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ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES



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THE ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

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INTRODUCTION

THE careful and scholarly study of the administration of education in the United States by my colleagues, Professors Dutton and Snedden, is a valuable and timely contribution to the literature of education. In a democratic State, it is of first importance that the relation of the State to the organs and agencies of culture and enlightenment be clearly defined and well understood. The wise and truly representative organization and administration of education is only a little less important than the organization and conduct of the educational process itself.

To understand fully the position and progress of education in the United States, a clear distinction must be drawn between the activities of the State, the American people viewed as an organized unit, and those of the Government, the specific agencies and powers created by the State, through the Constitution, to accomplish certain definite purposes, which, taken together, are the ends or aims of government. Whatever is done by the State or in the State's interest, whether it be carried out by a governmental agency or not, is public; whatever is done by the Government is presumably public, and certainly tax-supported. Much of the educational activity of the United States is truly public but in no wise governmental. For example, the United States possesses no university maintained by the National Government, but it possesses a half-dozen national universities. Important educational undertakings of various kinds are carried on in the sphere or domain of liberty side by side with those which are carried on in the sphere or domain of government. The true test, in the American system, of a public institution or activity is the purpose which it serves, and not the form of its control or the source of its financial support. That is public which springs from the public and serves the pub-

lic; that is governmental which springs from the Government and is administered by the Government. In other words, the sphere of public activity is larger than that of governmental activity.

By far the largest part, and an increasingly large part, of the educational activity of the United States is governmental. It is this governmental educational activity with which the present volume deals. It brings together, in considerable part for the first time, a large mass of carefully ordered material bearing upon the evolution and present condition of educational administration, and it presents, in a form valuable either for study or for reference, the present state of educational administration in the United States, so far as that administration is governmental in form.

Few things in American history are more impressive than the devotion of the American people to education, and their sincere belief in its efficacy as an agency of moral and intellectual regeneration. This devotion and this belief are at times almost heroic and at times almost pathetic. The sacrifices made both by communities and by individuals on behalf of education in the United States are literally incalculable. To enter the teaching profession as a life career is, in a vast majority of cases, consciously to devote one's self to a missionary undertaking without hope of adequate material reward. This spirit of sacrifice, public and private, gives to American education much of its finest quality, and has thus far kept it elevated above and out of the mire of a blind materialism.

The idealism of the American people is reflected in their educational systems and institutions To study those systems and institutions in detail is to come to a closer and fuller knowledge of the life and deeper characteristics of the American people.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
June 24, 1908

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	INTRODUCTORY	1
II.	FACTORS FAVORING THE ADVANCE OF EDUCATION	12
III.	THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATION	25
IV.	THE STATE AND EDUCATION	41
V.	AMERICAN STATES AND EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION	54
VI.	LOCAL UNITS OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION	73
VII.	PROBLEMS GROWING OUT OF STATE AND LOCAL ADMINISTRATION OF EDUCATION	96
VIII.	CITY SCHOOL SYSTEMS	120
IX.	THE ADMINISTRATION OF CITY SCHOOL SYSTEMS	137
X.	THE FINANCING OF PUBLIC EDUCATION	144
XI.	THE SCHOOLHOUSE ITS CONSTRUCTION AND ADAPTATION	172
XII	THE SCHOOLHOUSE (*Continued*)	187
XIII.	TEXT-BOOKS AND SUPPLIES	208
XIV	THE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION	230
XV.	THE TEACHING STAFF	241
XVI.	THE IMPROVEMENT OF TEACHERS IN SERVICE	276
XVII.	THE SUPERVISION OF KINDERGARTENS AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS	300
XVIII.	THE ELEMENTARY COURSE OF STUDY	314
XIX.	GRADING AND PROMOTION	341
XX.	THE ADMINISTRATION OF HIGH SCHOOLS	356
XXI.	THE ADMINISTRATION OF NORMAL SCHOOLS	386
XXII.	THE ADMINISTRATION OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION	404
XXIII.	THE ADMINISTRATION OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION	426
XXIV	THE ADMINISTRATION OF CORRECTIONAL EDUCATION	445
XXV.	ADMINISTRATION OF EDUCATION FOR DEFECTIVE AND SUBNORMAL CHILDREN	468

CHAPTER		PAGE
XXVI.	ADMINISTRATION OF EVENING AND CONTINUATION SCHOOLS	480
XXVII.	COMPULSORY EDUCATION AND CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION	492
XXVIII.	SCHOOL DISCIPLINE AND GOVERNMENT	511
XXIX.	EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS: FINANCE	521
XXX.	EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS. SCHOOL RECORDS AND REPORTS	535
XXXI.	THE WIDENING SPHERE OF PUBLIC EDUCATION	559
XXXII.	THE SCHOOL AND SOCIETY	582
INDEX		597

ADMINISTRATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

THE ADMINISTRATION OF AMERICAN SCHOOLS

CHAPTER I

PUBLIC education has played so vital a part in the advancement of the people in the United States that its history cannot be segregated from the story of our national progress. While a wilderness was being conquered and hostile forces were being overcome, while a greater and freer nation than the world has ever seen was being established, while the people were keeping pace with the most rapid industrial and commercial development which history has yet recorded, the ideal of free education has been a beacon light to all who desired that the nation be high minded and true hearted as well as rich and powerful. As sunshine and shower enrich and gladden everything which the soil produces, so the moral and intellectual life of the people of this new empire has been refined, quickened, and uplifted by universal education. The past century has seen the people's schools relating themselves to every movement for human betterment and happiness. Never losing sight of the beautiful, the good, and the true, the schools have sought to give to human life health, joy, efficiency, and social completeness.

Educational Inheritances. — To state what school administration is, what it has done, and what it ought to accomplish in the future, is by no means an easy task, and whoever attempts it deserves a considerable degree of consideration and indulgence. There is required a fair amount of perspective and proportion. As every new achievement in education is written upon the background of the past, so the historical

element cannot be omitted in estimating and weighing the most practical phases of modern educational work. The new education is not new except as it summons to its aid those theories and beliefs which, many times expressed, have never been given an opportunity to prove their validity. The only conceit in which educational leaders of to-day may safely indulge is that of studious endeavor to use the great opportunities which they have inherited. The ground has been cleared by those who have gone before, the hardest battles have been fought, and days of prosperity and peace permit the freest possible use of money and talent. Thought and opinion flash across the continent, producing the same social mind and giving increasing unity of purpose in the whole field of education and philanthropy. If in the chapters to follow much importance is given to types of administrative effort and achievement, it is because it is only in this way that the materials can be brought within the compass of a single volume.

The Prominence of Education in American Life — The American people have ever looked upon education as something very necessary to their prosperity and welfare. The English colonists brought with them the idea that education and religion are two inseparable factors. They left the Mother-land at a time when grammar schools and Latin schools were being rapidly multiplied, so that increasing numbers of youth were given the advantage of that training which led to the university. Under the impulse of this movement for higher education, and feeling the necessity of educating ministers in order that the religious welfare of the colonies might be guarded, our fathers at once proceeded to establish similar schools. The Dutch settlers of New York also entertained like views, and we find them making early and definite efforts to provide proper instruction for their children.

Beginnings. — To the modern student of education these early provisions for schools seem narrow and insufficient. Not only was the curriculum mediæval in character, but the whole conception was undemocratic. The Latin and gram-

mar schools were for the wealthy and higher class of citizens, and the dame schools were for the poorer or working class. But the former, however narrow and illiberal they were, became the forerunners of the academies and high schools of the nation, while the latter were the germ of the common or elementary free schools which are now so important a part of our educational system. In certain sections of the United States the caste spirit has persisted, and private schools have always held a place of considerable importance.

Back of all these early educational endeavors were the faith and heroism of people who had sacrificed much and were fully committed to the great task of establishing a commonwealth on this continent. This faith and this heroism have never failed. Through many years of stress and struggle, while war had to be waged with hostile Indians, and when the resources of the people were nearly exhausted in the battle for independence, the torch of education was not suffered to go out or to become greatly dimmed. The schoolhouse and the church stood together. The clergyman and the schoolmaster labored side by side, the one usually the intellectual leader in the community and recognized as the official guide and defender of the schools, and the other the true exponent of the spirit and intelligence of the times. In the schoolhouses of New England was born the democracy which at length became invincible, and education was ever regarded as its chief corner-stone.

Expansion. — As new states were formed, they promptly took up the work of supporting and controlling the schools. When by a union of the states the nation came into being, the policy of state control was not seriously questioned. The national government, being founded and guided by statesmen who regarded education as of supreme importance, has always maintained a paternal attitude. Grants of money and land, and numerous other provisions of the national Congress have aided the states and have favored the rapid growth of educational agencies. The acquisition of our vast national domain, and the onward march of the conquering forces of civilization have been attended by a rapid and wonderful

development of educational plant and equipment. There has been also a remarkable growth of new and pressing demands on behalf of industry, politics, science, art, domestic improvement, health, and human culture in its several forms. The promptitude and efficiency with which these various and extended demands have been met have excited the admiration of other nations. As we attempt to indicate the larger phases of this progress and show how great are the material, social, and political interests involved, no one will question that the administration of schools is a subject worthy a place in the university curriculum and deserving the attention of practical men and women who are called to serve the public in the educational field, either in a legislative or executive capacity.

Variety of Form and Complexity of Function. — There is an unusual variety of form and complexity of function in American education, which makes its organization interesting if not simple. Many unsolved or half-solved problems call for continued, patient, and studious treatment. The fact that few things are absolutely settled compels open-mindedness and high professional enterprise. In the first place, there is a variety of control proceeding from the several political units which make up our system of government. The foreign observer finds it difficult to see an orderly plan when the district, the town, the city, the county, the state, and the nation all have a part, and an important part, to play in school support and oversight. Some of these units are of varying importance in different parts of the country. The method of administration is frequently subjected to change as new statutes and new charter provisions are enacted.

There is also diversity of type caused by difference in people, physical conditions, productiveness, and industrial success. The schools of a prosperous city are bound to be different from those in a sparsely settled and unproductive section. They have generally been much superior. The modern problem is not how to make them alike, but how to render them equally good. Notwithstanding the disparity in condition, in resource, and environment, there has been a

growing uniformity in motive and spirit, so that one visiting schools successively, in widely separated sections of the country, is surprised to find marked similarity in the school work.

Rapid Progress in Recent Years. — The unprogressive nature of early ideals and the fact that schools continued for nearly one hundred and fifty years pursuing the same narrow curriculum call for no extended explanation here. Everything during that period was slow and backward, and a stream cannot rise higher than its source. It is only during the last century that the field of education has been broadened and enriched, and it may be truly said that the really notable reforms have been gained during the last half century.

The reasons for the retarded movement at the beginning and the accelerated progress made in the last decades should always be kept in mind. Where the church has dominated the schools, there has been no quick and adequate response to the world's demands, political, industrial, social. Moreover, the fact that the colonists were poor and were widely scattered over wild, undeveloped country did not favor rapid advancement.

The growth of towns and cities under the industrial revolution of the last century, with the attendant manifold applications of science and invention to labor-saving machinery, called for a more extensive provision for education, and at the same time increased the resources which contributed to its support. The conservatism and the *vis inertiæ* which had restrained progress could not stand before the onward trend of modern scientific ideas. Local pride, with the ability to gratify its desires, is a potent element in educational progress.

Ideals suffer Little Change — Another fact to be remembered is that substantially the same ideals have influenced the minds of educational leaders during our entire history, but these ideals, by reason of changed conditions and enlarged vision, have grown and extended until they seem to be entirely new. For example, the religious motive still nolds sway, but in a very different way from what it did a

century ago. No longer is the Bible a text-book nor is the catechism a required study. On the other hand, wherever the Bible is read in public schools, no comment is permitted, and the inculcation of special religious views is eschewed. Yet there never was a time when moral character was more earnestly sought, or when righteousness in a large sense was more distinctly made the end and aim of teaching. The emphasis is placed upon life and conduct, and it must be admitted that in our schools and colleges there is more of moral earnestness. The general attitude of educational leaders and ethical teachers toward religious training of the young is a significant instance of the change which has affected disciplinary measures in the home and school. The purpose is the same in kind as that held by our fathers, but in its application there has been constant adjustment to the newer and modern view of what real goodness is.

The civic ideal in education was not wanting in early days and it has never been overlooked. As the government, in adapting itself to new circumstances, has become more complex and paternal, so the duties and responsibilities of the citizen have been enjoined by all thoughtful teachers.

The practical and economic ideals have also persisted. That the education of boys and girls must give efficiency, and that instruction must be directed to increasing the economic welfare of the community, has always held some place in the educational scheme; but never has there been unanimity as to what extent practical demands should be heeded. The great diversity of plan and differentiation of educational means seen to-day represents one stage in the working out of this problem and the demand for vocational improvement is another.

The Work of Prophets, Leaders, and Philanthropists. — A constant factor in the development and growth of American education and the improvement of administration has been the active labors of men and women who were in a certain sense prophets and who were able to communicate their ideals and their aspirations to others. All the great movements recorded in history have been inspired by personality.

Nearly all that the world has accomplished could be written in the form of biography. The mere mention of such names as "Alexander the Great," "Martin Luther," "Napoleon Bonaparte," "The Earl of Shaftesbury," immediately bring to mind the many and great events with which their lives were associated and in which they had a commanding part. Going back to the early years of the nineteenth century, we begin to find the names of men who saw possibilities in public education which had not been apprehended before. One of these was Denison Olmstead, who, on taking his Master's degree at Yale College, urged that the state should establish a training seminary for young schoolmasters and developed his plan quite fully, although there was no immediate result. This man who afterward became Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in Yale College was a real prophet. The Rev. Samuel R. Hall in 1823, in connection with his work as a missionary in Concord, Vermont, put into practical operation the plan of normal instruction. He published a book which was widely circulated, and which must have been influential in awakening an interest in the professional side of education. Rev. Thomas H. Gallaudet in 1825 published a pamphlet urging that in every state schools for the training of teachers should be established.[1] His plan included an experimental school. Probably the name most worthy of credit for the educational revival in Massachusetts is that of James G. Carter.[2] He wrote with a trenchant pen upon the neglected condition of the common schools, due, as he thought, to the fact that the attractions of a business career prevented many young men from becoming teachers. Having taken up this work of arousing popular interest in education, he continued to write and work, making many suggestions for the broadening and deepening of the school curriculum and on methods of organization. He was interested in the reforms of Pestalozzi and certain English writers. His views attracted wide attention and called forth much discussion in the reviews and periodicals of the time.

[1] Barnard, *Normal Schools*, p. 9.

[2] Barnard, *American Journal of Education*, Vol. X, p. 212.

He continued his efforts until in 1837 the first State Board of Education was organized in Massachusetts, of which he was a member. So active had he been in all steps looking toward educational reform, that it was supposed that he would be the first secretary of the board. Horace Mann,[1] who was elected to this position, was undoubtedly better qualified to do the work required than any other man of his time. He had been successful as a lawyer, and in leaving his profession to enter the educational field he had to make considerable sacrifices. This is not the place to record his great labors for education which immediately affected Massachusetts and eventually the whole country. Indeed, his reports were widely read in other countries, and must have exerted considerable influence there. He is a most significant type of that class of persons who first in their own states and eventually in a wider area have given an impetus to free education by their zeal and prophetic vision.

The work of Henry Barnard in Connecticut and Rhode Island and as the first United States Commissioner of Education should be mentioned in the same class with Horace Mann. We may name also John Swett, of California, John D. Philbrick, of Boston, William H. Ruffner, of Virginia, and William T. Harris, whose work as Superintendent of Schools in St. Louis set a remarkably high standard for city school administration and whose services as United States Commissioner of Education enlarged the usefulness of the Bureau of Education. As a type of those who, although not actively engaged in educational work, yet from time to time propose plans for radical reform, Charles Francis Adams may be mentioned. Of all those whose work and teachings have affected elementary schools in America, Francis W. Parker is easily at the head. The work of President Eliot in disclosing the weak points in every department of American teaching will long be held in the highest appreciation. The names of many women could be given to illustrate the value of personality in leadership. Mary Lyon and Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer are good examples of this class.

Stephen Girard, George Peabody, Samuel Slater, and Peter

[1] Hinsdale, *Horace Mann and the Common School Revival*, Chaps. 4–9.

Cooper made their impress on American education by generous benefactions.

Andrew Carnegie, by his gift of $15,000,000, providing retiring allowances for teachers in one hundred non-denominational institutions in the United States and Canada, has set in clear relief the principle that a system of education is not complete without some provision for the retirement of those teachers whose usefulness is largely diminished by sickness or old age. Gifts by the same gentleman for free public libraries bear an equally close relation to popular education. The Carnegie Institute, as a capstone of our university system, places at the service of the teachers of the country such means for study and research as have never been available before.

John D. Rockefeller, in addition to numerous other benefactions, has given $35,000,000 to be expended by the general education board in aid of higher institutions in all parts of the United States. Whatever is done for the higher schools and colleges has a direct influence upon all lower schools, as it leads to the more complete and thorough training of teachers.

General S. C. Armstrong was a pioneer in what may justly be called "the higher education of the negro race." He and his able successor, Dr. H. B. Frissell, have evolved a type of industrial training which combines all the elements required in lifting backward peoples to a plane of intelligence, self-respect, and thrift. The Hampton School sends its graduates to all parts of the South, and is an object lesson to those seeking light upon the problem of how to educate *toward* vocational efficiency and not *away* from it.

Dr. Booker T. Washington is at once the product and the best exponent of this idea. The administration of both the Hampton and Tuskegee schools is replete with lessons for all practical educators.

The few names mentioned may be regarded as types of a large number of men and women, living and dead, who have enthusiastically devoted money and talent to the advancement of free education. A single page of this or any other

volume on the administration of schools cannot properly be written without acknowledging the debt which is due them. School administration is not merely a description of machinery, it is primarily a study of human evolution and the progress of communities toward a more highly civilized life. In its modern conception it knows no barriers and no restrictions. It invokes the aid of the past and the present; it draws upon the great treasure-houses of culture; it summons to its service men and women of generous hearts and consecrated faith; its emoluments are growing and its satisfactions are greater year by year. What its problems are and how they may best be solved, it is our purpose to point out in the following pages.

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NOTE. — The following abbreviations are used throughout the reference lists: Ed. Rev. (Educational Review), Sch. Rev. (School Review); Ed. (Education); N. E. A., or Proc N. E. A. (Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association); C R., or Rep of Com. of Ed (Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior, Commissioner of Education), An. Am. Acad. (Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science); etc.

These reference lists are never intended to be exhaustive, nor do they always include the best material in the field, if that be accessible with difficulty; they are designed for the aid of the student who has access to ordinary college and normal school libraries. Many of the articles included are semi-popular, but exhibit definite phases of opinion which it is believed the student should take into account

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CHAPTER II

Factors favoring the Advance of Education

To a population of about 85,000,000 it is predicted that we shall add during the next twenty years 20,000,000 or over, giving a total of 105,000,000.

The wealth of the United States in 1900 was $88,517,306,775; in 1904, $107,104,192,410; $18,586,885,635 equals the increase in four years.

The report of the Commissioner of Education for 1906 gives the following figures concerning expenditures for the year 1905–6:—

Total disbursements by the United States government (estimated)	$747,234,578
Estimated expenditure by the states	130,000,000
Estimated expenditure by minor civil divisions	610,000,000
Total public expenditure	$1 487,234,578
Public expenditure for common schools	$307,765,659
Expenditure for private elementary and secondary schools (partly estimated)	21,370,309
Expenditure for universities, colleges, and technological schools	44,783,326
Expenditure for normal schools	6,748,924
Expenditure for professional schools (partly estimated)	3,000,000
Expenditure for schools for the defective classes	7,639,503
Expenditure for reform schools	5,381,189
Expenditure for commercial schools (estimated)	3,000,000
Total expenditure for education	$399,688,910
Enrolled in public elementary schools	15,919,278
Enrolled in public secondary schools	741,950
Enrolled in public universities and colleges	51,335
Enrolled in public professional schools	11,572
Enrolled in public normal schools	59,429
Total	16,783,564
Enrolled in special schools (public)	456,271
Enrolled in special schools (private)	302,395

These figures above quoted give some idea of the dimensions of the problem of education, taking the United States as a whole. They show how great the nation has become, and how energetically the people have pushed forward all those means which make for popular intelligence. At the same time figures are but a skeleton of the truth. In order to gain a just conception of the content of our subject, we must review briefly the last century and see how various forces have operated to hasten the settlement of the whole country; what ideals, social inheritance, and political aims have been dominant — in short, what factors have proven favorable to the advance of education and the more important steps which have marked that advance toward the present interesting situation.

