with State officers, by sec. 9 of this act.

§ This provision is intended to meet the needs of certain States whose present educational revenues could not well be immediately increased to such an extent as to entitle them to their full apportionment on the basis proposed, but which can, with other States, comply with the conditions named at the end of the second year.

pended by their duly authorized officers among the counties* or corresponding divisions of such States in proportion to the number of illiterate persons in the same between the ages of ten and twenty-one, as shown by the United States census last preceding, and shall be applied within the same to the free common school education of children, without distinction of color, between and including the ages of six and twenty; and that the sums apportioned to the several Territories shall be likewise applied to the free and impartial education of children between and including the ages above named, as nearly as may be in accordance with the number of the same in the several counties; and in States or Territories, or portions of the same, where separate schools for white and colored children are sustained, the moneys received under this act shall be divided and expended among such schools in proportion to the respective number of white and colored illiterates enumerated therein at the United States census last preceding; and it is understood that under the term "free common school education" may be included such rudimentary instruction in the useful arts and industries† as the several State and Territorial authorities may see fit to provide for or permit.

SEC. 5. That to entitle them to receive aid under the terms of this act, the several States and Territories shall comply with the following provisions:

1. They shall designate the officers to whom shall be paid and by whom will be disbursed the sums annually apportioned under this act.

2. To secure a just measure of uniformity in the application of this aid, for four months in each year suitable schools must be maintained in each of the counties or corresponding divisions in said States and Territories wherever the parents of forty children of school age, within a radius of five miles, demand the same; it being agreed that said children shall attend school in the same place.

3. State and Territorial superintendents or officers of public instruction shall cause to be made to them, and shall transmit to the Commissioner of Education, on or before the first day of October in each year, such reports concerning the condition of the schools in the same as the trustees of this fund shall deem desirable.‡

SEC. 6. That in any State or Territory in which any county or division shall neglect or refuse to comply with the State or Territorial laws made in pursuance of and for

* The extension of the method of apportionment to county distribution is recommended for two reasons, both believed to be worthy of recognition: 1. As a guarantee that it will be equally and fairly distributed, it will remove a serious objection to such aid in the minds of those who fear that the funds apportioned, for any reason, may be used for the special benefit of favored localities. 2. It will be a welcome assurance to the people of the several counties that in the distribution they will receive their just allotment of aid, the exact amount of which will be known, thus affording a stable guide for local action from year to year.

† The States will have it in their power to prevent local abuses in the use of Federal funds, under the terms of sec. 6.

‡ The wisdom of including, to a proper extent, the useful arts and industries among subjects of instruction in the common schools, in view of the growth of industries and manufactures in many parts of the Union, and the desirability of drawing the attention of a large number of our youth to the fields thus open to them, seems obvious.

§ It would seem unjust to grant equal aid to States of like resources, where schools are taught on the one hand for seven or eight months, and on the other for two or three. It would be, at the same time, impolitic, if not offensive, to insist upon any school term to provide for which would seriously embarrass any State. A period has therefore been named which can be easily reached in any State, and which is already far exceeded in the great majority of those most in need of assistance, and which, it is believed, will be acceptable in every State.

¶ The great value of properly collected educational statistics for the information of the whole people, as well as the obvious propriety of gathering information as to the results of such aid as may be bestowed by the National Government, makes the collection of useful statistics relating to public schools, herein provided for, most desirable, if not essential. The value of such statistics, depends, however, upon proper uniformity in the character and meaning of questions and answers. The adoption of the provisions here recommended will put it in the power of the Commissioner of Education, with the co-operation which the State school authorities on the terms proposed will gladly render, to collect a body of statistics which shall include information required by the board of trustees and in such form as to adapt it to the uses of his office and the needs of the general public without necessary interference with the varying statistical methods of the States (a variance which now largely detracts from the value of statistics when arranged in comparative tables). Statistical reports of the common schools in the United States would thus be secured, whose accuracy would make them of inestimable worth in the light which they would give as to the value of educational methods and the progress of popular education.