The Increase of Wealth through the Extension of Agriculture and Industry. — While the settlers and pioneers of the nation were practically all engaged in tilling the soil, and hence were widely scattered, or were carrying on such domestic industries as their poverty and the requirements of food, clothing, and shelter compelled them to provide, there was no problem of school administration in the modern sense. A highly developed social order was not possible, and the treatment of schools was individualistic, thus partaking of the character of the people themselves. Until the War of the Revolution and for some time afterwards, the towns and villages took no sharp departure from the primitive methods of the eighteenth century. War had prostrated industry and trade, money was scarce, and the times were hard. School reforms in Germany and the teachings of Pestalozzi were generally unknown or had made no special impression. The new industry came long before the new education; in fact, it was because of prosperity and increasing wealth that it became possible to secure great educational changes. Much headway had been made in England in the eighteenth century in applying labor-saving machinery to textile manufactures, when at length, in spite of drastic laws and most strenuous efforts on the part of the English government to prevent the bringing of the designs for textile machinery to America, Samuel

Slater came over, bearing in his retentive memory the necessary plans. He constructed the first loom for the spinning of cotton at Pawtucket,[1] making the machinery principally with his own hands, in 1790, which becomes a very important date in the calendar of American progress. In 1794 Eli Whitney invented the cotton-gin. In 1814 Mr. Francis C. Lowell erected at Waltham a factory containing a full set of machinery for weaving and spinning.[2] This introduction of the factory system in America was the beginning of an industrial development in the New World such as has never been equalled.

New Means of Transportation. — Parallel with the rapid growth of labor-saving machinery applied to all departments of labor went new and more rapid means of transportation through the railroad and the steamboat. The first railroad train propelled by steam made its initial journey in 1832, and the first steamboat began to run in 1808. Here, indeed, were the beginnings of an industrial revolution which was to transform the continent, making every part of it easy of access so that new territories could be quickly populated and new states organized. As the productive lands of the West were thus opened to settlers, agriculture began her impressive progress from ocean to ocean. While vast areas were clothed with corn and wheat, towns and cities were springing up along the streams, on the Great Lakes, and wherever on the railroads the conditions favored the growth of market towns or county seats. A comparison of the state of the country in the middle of the eighteenth century with that in the middle of the nineteenth century would reveal a mighty change. The tide of immigration had set in. Manufacturing villages were seen everywhere in New England and were beginning to exist in the Middle states. Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore showed the effects of the new industrial and commercial impetus in greatly increased population.

Many new and secondary cities were springing up at advantageous points, like St. Louis, Chicago, and Cincinnati.

[1] Wright, *Industrial Evolution of the United States*, p. 126.
[2] Wright, p. 131.

With remarkable celerity machinery was invented for the manufacture of all kinds of useful articles formerly made by hand, such as furniture, household utensils, farm implements, carriages, as well as all kinds of textiles, clothing, and small wares. Good taste and artistic finish were often wanting, and the quality of manufactured goods was very far behind that of those made by hand, but the spirit of invention, enterprise, and money-making animated the entire people. What we have long called the "American spirit" made itself felt alike on the plains of the West, in the productive plantations of the South, and on the mountains of the Pacific coast where the search for the precious metals drew eager hordes of men who had to bear all kinds of hardship, but out of whose ranks came some of the great commercial leaders and builders of the continent.

Persistence of the Educational Ideal. — But the absorption of the American people in their great struggles with nature and the ever increasing opportunities of successful enterprise did not dim their desire to educate the youth of the land for their duties as men and citizens. The blood which had been shed to free the nation had sealed the pledge that it should be an intelligent, self-governing nation. Since the day of the Declaration of Independence, free schools had become assured. They were not to exist for the personal advancement of the few, but were to be the birthright of every boy and girl born on American soil. Industry and commerce could not prosper, the professions would languish, and the ideals of a God-fearing people would fail if schools were not multiplied and organized and ever and ever made more effective.

State Education. — It came gradually to be seen that the state rather than the church was competent to insist upon a modicum of training for every child, irrespective of religious creed, and that public funds could not wisely be applied to support other than non-sectarian schools. This beneficent and far-sighted provision, however it may have been challenged by some, is seen by a vast majority of patriotic citizens to be a chief corner-stone of our educational system. May

we not say, therefore, that those influences and forces which established freedom, peopled a continent, and brought peace, prosperity, and wealth, were at the same time preparing the ground for an educational system which is to be more versatile, more highly differentiated, and better adapted to individual and social needs than any other in the world?

The Growth of State Action. — But the rapid and successful accomplishment of problems in pioneering settlement and industry was only one element in the constructive movement for good schools. The organization of new states with the renewed opportunity of utilizing the experience of other and older states and of making the best possible laws for schools is perhaps the most fortunate of all circumstances. Even in the constitutions of states there has been historical progression. Massachusetts sounded the note of religious faith in the intrinsic importance of education. The same sentiment is seldom wanting in the constitutions of the newer states, but there are added also more advanced conceptions of the civic, social, and practical value of common schools. The general aloofness of the national government in the control of schools has tended to enhance and magnify the responsibility of the states. Each of the forty-six states or commonwealths which comprise the Union has solved its own problems and worked out its own educational destiny. In earlier days there were vast differences in the amount and the quality of the provision made for schools, as regards both the intelligence and expertness of their administration; but in recent decades the whole tendency has been toward common ideals, the same statutory requirements and similar methods, so that as far as spirit and intention are concerned the national motto, "E pluribus unum," is applicable to American free education. The National Education Association, the publications of the national bureau, educational literature, the free and swift communication between the different sections of the country, and the influence of colleges and universities have all tended to create a good degree of unity. It is true that in length of school year, compulsory attendance, methods of taxation and distribution of funds, certification of teachers

and other minor matters, there are still wide variations in actual practice; but each year sees some advance in nearly every state toward those standards which are regarded as ideal.

Patriotic Ardor for Free Schools. — Such European observers as De Tocqueville and James Bryce have taken notice of the quick response made by the citizens of the United States to the responsibilities of self-government. Even the immigrant, who has known quite different governmental conditions, is soon moved by the ardor of a new-born patriotism. He likes the country, the flag, the higher wages, and rejoices especially in the free schools where his children may learn those arts and acquire that knowledge which shall set them in the high-way to self-support, prosperity, and, perchance, honor and preferment. Every candidate for office, every orator and legislator, is impelled to commit himself to the advocacy of a generous provision for public schools. The reactionary and the conservative are seldom triumphant in the long run. If rank extravagance is committed, it receives its proper rebuke; but few communities are willing to stand still very long and see the procession moving on in the distance.

Again, in a democratic government like ours, free schools appeal fervently to all who work with their hands. Here is one channel through which the unused increment of wealth flows back to the toiler who has helped to produce that wealth. No other institution tends to soothe and allay the suspicion felt by the wage-earner toward capital as does the fact that his children's schools provide what he could not pay for, and for these great benefits capital is heavily taxed. In no other country is there so definite a purpose to make the public schools good enough for both rich and poor, and it becomes increasingly difficult for private schools to supply those newer forms of training now considered essential to complete education. Many of those who send their children to private institutions or to church schools do so for other reasons than because they esteem them as more excellent than the public schools. It is often the case, however, that persons of wealth and position, even though they do not

patronize the public schools, are their friends and champions and are willing to serve on boards of education. The sentiment for universal education has a compelling power which sways legislatures and city councils. The youth of to-day are the statesmen of to-morrow, and each phalanx of new voters brings to the suffrage larger and more generous views concerning the lengths to which people may be taxed to meet the ever growing modern demands.

New Methods of Administration. — The science of administration, whether of business affairs or of government, has advanced rapidly of late, and the human element in executive control is at a high valuation. In the midst of vast aggregations of machinery and complicated devices for the speedy and skilful accomplishment of labor, the trained, directive intelligence stands forth as, after all, the most impressive product of modern times. However stupendous the undertaking, one mind is supreme. In the bank, the factory, the railroad, and the industrial corporation, one head, who by natural ability and superior training is competent, directs the entire enterprise. In him is concentrated all needed authority and responsibility. To his lieutenants, chosen with equal care, is delegated a certain set of duties. They become so many additional hands and feet of their chief, and thus extend the scope of his power and effectiveness. It is fortunate that the centralization of executive power, so necessary to honesty and efficient management, should have been widely demonstrated in the business world before states, cities, or school systems had anything like the volume of business which they are called upon to perform to-day. It is easier for private concerns or business corporations to choose direct and economical methods of administration than for those who are placed in power by a political party and have many debts to pay and many interests to serve. It is not so much that politicians are dishonest as it is that they follow a habit and a tradition of serving self and their friends first and the public last. At all events the struggle for free government and the proper placing of responsibility is well under way. As great

school systems are being developed, it is most fortunate that there are plenty of object lessons of centralized and sound government both in the field of industry and commerce and in the states and municipal governments of Europe. It is true also that in national, state, and city conduct of affairs a signal change for the better has been wrought. A far larger number of officers are appointive than formerly. Functions once undertaken by town boards, city councils, or large commissions are now performed by a single officer. A good example of this practice is seen in the commissioners of police, streets, docks, and health in New York City. In such cases the responsibility can be definitely located. The officer cannot shirk it. The power of removal lodged in the mayor enables the public to look to him for redress if good service is not rendered. The plea of great cities for absolute home rule is an exploded theory. So identical are their interests, social, political, and financial, with those of the state in which they are located that the people may properly ask the legislature for such charter provisions and such statutes as tend to make the government of the city contribute to the welfare of the entire state. Many American cities are passing through a transition period, and are adopting those changes in administration which will not only prevent dishonesty and the misuse of public funds, but will give their citizens the blessings of health, security, economy, and comfort. Such distressing instances of malfeasance and moral turpitude as have been seen recently in Philadelphia, Minneapolis, St. Louis, and San Francisco ought never to occur again, if states, by the powers which they possess, pattern the charters of every city after those models which have proven their efficacy both at home and abroad. This new movement, so well advanced, for simplified and efficient administration of affairs of a private as well as a public nature, is influencing school systems, whether large or small. The value of centralized control and expert direction is sure to be seen and accepted as a safe and sane principle

Growth of the Civil Service — But there is another principle

of government almost equally fundamental which has already revolutionized political control, and is well intrenched in the field of educational administration, and that is the practice and extension of the civil service. Under its rules a man or a woman is appointed for merit only, is secure in his or her position and cannot be deprived of it except for cause duly shown. A brief history of this movement is pertinent to this discussion, for the civil service is bound to become a universal feature in educational control. The adoption of this idea means permanency of tenure for every American teacher, and this is the first cardinal ingredient of professional pride and ambition. Teaching is largely a spiritual work. Its best fruits are often unseen at the time. It requires freedom from anxiety, concentrated interest, and consecration. These qualities cannot be present if the teacher is subject to the caprices of politics or the machinations of those who may have taken offence. As long as one does his work honestly and well, he should have the courage and confidence which spring from security and permanency. The teacher in France and Germany is given professional status in many ways, but the fact that he has a life tenure is doubtless the most cherished feature of his position. We do not hesitate to say that expert administration and civil service regulations for teachers are destined to be prime factors in the working out and perfecting of our educational scheme.

The Influence of European Education. — There can be no doubt that education in the United States owes a considerable debt to Europe for what it has accomplished. Some, at least, of the founders of the republic were university men, and brought with them from their several countries ideas which were of value here. The Puritans transplanted the best forms of English education of their time; many of them were college men. The Quakers, the Dutch, the Huguenots, the Scotch-Irish, and the Moravians also brought with them high educational traditions, and immediately put them into effect.

The early English academies were transplanted to this country after the Revolution, partly through the influence of Franklin, George Whitefield, and Mary Lyon. The English

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had educators in this country, especially the Southern states. The Sunday-school movement, influenced by Robert Raikes, had much influence in America.

The Bell and Lancaster movements also introduced many new ideas, making way for popular or mass education, and suggesting plans for the training of teachers. The infant school movement in England affected by imitation a similar movement in America, and led to a more distinct organization of the primary school, and increased the democratic character of the schools.

French influences were strong at the opening of the nineteenth century. The intellectual movements in France found sympathetic response here. Jefferson was a strong propagandist of French ideas; so was Franklin. The Universities of New York, Georgia, and Michigan were much influenced.

American educators, beginning with Horace Mann, have learned much by visiting European schools. Many teachers in this country are as familiar with the general plan and method of work in Germany as they are with those in some of our own states. Joseph Neef came to this country, and opened schools on Pestalozzian lines in Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Ohio. The Fellenberg manual labor movement was also an application of Pestalozzian doctrines. The Froebel movement began about 1860. Miss Peabody in Boston, Miss Boelte in New York, Miss Sarah B. Cooper in San Francisco, were among the most influential leaders in this field. The educational theories of Herbart as interpreted by Messrs. Rein, De Garmo, and McMurry have been of much value to American teachers.

We have drawn upon Europe for much of our educational literature. The writings of Comenius, Pestalozzi, Froebel, Herbart, and Rein, in Germany, Rousseau, Compayré, and Ribot, in France, and Locke, Payne, Fitch, and Sadler, in England, have become very familiar to American teachers. As we develop more fully our system of training colleges and normal schools, the methods of teaching and organization in foreign schools will be still more widely understood and the com-

parative study of various educational systems will become increasingly an important part of such training.

There has never been a time in the history of the country when some American youth were not being educated in the schools and universities of Europe. A relatively less number would be found studying abroad to-day than twenty-five or thirty years ago, before our American universities became organized somewhat after the European pattern. It would be difficult to measure the value and extent of the educational lessons which have been learned in Europe and applied at home. There is hardly a single American college of importance which has not on its faculty some whose university training was received abroad. More than that, some of our most eminent educators were called directly from the universities of Europe.

National Ideals. — Any American who studies the school systems of Europe or visits their schools finds much to admire and something to learn. He sees in different countries many points of resemblance and realizes that in all civilized nations the aims and standards of education tend in the progress of time to lose their peculiarities and special characteristics and to assume a more common world type. He realizes also that no good feature to be found in any foreign land has been entirely overlooked by American leaders. The highly centralized system of France with its minute detailed inspection and oversight, its generous provision for the needs of all grades of pupils, its rigid enforcement of the compulsory law, its strict uniformity in school management, is truly impressive. Those seeking an argument in favor of greater centralization than is usually found in American communities find in the excellence of French methods and results much to compel their admiration.

In the same way the German system with its military, civic, and religious motives, its wise blending of local and general authority, its perfection in general training and technique, the thoroughness with which it answers the social and industrial needs of the people, has been and is a powerful influence in the moulding and perfecting of American

methods of instruction. So in Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and Holland one finds many evidences of careful organization and a high degree of pedagogical skill. In spirit these schools are a little more like those in the United States, and the visitor might almost imagine that he were in New York, Chicago, or Milwaukee. In these small systems there is more mobility and a freer adaptation of means to end than in either France or Germany. It is evident that each nation has an ideal which has developed through successive eras of educational progress, and which is expressive of what the nation as represented by its government desires to accomplish for its citizens.

The American Ideal. — Without any extended discussion of this point it is safe to say that in the United States, more than in the countries mentioned, there is a rapid adjustment to new conditions, whether caused by growth in population, increased wealth, or new and more scientific insights.[1] The ideal to which the whole nation is committed is "the education of all the people for service and for citizenship" There is no ulterior purpose in this, as, for example, that youth may be trained to serve the state, either as soldiers or merchants or craftsmen. The nation desires more than anything else men and women who can take their part bravely and wisely, and who can help to build a society fit to possess and enjoy the blessings of freedom and self-government. Nowhere are there such opportunities for individual growth and advancement; nowhere is the higher education so freely and universally bestowed; nowhere have the people so direct a voice in determining what public education shall be and with what generosity of expenditure it shall be administered. As will be seen in the pages to follow, there is in American education a large admixture of human sympathy and philanthropy. In rapid succession, various phases of educational endeavor which have been instituted by social reformers have been taken on by school systems and the expense therefor provided from the public exchequer. The most powerful dynamic in American educational progress is the sense of

[1] Draper, "National Systems of Education," *Encyclopædia Americana.*

national and state pride and the firm belief that popular education is the best investment a nation can make for her moral greatness and the welfare of her people.

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CHAPTER III

The National Government and Education

The national government has not undertaken to control or to directly provide for the support of public instruction. The Constitution of the United States confers upon Congress no direct power over the public schools. As all powers not delegated to Congress are reserved to the states or to the people, the care of public education has been assumed definitely and positively by the several states. At the same time, it is wrong to assume, as is sometimes done, that the national government has neglected education and has done but little in aid of the support of schools and higher institutions. From the very beginning Congress has legislated generously in aid of both elementary and higher education, and the several departments of the government have been increasingly active in the diffusion of useful knowledge among the people and in offering at Washington the most ample and complete facilities for study and research in every department of scientific inquiry tending to help educational institutions in their work and to advance the economic interests of the country as a whole.

Attempts to found a National University. — Strictly speaking, the United States has no national university, but the strenuous efforts made by George Washington and numerous other statesmen of his and later times to persuade Congress to establish and support such a great national institution constitutes one of the most illuminating chapters in our educational history. No one can be familiar with the record of Washington's devoted labors in behalf of this measure without conceiving a new admiration for the man and for his sagacious appreciation of the educational needs of the country in his time. With the eye of the prophet he saw the remark-

able possibilities of the country and the place which it was to take among the nations of the earth. He saw the struggling colleges of that time with their meagre curricula and limited equipment. He realized that in a land of such promise there should be leaders equipped with the best training to be found in a true university. Realizing that only a few were likely to go abroad for study in the universities of Europe, he urged that the nation provide as rapidly as possible at the national capital for advanced study. He never lost sight of this conviction. His addresses and letters seldom omitted reference to it. He selected the site for a university in the city of Washington, and finally in his will left a bequest of $25,000 in the form of valuable securities as a beginning of an endowment. Thomas Jefferson and James Madison also were equally earnest and enthusiastic in their advocacy of this measure. So great was the popular interest in it that as early as 1795 subscriptions to the amount of $30,000 were received. Practically every Congress since that time has given some consideration to the proposition for a national university. Several of the learned societies of the country have favored it, notably the National Education Association. This association in 1869 appointed a permanent committee, and the subject was agitated vigorously from that time until 1901. It is hard to explain why a measure so popular in character and so warmly seconded by leading men in all departments of public life should not at length have won the assent of Congress. In the meantime, several universities have sprung into existence. To Johns Hopkins, more than to any other institution, is due the credit for setting the example of what a true university in America should be. Moreover, the discussion for more than a hundred years of the university project has been a powerful influence in determining the future educational policy of the nation.

The City of Washington as an Educational Centre. — The steps taken to organize the George Washington Memorial Association and the founding of the Carnegie Institute are events too recent to need extended comment. There can be no doubt that the founder of the Carnegie Institute was led

to make his generous gift largely because the great national need had been so often and so earnestly expressed. Doubtless many people were disappointed that he did not directly endow a national university. But with his usual far-sightedness he determined to do nothing to disturb the growth and influence of existing institutions. On the other hand, the Carnegie Institute, working in cooperation with all the universities in the land, with all the learned societies, and with the departmental bureaus and libraries in Washington, fills a place in our educational system which no university could have filled. Indirectly its beneficent influence will be felt by every college and high school teacher in the land.

Facilities for Study in Washington. — In 1892 a resolution was approved by Congress whereby facilities for research and investigation in all libraries, bureaus, literary and scientific collections were made accessible to scientific investigators, and students in the District of Columbia. On March 3, 1901, a still better and more definite provision was made by an act which read as follows: —

"That facilities for study and research in the government departments, the Library of Congress, the National Museum, the Zoological Park, the Bureau of Ethnology, the Fish Commission, the Botanic Gardens, and similar institutions hereafter established shall be afforded to scientific investigators and to duly qualified individual students and graduates of institutions of learning in the several states and territories, as well as in the District of Columbia, under such rules and restrictions as the heads of the departments and bureaus mentioned may prescribe."

Some reference will be made later to the vast educational significance of the work carried on by the government. In closing this brief statement regarding a national university, it may be affirmed that Congress was never truly hostile to the idea. The same regard for the value of encouraging local initiative and action and the fear that existing institutions might be overshadowed were a university organized and supported by the national government, were the principal reasons for the conservatism which prevailed

Acts of Congress in Aid of Popular Education. — The administration of schools in every state in the Union has been more

or less affected by gifts of land from the national government. The old English custom of supporting schools by such gifts was well understood by the early colonists, for in 1677 the general court of Connecticut voted six hundred acres of land to each of four counties for the support of grammar schools. At the beginning of the Revolutionary War, the states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia laid claim to all the land extending from the western boundary of those states to the Mississippi River and the Great Lakes. It became evident at length that these lands must be nationalized, and these states ceded them to Congress. As the time came for the organization of new states, Congress was led to adopt that generous policy which gave an immense impetus to the movement for popular education. In 1785 an ordinance was adopted which defined the method of laying out townships and subdividing them into lots of 640 acres each, these lots to be numbered from one to thirty-six. This ordinance closed with the significant words:—

"There shall be reserved the lot number sixteen of every township for the maintenance of public schools within the said township."

In 1787 this purpose of the national government to aid common schools was made more definite and effective by an ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of Ohio, which was introduced by the following famous preamble: —

"Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged"

This ordinance provided, as did the one of the previous year, that lot number sixteen in each township or fractional part of the township was to be given perpetually for schools; that lot number twenty-nine in each township or fractional part of the township should be given for the purpose of religion; that not more than two complete townships were to be given for the purpose of a university. Thus the ordinances of 1785 and of 1787 were parts of one and the same provision, and the policy

herein expressed became permanent and universal. All states west of the Alleghany Mountains have been beneficiaries under this legislation except West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Texas.[1] The question whether these lands, donated for the support of schools, should be under national or state control was settled in 1803 by an act which vested in the legislature of Michigan all lands granted to that state. While some states have attempted to redistribute these lands in some other manner than that specified by Congress, all such attempts have failed.

As certain portions of states and certain fractional townships were left unprovided for because these tracts of land had thus been disposed of, an act was passed in 1826 providing that all townships or fractional townships for which no land had hitherto been granted, should be endowed in accordance with the legislation cited above. Not only did this legislation provide a handsome endowment for common schools, but provision was also made for state universities and others. Thus in 1841, in lieu of the grants of swamp lands made to certain states in 1850, specific quantities of land were given to other states for the support of their higher institutions. The assignment made to[2] South Dakota is here given as typical of the way in which the nation treated several other states: —

"For the school of mines, forty thousand acres; for the reform school, forty thousand acres; for the deaf and dumb asylum, forty thousand acres; for the agricultural college, forty thousand acres: for the university, forty thousand acres; for state normal schools, eighty thousand acres; for public buildings at the capital of said state, fifty thousand acres; and for such other educational and charitable purposes as the legislature of said state may determine, one hundred and seventy thousand acres; in all, five hundred thousand acres."

This line of beneficent legislation was not allowed to pass without protest from some states which were not included, as, for example, Maryland, New Hampshire, and Vermont; but the matter soon dropped, and a larger patriotism seems to have

[1] C. R. 1892–1893; 1270.

[2] C. R. 1892–1893; 1273.

moulded the public opinion of the nation in favor of what Congress had done.

In 1803 the provisions of the ordinance of 1787 were extended to the states of the Mississippi territory; so that not only common schools, but the state universities of this section have been effectively aided. Thus it has come to pass that since the year 1800 each state admitted to the Union, with the exception of Maine, Texas, and West Virginia, has received two or more townships for the purpose of founding a university.

Distribution of Surplus Revenue. — Another piece of legislation of educational importance occurred in 1836 when Congress distributed the surplus funds in the national treasury to the several states according to the number of representatives which they had in Congress. While freedom was permitted in the use of these funds, three-fourths, at least, of the states voted to assign the larger part of their quota to education. The entire amount thus paid to twenty-seven states was upwards of twenty-eight millions of dollars.

Grants of Land and Money for Colleges of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. — In 1862 Congress passed a bill granting to each state 30,000 acres of land for each senator and representative in Congress for the maintenance of agricultural schools. President Lincoln signed this important measure on July 2, 1862. With the incentive offered by this act of Congress, each state has been able to maintain a higher institution which, in some measure at least, has answered to the conditions enjoined. The states have added largely to the funds which came from the sale of public lands. Private citizens and municipalities have contributed to these endowments, thus making a chain of institutions which have already accomplished much, and which are likely to contribute largely to our national growth. In 1903 there were reported to be forty-nine agricultural and mechanical land-grant colleges endowed by Congress. Courses in agriculture are given in each state and territory, though in some cases the instruction is given at the agricultural stations. *The total number of students reported at the same time was 50,799, of which 6080 were en-*

rolled in institutions for colored students. The amounts of invested funds derived from the sale of lands granted under the act of 1862 is $11,213,593. The total amount of the property belonging to these institutions is upward of $72,000,000, which is good evidence that the states have responded generously in supporting and increasing the gifts of the nation. This is not the place to enlarge upon the many beneficent features of these land-grant institutions, or to point out the growing necessity in this country for the kind of education which they are intended to give. Agriculture would soon suffer were not science brought to bear to improve its methods and to restore the soils; and among a people which is becoming more and more industrial in character, what has been done for technical education may properly be regarded as a small beginning toward the larger provision which will be necessary if we are to compete successfully with other nations. Congress now appropriates $25,000 annually to each of these institutions and $15,000 to the agricultural stations of each state and territory as well. Here it is proper to add that the agricultural department at Washington, being, as it is, in close affiliation with the stations in several states, and with the institutions where agricultural instruction is given, performs for the whole country somewhat the office of a central university Its reports, which have been distributed freely, are full of instruction to farmers and its monthly bulletins enable those interested to quickly and easily obtain the latest information on all the problems of agriculture and stock-raising. The recent interest in the propriety of teaching agriculture in state normal schools to teachers who go out to the rural schools, thus providing that children and youth throughout the land may receive training in scientific farming and horticulture, only tends to magnify the importance of what the national government has done in endowing these land-grant institutions and supporting a department whose activities touch so vitally the well-being not only of the agricultural class, who are the producers, but the entire people, who are the consumers.

While the gifts to education already mentioned are the

most important made by the national government, many other smaller appropriations have been made, several of them specific in character, some to states and others to institutions. In 1850 Congress granted to the several states certain swamp lands after having been redeemed.[1] Many of the states devoted these lands to the cause of education. The total amount thus patented to the states to 1876 amounted to 47,802,271 acres. Some states, as, for instance, California, appropriated their share to state universities; others added the proceeds to their general school funds. Several supplementary acts have since granted to certain states additional amounts of saline land. Congress has also appropriated both lands and money to Georgetown College, Columbian University, and Howard University, institutions located in the District of Columbia.

Bureau of Education. — From 1864 to 1866 the need of a national Bureau of Education was agitated in the meetings of the National Educational Association, and in that year a bill, drawn up by Dr. Emerson E. White, was presented by General Garfield. On June 8 the bill was rejected by a close negative vote, but on June 19 was passed and on March 2 received the President's approval. It should be noted that this act provided for a "Department of Education" In the following year this department was reduced to the rank of a bureau. The revised statutes provided that the function of the bureau should be "to collect statistics and facts showing the condition and progress of education in the several states and territories, and to diffuse such information respecting the organization and management of schools and school systems and methods of teaching as shall aid the people of the United States in the establishing and maintenance of efficient school systems and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country." The first commissioner was Henry Barnard,[2] and acting within the rather limited scope of the statutes above cited, he set a standard for the work of the bureau which has since been consistently sustained.

[1] Blackmar, *History of Federal and State Aid Education*, p. 53.
[2] C. R. *1892–1893*: *1288*.

The Reports of the Commissioner. — The reports published from year to year have been a veritable mine of knowledge concerning all important educational movements in this country and abroad. Not only have they dealt with the ordinary statistical and administrative phases of educational progress, but special problems like the care and treatment of the defective and delinquent classes, the education of backward pupils, industrial and trade education, the restriction of child labor, and all those newer forms of public educational work which have been developed in recent years. Each commissioner in succession has found some new ways of making these reports valuable to teachers and school officers. Dr. William T. Harris gave to the reports of the bureau such a high character for the comprehensive grasp of world education that they have come to be as highly valued in Europe as in this country.

Education a National Concern. — It has been a matter of sincere regret to many that the United States has not given to education a place in the councils of the nation equal to war or commerce. It is also to be regretted that the bureau has not had direct control of the schools for all the backward peoples, especially those who have become the wards of the nation since the Spanish War. Dr. Draper, Commissioner of Education of the state of New York, has forcibly pointed to the fact that in the control of education in the territories, in the District of Columbia, in the management of schools for the Indians, in military and naval academies, and in the administration of schools in the newly acquired colonies, the Bureau of Education has been practically ignored, and more than that, the appropriations for the support of the work which it has undertaken are so meagre as to cause a sense of shame and humiliation to all true friends of education.[1]

The work of raising the Bureau of Education to its proper dignity and equipping it to control and care for all the educational agencies which the government undertakes, awaits the commanding effort of some great leader who not only appre-

[1] "Federal Educational Plan Needed," Andrew S. Draper, *The Outlook*, October 5, 1907.

ciates the crying evil of the present situation, but has the heart and the courage to take up the battle and win the victory.

The efforts of the present commissioner to make the bureau more practically effective deserve the fullest appreciation and support.

Education of the Indian. — The Indian problem has ever been one of perplexing difficulty, alike baffling to statesmen and painful to all kind-hearted and humane people. To have within our borders many tribes of wild and malevolent savages could not but require some earnest and conscientious action. Missionaries went among them trying to establish schools early in the last century. In 1819 the United States made its first appropriation of $1000, and until 1894 a large part of the educational work was carried on by denominational schools which received appropriations from Congress. In that year Congress voted to withhold support from all sectarian institutions, and undertook, through the Indian commissioner and the superintendent of Indian schools, to superintend all expenditures made for this purpose. The education of the Indian has required special knowledge of Indian character, traditions, and habits of life, and it has taken many years to adapt means to end for the most effective results. Much credit is due to Captain Pratt and General Armstrong for what they were able to do at a period when the subject was far less understood than at present. The Carlisle and Hampton schools have been powerful agents in illustrating what Indian education should be. The last report of the Commissioner of Education names twenty states and territories in which there are conducted a variety of schools adapted to every need of the Indian. Among these are fifty-nine schools which are especially engaged in industrial education.

Education in Alaska. — For the past twenty-two years the schools of Alaska have been under the management of the same general agent, Dr. Sheldon Jackson. His report for the year ending in June, 1905, records that outside of incorporated towns there were fifty-one public schools with sixty-two teachers and an enrolment of over three thousand pupils.

An act of Congress was passed in January, 1905, one section of which reads as follows: —

"That the schools specified and provided for in this act shall be devoted to the education of white children and children of mixed blood who lead a civilized life. The education of the Eskimos and Indians in the district of Alaska shall remain under the direction and control of the Secretary of the Interior, and schools for and among the Eskimos and Indians of Alaska shall be provided for by an annual appropriation, and the Eskimos and Indian children of Alaska shall have the same right to be admitted to any Indian boarding-school as the Indian children in the states or territories of the United States."

In accordance with this act Congress appropriated $50,000 for the education of the natives in Alaska during the year ending in June, 1906. The average of government grants has been about $30,000 per year since 1884.

Mention should also be made of a novel form of educational work which has been undertaken in Alaska; namely, the introduction of domestic reindeer as a means of saving the inhabitants from starvation, and of furnishing them a means not only of sustenance but of a more stable and civilized life. Congress made the first appropriation of $6000 for this purpose in 1893. Dr. Jackson, who first suggested the idea of introducing reindeer and of giving instruction to the natives in the arts of herding, harnessing, driving, and so forth, has been in charge of this interesting experiment. The total number of reindeer in 1905 was 10,241. The total amount appropriated by Congress for this purpose was $207,500. This instance of congressional interest and activity has not only proven to be most beneficent in its educative effects upon the people of Alaska, but is a suggestive example of the varied kinds of educational work which are now undertaken.

Education in Porto Rico. — On the 18th of October, 1898, the island of Porto Rico fell under the military rule of the United States and continued so until May 1, 1900. During this period and up to the present time, each year has witnessed rapid progress in the development of a complete system of education well adapted to the Porto Ricans. In

1903 and 1904 there were 61,000 pupils enrolled in more than 1000 different schools. The work has been facilitated by importing American teachers and by sending the native teachers to the United States for instruction. Schools are entirely free; school buildings have been improved; an effective system of supervision has been in operation. As an object lesson in the rapid improvement of an educational situation and in the wise adaptation of a system to a people differing greatly from ourselves, there is much to learn by those who are engaged in school administration under quite different circumstances.

Education in the Philippines. — In 1901 the insular government in the Philippine Islands expended for education $233,411. In each succeeding year more than $1,000,000 has been expended. The number of children between the ages of 6 and 14 years is estimated at 1,200,000. The purpose is as rapidly as possible to provide primary education for the entire number. There are 700 American teachers for the 729 municipalities, and 3125 Filipino teachers who have been trained at first by the American teachers individually and afterwards in normal institutions. Nearly all the instruction is in English. In 35 provinces secondary schools have been organized. In 1903 the Philippine commission arranged to have 100 students sent to the United States at the expense of the insular government. They were distributed in various institutions throughout the country. The several superintendents who have administered educational affairs in the Philippines have endeavored to adapt school work to a people quite different from ourselves. While in this country the effort has been to modify materialistic tendencies of life, in the Philippines the demand is felt for an effort in the opposite direction. The racial characteristics and the climate have produced conditions which require a stimulus toward practical activity. Here, as everywhere, civilization begins with intelligent industry and self-support. Hence, training in science and the elements of industry are likely to be important features in the educational work.

The Military Academy. — The first steps toward the establishment of a military school were taken in 1776, but nothing was accomplished until 1783, when Alexander Hamilton was made chairman of a committee to prepare a plan for the peace arrangement of the army. Washington at this time recommended that a military school should be located at West Point. In 1802 the beginnings of the school were made, and the government made yearly appropriations for its support. The Academy, with ten cadets present, was formally opened on July 4th of the same year. It has been developed and maintained progressively by Congress until by acts of 1900, 1902, and 1903 the corps of cadets consists of one from each congressional district, one from each territory, one from the District of Columbia, one from Porto Rico, two from each state at large, and forty from the United States at large, — all to be appointed by the President. The maximum number of cadets is 522. The total number of graduates from 1802 to 1907 is 4641.

The pay of the cadet is $500 per year and one ration per day. The total is $609.50, to commence upon admission to the Academy. The necessary travelling expenses of candidates are also credited. All cadets are examined physically in June of each year, and those found physically disqualified to continue in the course or, in the case of the first class, for commission to the army are discharged.

The United States Naval Academy. — When George Bancroft became Secretary of the Navy, he found four small naval schools, and he set about establishing in the place of them one strong naval academy. This institution, as well as the military academy, has made honorable records in training men for the army and navy, and is evidence that the United States government is not incapable of carrying on educational work. During the Civil War the Academy was conducted at Newport, Rhode Island. In the summer of 1865 it was brought back to Annapolis, where it has since remained. In 1873 the term of the academic course was changed from four to six years. Various acts of Congress have tended to strengthen the Academy in all its departments, and to im-

prove its administration and make it more effective in training men for naval work.

The graduates of West Point, particularly, many of whom have resigned after graduation, have entered every known branch of scientific and engineering enterprise, and have undertaken the most difficult problems in the line of engineering and construction that have arisen in this country. The fact that the construction of the Panama Canal is now being successfully carried forward by the army is a sufficient tribute to the technical ability of its officers. However much the importance of being prepared for war may be minimized in view of the expectation of international peace in the near future, the nation has greatly aided the development of national resources by providing superior training for a select body of men.

National Institutions doing Educational Work. — Not only has the national government undertaken these specific forms of educational work which we have enumerated, but under its fostering care there have grown up in the city of Washington a large number of bureaus, museums, and libraries which together constitute an important asset in the educational machinery of the nation. He who administers education in any community whatever finds it easy to become absorbed in the purely mechanical and executive functions of his office. Everything must be reduced to system, and rules and regulations must be enforced, but he has an opportunity of doing much more than this; namely, to make available to school officers, teachers, and the people generally those great sources of power and inspiration which are within reach. The institutions which the government supports at Washington are like great fountains pouring forth streams of influence and knowledge to every part of the country. It is only necessary that they be utilized in such a manner as shall be most profitable to the teachers of the land.

The Congressional Library is destined to be the greatest of our American libraries. The lists of references which are prepared by the division of bibliography, and which are freely distributed to those who desire them, include such

topics as "The Government Ownership of Railroads," "Federal Control of Commerce and Corporations," "The Negro Question," "Old Age and Civil Service Pensions," and many others.

The Smithsonian Institution, with its various museums and bureaus, has been a marvel of educational activity. No nobler gift was ever made to a nation than that of James Smithson, an Englishman who never visited this country, but a scientist of rare accomplishments. The following significant provision in his will testifies to his breadth and far-sightedness: —

"I bequeath the whole of my property to the United States of America to found at Washington under the name of the Smithsonian Institution an establishment for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men."

The entire legacy amounted to $650,000, which has been increased by careful management to $911,000. The first secretary, Professor Joseph Henry, defined the object of the institution as follows: —

1. "To increase knowledge and original investigation and study either in science or literature.
2. "To diffuse knowledge not only through the United States but everywhere, especially by promoting an interchange of thought among those prominent in learning in all nations."

The National Museum, which is a part of the Smithsonian Institution, is a comprehensive collection of all objects necessary for the instruction of people, and its benefits are extended freely to visitors from all parts of the United States.

In connection with the institutions already mentioned and the departments of the government there are at least twenty-eight libraries in Washington which together constitute one of the most complete collections in the world, all of which are available to investigators and students. When one contemplates the provisions already made at the national capital for students in every department and those of the Carnegie Institute with its liberal endowment, it is easy to see that whether we have a national university or not, Washington is destined to become an educational centre, and it

will also be agreed that while Congress does not undertake to control schools, aid has been generously given to all forms of educational effort not otherwise provided for by the states.

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CHAPTER IV

The State and Education

Education a State Function. — In modern culture nations, the state, in its progressive evolution, has gradually assumed a wide range of functions which could be best carried on through the political organization. Among these are defence, the maintenance of internal order, and the regulation of foreign commerce. In recent years it has become common for the state to assume industrial functions, like the building of railroads and canals where it was impracticable for private effort to accomplish these successfully. Similarly it has gradually extended its participation in the control and support of various forms of education. Long after educational development had attained considerable proportions, it was still intrusted by society largely to the church, to philanthropic effort, and to private venture. Even in primitive forms of state organization, however, it was not uncommon for the political authority to promote some limited forms of education, especially those which were allied with military or diplomatic success; certain forms of professional and higher education also early received state encouragement. But the rise of the modern nations has seen the rapid transfer of the control and support of various forms of education from the voluntary organizations hitherto active to public agencies. Just as the state long ago took over the function of public defence and the maintenance of internal order, so it has also found it expedient and socially profitable to take over and to develop in full measure a wide range of educational activities.