the purpose of carrying into effect the terms of this enactment, the duly constituted authorities of said State or Territory may withhold from such county or division its apportioned share of this fund, and may expend the same for the maintenance of schools for the instruction of teachers; provided that a report of such intended action and such use of funds is immediately made to and receives the approval of the trustees of this fund.*

SEC. 7. That if any State or Territory shall fail to comply with the terms of this act, the board of trustees may, at their discretion, withhold the certificate that said State or Territory is entitled to receive its apportionment of said fund, and said sum shall be converted into the Treasury.†

SEC. 8. That the board of trustees shall certify to the Secretary of the Interior the amounts apportioned to the several States and Territories under the terms of this act, and the States or Territories from which such amounts are withheld for any reason, with a report embodying the result of its investigations and labors, and the said report shall be placed in the hands of the Commissioner of Education, to be by him submitted to Congress in connection with the report required of said Commissioner by section five hundred and eighteen of the Revised Statutes; and the board of trustees shall provide for the use of State and Territorial officers forms of blanks for the collection of the desired information relating to schools; and in the States where such officers are at liberty to avail themselves of such privilege, the chief State officers, and in the Territories the superintendents of public instruction, may act as the duly appointed agents of the trustees for the collection of said educational statistics, but without compensation from the board of trustees or from the Bureau of Education, and may have the free use of the United States mails as such agents and for that purpose.

SEC. 9. That the board of trustees are authorized to conduct such inquiries as shall seem necessary in order to satisfy them that the terms of this act are being complied with in the several States and Territories, provided that such inquiries shall be conducted in co-operation with the duly constituted school authorities of the several States.‡

SEC. 10. That the annual contingent expenses of the board of trustees, including secretarial expenses, shall not exceed _____ dollars, and shall be paid out of funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

* The effect of the terms of this provision will be to remove in large degree any supposed necessity for Federal supervision in the administration of funds by delegating to the States such authority in the premises as will enable them to secure their just application.

† The importance of the possible action here contemplated emphasizes the expediency of constituting a board of trustees of the character provided for in Sec. 2.

‡ While there is serious objection to the creation of Federal supervising officers with power to interfere in State affairs, there is a general recognition of the propriety of Federal oversight in the apportionment and expenditure of funds provided from the national Treasury. Such oversight, it is believed, can be sufficiently exercised by the trustees provided for, acting in conjunction with the State and Territorial school authorities, with the aid of a single secretary or agent.

§ The contingent expenses, aside from amount (if any) paid for secretarial services, would necessarily include a sum sufficient to provide for the expenses attendant upon such conferences, conducted by a single representative of the board, with State educational authorities, in accordance with the provision of Sect. 9, as may be found desirable.

Table showing amounts distributed to the respective States on the basis of the illiterate population between and including the ages of ten and twenty, and to the respective Territories on the same basis and on the basis of the population between and including the ages of six and twenty, for a period of twelve years.

[Prepared for the Inter-State Educational Commission, by Henry Randall Waite, statistician Tenth United States Census, in charge of inquiries relating to education, illiteracy, libraries, &c.]