I. Motives for State Participation in Education

The two fundamental social motives found to underlie the progressive assumption of educational activities by the state are: the natural desire of society through government to se-

cure the safety of the social group; and to procure the welfare and happiness of the individuals composing the state.

Social Security in the earlier forms of state organization (*i.e.* the more autocratic) requires leaders. Society can be compared to any army of which the rank and file may be ignorant, but leaders must be trained. The state, exercising its obligations of public defence, administration of justice, regulation of commerce and industry, and promotion of science and culture, finds that the primitive educational institutions are not sufficient, unaided, to develop the knowledge and skill required in these fields. For this reason governments begin by subsidizing the higher forms of education and developing new types of schools to supply needs not met by previously existing institutions. Under this conception of social need the education of the masses of men and of women may be ignored or left to the imperfect ministrations of voluntary agencies. Much of the early education in the American colonies as well as that of the European countries previous to the democratic movements partook of this character.

Effects of Democracy. — The security of the state means something more when the influence of democratic ideas in government becomes prominent. If, through his vote, each man is capable of becoming a considerable factor in the political activity of the state, it becomes axiomatic that the voter must be educated to understand at least something of government and his relation to it. "We must educate our rulers," was the remark of an English nobleman after the great extension of suffrage in 1868, and it was shortly after that event that England took her first large step towards state support and control of popular education. To the nineteenth century, especially, belongs the rise of widespread education of all people supported extensively by the state, and the connection of this with modern democratic tendencies is close and obvious. Among the chief arguments for compulsory school attendance, free text-books, free tuition, and free school supplies, and for financial assistance to the weaker portions of commonwealths in meeting the obligations of

education, that is most common which insists that unless a level of general intelligence can be maintained, the safety of the state will be endangered.

Free Education is also closely associated with the idea that in a democracy opportunity must be provided for the development of natural capacity wherever found. Even more than autocratic governments, democracies need leadership, and leaders must be found in all ranks of the people. For a time philanthropic effort, expressed in scholarships and other forms of aid, is supposed by social leaders to be sufficient to provide opportunities for higher training to all who are proved worthy of them. But gradually education is made as little expensive as possible, to the end that social security may be furthered through the fullest development of ability wherever discovered. Modern states may be found to be in all stages of transition in this respect. University and secondary education still lay a heavy financial burden on the German student; in England, though fees are still charged, moderately for secondary, and heavily for higher, education, a bewildering variety of scholarships and bursaries make the way easy for the more capable student; and in America secondary education has become free of cost, while in some of the states even college and professional education are practically so.

International Industrial Competition. — Within recent years there has developed a new motive for state activity in education based on the obligation of governments to promote public security. International competition no longer takes only the form of war; industrial rivalries also are possible, since the modern state which depends largely on manufacturing must win its way in the markets of the world. Other things being equal, that state which, in manufacturing and commerce, can enlist the largest number of trained producers and able leaders will win and force its competitor into poverty. It has become a matter of widespread belief in recent years that Germany and France, as well as some of the smaller states of Europe, owe their advance largely to their well-developed systems of industrial education; and consequently

England and America, in both of which this has hardly yet been recognized as a proper field for state action, have become greatly interested. Active efforts to induce governmental agencies to aid and develop industrial education of various types are well under way, and in Great Britain, especially, it is felt that the national security may be greatly endangered by permitting other nations, through their wide spread support of vocational education, to overwhelm industrial England in the international struggle for markets.

Prohibition of Anti-social Education. — The security of society not only demands positive education, but it also imposes the obligation of repressing or prohibiting forms of education which might be deemed socially destructive. In modern democratic societies it has become customary to allow considerable freedom of teaching, in the same way that freedom of speech and of the press is allowed; but historically, and even at the present time in many countries, the state recognizes as one of its obligations such regulation of education as will prevent the development of influences deemed detrimental to society and its institutions.

Promotion of Social Welfare. — The second principal justification for state participation in the control and support of education is found in the gradually developing function of society, through the agency of government, of fostering the well-being of individuals in directions other than defence and the administration of justice. For centuries civilized states have nourished the arts and literature; they have carried on industrial enterprises of greater or less moment; they have promoted scientific investigation and exploration; they have cared for the sick and the dependent; and similarly they have contributed some efforts towards organized education. Museums, art galleries, expositions, theatres, and libraries are educational institutions which provide for the well-being of individuals in ways that would not be possible for private initiative. In modern times this participation of the state tends enormously to increase, probably owing to the complexity of economic and social conditions which make action

on a large social scale almost inevitable. It is becoming more widely an accepted principle that in those fields of social action in which private or philanthropic effort are insufficient, and which state action can reach, public support and control are justifiable. Under both monarchical and democratic governments may we look for a widening of state activity in the direction of providing more abundantly the resources which make for widespread individual well-being.[1]

Projected Efficiency. — Actually, though unconsciously, as Kidd has shown,[2] all progressive societies tend to take into account the well-being of future generations. From this point, too, of "projected efficiency" education administered by the state is simply contributory to general functions of the social order. The growing philanthropic spirit of modern society finds one of its expressions in a widespread altruism which becomes a basis of social action, and which most naturally finds its development along educational lines. Here opens a possible way to paternalism. This, like any other help from without, may prove destructive of individual initiative, but the central principle of state action in promoting individual welfare is to find those channels of activity wherein public action will, on the whole, promote rather than diminish individual responsibility and capacity.

2. FORMS OF STATE PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION

State Control. — While the motives for state action in education are practically the same in all modern nations, the forms of government action do not follow similar lines. The participation of governmental agencies in most forms of social activity may be considered from three standpoints. Govern-

[1] "The end of the state is thus seen to be the present welfare and future protection of all citizens considered as an integral portion of humanity. . . . (This) is something tangible and capable of approximate realization. It is not limited to one factor in human life, such as the production of wealth, or the distribution of justice, or the enforcement of contracts, or the protection of property. It includes everything that makes the citizens of the state men and their life worth living." — McKechnie, *The State and the Individual*, p. 86.

[2] *Principles of Western Civilization.*

ment may regulate without supporting, or it may support without regulating, or it may in greater or less degree combine these functions. Control of the state over education is attained by examinations of those who shall be permitted to teach, by designation of the content of education, and by tests imposed upon those educated before they may pass into their respective callings. In Germany and England the regulation along these and other lines is detailed and exacting, while in the typical American state much is left to local and individual option.

Partial state support follows after regulation and control of education in monarchies, and frequently precedes it in more democratic nations. The state may simply impose upon the community the obligation to support education by local taxation, as was the case in early Massachusetts; or it may itself contribute out of national or other public funds a large share of such cost, like the English parliamentary grants to education. For a long time after the inauguration of public schools the parent was still placed under obligation to pay fees, but in all civilized countries within the last two decades charges for elementary education have disappeared. The contribution of the state, either through its local or its central governmental agencies, tends to increase as education becomes more free to its patrons and more expensive to administer, until, as in the United States, the expenditure for this purpose comes to be one-fifth of the total outlay of national, state, and local governments.

Limits of State Support. — The reasons for the state support of education are to be found in the relative incapacity and unwillingness of individuals to meet the burden. Under education publicly controlled and privately supported, it is found that some are able to pay the costs, while others are not. But social security, as well as the future well-being of the children under consideration, demands that all should have some measure of educational opportunity. To make discriminations by giving aid to parents too poor to pay for education has proven socially obnoxious; consequently each civilized nation has reached the point where at least a

measure of education is now open without cost to all. Just how far it will prove socially expedient to make higher and special forms of education free to the individual and entirely supported by public revenue, is yet an unsettled question. Students of social evolution note a constantly increasing disposition for the state to extend its functions as regards defence, the preservation of order, the prevention of ill health, the fostering of industry, and other lines of activity; and the tendency seems equally to be in the direction of bringing more extensive developments of education under public support and direction, to the end that social efficiency may be promoted thereby. It must be noted, on the other hand, that many profess to find in the extension of state support of education a menace to individual initiative.[1]

Direction. — With state support of education, regulation and control take on a new aspect, since social economy demands that public money be wisely expended. Inspection becomes a large and important function of educational administration, and is tending in modern times to become a profession. The state now combines management and support, and its control of education is complete. In this respect we find England still in a condition of transition, for it has not yet attained complete management, though striving toward it.

Imposition of Education. — Finally, when the state has organized education and when it supports it sufficiently, it takes the last step in providing for its own security and the

[1] "The state, too, must of course have regard to the other national (or educating) institutions — the Individual, the Family, the Economic Order — which it enfolds and protects, and apart from whose vigorous life it cannot itself live; it must exercise a benignant care over the rights of every person, every family, every occupation, and trade, to that precious condition of Rational Freedom, the chance and time to earn a self-support. And while in this care it may judge the course prudent and just, as well as convenient for its executive needs, to support all grades of schools to such an extent as will secure their highest efficiency, there is another side of its problem — the preëminently moral side — which its own nature and the aim of its educational action alike forbid it to ignore; it must beware of lessening the sense of personal, of family, or of corporate responsibility for self-support and self-production of character." — Prof. G. H. HOWISON, *Ed. Rev.* 5 : 432.

welfare of its members by imposing instruction upon all people alike, to the end that not only the willing majority but the unwilling minority also shall be compelled to receive its advantages. Few modern culture states are wanting in compulsory education laws, though their enforcement is very unequal. In the German states not only is attendance compulsory during the ordinary school period to the age of fourteen, but there is a further compulsory period reaching in some cases to the age of seventeen or eighteen during which attendance at evening school is obligatory. In a few American states, in addition to the usual requirement of school attendance until the age of fourteen, provision is made for two years' further compulsory schooling in the case of those who have not completed a definite part of the elementary course of study. The right of the state to compel parents to educate their children, and even to deprive them of the custody of such children in case they neglect their obligations in this respect has been disputed in all countries, but has universally been conceded in law.[1] This state interference takes several forms; it may simply compel the child to attend school to a certain age; or it may compel him to attend until he has reached a certain stage of educational efficiency; or it may prohibit his entrance into industry until a fixed age; or, finally, it may oblige him, as in several German states, as a condition of entering into or remaining in certain kinds of apprenticeship, to attend prescribed forms of continuation school.

3. LIMITS OF STATE PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION

Limits in Taxing Powers. — While the right and obligation of the modern state to control education, to carry it on at

[1] "The end of the state, then, is the end of society and the individual — the best life as determined by the fundamental logic of the will. The means at its disposal, qua state, always partake of the nature of force, though this does not exclude their having other aspects as well. Taxation may have the most reasonable and even the most popular purpose, yet the generality and justice of its incidence, and the certainty of its productiveness, can only be secured by compulsion." — BOSANQUET, *Philosophical Theory of the State*, p. 186.

public expense, and to enforce the educational rights and obligations of all children is generally conceded in theory and practice, there remains still the utmost disagreement as to the proper limits to be set to such activity. It has been pointed out, for example, that in some states secondary education has been made free, in others it is still to some extent a charge upon the parent. In some states the lower forms of vocational training are made free, but the higher forms, in the shape of technical education, are still a heavy tax upon the individual. In some American states, the public is taxed for the support of college and certain forms of professional training to the extent of making these practically free to the student, while in others the cost of higher education is prohibitive to the poorer student unless he can procure aid in the form of a scholarship. Under some conditions those who are training as teachers not only receive an education at public expense, but even a sort of salary or stipend while being so educated. Elsewhere such education can only be obtained at the expense of the individual himself. The demand for new and varied forms of education in applied art and industry continually raises the question as to how far the state should be taxed, and there are never wanting those who insist that it already exceeds its legitimate functions in this field.

Limits in Control. — In the matter of control of education there is considerable uncertainty. Shall the state exercise oversight and control over private forms of education? In England and America practically no public control is exerted over schools which do not derive revenues from the state. Their quality may be good or bad, they may be well or ill administered; the decision is left to their patrons. An exception must be made in the case of institutions dealing with neglected and dependent childhood, which, in both countries, have long been under some sort of governmental inspection. In continental countries, on the other hand, there is considerable oversight of private institutions. What are the proper limits of state action in this matter? There is also considerable dispute as to how far the state should in justice go in the matter of compelling children against their own and their

parents' will to attend school. The principle is conceded, but it is questioned whether the state should have the right, for example, to insist on attendance to sixteen, or to require the attendance of apprentices at evening schools to the age of seventeen or eighteen.

Social Expediency the Basic Principle. — It is evident that, after all, the activity of the state in these matters can hardly be described as a right, but that the entire question is one of social expediency. The highest social expediency is at all times the right of the state, and if it can be shown of any proposed governmental action that it will in the long run produce the maximum of social good, the obligation of the state to take such a step is established. Now, it is impossible to determine in the abstract as to whether any given line of state action is expedient from a social point of view; the question must be settled with reference to the particular cases and conditions under consideration. Free public education, for example, from the social point of view, has several results. In the first place, it insures a larger amount of education to a larger number of people, which is apparently a social good; in some cases, because it is free, it reduces the disposition of parents toward self-help, which is an evil; it permits the carrying on of education on a large scale, which is partly good and partly evil; it taxes people and property that are not directly or visibly benefited by the education given, which is sometimes regarded as an evil. The pupil himself, receiving his education and perhaps even his books with no effort to himself, may be, in some cases, sensibly pauperized thereby, which, of course, is a social evil. Now in the last analysis it can be seen that whether the state is justified or not in undertaking control, support, or enforcement of certain forms of education depends upon the final social resultant of factors like the above. Each one is changeable with evolving social life, hence the impossibility of fixed standards. For example, it is undoubtedly a fact that under some social conditions the giving of free education may lead to the same kind of demoralization of parental effort as would the giving of free bread or clothes. On the other hand, every one engaged in the administration

of what is called "scientific charity" knows that there are conditions under which the giving of free bread or clothes not only does not pauperize, but actually lifts from and prevents pauperization. So, similarly, it is an undoubted fact that under many conditions the giving of free education does not pauperize, but in the long run conspicuously opposes any nascent tendencies toward pauperization by increasing self-respect and capacity for self-support.

Limits in Social Wealth. — On the other hand, whether we shall regard the taxing of the entire community for the support of education as socially desirable depends to a considerable extent on the condition of that community with respect to available financial surplus. A tax, for example, to support secondary education might be entirely expedient from the social standpoint in a community with considerable surplus, and quite unjustifiable in a poorer one, other conditions remaining the same. The urgency of need may in one community render it highly advisable to maintain free normal school instruction, whilst under other conditions that form of professional education could be partly supported by the students who might seek it. The effect upon the pupil himself, too, varies with the circumstances; whether free university education will or will not contribute the largest number of men and women with the maximum of personal initiative when they shall have obtained such education may depend very much on the conditions under which it is given, and the social rank of those affected. In one case it might diminish initiative, causing the graduate to linger about, waiting for the state to do something for him; on the other hand, it might simply have the effect of causing the youth to realize that when the state had so fully and satisfactorily discharged its functions towards him, it would now become his turn to make use of the knowledge so gained to contribute his share toward the upbuilding of the state.

Many factors, it will be seen, enter into the determination of this matter of social expediency. In our present very imperfect knowledge of the principles of social economy, it is difficult to forecast the probable result of any course of action; con-

sequently the subject becomes one for partisanship. There can be no doubt, however, that society will eventually have to settle many questions of this character by the adoption of a deliberate policy of experimentation. All countries, for example, are confronted by the problem of industrial education under state support. Granting the ultimate feasibility of such education, it still remains a question as to how far the state may provide it without sapping the sources of self-support and individual initiative. Would the boy trained at state expense become a sufficiently better workman, morally as well as vocationally, to more than pay society for the outlay thus made? Certainly in time it will be within the disposition and power of the state to put such matters to experimental test. Once these schools are established, their social effect can be measured, and judgments formed accordingly. In the meantime it must be obvious that the nearest approach we can make to principles of social expediency will be only in the nature of roughest approximations. The method employed at present in civilized states in determining the limits of educational control and support conformable to highest social expediency is one of trial and error. Persistently a verbal battle is waged between the forces of opposing ideas. Vested interests, inherited theories of the sphere of governmental influence, inertia, and the ambitious tendencies of idealism are all enlisted. The result is that changes have taken place, sometimes rapidly, more often slowly, until the modern states have reached their present condition, which is, as has been noted, one of large participation. The nineteenth century practically gave the world free, publicly controlled and supported education. Undoubtedly the twentieth century will see more scientific attempts to define its limitations, as these are related to the social development of the time, and as serving to bring about the higher social expediency.

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CHAPTER V

American States and Educational Administration

Nation and State. — In discussing education as developed in modern states, it has been frequently necessary to make reference to the largest national divisions as the controlling agencies, since in countries like Great Britain and France the nation is the unit of legislative control and support. On the other hand, in Germany and the United States the nation exercises little or no direct control, and does not contribute much in the way of direct support. The German federated states, such as Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Wurttemberg, and the rest, are independent in the matter of the control and support of education, except in a few particulars.

So in the United States the union is formed of federated states which have surrendered but a portion of their sovereignty to the national government. Each state delegated certain powers, such as external defence and the regulation of commerce, but it retained numerous others, among which are all of those pertaining to education. Within each state government resides entirely the authority and responsibility for dealing with education in all its forms. Whether the public shall be taxed for free schools, whether the state or its smaller divisions shall manage such schools, whether the state shall permit or inspect private educational enterprise, whether the state shall impose conditions of compulsory education, — all these matters rest in the last analysis back on the government of the individual state itself.[1]

The national government may, indeed, establish and support schools within any state, or it may offer contributions

[1] The principal restriction on state freedom in these matters is found in possible interpretations of that clause in the Constitution which restrains states from passing laws impairing the obligations of contracts.

in aid of such education; but its legal position seems to be that of an outside or private party contracting with the state, for it may not levy upon state property for the support of such schools, nor may it attempt to guide the state-approved machinery in their administration.[1]

The fundamental organization of the government of each state is found in its constitution. Barring certain stipulations regarding the use of lands conferred on the states by the national government, the latter imposes no restrictions on state freedom in educational matters. The state constitution provides, sometimes in most general terms and sometimes quite specifically, for the means of legislation, execution of laws, and administration of justice, under which divisions fall the various elements in the machinery of education. To a great extent actual educational administration is left to the various divisions of the state, though an increasing number of functions are devolving upon the legislature, the State Board, and the State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

I. STATE CONSTITUTIONS

Beginnings of State Education. — Historically, the main ideas regarding public education had become organized considerably prior to the formation of the Union. Early in the seventeenth century educational legislation was already for-

[1] "The Constitution of the United States contains no reference to the duty of providing the means of education. That great document is silent upon the subject of first public concern, although the fathers of the Constitution were neither indifferent nor uninformed about it. The Constitution of every state, since the recent adoption by Delaware, contains abundant reference to the subject. The United States gives land, and has done so with generous and discriminating hand; the United States Bureau of Education gathers data and makes known its deductions, and has rendered this service with marked thoroughness and accuracy; and the United States commissioner gives direction and inspiration to the educational thought of the country — the present commissioner with a wisdom and efficiency which ministers to the pride of every citizen and places every lover of his country under obligations to him; but the United States is powerless to *control* and does not assume to *manage* the educational institutions of the people; the states have full power to do so." — A. S. DRAPER, "Functions of the State touching Education," *Ed. Rev.* 15 : 107.

mulated in Connecticut and Massachusetts. Before the end of that century Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland had established the beginnings of state systems of education. Roughly speaking, school legislation sprang from school conditions already existing and needs already partly met, rather than the reverse. As the newer territories settled up, schools under philanthropic or private effort were very early founded, or each community established them coöperatively for a time until the legislature could provide uniform laws governing the same. The history of the beginnings of American education in all the states shows that local coöperative effort paved the way, laying the foundation which made state legislation necessary. Though Pennsylvania had a body of educational laws prior to the formation of her first provisional constitution, in 1776, we find that instrument providing: "A school or schools shall be established in each county by the legislature for the correct instruction of youth, with such salaries paid to the master by the public as may enable them to instruct youth at low prices, and all useful learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more universities."