States and Territories.	1884, 1885, 1896. Each year \$4 per capita.	1887, 1888, 1899. Each year \$3 per capita.	1890, 1891, 1892. Each year \$2 per capita.	1893, 1894, 1895. Each year \$1 per capita.	Total amount in 12 years.
Connecticut	\$14,852	\$10,764	\$7,176	\$3,588	\$107,640
Maine	22,404	16,808	11,202	5,601	168,090
Massachusetts	36,852	27,264	18,176	9,088	272,840
New Hampshire	14,108	10,581	7,054	3,527	105,810
New Jersey	32,228	24,171	16,114	8,057	241,710
New York	109,664	82,248	54,832	27,416	822,490
Pennsylvania	152,708	114,531	76,354	38,177	1,145,810
Rhode Island	20,172	15,129	10,086	5,043	151,290
Vermont	11,344	8,508	5,672	2,836	85,080
Total each year, New England and Middle States, on basis of illit- eracy	413,332	309,990	206,686	103,333	3,099,900
California	34,820	26,115	17,410	8,705	261,150
Colorado	11,988	8,952	5,968	2,984	79,520
Illinois	142,576	106,962	71,298	35,644	1,068,320
Indiana	90,516	74,637	49,758	24,879	746,370
Iowa	38,244	28,508	17,672	8,836	265,080
Kansas	48,532	32,649	21,766	10,883	328,490
Michigan	46,696	35,022	23,348	11,674	350,220
Minnesota	24,328	18,396	12,264	6,132	183,360
Nebraska	12,844	9,633	6,423	3,211	96,330
Nevada	2,496	1,873	1,248	624	18,720
Ohio	100,816	75,337	50,158	25,079	752,370
Oregon	8,528	6,396	4,264	2,132	63,960
Wisconsin	35,116	26,337	17,558	8,779	263,370
Total each year, Western States, on basis of illiteracy	596,248	448,688	299,124	149,563	4,496,960
Alabama	605,580	499,185	332,790	166,395	4,991,550
Arkansas	333,844	250,008	166,672	83,336	2,506,980
Delaware	20,068	15,051	10,034	5,017	150,510
Florida	118,180	88,635	59,090	29,545	888,340
Georgia	880,639	694,215	459,510	230,405	6,942,150
Kentucky	531,724	398,793	265,863	132,931	3,987,980
Louisiana	419,112	314,334	209,556	104,778	2,148,340
Maryland	185,904	141,928	94,652	47,326	1,119,280
Mississippi	549,160	411,870	274,580	137,290	4,118,700
Missouri	312,662	235,419	156,946	78,473	2,354,190
North Carolina	608,644	530,158	346,772	173,386	5,201,560
South Carolina	541,900	406,350	270,900	135,450	4,068,500
Tennessee	600,196	456,147	304,098	152,049	4,551,470
Texas	517,932	388,454	258,978	129,488	3,884,640
Virginia	580,662	435,024	290,016	145,008	4,350,240
West Virginia	129,968	97,491	64,994	32,497	974,910
Total each year, Southern States, on basis of illiteracy	7,016,066	5,262,072	3,508,048	1,754,024	52,620,720
Arizona	36,284	28,718	19,142	9,571	287,120
Dakota	144,536	108,402	72,268	36,134	1,084,020
Idaho	33,408	25,656	16,704	8,352	250,560
Montana	31,200	23,445	15,630	7,815	234,450
New Mexico	161,300	120,975	80,650	40,325	1,209,750
Utah	208,736	156,552	104,368	52,184	1,565,520
Washington	80,668	68,001	45,334	22,667	680,010
Wyoming	18,056	13,542	9,028	4,514	135,420
Total each year, Territories, on basis of population, six to twenty	726,248	544,686	363,124	181,562	5,446,960
Total each year, District of Colum- bia, on basis of illiteracy	11,048	8,286	5,524	2,762	82,960
Grand total each year, United States, as above	8,784,972	6,578,729	4,382,468	2,191,243	65,787,290

* Distribution for entire country as per terms of bill, which assumes, as a basis, the illiterate population between and including the ages of ten and twenty in the States and the District of Columbia, and the school population between and including the ages of six and twenty in the Territories.

Table showing amounts distributed to the respective States, &c.—Continued.