The earlier state constitutions only infrequently contain mention of education, but this was not because of any lack of recognition of the position of the state government in respect to schools and educational facilities. Rather was it tacitly assumed that state legislatures in carrying out their general powers of protecting the commonwealths and promoting the welfare of individuals would find that a provision of education offered a serviceable means to these ends. An exception is Pennsylvania, whose early provisional constitution was noted above. The constitution of 1790 contained the following: "The legislature shall, as soon as conveniently may be, provide for the establishment of schools throughout the state in such a manner that the poor may be taught gratis." A second section reads: "The arts and sciences shall be promoted in one or more seminaries of learning." The oft-quoted clauses in the act of the federal government incorporating the Northwest Territory indicate what seems to have been a prevalent attitude when the early

constitutions were formed,— that is, education was necessary and should be encouraged through public support and direction, but the legislatures were competent to deal with details. "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

Recent Constitutions. — But if the earlier state constitutions gave but scant recognition to education, the same can hardly be said to be true of those of the present time. In the later constitutions there has been manifest a desire to have therein a more logically complete statement of the fundamental powers of state government than was found in the earlier ones, and this tendency seems to be growing in the Southern and Western states. Provisions which guarantee free public schools, the permanent existence of the school funds, especially those granted by the national government, a state system of supervision or administration, and which prohibit sectarianism in the schools or the use of public money for sectarian purposes, are found in almost all the state constitutions. These can be best illustrated by reference to specific examples.

The constitution of Connecticut contains only two brief passages referring to education: one confirms the charter of Yale College, the other guarantees the perpetual character of the school fund, "the interest on which shall be inviolably appropriated to the support and encouragement of the public or common schools throughout the state." A similarly brief provision in the constitution of New Jersey guarantees the integrity of the school fund, but as part of that provision, the following clause gives constitutional recognition to the necessity for a complete system of education: "The legislature shall provide for the maintenance and support of a thorough and efficient system of free public schools for the instruction of all the children in this state between the ages of five and eighteen years." A brief article in the constitution adopted in 1873 by the state of Pennsylvania contains provisions making mandatory the establishment of a system of schools, the appropriation of at least a million dollars per year, and also

the following with reference to sectarian support: "No money raised for the support of the public schools of the commonwealth shall be appropriated to or used for the support of any sectarian school." In addition to a long passage relative to state funds, the constitution of Indiana imposes upon the state the obligation of providing "for a general and uniform system of common schools, wherein tuition shall be without charge, and equally open to all." This instrument also provides for a state superintendent of public instruction, to be elected by the voters, "and whose duties and compensation shall be prescribed by law." The constitution of the state of Ohio is another example of one containing very brief and general provisions, since the organization of the entire system of public schools seems to rest on this clause: "Religion, morality, and knowledge, however, being essential to good government, it shall be the duty of the General Assembly to pass suitable laws to protect every religious denomination in the peaceable enjoyment of its own mode of public worship, and to encourage schools and the means of instruction."

Detailed Provisions in Constitutions. —Citations from the constitutions of some other states would show that, while recognizing their sovereign rights and obligations in the matter of establishing and maintaining systems of education, they prefer to leave the details of such organizations to the legislatures. But in numerous others there is an obvious tendency to incorporate detailed provisions which restrict and direct the legislative bodies, or which establish certain definite principles that are deemed to be of importance. A few examples, while not in any full sense describing this tendency, will exhibit its main features.

The educational section of the constitution of Pennsylvania, as noted before, is very brief, but contains this special provision, "Women twenty-one years and upward shall be eligible to any office of control or management under the school laws of this state." Illinois prohibits any county or local unit from incurring indebtedness exceeding five per cent of total assessed valuation. North Dakota prescribes the qualifications

and salary of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, and indicates in detail certain types of state institutions and the place at which they are to be located: "A school of forestry, or such other institution as the legislature may determine, to be located at," etc. The California constitution imposes on each district the requirement of maintaining six months' school each year, and, in prescribing the details of a state text-book system, determines the composition of the State Board of Education. Florida provides in her constitution the details of the organization of the State Board of Education, and fixes a special rate of taxation for the state of one mill and for the counties of not less than three nor more than seven mills. In Louisiana the constitution fixes a state rate of one and one-half mills for a state school fund; in addition to which it contains provisions exempting all types of educational institutions from taxation, requiring the separate establishment of schools for the two races, permitting the regular teaching of French where that does not interfere with the teaching of English, and providing for inheritance taxes. It is obvious, of course, that many of these constitutional provisions have reference to local conditions, but they illustrate a tendency in American commonwealths to fix certain matters beyond the control of legislatures. An examination of the constitutions of a few other states chosen at random is of interest in this connection.

Utah provides constitutionally that "in cities of the first and second class the public school system shall be controlled by the board of education of such cities, separate and apart from the counties in which such cities are located." And "neither the legislature nor the State Board of Education shall have power to prescribe text-books to be used in the common schools," and also, "the metric system shall be taught in the common schools of the state." The constitution of Michigan requires that "a school shall be maintained in each school district at least three months in each year. Any school district neglecting to maintain such school shall be deprived, for the ensuing school year, of its proportion of the income of the primary school fund," etc. It also pre-

scribes number, term of office, etc., of the State Board of Regents. Special provisions are: "Institutions for the benefit of those inhabitants who are deaf, dumb, blind, or insane shall always be fostered and supported;" "The legislature shall encourage the promotion of intellectual, scientific, and agricultural improvement;" "The legislature shall provide for the establishment of at least one library in each township and city." In the constitution of West Virginia it is stipulated that "county authorities shall never assess taxes, in any one year, the aggregate of which shall exceed ninety-five cents per hundred dollars' valuation, except for the support of free schools," unless such taxes are voted by a three-fifths majority; and that no person connected with the schools shall be interested in the sale of books.

The constitution of Virginia specifies in considerable detail the functions of the State Board of Education. It also permits the General Assembly to provide for the compulsory education of children between the ages of eight and twelve years, "except such as are weak in body or mind," etc. Furthermore, "provision shall be made to supply children attending the public schools with the necessary text-books in cases where parents or guardians are unable to furnish them." Also, "white and colored children shall not be taught in the same school." In the state of Montana it is provided that "women shall be eligible to hold the office of County Superintendent of Schools or any other school district office, and shall have the right to vote at any school district election."

The development of these special constitutional provisions indicates the growth of a tendency to make the Constitutional Convention, with its referendum to popular suffrage, a kind of fundamental legislative body, which tends to take more and more direct cognizance of the authority of the state in educational and other matters of public concern. That changes in and additions to the constitution represent the results of movements that have been agitating the population for years is well known. The effect of mistaken provisions will be felt in practice, and a movement usually will be inaugurated for amendment to the constitution. In California,

for example, the constitution adopted in 1879 contained a provision expressly denying to high schools any use of state moneys, and for a time this seriously handicapped the development of secondary education in that state. But year by year the unwisdom of that provision became more manifest, until, some twenty years after the making of the constitution, the objectionable paragraph was removed, and a state system of secondary education was made possible.

2. THE LEGISLATURE

Subject to restrictions and specifications in the state constitution, the power of the legislature in educational matters is hardly limited, except by the interests and will of the people.[1] The range of subjects relating to public schools and other agencies of instruction with reference to which laws are constantly being passed is wide and growing. Among these subjects are: the organization of suitable local territories for school administration — counties, divisions, townships, districts, etc.; providing means of raising money for school purposes; fixing the qualifications of teachers and creating bodies to provide the necessary tests; passing laws regulating the conditions of the employment, tenure, compensation, pensions, and training of teachers; providing institutes and other agencies for the continued training of teachers; provision for medical inspection and the better physical care of school children; the selection and even publication of text-books; organization of higher institutions of learning.

Permissive Legislation. — Owing to the fact that education has been to a very great extent indigenous in America in each state and locality ("Spontaneity is the keynote of American education," President Butler has said), a great deal of legisla-

[1] The Constitution of the United States, however, contains provisions which, as interpreted by the courts, do actually limit the state. The celebrated Dartmouth College case indicated that the state could not interfere with old foundations, as can Parliament in England, which has more than once revised the conditions of old bequests in the interests of public policy. There is also considerable doubt as to how far the states may go in regulating private education.

tion has been at the outset permissive in character. A community is authorized to do that which it has wanted or is willing to do, but it is left to other communities to do as they see fit. They are permitted to vote money for new buildings, to establish evening schools, manual training schools, playgrounds, to have medical inspection, to add to the course of study, to have supervision of schools, etc. This represents a distinct stage in government of a popular character, for it means that a reform not yet well enough understood to be generally accepted may be experimentally adopted by one or more communities until its extension seems feasible. In 1840, for example, it is reported that the city of Springfield, Massachusetts, tried the experiment (without any law governing the case) of having a superintendent of schools; in 1854 the first general law authorizing the employment of superintendents by town and city school committees was passed by the Massachusetts legislature. Gradually the cities took advantage of the law, but the smaller districts were too poor. So in 1870 a new law permitted two or more towns to unite for the purpose of employing a superintendent. Very few towns took advantage of this permission until a new law was secured in 1893 which gave state aid to towns which had skilled supervision. Finally the State Board recommended that it be made compulsory on all communities to have expert supervision of schools, and recent legislation gave effect to this recommendation.

Mandatory Legislation. — The last stage, then, is reached when action becomes mandatory. After long experience with permissive legislation the time arrives when the principle is so generally accepted that a majority of the persons or communities may be counted on to support it, after which the necessity of a general diffusion of the good results of education renders it desirable to make the enforcement of the law universal. The law regarding education promulgated in Massachusetts as early as 1647 is of this character, for it requires each town of fifty householders to maintain a school for the teaching of reading and writing. Laws making it mandatory upon the state or the local community to raise a

certain minimum amount for education; fixing the salaries of school officials or minimum salaries for teachers; making it mandatory upon local boards to procure approval of building plans; fixing the essentials of the course of study, and prescribing even the details of the teaching as seen in certain legislative requirements regarding instruction in hygiene; compelling teachers to attend institutes; prohibiting corporal punishment; and the recent law of Massachusetts obliging all cities to have systematic medical inspection, — all of these are of this final and compulsory character. They represent the gradual crystallization of public opinion to the point where the proposed action is deemed to be conducive to the general well-being of the state.

Preliminaries of Legislation. — A third general fact to be noted with regard to educational legislation has reference to the agencies which pave the way for it. A large, if not the largest, function of most superintendents of public instruction is to supply the legislature with accurate information and carefully prepared recommendations as to desirable legislation. Many of the boards of education, conspicuously that of Massachusetts, also perform this function. The annual or biennial report of the State Board or superintendent becomes itself a message to the legislature. In addition to these official agencies, recent years have witnessed a considerable development of influence emanating from the teaching force through its organized bodies. Various state associations of educators now take up proposed changes in the laws or proposed new laws long before they are introduced in the legislature, discuss them, and make recommendations accordingly. Consequently legislation consists to a certain extent in simply recording conclusions which have already been reached among those who are best informed as to educational needs.

3. THE STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION

Variable Character of State Boards. — Both in composition and in function the State Board of Education admits of little general description. Frequently it is an ex-officio body com-

posed of state officers or of designated members of educational institutions. Not infrequently it has a portion of its membership appointed by the Governor from lay citizens. Its functions variously include custody of state funds, general oversight of education, the government of certain state institutions, the election of a state superintendent, selection and even publication of text-books, examination and certification of teachers, and formulation of rules for the immediate management of schools. There can be no doubt that with the progressive centralization of educational administration and the multiplication of educational activities the State Board is constantly coming to assume new responsibilities. Recent legislation tends to create new functions to be discharged by this body, and there is manifest a desire to increase its efficiency. A few illustrations will exhibit present tendencies. In the state constitutions we sometimes find provisions made for a state board, though more frequently the subject receives no mention. In West Virginia the constitution establishes the "Board of the School Fund" to invest and manage the permanent school fund of the state. This is a purely ex-officio body composed of the Governor, Superintendent of Schools, Auditor, and Treasurer. The law in addition provides for another state board for the purpose of issuing teachers' certificates, — four persons appointed from various congressional districts by the Superintendent of Schools. The constitution of Nebraska also establishes a special state board to care for state funds and lands. In Michigan we find a unique provision for a state board of three members elected by popular vote for six years, who "shall have general supervision of the state normal school, and whose duties shall be prescribed by law." The new constitution of South Carolina provides for a board of seven to be appointed by the Governor, "who shall have the regulation of the examination of teachers applying for certificates of qualification and such other duties as may be determined by law." The constitution of Virginia provides: "The general supervision of the school system shall be vested in a state board of education composed of the Governor, Attorney-general, Super-

intendent of Public Instruction, and three experienced educators to be elected quadrennially by the Senate, from a list of specified eligibles" (nominated from the staffs of various educational institutions). The constitutional powers of this body include such important matters as the partition of the state into appropriate school divisions, appointment of division superintendents, management of school fund, formulation of rules for the government of schools, "which, when published, shall have the force and effect of law, subject to the authority of the General Assembly to revise, repeal, or amend the same," and the selection of text-books.

In other states the organization of this branch of the educational executive is shown in the statutes. The advisory capacity of a few state boards is illustrated in the case of Georgia, the main function of whose ex-officio boards seems to be to act as an advisory body to the State School Commissioner; "and shall also be in the nature of a court to which appeals may be made from any decision of the State School Commissioner upon any question touching the construction or administration of the school laws." Indiana has a composite board made up of the presidents of certain large educational institutions, superintendents of three largest cities, and three other persons, which board has extensive functions with regard to text-books and the certification of teachers. In California the State Board is composed, in addition to the Governor and the Superintendent of Public Instruction, of the presidents of the state normal schools and the State University, and the head of the pedagogical department of the university. This board, originally possessing only moderately important functions in advising the State Superintendent and in providing regulations and standards governing the certification of teachers, has, since the state has taken charge of the publication of text-books, had very important duties in this connection put upon it. Connecticut has a board of seven members, partly ex officio, partly elected by the General Assembly, which controls the use of text-books in the schools of the state, organizes teachers' meetings, enforces laws regarding compulsory attendance of children at

schools and their employment, has some powers in the matter of enforcing health conditions for children, and under special circumstances appoints local superintendents of schools. In addition, it has extensive powers of oversight through its secretary. The Massachusetts board, appointed by the Governor, each member serving eight years, has for many years exerted a powerful influence in the educational affairs of that state. It has little direct power and authority, but very extensive powers of publicity and recommendation. The history of its activities through its state agents is a matter of common information. It is interesting to note that just recently this board has taken on new functions, viz.: acting as a sort of central employment bureau for teachers, thus illustrating the tendency mentioned before of giving to the State Board functions that are necessary and cannot be conveniently placed elsewhere.

Another interesting board in its composition and functions is that of New Jersey. Its members are appointed by the Governor from the various congressional districts. It manages the various state educational institutions, including the two normal schools, appoints county superintendents of schools, and, among other lesser functions, decides appeals from the decision of the State Superintendent. A similarly appointed board for the state of Montana, along with the usual list of duties, "has general control and supervision of the State University and the state educational institutions," and "appoints experienced teachers to act as instructors in the county institutes." The State Board of North Carolina, its members holding office ex officio, has corporate powers and controls the colored normal schools, is a State Textbook Commission, elects the directors of certain state institutions, and is the agent of the state in making loans from the literary fund to aid districts in the erection of school buildings.

The state of Washington has in effect two state boards, the State Board of Education and the Board of Higher Education. The first consists of four educators appointed by the Governor, and exercises supervision over the ele-

mentary schools through outlines of courses of study, certification of teachers, and the determination of conditions of entrance to and graduation from the various types of schools. The Board of Higher Education is composed of the four members of the State Board together with the Presidents of the State University, State College, normal schools. This board fixes courses for the normal schools and preparatory requirements for the colleges, inspects high schools, and "shall arrange such courses and adopt and enforce such regulations as will place the state institution in harmonious relation with the common schools and with each other, and unify the work of the public school system."

We have to note finally the composition and functions of the newly constituted Board of Regents of the state of New York, which serves as the Board of Education of a state with a highly centralized system of school administration. The recently reconstituted board has eleven members, elected for eleven years by the legislature and has power (after the present term of the Commissioner of Education shall have expired) to elect the Commissioner of Education to hold office at its pleasure. The powers of this board, direct and indirect, through its control of the office of Commissioner of Education, are very extensive, especially in the supervision of elementary and secondary education.

In conclusion it may be noted that, as we traverse the several American states, we find numerous features of educational administration in reference to which there is very considerable uniformity, and of which it is fairly safe to make generalizations; and others which show no settled character and which vary indefinitely among the states. To the latter class belong the state boards of education. It is evident that these yet form no integral factor in American education. In size, manner of composition, functions, and influence they vary indefinitely and widely. There is much uncertainty regarding their future, but it will subsequently be shown that with the progressive development of administration the importance of some body of this nature will greatly increase.

4. THE STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

Origins. — The growing complexity of the state organization of education produced during the first half of the nineteenth century the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction. It seems to have been developed before 1830 by New York, Vermont, and Maryland; between 1830 and 1850 by Connecticut, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin. Subsequently to 1850 all of the states except Delaware have made provision for it as a branch of the executive department of the state.

Election. — In a large majority of states the Superintendent of Public Instruction is elected in the same way and for the same term as the Governor. Under these conditions of popular election it is exceptional to find any expert qualifications required, the voters being left to determine what constitutes fitness for the office. Exceptions to this rule are found in Virginia, which requires by law that the man elected "shall be an experienced educator"; North Dakota, which requires that he "shall have attained the age of twenty-five years and be a holder of a state certificate of the highest grade;" Utah and Montana, which both require that he shall have attained the age of thirty and be either a graduate of a high-grade college or holder of the highest grade certificate issued in the state; and Wisconsin, where "no person shall be eligible to the office who shall not have taught or supervised teaching in the state of Wisconsin for a period of not less than five years."

Appointment. — The office is filled through appointment from the General Assembly or legislature in Virginia, Vermont, Rhode Island, and New York (though in this state after the expiration of the term of the first Commissioner of Education in 1910, the office will be filled by the Regents). In New Hampshire, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Minnesota, and Maine and one or two others, the Governor appoints. In Connecticut and Massachusetts the Board of

Education makes the appointment, and this will also be the case in New York after the expiration of the term of the first incumbent in the office of State Commissioner. The law rarely undertakes to designate the special qualifications of the man who shall be appointed; an exception is Tennessee, which requires the Governor to nominate a man who "shall be a person of literary and scientific attainments, and of skill and experience in the art of teaching."