States and Territories.	1884, 1885, 1886. Each year \$4 per capita.	1887, 1888, 1889. Each year \$3 per capita.	1890, 1891, 1892. Each year \$2 per capita.	1893, 1894, 1895. Each year \$1 per capita.	Total amount in 12 years.
Arizona.....	\$6,636	\$4,977	\$3,318	\$1,659	\$49,770
Dakota.....	4,628	3,471	2,314	1,157	34,710
Idaho.....	1,800	975	650	325	9,750
Montana.....	1,620	1,215	810	405	12,150
New Mexico.....	78,296	54,972	36,648	18,324	549,720
Michigan.....	11,692	8,769	5,846	2,923	87,690
Washington.....	3,976	2,982	1,988	994	29,820
Wyoming.....	508	351	254	127	3,810
District of Columbia.....	11,048	8,286	5,524	2,762	84,860
Total each year, Territories and District of Columbia, on basis of illiteracy.....	114,704	86,028	57,352	*28,676	860,280
States, on basis of illiteracy.....	8,027,676	6,020,757	4,018,838	*2,006,919	60,007,570
Grand total United States, on basis of illiteracy†.....	8,142,380	6,106,785	4,071,190	*2,035,595	61,067,850

* These numerals correspond with the number of illiterates between the ages of ten and twenty-one, as shown by census of 1880.

† Distribution for entire country on basis of illiterate population ten to twenty, in the Territories, as well as in the States and the District of Columbia. It will be seen that the additional sum required by an apportionment on basis of school population (instead of illiterates) in Territories is \$4,662,440; or \$5,446,860, according to the terms of the bill, as compared with \$860,280 on the uniform basis of illiteracy.

THE SUBSTITUTE.

We preserve the fundamental plan of the commission bill in our substitute, and add to it other features none the less important, embracing some most valuable suggestions made by the educators of the South, who appreciate better than we do the importance of guarding with great care the proper application of the fund. While we have preserved all of these valuable provisions, we have changed the bill in other respects so as to simplify it and yet make it more certain of execution. And while we have a board of trustees, the management of the fund, the control of the schools, the employment of teachers, the selection of the books, the control of all the machinery of the system is left to the States and Territories, subject only to such general supervision of the board of trustees as is necessary to see that the money is expended for the purposes contemplated.

DR. BICKNELL ON THE PENDING QUESTIONS.

We copy from the National Journal of Education, published in Boston, of the date of February 28, 1884, an editorial in explanation of the bill prepared by the Inter-State Commission, and in advocacy of the provision for a board of trustees. Hon. Thomas W. Bicknell, the editor of this journal, is a man of eminent ability, has traveled through the South and made himself thoroughly acquainted with the wants of the Southern people, has been the champion of national aid to public schools, has been before the committees of Congress time and again urging the importance of this measure on account of the condition of the South, was here a week on this business during the present winter, and wrote this editorial after his return to Boston. His views on Government supervision are worthy of careful consideration. The following is the editorial entire:

The two bills now before Congress relating to Federal aid for education—the Blair bill in the Senate and the Willis bill in the House—do not differ materially in their general provisions, and either, if adopted by Congress, will render very essential aid to the needier parts of our country, which are so sadly suffering for want of the bless-

ing of free schools, and that largely from the poverty, and not from the want of interest, of the people to be educated. Both bills distribute the money directly from the United States Treasury to the several States and Territories on the basis of illiteracy of the census of 1880, school and adult, from ten years old and upwards. Both bills recognize the educational authorities of the State, aided, as the proper officers to superintend the disbursement of the funds in the several States, and both require annual reports to Congress, through the Commissioner of Education, concerning the application of these funds to the public instruction of the children of whites and blacks impartially, for at least three months in each year. Both bills require the aid to be extended over a period of ten years, but the amounts are unequal, the Willis bill asking for only fifty millions of dollars, while the Blair bill calls for over one hundred and six millions of dollars. The latter bill distributes fifteen millions the first year, and reduces the amount one million dollars each year, closing with about six millions of dollars the last year; while the Willis bill begins where Blair's ends.