The Functions of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction are variable in different states, yet there is much more of uniformity in this regard than is found in the case of the State Board. Being a salaried officer, usually with deputies and office staff, a considerable body of duties are regularly assigned to him by law. These may be classified as follows: (*a*) Statistical. In most of the states the county superintendents or local officials are required to make systematic reports to the State Superintendent regarding the main facts of expenditure of school money, attendance at schools, and the terms of school maintained. These and other facts capable of statistical treatment are assembled by the State Superintendent and held for the use of the legislative body and the officials of the state. On the basis of the information thus collected the Superintendent is also able to make recommendations for legislation. (*b*) Advisory and judicial. In many of the states the Superintendent acts as a court of final appeal in controversies affecting school trustees or county superintendents. "He shall render an opinion in writing to any school officer asking the same, touching the administration or construction of the school law." (*c*) Supervisory. Under the general terms of the law it is common to find the Superintendent charged with general supervision and oversight of the schools of the state. In practice there can be little direct supervision exercised by the office in the state of average size, but the possibilities of indirect supervision are very great. An energetic superintendent with the large amount of information which is almost necessarily at his command, able to visit counties and confer with officials interested or charged with educational duties, and at times to

address popular meetings, can bring about decided changes in the school system. It was along this line that Horace Mann produced much of the good that he accomplished for the schools of Massachusetts. In other states where the Superintendent has given special attention to some one phase of administration, the results have been apparent. In Nebraska and Maine extensive campaigns for better school buildings have been carried on; in Wisconsin for better industrial and agricultural education; in North Carolina for more generous local support of schools; and in Indiana for the improvement of the professional qualifications of the teachers. In a few states the Superintendent is able to impose penalties upon communities failing to provide suitable school facilities. The state appropriation, for example, may be withheld from the negligent county or district. The actual enforcement of this penalty is however of rare occurrence. (*d*) Administrative. Frequently the Superintendent is authorized to distribute state moneys to the counties or districts, although in other states this is the function of the County Auditor. In a few states he shares in the work of certificating teachers and in administering the state scheme of text-books. In some, as an ex-officio member of the boards of trustees of various state educational and charitable institutions, he has powers of direct management. Finally, in a number of states the Superintendent is directly authorized to hold, or require to be held, teachers' institutes.

Special Functions of an administrative nature devolve upon the Superintendent in several states. In New Jersey he fills vacancies in the office of County Superintendent, subject to the approval of the President of the Board of Education, and in Pennsylvania he may remove county superintendents who are derelict in their duties. In Pennsylvania he is also given special powers of enforcing the truancy laws. In North Dakota he prepares the course of study for the state, and in Florida, Arkansas, South Dakota, and Montana he prepares questions for the teachers' examinations. In Maryland he is given special authority to indorse the diplomas of normal schools from other states, thus constituting them valid certifi-

cates for local use. In several Western states the State Superintendent may biennially convoke a meeting of county superintendents for the purpose of obtaining recommendations as to legislation, and in South Carolina he may similarly assemble the institutes' instructors, of the various counties.

Centralizing Processes. — Generally speaking, it is and has been characteristic of the American state to provide comparatively little machinery for state administration of education. The tendency has been to devolve large administrative responsibilities upon the local authorities. But a considerable centralization of management has been made necessary, and the machinery for this, at first sight, has gradually increased in complexity. With the evolution, too, during the last half century, of a personal head for the state school system, there has been an increasing tendency to look to this administrative officer for guidance. The demand is strong that at the centre of the state machinery of school administration there shall be a true educational expert. This, many of the state superintendents have been, but it has been rather in spite of the system which selects them than because of it. In the earlier days of education, popular election or nomination by the legislature was not so unsuitable a method of selection, since what was largely wanted was a man of good ordinary civic capacity; but with the rapid growth of important functions attaching to the office, the good citizen no longer suffices for the place. There is needed an expert educator of training and experience, who shall have a continuous term of office, so that he may bring to bear in the administration of education the accumulated results of experience. Whether or not the future is to witness a general centralization of direct administrative functions in state government, and, in case that takes place, whether or not new boards and executive offices will be created for special purposes, in any case the supremely important functions attaching to the Superintendent's office will be counsel and publicity. Already the biennial reports of the state superintendents are educational documents of importance; already the disposition of state

legislators and local administrators to look to the Superintendent for expert guidance has become a fixed tradition in educational administration; and, from the work of the educational expert who has, here and there, filled the Superintendent's office, it is evident that only the beginnings have been made in developing to the full this source of educational power.

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CHAPTER VI

Local Units of Educational Administration

Administrative Areas.—That the state is the legislative unit, but only slightly the administrative area in American education, has been shown in the previous chapter. Four kinds of local divisions of territory for educational purposes are found: the county, the township or consolidated district, the city, and the school district proper. Some form of county administration is found in all the states except those of New England.

Urban and Non-urban Areas.—In all the states the tendency has been for the cities to assume more and more of independent control of educational administration. Not only is this true in the relations of municipalities to the containing counties; by special legislation, charter privileges, and other permissive authorization, the cities have tended to become somewhat independent of state control and administration. The possession of greater wealth, of progressive citizens, and facilities for complex organization have enabled them to become autonomous to a considerable degree. Hence the other forms of territorial organization — district, township, county — are primarily concerned with the administration of non-urban education. Within these, excluding cities which have developed their own types of centralized organization, we see steady tendencies toward centralization.[1]

Differentiation between County and District.—In the distribution of administrative functions between county and district or township we find great variety in the states of the Union. The county is of most importance in the South and

[1] The newly adopted constitution of Utah expressly exempts cities of the second and third class from the operations of county governments in school affairs.

West and of least in the New England states, where no county officials appear. The reasons for this, to a large extent, lie in the fact that American institutions have taken on their character from the necessities of frontier life. The conditions of the settlement of early New England developed the towns, while the plantation conditions of the South tended to foster the county as the unit of local administration. In the sparsely settled West the counties were created early in the history of the states, and the organization of local school districts, made necessary by the great distances, proceeded under the direction of the county, the latter usually retaining those general features of administration which it seemed best not to surrender to the local districts. In the newer states the general tendency is to have the county assume responsibility for the certification of teachers, the establishment of a course of study, the selection of text-books, the auditing of accounts, the custody of funds, the collection of taxes, and the general supervision of administration. To the minor area, usually the district, is left the employment of teachers, erecting of buildings, oversight of instruction, and the disciplining of pupils.

Special Influences.—While general causes like those described above have usually been responsible for the existing distribution of administrative functions between county and minor areas, special influences have also at times been operative. For example, a widespread fear of the effect of the negro vote has been undoubtedly at the bottom of the distinct centralizing tendencies found in the Southern states since the period of the Civil War. In the formation of the systems of public education the states undertook to protect localities from excessive taxation by themselves raising the necessary funds and prescribing maximums of taxation beyond which the local government could not go. Large responsibilities were, for the same reasons, also conferred upon state and county authorities as against those of the minor divisions. On the other hand, distrust of the state government because of the intrusion of corrupt politics has at times been an active force in securing greater local administrative authority. In

some instances a state system of preparing questions for teachers' examinations has been given up because questions were sold. The utter inefficiency of district administration has at times been the cause of active steps toward centralization, as was the case in Massachusetts under the publicity made possible through Horace Mann; while at present in some Western and Southern states educators desire the substitution of a town or county organization for the same reason.

I. THE COUNTY AS A UNIT OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Area of County. — All American states are divided into counties which are not unlike those of England in size, but usually much less populous. The average English county has an area of about 1000 square miles, and, outside of its large cities which are separately organized, has a population of 300,000. In America the county has an average area of 1050 square miles; but the median area is 650 square miles. Nearly two-thirds range between 300 and 900 square miles, and the most common size is from 400 to 650 square miles. As a unit of school administration it can easily be seen that the county is convenient for some purposes, and quite unsuitable for others. Close and constructive supervision of instruction in the county is quite impossible, owing to distances, even if, from the standpoint of population, it were practicable.

Population of County. — For a time the growth of population of the state is accompanied by a further division of large counties into small, but later this process stops, and they are permitted to increase the number of inhabitants indefinitely. The census of 1900 shows that the average population of American counties was about 26,646, but this high average is made up partly by some very thickly settled counties in Eastern states. The median population was in the neighborhood of 18,000, and the facts are still more accurately shown by the statement that more than half range between 10,000 and 30,000. In the North Atlantic states over half have more than 50,000, while in the Southern states more than half have over 5000 and less than 20,000 population. Since the above

averages include urban as well as non-urban inhabitants, it is evident that the size of the population groups which come directly under county school administration will be even smaller, on the whole. Roughly, the schools are concerned with a number of children representing from one-fifth to one sixth of all the people. In a county of 20,000 inhabitants the schools would contain from 3000 to 4000 children. Since the number of teachers in rural schools is considerably greater in proportion to the number of children than in city schools, it is evident that a county of 20,000 people would, as a rule, contain considerably over 100 teachers, many of whom, in the rural districts, would have no supervision except such as is exercised by boards of trustees and by county superintendents.

Other Divisions.— For purposes of supervision a few states have formed administrative areas larger than the county. Virginia has constituted the division with its Superintendent, who partakes partly of the functions of the State, and partly of County, Superintendent. Nevada has abolished county superintendencies, and established large supervisory districts composed of several counties. In New York the supervisory district is smaller than the county, being the legislative assembly district, while in Wisconsin it is possible to divide the larger counties for purposes of school administration into two divisions, each with a superintendent.

2. THE COUNTY SCHOOL BOARD

Centralized Management of educational work within the county is relatively rare except in the South Atlantic division and in two Gulf states. But county boards of education are common, frequently to supplement the work of the County Superintendent of Schools, and to perform certain general and advisory functions. Since such matters as the preparation of courses of study and the conduct of examinations for certificates can be best carried on by committees rather than by individuals, it is natural that these duties should fall to the boards of education.

Functions of County Boards. — In some of the Southern

states the County Board becomes the chief authority in the management of schools. In Maryland, for example, "the Board of County School Commissioners shall have the general supervision and control of all the schools of their respective counties;" "shall locate, build, and furnish schoolhouses;" "shall adopt, purchase, change, when deemed expedient, and distribute text-books, and furnish the same free of cost;" "appoint principals of all high schools," and with advice of principal "appoint all assistant teachers," "consolidate schools" and "pay necessary costs of transporting pupils," etc. Among their other duties this board appoints district trustees who, naturally, have few duties except those pertaining to general oversight of schools, and custody of public property.

Florida furnishes another example of large centralization. The County Board of Public Instruction shall acquire and hold property, locate and maintain schools, appoint a supervisor for each school, employ teachers, prescribe courses of study, and even select candidates for admission to the state colleges and seminaries. The County Superintendent is simply its executive agent. The board is elected by popular vote, which is very unusual.

In Virginia the County Board is composed of the Division Superintendent of Schools and the trustees of the various districts. The powers of this large body pertain mainly to the administration of property used for education, and to the apportionment of funds.

In Missouri we have an example of a small county board which consists of the Commissioner of Education and two additional appointed members whose duties are mainly concerned with the issuance of teachers' certificates and promotion of teachers' meetings. But it is also possible for counties in this state to adopt another form of school administration in which all the functions above noted, and others, will be centred in one superintendent who has full supervision of all non-urban schools.

An interesting example of a county school board designed to combine lay and professional administration is found in Indiana,

where it is composed of the County Superintendent of Schools, and the chairmen of the school trustees of each town and city in the county. Its functions extend to general oversight of school property, changes of text-books, purchases of furniture, etc.

In California the County Board of Education tends to become a professional body under the requirement of the law that a majority of its members must be experienced teachers holding valid certificates. In addition to adopting text-books, formulating courses of study, and examining candidates for teachers' certificates, it acts as an advisory body to the County Superintendent, and even aids indirectly in supervising schools. The office is important because the most influential teachers and principals in the county accept membership.

Unsettled Character of County Boards. — No uniformity of practice yet exists among the various states in regard to the functions, size, term of office, method of selection, and qualifications of the County Board. Often created to perform some special function, it has been made the recipient of others as these developed through legislation. In a measure they are losing as well as gaining in authority; for as matters like the adoption of text-books, examination of teachers, and conduct of institutes pass under state control, the county loses in authority. Rarely has the board proven equal to the task of supervision; if composed of teachers, these are already engaged, and can attend board meetings only at leisure times; if composed of laymen, they are not qualified to inspect schools. The board may assist the County Superintendent in conducting examinations, and it may greatly help him in maintaining educational standards.

Until some of the problems discussed in the next chapter shall have been settled, it is safe to say that the place and functions of the county boards will remain unsettled and fluent. The probability is that in proportion as expert qualifications are demanded in the Superintendent, the County Board will tend to become an unsalaried body, partly, at least, composed of laymen chosen by popular vote, who will ap-

point the Superintendent and have the power of veto and approval of policies recommended by him. Its functions would then proportionately increase as the county replaced the town and district in administrative authority. It would also organize the supervisory work of the county, under the oversight of the Superintendent.

In several of the states where the district system is not giving satisfaction, state superintendents greatly favor the development of a county system of management. There are too many school officials, and too much variability in efficiency. The district management is wasteful, and trustees have no capacity for selecting the best teachers. Especially in those Southern states which have retained the district system is there protest, partly because, owing to the necessity of separate schools for the races, there exist numberless poor, small, ineffectively managed districts. The Superintendent of North Dakota finds the district objectionable, and has favored the township, but has recently come to the conclusion that the county unit would be better. "The county, as a unit of school organization, with a county board of education elected by the people and controlling the educational affairs of the county, especially as to the rural schools, would be a long step in advance, so far as the results upon educational progress are concerned. The board would elect as its professional adviser a county superintendent of schools who would direct, subject to the approval of the county board of education, the strictly educational affairs of the county. That portion of the work which pertains to the levying of taxes, issuing of bonds, building and repairing of schoolhouses, would be under control of this board." At present he complains there are as many standards as there are districts. He thinks economy would result. This board as proposed would: (1) be responsible to the people; (2) give a uniform standard; (3) result through state and county superintendents in a uniform standard for the state; (4) eliminate local quarrels and much friction; (5) and result in a wiser and ultimately more economical expenditure of money.

3. THE COUNTY SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS

Importance of County Administration. — During the last half century in the older states (except those of New England) and since their foundation in the newer, the most important educational office for the county has been that of County Superintendent. Often an elective office, there is, nevertheless, a tendency to require that a certificated and experienced educator shall fill it, and in the course of time, just as in the case of the office of City Superintendent of Schools, important duties tend to be attached to it. As the county becomes the centre for the certification of teachers, selection of text-books, formulation of courses of study, audit and oversight of the managerial work of local boards of trustees, the after-training of teachers, supervision of instruction, and other functions that by their nature invite centralization, these functions tend to devolve upon the County Superintendent.

Popular Election. — Generally speaking, county superintendents throughout the Northern and Western states are popularly elected for terms of from two to four years. An educational requirement may be imposed, varying from "he shall be a person of literary and scientific attainments, and, when practicable, of skill and experience in the art of teaching," [1] and "he shall be a person of good moral habits, literary acquirement, and skill and experience in the art of teaching"; to the more specific one that "no person shall be eligible who does not hold at least a first grade county certificate issued in this state and in force at the time of his election," [2] or he "must hold a professional certificate, first or second grade, or state certificate, or be a graduate of an accredited college or normal school, and must have taught at least eighteen months." [3] The net effect of these restrictions, coupled with the fact that the salary paid fails to attract the ablest teachers, is that the County Superintendent is usually an average member of the teaching profession of his county. Occasionally the method of popular election

[1] Tennessee. [2] Nebraska. [3] Kansas.

brings to the front a personality of more than usual force, in which case the schools may experience a decided uplift.

Appointment. — In some of the Southern states where the County Board of Education is responsible for the direct management of the schools, the Superintendent is elected by this board and acts as its agent. This is the case in Maryland, North Carolina, and Louisiana. In Pennsylvania "The school directors of the several counties shall meet in convention at the seat of justice of the proper county on the first Monday of June next, and on the first Tuesday of May in each year thereafter, and select by *viva voce* vote by a majority of the whole number of directors present one person of literary and scientific acquirements, and of skill and experience in the art of teaching, as county superintendent for the three succeeding school years."

In Indiana, also, the township trustees elect the County Superintendent, the qualifications being that he shall be a resident of the county, and hold a higher grade teacher's certificate. In New Jersey the State Board appoints for three years "a suitable person" who must hold a state teacher's certificate. In Delaware the Governor appoints the County Superintendent for a term of two years. The professional requirements are twenty months' experience and other credentials. Under the old law the Superintendent in Ohio counties was appointed by the judges, but his functions have, under the new statute, been absorbed by the local superintendents of districts. The County Court appoints in Tennessee and Arkansas.[1, 2]

[1] In 1904 the Legislative Committee of the Minnesota Educational Association recommended a change in the law whereby there should be created a county board of four, elected from each commissioner's district, continuous in character, holding office for four years and paid actual expenses. This board should elect the County Superintendent, who must hold the highest certificate for two years. The board should also have power to condemn school buildings and to approve all plans for new ones. The Superintendent should be paid a higher salary than now, based on number of districts.

[2] The State Superintendent of North Dakota discusses the problem of getting the most effective service for this post, and concludes that popular election will not do. "The best method would be a county educational board of five or seven members to whom shall be given, among other powers, that of electing the

Functions. — County superintendents of schools perform a variety of functions, administrative, supervisory, and judicial. Since district boards of trustees or directors are frequently uninformed, the Superintendent finds it necessary to educate them to their duties and to harmonize differences. In executing the state law with regard to the distribution of monies his work is purely formal, and in some states these functions are transferred to the auditor and treasurer of the county. Not infrequently he conducts examinations of pupils for the purpose of preserving the standard of common education throughout the county. In California, in connection with the County Board, he is required by law to examine all graduates from the elementary schools. In Nebraska he examines applicants for admission to the state normals. In connection with the unsold public lands belonging to the schools he has, in a few cases, powers of oversight. Recommendations regarding the changes of districts boundaries often emanate from him, though seldom has he final authority to make such changes. The following statement of the functions of the County Superintendent in Kansas is fuller than usual, but indicates fairly the conditions which usually prevail.

"It shall be the duty of the County Superintendent of Public Instruction to visit each school at least once each term of six months, correcting any deficiency that may exist in the government of the school, the classification of the pupils, or the methods of instruction in the several branches taught; to make such suggestions in private to the teachers as he shall deem proper and necessary to the welfare of the school; to note the character and condi-

County Superintendent. Such a board, chosen at the school election in June, would undoubtedly select a county superintendent on the basis of qualification. The selection of city superintendent and principal by small boards of education is concluded to be the proper way to insure consideration of the qualities which should govern the choice of the head of any school system. It is true that such a method is not in accord with our state constitution, nevertheless a constitution can be amended.

"Another method which would undoubtedly be an improvement over our present is the selection of the County Superintendent by a convention of school officers assembled for such a purpose. This, too, is contrary to the constitutional provision. The only way now open is to have the election at the same time as the annual June election of school officers, with a provision prohibiting any party nomination or designation."

tion of the schoolhouse, furniture, apparatus, and grounds, and make a report in writing to the district board, making suggestions that in his opinion shall improve the same; to examine the accounts and record books of the district officers, and see that they are kept as required by law; to encourage the formation of associations of teachers and educators for mutual improvement, and, as far as possible, to attend the meetings of such associations, and participate in the exercises of the same; to attend the normal held in his county, using his influence to secure the attendance of teachers; to make daily a personal inspection of the work of the institute in session and keep a record of the same in his office, and do such work in connection with the exercises of the institute as he may deem necessary; to hold a public meeting in each school district of his county at least once a year, for the purpose of discussing school questions and elevating the standard of education; to keep his office open at the county seat, Saturday of each week, and in counties in which a superintendent receives a salary of more than $600 per annum, he shall keep his office open when not necessarily absent attending to his official duties. He shall keep a complete record of his official acts; a record of the name, age, and post-office address of each candidate for a teacher's certificate, with the number of weeks said candidate has attended a normal school or institute, the number of weeks he has taught, his standing in each study, and the date of issue and expiration of each certificate granted. He shall keep a register of the teachers employed in his county, giving name of teacher, number of the district in which he is employed, dates of opening and closing term, salary per month, grade of certificate, and date of Superintendent's visit. He shall keep a record of the semiannual apportionments of the state and county school funds, and such other statistical records as shall be required in making reports to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. He shall make out and transmit to the State Superintendent, on the last Monday of March, June, September, and December of each year, a report, showing the number of school visits made, with the average length of time spent in such visits. . . . He shall apportion the state school fund within his county. . . . He shall, on or before the 15th of October of each year, make out and transmit in writing to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction a report bearing date October 1, containing a statement of the number of school districts or parts of districts in the county, and the number of children and their sex, resident in each, over the age of five and under the age of twenty-one years; a statement of the number of district schools in the county, the length of time a school has been taught in each, the number of scholars attending the same, their sex, the branches taught and the text-books used, the number of teachers employed in the same, and their sex; a statement of the number of private or select schools in the county, so far as the same can be ascertained, and the number of teachers employed in the same, their sex, and the branches taught; a statement of the number of graded schools in the county, the length of time school has been taught in each, and the number of scholars attending the

same, their sex, and the branches taught, the number of teachers employed in the same, and their sex; a statement of the condition of the normal school, where such school has been established, the number of students attending the same, their sex, and the number of teachers employed in the same, and their sex; a statement of the county normal institute; a statement of the number of academies and colleges in the county, and the number of students attending the same, and their sex, the number of teachers employed in each, and their sex; a statement of the amount of money received in each district or parts of districts, and what portion of the same, if any, has been appropriated to the support of graded schools; a statement of the amount of money raised in each district by tax and paid for teachers' wages, in addition to the public money paid therefor; the amount of money raised by tax or otherwise for the purpose of purchasing school site, for building, hiring, purchasing, repairing, furnishing, or insuring such schoolhouse, or for any other purpose allowed by law, in the district or parts of districts."

Compensation. — The salary of the County Superintendent is usually fixed by law, and the statutes often contain schedules of payment according to the size of the county or its population. If the county has many schools, the Superintendent is prohibited from taking up other employment. In some cases he is paid a certain percentage of the amount of money he apportions to the schools. In Illinois up to 1905 it was provided:—

"County Superintendents shall receive in full for all services rendered by them, commissions as follows: three per cent commission upon the amount of sales of school lands, etc.; two per cent commission upon all sums distributed, paid, or loaned by them for the support of schools. For other duties required by law to be performed by them, four dollars per day for the actual number of days spent by them in the performance of such duties . . . and one dollar a day for expenses in visitation."

But the assembly of 1905 changed this, and prepared a schedule of salaries ranging from $1250 to $7500.

In New Jersey, where the county superintendents are appointed by the State Board, the compensation was formerly 12½ cents for each name on the school census; in 1900 it was fixed at $7 per teacher employed, but it should not go below $1000 nor above $1300. In 1902 these numbers were fixed at $8, $1300, and $2000 respectively. In 1905 the law fixed a uniformed salary of $2000 and expenses, paid by the state.

Quite commonly the County Superintendent gives only part time to administrative functions, and is paid accordingly. This position is very unsatisfactory, and is one that progressive states have largely modified.

Place in Administration. — The county superintendency, like that of the city, has come to be a characteristic feature of American public education. It is doubtful if the office declines in importance; rather with the tendencies toward centralization it will grow in dignity, qualifications, and compensation. Rural supervision will probably be organized under the leadership of the Superintendent. The method of selection must change in many cases before a real advance can come; popular election will not suffice as a means of choosing experts. In time special training will be required, and the post will offer a career to ambitious young men and women entering on educational work. Even with the consolidation of districts and the assumption by the state of some phases of administration, the educational possibilities of the county superintendency will increase.

4. MINOR AREAS OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Types of Local Area. — Just as we find the importance of the county to vary in respect to educational administration from New England, where its functions are negligible, to some of the Southern states, where it becomes the area of chief importance, with the Central and Western states representing intermediate types — so we find large differences with regard to the character and functions of the minor administrative areas. Three kinds of local organization are distinguishable, though these are not always distinct in form. They are the incorporated city or town, the township, and the district.

Democratic Character. — The importance of the local school area arises from the fact that under the American ideals of large local powers of self-government, such matters as the provision of school buildings and other facilities, the employment of teachers, the supervision of education, and the en-

forcement of educational standards are all left to the local authorities, frequently with only a minimum of direction exercised by law, and by state and county supervision. Frequently, of all local territorial units — road, sanitary, and magisterial districts, or election precincts — the school district is the only one charged with large responsibilities in the way of raising and expending money. Except in some of the Southern states, the town or district organized for school purposes is the only surviving form of government which necessitates the annual meeting of citizens. Whether or not this annual meeting is still of importance — and the facts show that it is losing its influence — it remains true that the representatives of the people there elected are, of all officials, those nearest to their constituents in responsibility and representative character. In most of the states the town and district as areas of school administration are still thoroughly democratic, and as such tend to show in relief both the merits and weaknesses of government more or less directly by the people. In passing it may be noted that it is in connection with elections for school officials that we have the widest development of the suffrage. In a large number of states women are permitted to vote and to hold office in local school administration. The democratic district meetings, found in about half the states, elect school officers, determine amounts of money to be raised, locate school sites, and sometimes decide other questions of school management. Generally speaking, they call out less attendance than formerly, and the tendency is for the voters to simply elect officials for local management, who call special meetings for purposes of selecting school sites, voting taxes, and other important matters.

District *vs.* Township. — As between the district and township form of organization, leaving out of consideration the New England town, which absorbs functions ordinarily found in county government, the tendency would seem to be in the direction of favoring the larger division. In many of the states recent laws permit consolidation, and these consolidated districts, with provision for the transportation of pupils, tend to emphasize the development of central schools and the abo-

lition of the small local schools with irregular and uncertain attendance. The township organization practically means the larger area from which abler school officials can be selected, and within which the burden of taxation can be somewhat more equitably distributed. In some states provision is made for supervision of township schools which would be impracticable under the form of the isolated district.

Typical Districts. — The organization, powers, administrative machinery, and tendencies of the minor units of educational administration can best be shown by examples from typical states. The district system as found in Western states is typified by that of Oregon. Every county of the state is divided by a district boundary board into districts of three classes: the first being areas with 1000 or more children of school age, the second with from 200 to 1000 school children, and the third having less than 200. In districts of the first class the governing board shall be five members and a clerk, and in the other two classes the board consists of three members and a clerk, — all elected by ballot; at which election any man or woman owning property and being a resident citizen is entitled to vote. The law provides for an annual meeting of electors. The district school board must conform to certain formalities in meeting, and has its powers indicated by law. It may exclude refractory pupils from school, provide fuel and supplies, engage teachers (who must be certificated elsewhere), admit pupils from other districts, buy books for indigent pupils (when directed by vote of the district), and audit all claims against the school. In districts of the second and third class the board must use the course of study prepared by the state. Acting under direction of a meeting of school electors, the board may change the site of the school, establish kindergartens (except in third class districts), permit the schoolhouse to be used for other than school purposes, contract debt (not to exceed five per cent of assessed valuation of district), call an election for the issuance of bonds, provide for the transportation of pupils, and, finally, suspend a district if the school attendance does not justify its continued existence. Districts of the first class

may have a board of examiners and may choose text-books additional to those designated by the State Text-book Commission. They are authorized to have a superintendent of schools, and to frame their own course of study — powers, of course, that go with city school administration everywhere.

New York Types. — In New York state, besides cities having a population of 5000 and upward, there are recognized three types of school districts: common, union free, and common school districts with more than 300 school children. In the common school district an annual meeting of electors is held on a prescribed evening of each year, at which men and women who own property or have children of school age may vote. This meeting elects school trustees, designates school sites, and may vote a variety of taxes for buying school sites, building, or renting of schoolhouses, purchase of supplies, purchase of school library, payment of teachers' salaries, and transportation of pupils. The trustees elected at this meeting must enforce a tax for teachers' salaries if the meeting itself fails to do it. The district may decide whether it will have a board of three trustees or one trustee, in addition to district clerk and treasurer. The district board has the usual power of employing teachers, caring for and insuring school property, etc., but must accept the course of study from the school commissioner, and is subject to the district meeting in the selection of text-books. The control of the County School Commissioner over the common school district is considerable, as he may alter boundaries, condemn building, and determine suitability of instruction.

The union free school district of New York state has larger powers than the common school district. It may embrace several schools, may establish schools for secondary education, has considerable powers of local taxation, including the right to decide as to whether free text-books shall be provided, and through its board of education, which may vary in size from three to nine, it can fix for its own schools a course of study, can select text-books, and, in districts having more than 5000 population, employ a superintendent who shall be partly paid by state funds.

Town System. — Massachusetts provides an example of the town system working in its pure type. Under the town is now no separate district, and over it the state exercises partial administrative authority in educational matters. Large powers of raising taxes, establishing special kinds of schools, as secondary and industrial, selecting text-books, formulating courses of study, electing teachers and fixing their terms of office, electing superintendents, examining teachers, providing for the consolidation of schools and the transportation of pupils, and numerous others belong to the town. Limiting the town school committee are the state laws which impose obligations of raising money sufficient for the support of public education, establishing certain types of schools, arranging either within the town or in a group of towns for the employment of an expert superintendent, and of securing medical inspection of schools. Over the town committees is also the State Board, but with comparatively little power besides that of recommendation, except in cases where the law is manifestly being left unfulfilled.

Other New England states show also extensive development of the town basis of organization. The towns of New Hampshire are called school districts, but resemble the Massachusetts town in extent and administrative functions. School districts, as the division of the town, have been abolished in Maine, with certain exceptions. In Connecticut we find a combination of town and district system. "Each town shall have power to form, unite, alter, and dissolve school districts and parts of school districts within its limits; and two or more towns may form school districts of adjoining portions of their respective towns" Special provision is made for consolidation, however. "Any town may abolish all the school districts, within its limits, and assume main control of the schools therein . . . and for this purpose every such town shall constitute one school district." Where the organized district is found, it elects a school committee of three, who exercise ordinary powers of trustees, subject to inspection by the school visitors of the town. In the event of the district's failing to fulfil its obligations, it becomes the

duty of the school visitors of the town to perform them, even to the extent of electing teachers. The board of school visitors must approve plans of building, make course of study, prescribe text-books, examine teachers, form supervision districts, and generally supervise the schools. It is evident that the relation of the town to the district in Connecticut is not unlike the relation of the county to the district in some Southern and Western states.

Dual System. — A system combining township and district is found in Iowa. There the county, as the larger unit for school administration, is divided into township and independent districts, and the school township is divided into subdistricts. Provision is made for annual meetings of electors in both school township and subdistrict. Each subdistrict elects one director, and these directors form the school board for the township, and have large responsibilities in local school administration. The board employs teachers, organizes schools, selects text-books, subject to the direction of the annual meeting. But the director of the subdistrict may be authorized by the school township board to employ teachers for his subdistrict, make contracts for fuel and supplies, and he must also enforce the compulsory education law. Large permissive powers are given to the school township board in the matter of establishing secondary and other higher schools and in providing for supervision.

Indiana presents also an interesting example of combination of town and district system. There is a well-organized form of county administration, but the largest responsibility for local school management resides in the single trustee of the township (this does not apply to municipalities) who has general charge of the various schools. But each township is also divided into districts, in each of which the voters elect a director who acts as medium of communication between the district and the township trustee. The director has general charge of the schoolhouse, and exercises some supervision over the school, but his powers are few and limited. He may in several directions make recommendations to the township trustee, but his direct authority is small. On the other

hand, the power of the township trustee is great, almost autocratic. He fixes the course of study. The township trustees of the entire county constitute the County Board of Education who elect the County Superintendent and select text-books for use in the county, subject to the restrictions of the existing state list, and they also have considerable powers in the appropriation of funds.

In Ohio, outside of the cities, the government of the schools is in the hands of the township board, which has the power to form, change, or abolish subdistricts. Here, again, we find each subdistrict entitled to elect a director who has, however, little authority. On the other hand, boards of education for townships, villages, and cities have large authority, partly owing to the fact that in Ohio the county administration of education is slight. There is a county board of examiners, but no county superintendent of schools; consequently the control and inspection of schools falls mostly on local boards. The selection of text-books (within minor restrictions imposed by state law), fixing of courses of study, establishing special schools, and provision of expert supervision are powers all devolved upon the town, village, and city boards.

Growing Prominence of District. — The school district in the process of gaining rather than losing is to be found not only in the Western but also in certain Southern states. In Alabama prior to 1903 the county was divided into townships, in each of which there were three trustees to organize schools, elect teachers, and apportion money among the various schools, white and colored. But in 1903 a law was passed providing for the abolition of school townships and the substitution therefor of school districts to be formed by a county districting board in such a manner that a school might be located within two and one-half miles of each child of school age, provided no district should be formed with less than fifteen school children. Provision is made for the election of three district trustees holding office for four years, who have considerable powers in the way of electing teachers and supervising schools, subject to the approval of the County Board of Education, which in smaller districts still

holds the title to school property and exercises full supervisory control. An interesting provision of the law, however, provides means whereby certain districts may become quite independent of the County Board.

"Whenever there shall have been established in any school district a system of graded schools free to the children of school age within such district, for a period of not less than eight months in each year, the electors of such district may increase the number of district trustees to five, and assume entire control of the public schools therein; provided, the trustees of such districts shall make all reports required by law to the County Board of Education."

In Florida the powers of the County Board of Public Instruction are almost complete with regard to schools, and the ordinary district is a very inconspicuous form of organization. The County Board holds all school property, locates schools, elects teachers, and appoints at the request of patrons a local supervisor of schools who is naturally a layman serving without pay. But the law now provides for the formation of "special tax districts," wherein the electors have indicated their willingness to subject themselves to a special tax for two years for the provision of additional school facilities. In such special tax district a board of three trustees is elected, who assume the functions hitherto exercised by the supervisor, and who shall nominate teachers, subject to the approval of the County Board.

In other Southern states the district and County systems prevail, with varying distribution of powers. In Mississippi are two types of district, — ordinary and separate, in the former of which the County Superintendent is clothed with the power to appoint teachers if the trustees fail to act. In Georgia

"The county boards of education, whenever, in their opinion, the good of the schools demand it, may at their discretion appoint three intelligent, upright citizens of each subdistrict (the only form of school district) of their respective counties to act as school trustees for their subdistricts. . . . It shall be the duty of these school trustees to supervise the school operations of their subdistricts, to visit the schools, and to make such recommendations to the county boards . . . as may seem to them best."

Variability of Local Units. — The above represent in a rough way types of local organization. But it must be remembered that each state is evolving its own system and each has its peculiarities. From the above discussion it is apparent that certain large qualities of organization have been established in sections of the nation, so that we can speak of the town system of New England, the strong county and weak district system of the South, the balanced county and district system of the West, and the combination of county, town, and district systems of the Central states.

The school system of Texas in the early days was organized on the so-called "community" plan. Under this system a teacher or other interested party could get on a petition the names of a number of children, who could attend the school, and the names of their parents, and send this to the county authorities, who proceeded to appoint three trustees for the year and make necessary state appropriations. At the end of the year the school dissolved. At one time almost the entire state was under this fluent organization, but now only a few counties retain it, and these secure the teachers with lowest certificates. Local taxes for school purposes are impossible under the community system.

The influence of imitation from state to state, exercised by educators who have moved from one part of the country to another, and by legislators studying various systems with a view to more effective legislation, has been prominent; but equally so has been the influence of local conditions of geography, industry, and educational ideals. The agricultural character of the South and distrust of purely local suffrage has often developed a system of strong county control; the wide areas of the Western states and the irregular distribution of population makes the township impracticable, and contributes to strengthen district management with regard to affairs exclusively local, but also strengthens county and state control and administration in such matters as admit of general action. The process of settling the agricultural Central states developed the district, but the need of more businesslike management and of central schools is tending undoubtedly to

strengthen the township at the expense of the district. On the other hand, the district as conceived in some sections of the sparsely settled South may resemble in extent and population the township of the more thickly settled Central states.

Consolidation. — An important movement in recent years has been in the direction of consolidation. The larger district formed by uniting several small ones differs from the township in that but one school may remain under charge of the Board of Education. In other words, the consolidated district is simply the single school district made large. It always involves the transportation of pupils from remote parts at public expense, either by car or wagon.

In the agricultural areas of the United States and Canada the subject of transportation and consolidation has received much attention in recent years. It has been demonstrated that better school facilities can be provided in a central school at less expense, even with cost of transportation added. The union of several small schools permits the enlargement of classes and the employment of several teachers. Instruction can be effectively graded, and adjuncts, such as manual training, domestic art, and school library, can be developed. The safety and health of children are better secured through transportation to a distance than in the case of the shorter walks to isolated schools. Better teachers can be procured, owing to the relief from isolation. If the larger district is governed by a small board, more progressive and intelligent men can be procured from the larger area. Expert supervision is also facilitated by the centralizing of the small school.

As a movement affecting the thickly settled agricultural areas, consolidation offers a considerable solution of the problem of rural education. But naturally it is practicable only in certain sections of the country. In the mountainous areas of the South and West, where settlements cluster in small valleys, separated by wide unsettled regions, transportation is impracticable, and it will be necessary to make the most of the small school of many grades taught by a single teacher.

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CHAPTER VII

Problems growing out of State and Local Administration of Education

Because the educational administration of the various American states is largely indigenous, it still retains a tentative and experimental character. In almost none do we find general agreement on questions of local and state organization, or on distribution and development of functions. Everywhere are numerous active tendencies, and many questions are felt to be quite unsettled; but these are receiving the attention of a variety of students. In all the states is found an almost constant division of opinion among those representing certain large social or political principles. The inertia of conservatism is resisting progressive or radical tendencies. Advocates of measures apparently productive of immediate efficiency are challenged by those who are unwilling to sacrifice certain traditional principles of American government, like those of local control by popular meeting, popular election of administrative officials, and freedom from detailed prescriptive legislation.

Administrative Problems. — Again, because of the local and popular character of school control, and because of the great difficulty of carrying on experimental work in this field, administrative practice tends to lag far behind the best of educational theory. Students and experts are able to point out the weaknesses of current forms of administration many years before it can be hoped that improvement will be possible. To a very considerable extent, also, progress in educational administration is dependent upon developments in other fields of political and social activity. There are large problems of taxation connected with the support of public schools, but these must wait the solution of general problems of taxation by the state. It makes a great dif-

ference in educational management whether officials shall be appointed or elected; whether they shall hold office for long or short terms; and whether boards shall be large or small. But these questions affect many other departments of administration besides that of schools; and progress in the educational field must wait on far-reaching changes in public opinion with regard to the general principles underlying these special forms of political practice.

Among the problems of active interest in most states in the matter of educational administration are especially these: (*a*) the centralization of administrative functions; (*b*) the determination of the most effective areas of local administration, according to type of education under consideration; (*c*) the most effective distributions of functions between lay and ex-officio administrators, on the one hand, and experts, on the other; (*d*) supervision of instruction in non-urban areas; (*e*) and the development of new agencies of control for new types of educational activity. Problems of finance also enter here, but will be considered in a subsequent chapter.

I. CENTRALIZATION

Centralization in educational and other forms of administration means roughly the removal of authority and responsibility from local and popular sources to those more centralized and remote. In the affairs of education this centralization takes numerous easily recognizable forms. There is first the tendency to fix in state constitutions the details of direction and prohibition, so that these are removed from the control of the legislative bodies. In some states, especially those of the South and West, particular offices are created by the constitution, and in a few cases even term and salary are designated. Special types of schools, organization of state and county machinery of education, and specific designation of uses of funds, — these and similar matters tend to find their way into the constitution, and, as this is usually changed or mended with difficulty, popular control of such matters is made remote and ineffective.

Control through State Legislation. — On a much larger scale is the tendency to have state legislation fix boundaries, sometimes very close, on the action of administrators. Laws determining the maximum and minimum amounts that may be raised by tax levies, the qualifications of officers to be elected or appointed, minimum or other salaries that may be paid to teachers and other members of staffs, details of course of study, the amount of money that may be spent on institutes, the terms for which teachers may be elected, the powers of boards to remove teachers, and many others illustrate this tendency, which is by no means a new one even in American state administration.

Transfer of Powers. — Another phase of the centralizing tendency is found in the transfer from local to county or state bodies of certain administrative powers. The withdrawal from district and township boards of the authority to examine teachers, to select text-books, to provide a course of study, to graduate pupils, to select school supplies, and to determine types of school buildings, illustrate this tendency, since in each case these powers are transferred to official bodies very much less accessible to the people. The use of the literary fund in loans for building purposes has given the state of Virginia some control of the plans for building, and the state superintendent recommends that this control be increased. The same tendency is exhibited in another form in the establishment of larger units of administration. When the township replaces the district in the exercise of all or many functions of administration, and the county grows in authority at the expense of the township, the annual town or district meeting becomes of less and less importance and administrative officials become less immediately responsible to the citizens who have given them office.