Of the merits of these bills we do not propose to speak, except in comparison with a third bill, which is now under the consideration of the Joint Committee on Education of both houses of Congress. This bill is the work of the Inter-State Commission on Federal Aid appointed at Louisville in September last, and seem to us to embody valuable principles not yet recognized in this most important piece of national legislation. We will note a few of the leading features of the new bill:

(1) The amount to be distributed is sixty-five millions of dollars—a compromise between the amounts of the Blair and Willis bills.

(2) The distribution reaches over a period of twelve years instead of ten, thus enlarging its capacity for helping the people.

(3) Its distribution is to be made, not on the basis of the total illiteracy of the country, but on the school illiteracy between ten and twenty years of age, inclusive. Hereby the money is directed to the removal of the illiteracy within the school age.

(4) The distribution is made on the following plan: For each illiterate person in the States, between the ages of ten and twenty inclusive, and for each person in the Territories, between and including the same ages, as shown by the census of 1880, there shall be apportioned for the first, second, and third years, each year four dollars; for the fourth, fifth, and sixth years, each year three dollars; for the seventh, eighth, and ninth years, each year two dollars; and for the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth years, each year one dollar, when all appropriations shall cease.

(5) One-third of the money apportioned to each State may be used for the erection of school-houses, and the support of normal schools and normal institutes, and the other two-thirds to be used for common-school studies, including elementary industrial education.

(6) The common schools are required to be kept four months in each year, and the money is to be expended, under State laws, by the ordinary educational authorities.

(7) To superintend the carrying into effect the provisions of the bill, a board of trustees is created, consisting of the Secretary of the Interior *ex officio*, two Senators and two Representatives, not belonging to the same political party, the Commissioner of Education, and the Fourth Auditor of the Treasury. This board is to attend to the distribution of the funds, to secure reports, to look after the honest administration of the funds in the several States, and to stand as a guardian of the trust for the Nation until its full disbursement has been made.

Singularly enough, the last-mentioned item meets with opposition from those who most urgently seek and need Federal aid, and this on the ground that it is an interference with States' rights! Now all must admit that the whole plan of Federal aid to education is in opposition to the doctrines of Calhoun and Stephens. There is no possible justification of Federal interference with State administration of schools except on the ultra ground of a great national exigency, which knows no primal law but that of self-preservation. The Government proposes to meet local needs in the hour of peril, and asks that the hand which administers may connect with its aid the eye that watches over its wise and careful distribution. In no case does it propose to interfere with the distribution, but, as in the case of the Peabody fund, to place wise and trusty men over the great gift to see that it reaches and accomplishes its desired work. At the same time that the trusteeship is a protectorate over the fund going out of the National Treasury, it is an equal protection to those who are to receive it; and both, as has been seen in the history of Congressional grants hitherto for all purposes, need just such watchful guardianship.

While we do not doubt the integrity and good faith of the men at the head of educational affairs North, South, East, or West, we do insist that the General Government should demand some sort of supervision of a fund going out of its Treasury for a period of years, lest Congressional investigation shall by-and-by come in to bring our schools and school systems into disgrace. For the reason that our State school officers are good and honest men, they should be willing that the light of an eternal day should shine through their actions and their administration of a just gift from a parental hand which seeks only the best good of all its children, and especially of the

weak and the unfortunate. Unless some such guaranty as the one proposed is adopted, we are quite well founded in our opinion that no bill can pass the present Congress. But if a bill should pass for Federal aid to education without sufficient safeguards for its thorough and careful administration throughout the country, we are prepared to predict as unfortunate results as have attended any Congressional aid of the century, where the "old flag and an appropriation" were the watchword.

JUDGE TOURGÉE ON NATIONAL AID.

No one has probably given the question of national aid to education more consideration than Judge Tourgée, who is from the South, and who was on the bench in the South ten years. His opinions have been quoted approvingly by Hon. J. L. M. Curry, LL.D., of Richmond, Va., and we quote an article published in the *Continent*, of date February 13, 1884:

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

A BROAD AND PLAIN HIGHWAY.

The plan of distribution which remains to be considered is designed to avoid the greater part, if not all, of the objections urged against those already discussed. It is so simple in its elements, so economical in its administration, and so apparently unobjectionable to any class of political thinkers, that it is with no little diffidence that the author submits it for public consideration, and asks the attention of our legislators to its thorough practicality. He cheerfully invites the most unsparring criticism of every feature of this plan, being fully conscious that the results of the most prolonged investigation may not unfrequently display the gravest defects to even the casual observer. With him this plan has been a matter of evolution. When, in 1870, he first began to think and write upon this subject, he was an advocate of the plan proposed in Senator Blair's bill, so far as its main features are concerned. As time passed on, and he came to consider the question more fully and to write upon its various aspects more copiously, he became thoroughly satisfied of the utter impracticality and unwisdom of such a measure. He then turned his attention to the plan first considered, which is so evidently loose and unguarded as to awaken suspicion on the part even of the most careless reader. Thoroughly convinced of the absolute impracticality of both of these plans, and of any possible modification of either, he set himself at work to devise a system by which the Government might apply effectively a portion of its revenues to the cure of illiteracy economically and certainly, without in any manner disturbing the equanimity of the most sensitive advocate of the State-rights dogmas, and yet without opening any loopholes for the misapplication of the fund by State authorities. The reader will perhaps feel inclined to laugh when told that this simple plan is the result of some ten years of earnest inquiry and careful deliberation, yet such is the fact, as will appear more fully in subsequent papers of this series.

None but those who have been for a considerable time engaged in the practical administration of the statute law can fully appreciate the difficulties that lie in the way of the inauguration of a new system. That peculiar legal imagination which foresees every obstacle and provides a remedy for every defect is so rare, that one thus fore-armed may be pardoned for hesitancy in regard to a matter which he has labored so long to perfect. The inventor of material mechanisms can test the accuracy of his conclusions by a working-model, which enables him to remove the deficiencies of his first conception and make his first machine complete in every part and movement. Not so with the legal fabricator. The test of his work comes only when it is put into operation. Its defects are first discovered when it is construed by the courts.

Perhaps no better school for the self-confident draftsman of a statute designed to put in operation a new system could be devised than that which the writer has passed through. Almost every clause of our reconstructionary legislation has failed of its intended effect, because of the ignorance of the men who framed the laws in regard to the facts and circumstances that must attend their application. The first essential to the preparation of an effective statute is a thorough practical knowledge of the circumstances that must attend its application. It is for this reason, no doubt, that the suggestions of the purely literary man are regarded with such unmitigated scorn by the man who calls himself the practical legislator. In this case, there is required of him who would successfully elaborate a plan by which the State and the Nation may be enabled heartily to co-operate in securing the best results from the national appropriation, not only a sound theoretical knowledge of the relation of our individual States to the General Government, but also a practical knowledge of the machinery by which both are operated, of the points of contact and divergence, a

thorough apprehension of the subject-matter and of the habits of thought, prejudices, and inclinations of those to whom it is designed especially to apply. All this the writer has had a rare opportunity to acquire. The bench of a Southern State, during the ten years succeeding reconstruction, was no mean training-school for one who desired to solve such problems as are presented by the necessity which rests upon us of educating the illiterate voter in order to avoid the danger that must result from his ignorance. If it were not for such opportunity, coupled with the most earnest purpose to improve the same, he would never have presumed either to have criticized the plans of others or to have propounded his own. Having given the better portion of his manhood to the study of this question and its cognate phenomena from a standpoint of peculiar advantage, and having written several volumes for the purpose of directing public attention to the subject, he feels at liberty to speak, if not with authority, at least with the force of honest conviction based on wide experience and close observation.

The elements of the problem for which a solution is proposed are by no means simple. They demand a system which shall—

Utilize the existing educational systems of the various States.

Command the approval of the most ultra State rights theorist as entirely constitutional in the method of distribution.

Be a stimulus to public appropriation and private contribution in the States where illiteracy most abounds.

Provide a method by which the appropriation may still be made available if the State authorities refuse to co-operate with the nation.

On the other hand the proposed system must not—

Propose a cumbrous and expensive array of Federal officials.

Nor place the fund under the control of any State officials or State legislation.

Nor leave any considerable loophole to fraud or malversation.

To meet these requirements it is proposed that an act be passed containing the following provisions:

I. Appropriating annually, for the promotion of primary education, during the present census decade, a sum which is some multiple of the number of illiterates in the United States as shown by the census of 1880.

II. Directing the distribution of this fund on the basis of illiteracy as shown in the census of 1880, and requiring the Commissioner of Education to assign to each township, parish, or school district of each State the sum it is entitled to receive annually upon that basis.

III. That this money shall be applied by preference to the support of free schools organized and operated under the law of the State in which the district is located.

IV. That said fund shall only be used for the payment of teachers.

V. That it shall only be paid out when the Commissioner shall be satisfied that the primary free school has been in operation not less than three months in any one year, with such average of attendance as the Commissioner may prescribe considering the number of children within school age resident in said district.

VI. That the amount thus appropriated shall in no case exceed one-third of the entire expense of maintaining said school, the balance to be made up out of the State, county, or municipal appropriations for school purposes or by private contribution.

VII. That the necessary facts in regard to such school shall be ascertained by report of the proper officers under the State system, forwarded to the Commissioner through the State superintendent of education and approved by him.

VIII. That payment of the sum to which such district shall be entitled be made after proof of compliance with the conditions of the statute, by check payable to the order of the teacher or other designated representative of the school, only after being countersigned by the State superintendent.

IX. That in case there is no public school organized under the State system in operation within any district, or the authorities of the State refuse to establish one, the people thereof, under such regulations as the Commissioner shall prescribe, may organize a private school free to all within school age resident in the district (except in case of separate schools for different races), and by keeping the same in operation the required time, and paying at least two-thirds of the expenses thereof, shall be entitled to the benefit of the sum thus appropriated.

X. The sum appropriated for one year shall not be applied to school work done in another year; nor the sum assigned to one district to the payment of teachers in another, and all assignments of this appropriation not applied for during the fiscal year for which they were designed shall, at the close of that period, be covered into the Treasury.

XI. The State superintendent shall report to the Commissioner the attendance, studies pursued, and text-books used in every public school in his State making application for a share in such fund, and the Commissioner shall be entitled of right to visit and inspect such school at any time in person or by any agent whom he may authorize to act for him: *Provided*, That neither the said Commissioner nor his agent,

nor any one acting on behalf of the United States, shall have any power or authority to interfere in any way in the management of said school, the employment or discharge of teachers, or the course of study presented or text-books employed.

XII. In case the State within which any district is located prescribes separate schools for white and colored pupils, then the sum to which the number of white illiterates in said district would entitle it to receive must be devoted to the aid of a school for white children therein, and the sum which its number of colored illiterates would entitle it to receive in like manner to the support of a school for colored children, and neither of these sums shall, under any circumstances, be used to aid a school for the benefit of the other race.

XIII. The Commissioner shall be empowered to appoint, in any county or district in which he sees fit, competent and reputable men or women to act as inspectors, and make such report as he may desire without compensation.

Persons, such as are described in the last article, can easily be found in every community, who will gladly devote one or more days to reporting the necessary facts in order to promote the cause of education in their communities. This would be even more easily done at the South than at the North. There is hardly a town in that section where an educated lady might not be found who would be willing to inspect and report even upon a colored school located therein, and do it fairly and honestly, too.

The operation of this system will be considered in the next paper.

A. W. TOURGEE.

All of which is respectfully submitted for the consideration of the House.

JOSEPH D. TAYLOR.