Appointment instead of Election. — Centralization of administration is also brought about through the development of appointive instead of elective office. In most states members of state boards are appointed, but state superintendents and county superintendents less frequently so. Boards for special fields of administration in connection with certi-

fication of teacher, selection of text-books, control of teachers' institutes, and government of special types of educational institution are frequently appointed. In some states the County Superintendent has considerable powers of nominating trustees either directly or in case of default of local election. Because of expert training increasingly required in offices like that of County Superintendent of Schools, there is usually a persistent demand that the office should generally be an appointive one, as it already is in several states.

Size of Boards. — Still another centralizing tendency is found to affect the size of boards. In cities the movement to reduce the number of lay officials has been extensive and effective. Within the state boards commissions are designated for special purposes. This is in effect a reduction in the size of the board. The example of Indiana, with one trustee for the township and one director for each school, is an extreme case of centralization.

Decentralization. — It has been noted [1] that up to the time of the Civil War there had been strong decentralizing tendencies in local government. Especially was this so in the direction of increasing the number of elective instead of appointive offices. The basis of the suffrage had also been steadily extended. But the inclusion of the negro vote in the South provoked strong centralizing tendencies there after the Civil War; while in nearly all other states the development of state supervision has had a centralizing effect. At the present time it seems to be true that centralization of educational administration is making considerable progress in all the states, when its various aspects are considered, and that everywhere there are strong forces making for further removal of authority from local communities and popular assemblages.

Reasons for Centralization. — The motives for centralization in educational administration are various, sometimes springing from the needs of immediate localities, sometimes expressing the wider civic sense of the state. In most movements of this kind may be detected an increasing appreciation of the

[1] Fairlie, *Local Government*, p. 46.

general responsibility of the public for the educational efficiency of the state and its members. Parents may not neglect the education of their children, but neither may local groups of people. Hence legislation imposing requirements looking to maintaining schools of a prescribed degree of efficiency; hence minimum salary laws designed to prevent communities from demoralizing the teaching profession by giving it over to incompetents; hence the development of various types of inspection. In the states where large sums of money are given to the support of education by the state, it becomes inevitable that a considerable degree of inspection and control should be exercised by public authorities.

Administrative Efficiency. — Underlying all centralizing measures, however, is the general tendency to seek by this means efficiency of management. Local and popular supervision have proven effective within certain limits, but as the demands of education increase, as the teaching art becomes more complex, and as the scope of educational effort widens, there result numerous demands for effectiveness which cannot, it is believed, be obtained through the old channels of large local responsibility. It is expected that centralized action will result in increased efficiency along these lines: —

a. Unification. — The first is in the direction of unification. State or county uniformity in text-books, in courses of study, in standards of school supplies, and in types of schools prevents large waste. Children moved from district to district under a system of district independence in these matters find schools so unlike that readjustment becomes difficult and wasteful. Teachers who shift from one county to another find it necessary, at considerable expense, to submit to reëxamination. The cost price of supplies and texts must necessarily be greater where retailers are obliged to keep varied kinds with chances against selling all of any one. The central administration of secondary schools, industrial schools, and other types of special educational institution has undoubtedly resulted in preventing duplication of effort and the founding of institutions too small and weak to ever have more than a precarious existence. In other directions the

production of uniformity in and of itself may be shown to be, at least temporarily, effective in the sense of producing greater economy.

b. Expert Service. — The second source of effectiveness in centralized administration is the introduction of expert service and trained leadership. The examination of teachers by district trustees obviously did not involve a careful discrimination as to their educational qualifications. Similarly, examination by a county superintendent, popularly elected, while more effective than the former, still left much to be desired. So there results the gradual tendency to transfer this authority to county or state boards where provision can be made for the introduction of expert service. In the selection of text-books and supplies there is extensive opportunity for the introduction of experience and training. The discrimination of the best in these lines is a matter for the expert, but he can only be made available in large areas. Hence the tendency to transfer the selection to county or, in many states, to state commissions or boards. Again, the framing of a course of study for modern educational conditions would appear to involve a large amount of professional skill, which can best be commanded in the centres of large areas. So we find states providing a detailed course of study for all but city schools. In some we find the course of study for secondary schools prescribed by law or fixed by a state committee or, in effect, by a State University. Another feature of school administration making peculiar demands on expert service is the conduct of institutes. Left to the township or other local division, there can be little guarantee that these will succeed. But centralized under county or, better, state management, it becomes possible to develop a trained staff of officials to conduct them and thus to realize the maximum of efficiency. A considerable degree of centralization in financial administration of schools has come about through the necessity of having state boards assume charge of the investment of public funds derived from the sale of lands, rather than to leave this to relatively inefficient local authorities. In city school administration there

has been a tendency in recent years to transfer to the superintendent of schools, a carefully chosen expert, the important function of selecting and assigning teachers, a recognition of the fact that popularly elected bodies of laymen may not, except within low limits, be able to bring to this matter the necessary experience and knowledge of local conditions. In the erection of school buildings there is an extensive opportunity for the application of scientific principles which can only be made by a man with special training, and it is the hope of those interested in the matter that, through giving county or state authorities a certain amount of jurisdiction, the services of the expert can finally be made indispensable. A similar condition is found with regard to medical inspection of schools and school children; until some central authority is created, it will be impossible to have widespread efficiency along this line.

"It is true that important modifications of local government are now taking place throughout the nation. The concentration of wealth and population in our larger cities, the long-continued depression of agriculture, and the consequent abandonment of farming by large numbers of country-bred youth, are bringing about certain readjustments of functions between state and township administration. It is easy for the state to raise money, increasingly difficult for the rural town. Consequently we see a disposition to throw upon the state governments a part of the burden of maintaining the roads and bridges, of supporting schools, and of caring for the insane and other defective persons. With this transfer of financial responsibility goes, of course, a transfer of administrative regulation. And even in the cities the abuses of popular power have, in some instances, led to a transfer of authority from municipal to state governments; as for example, in cities like Boston, which no longer elect their mayors, or appoint their police commissioners, but accept them at the hand of the Governor of the Commonwealth."[1]

Aggrandizing Tendencies. — Another cause of centralization is found in the desire and tendency of official bodies to enlarge and perpetuate their functions, especially when they are opposed to popular or ex-officio bodies without expert leadership. In this way the power of state inspectors, county superintendents, city superintendents, text-book commissions,

[1] Giddings, *Democracy and Empire*, p. 299.

state institute conductors, state examining boards, and legislatures tend to grow. Laws regulating the performance of duties by local bodies are often called forth by the negligence or incompetence of a few such bodies, but the resulting law is general in its effects The power of county superintendents, and especially of state superintendents, in deciding appeals and controverted questions is also great. When new educational issues are before the people on matters that have not yet crystallized into legislation, the potential authority of a strong personality in an executive position is not small. Sometimes this building up of autocratic powers in expert boards and offices may prove a distinct abuse and social menace; but, on the whole, owing to the responsiveness of the legislature to well-defined public sentiment, it is usually possible to check unfavorable tendencies. The exceptional case is found where vested financial interests are at stake. Here, as may be illustrated in some cases of state text-book systems, the influences that can be brought to bear to check any movement in the legislature against intrenched official bodies may prove too strong for public opinion.[1]

Reasons against Centralization. — The opposition to centralization of administration has, at bottom, likewise several motives. Not only have all centralizing measures had to fight their way during the last half century, but at times distinct steps toward decentralization have been in evidence,

[1] Another form of centralization is found in state management of certain types of education, universities, normal schools, industrial schools, etc. But it is also noteworthy that in states like New York, Minnesota, Wisconsin, North Dakota, and others where state aid is given to secondary schools, conditions are imposed which partake of the nature of partial control. Still more significant is the extension of this form of control in Wisconsin and Minnesota, where state graded schools are found, receiving a grant from the state on condition of maintaining specified standards. In his report for 1906 the State Superintendent of North Dakota proposes that the state should give aid to rural schools, but only to those (*a*) having an eight months' term, (*b*) a certificated teacher of the first class, (*c*) proper equipment of buildings and appliances, and (*d*) a sufficient library. For a graded school the grant should be larger and the conditions more exacting. The possibilities of this form of central control are evidently very extensive where state aid is given.

like the rise of the district, with its powers of independent taxation in certain Southern states, the enlargement of the powers of municipalities, and the discontinuance of state systems of text-books in at least two states (Minnesota and North Carolina). The fundamental motive in opposition to centralizing tendencies is found in the inherited unwillingness of the people to surrender governmental functions which they think they can themselves exercise. Very slowly, indeed, does it become apparent to the average community that in matters like road building, the management of charity and relief, the administration of justice and the carrying on of public education, the district or the town meeting and its elected representatives are not equal to all ordinary demands. And even if a certain lack of competency be admitted, nevertheless there persists a vague feeling that it is somehow of importance to society that this local exercise of functions which are apt to be more economic than political, should be allowed to go on.

The Fear of Bureaucracy is an almost instinctive aversion of the American people, and operates to resist central and official control. Even where there exists recognized competency in the official who is removed from the reach of popular suffrage, nevertheless the fact that he cannot be directly affected by public sentiment is a reason against the existence of such an office. Even where expert qualifications are manifestly demanded, — as, *e.g.*, in those states which prescribe certain professional qualifications for the County Superintendent elected by popular vote, — nevertheless a definite term of office is fixed, and there is no guarantee that the trained official will be returned to his place at the expiration of his term. This traditional fear of the bureaucracy with the disposition to require a man to meet popular approval, and to hold over him the threat of dismissal from office as a penalty for failure to satisfy public demands, constitutes, undoubtedly, one of the strongest influences operating to check the centralizing process.

Results of Centralization. — At the present time it is extremely difficult to pass judgment on the political and social

wisdom of the process of centralization of government as it affects education. This is partly true because of the fundamental fact that, at any given time, a further centralization of administration does, undoubtedly, for a period tend to develop the socially valuable qualities noted above. Any step from a decentralized system of administration to a more centralized one, whether by legislation prescribing details of administrative procedure or promoting unification, or by the transference to appointive and relatively expert officials of functions hitherto exercised by popularly elected and inexpert officials, or by the enlargement of areas of administrative action, must for a time almost inevitably produce good results, since the newer forms of administration are able to use a large capital — of energy and habit — from the preceding. On the other hand, the evils which are commonly associated with the idea of centralized administration are matters of slow growth. Where control is largely removed from the district meeting, interest does not all at once flag, but declines insensibly. Officials appointed to important posts do not immediately develop bureaucratic tendencies, but only slowly do official traditions become such as to interfere with progress. In other words, changes in administration in the direction of concentration act like stimulants; they draw largely on reserves of power already existing, but it may be that in the long run they fail to create power in their turn.

Local Control and Popular Interest. — It is unquestionably true that popular interest in educational administration is, to some extent, associated with the feeling that there is also involved for its effectiveness control of the agencies at work. It may be, for example, that the town or district meeting, with its power to raise or refuse to raise money, to select text-books, to decide on the length of the school year, and its potential power to choose the teaching force has produced a degree of cooperation of parents with the school which will, in the long run, be difficult to realize in any other way. The powers of local teachers to affect the course of study, the purchase of supplies, the selection of text-books, and the graduation of pupils contribute a valuable fund of local interest

which a more centralized performance of these functions might fail to elicit. The difficulty with centralized administration is that it tends to discourage local interest and effort in the same way that certain forms of unwise teaching discourage individual effort on the part of the student. And education in a democratic society is peculiarly in need of a large measure of this friendly appreciation and cooperation. While changing economic conditions make inevitable a considerable removal of local autonomy, it may well be doubted whether an apparent increase in general efficiency should induce the state to permit the sacrifice of popular local interest which centralizing measures of a certain kind may entail.

The experience of the various states would seem to indicate that the following principles might be valid in the process of determining to what extent centralization of functions should take place.

a. Division of Functions. — A careful distinction should be made between experts who are expected to represent special training in the interest of effective administration, and other persons of general intelligence who are supposed to express popular demands and standards. The former are salaried, the latter not salaried, or ex officio. Laws should provide the former with large powers of initiation, recommendation, and action; the latter with large powers of inspection, veto, and suggestion. This division of functions is now found in city school administration in the best cities. The principle is reversed in the states where county and state superintendents are elected, and boards appointed. It is also reversed where township or district boards assume large powers of initiative and administration which should require the expert. Where special commissions or boards are required, as for certification of teachers, selection of text-books, decision as to district boundaries, formulation of courses of study, and the like, the same principle should hold — the commission or board should be empowered to work through expert agents who have large powers of recommendation and publicity, the board or commission retaining powers of veto and approval. The non-salaried board may be popularly elected, or be appointed by

the Governor or some other official who is immediately responsible to the people.

b. Central Control General. — Laws passed by the legislature, and also measures of legal force emanating from central bodies, should be general, should set maximum and minimum standards, but should allow large measures of local adaptation and flexibility. In this way the state preserves the general educational welfare, but allows scope for individual variation. Thus, minimum salary laws are justifiable, but not laws fixing salary schedules in detail. Laws fixing a minimum rate of local taxation are wise, as also those fixing a sufficiently high maximum, but there should be large opportunity for range between. The selection of text-books by state commission may be good policy, but either through the device of lists of several books in each subject from which local boards may select, or through the possibility of having local authority adopt other than the prescribed list on approval from above, there should be opportunity for flexibility. A state or even a city course of study should be in the nature of a minimum, or be stated in general terms; or should, like the text-book list, indicate desirable alternatives, which local schools might adopt. State or county examinations of pupils are desirable only when they can be so framed as to admit of large flexibility. By accrediting schools which have met certain general standards, or by use of a wide range of alternative questions in examinations, something can be done for local adaptation. The accrediting of types of educational institutions whose diplomas shall be recognized by local bodies, and the provision of additional examining bodies, may introduce the sufficient local control into the general matter of the certification of teachers. And, similarly, in other fields where legislation tends to become prescriptive and narrow.

c. Central Approval and Veto. — In the relation of the larger to the smaller unit of administration, as state to county and town, or county with reference to township and district, it would seem desirable to leave to the local unit relatively great administrative control and liberty, subject to large publicity and approval from above. For example, in some South-

ern states district officers select teachers subject to approval of county authorities. The educational budget of a local community, instead of being fixed from above, might well be determined locally, to be approved by higher authorities. In systems where there is no state or county uniformity of text-books, it might be well within the bounds of wise centralization to have local selections subject to veto by higher authorities, as a state commission. In England each school in a city system prepares what is practically its own course of study, subject to certain general conditions imposed from the central authority, but this scheme must be approved by the city committee before it is effective. Similarly, to allow local authorities to provide working plans of buildings, to be effective only when approved by some central expert authority, would allow a suitable division of functions and enough of local independence. It has been pretty well demonstrated in state supervision of charitable and penal work that inspection or supervision by a state body vested with large powers of recommendation and publicity, but with little or no direct control, is, in the long run, the means which best combines the preservation of local independence and interest with the gradual imposition of higher standards. No doubt, in educational administration this will be difficult to bring about, because of the impatience felt regarding the immediate achievement of results. But, in the long run, the supervisory power and indirect educational value of a state system like that of Massachusetts seems to be productive of the highest amount of good. The process is slow, but it seems to succeed in carrying the people with it. It will be at times hard for those keenest for efficiency in administration to realize that American education is essentially democratic and should not be too greatly detached from the people.

2. VARYING CONCEPTIONS OF SUPERVISION

Supervision of Instruction. — It has been said that the problems connected with centralization in education involve also, to a considerable extent, problems of supervision.

Supervision, as the term is now applied, involves many things. We speak of the state supervision exercised by the Superintendent and the State Board of Education; of county supervision by county superintendent and sometimes by county boards; and of local supervision by township or district boards or committees. All of the oversight thus exercised acts in the direction of regularizing school administration and in setting standards of attainment. The State Superintendent's office can supervise the expenditure of money; the County Superintendent can supervise the work of local boards in a general way, and, by visiting schools annually or semiannually, he can determine whether work of a certain standard is being done. But all of the supervision thus far described acts only to a slight extent as supervision of instruction, and should more properly be called inspection. Even where special branches of inspection are developed, as in the case of the Wisconsin inspector of rural schools[1] or in states like Minnesota, where a state inspector of secondary schools exists, it is impossible to say that the actual instruction given in the schools is supervised in any truly educational sense. A somewhat nearer approach is made where systems of final examination have developed. For many years the county boards of education in California have held written examinations for promotion in the upper grades, and for graduation. New York has, by its systems of Regents examinations, for many years exercised a considerable amount of direct supervision over secondary instruction in that state. But supervision of this sort consists mainly in passing judgment on work after it is done, and the main recourse for those having to correct deficiencies is to dismiss teachers who have not reached expectations. Outside of cities it is generally true that the only inspection of instruction available, whether by district committees, county superintendents, or systems of examination is crude, inexpert, often illogical, and generally quite lacking in constructive features.

Municipal Supervision. — Within all municipalities we have at least the machinery of effective supervision of instruction.

[1] The office was created by law of 1905.

Over each group of teachers ranging in number from ten to twenty-five is a principal who, except in small schools, does not have regular charge of a class, and who is at liberty to spend much of his time not only in the general administration of his school, but in the work of detailed and constructive supervision. In practically all cities we find over the principals a superintendent, who coordinates the work for the entire system. In a few cases particular forms of supervision have developed, which represent a certain specialization in that department, as where kindergartens, primary grades, high schools, manual training branches, music, drawing, and other studies have trained and experienced supervisors who supplement the work of the principal in expert supervision.

Rural Supervision. — In a few states there has developed township supervision, which is analogous to city supervision in that it deliberately aims at the close oversight of instruction. In Massachusetts such supervision is now compulsory throughout the state, though for many years it was only permissive. In Connecticut the appointment of superintendents for towns or for combined towns having from twenty-five to fifty teachers is permissive, and, as in the case of Massachusetts, the state bears a large proportion of the expense of employing such superintendents. In New Hampshire and some other New England states the formation of local supervision districts is permissive.

But, generally speaking, non-urban education in the United States is not subject to the kind of expert supervision now under discussion. Even where counties are small, the inspection made by county superintendents or members of county boards is quite inadequate for a number of reasons. In a subsequent chapter on supervision will be found a discussion of the qualities involved in constructive supervision of instruction. Here let it suffice to indicate that in the estimation of all educators the kind of supervision which can be exercised by non-expert members of local boards, good as it is in its sphere, is utterly inadequate to meet modern standards; while the clerical and general administrative duties of county superintendents, as well as their frequent lack of preparation

for this work, make it impossible to expect from this quarter the evolution of expert supervision.

And yet it is probable that the advancement of non-urban education is in its present stage of development more dependent on just this expert supervision of instruction than on any other agency. Education under rural and village conditions is characterized by a shifting body of teachers, frequent changes in control, large classes and many grades, imperfect accommodations, an excessive influence of the home and local public opinion on the work of the teacher, and the development of numerous minor misunderstandings. The better-trained teachers are not available for rural schools, and yet it is in a rural school, even had they the best teachers, that the necessity for sympathetic and constructive supervision and cooperation is most felt. But, while the need is frequently acknowledged, the difficulties in the way of providing this supervision have hitherto, except in a very few states, entirely precluded its development. These are found in the matter of developing a suitable area of supervision, in meeting the necessary expense, and in providing the agencies for the selection of the supervisor of instruction. To these must be added the failure of many states to recognize the need of expert supervision, and the belief that county inspection is adequate.

Area of Supervision. — In the matter of area it is economically desirable that the supervisor should have at least fifteen or twenty teachers under him, while any number beyond thirty or forty is excessive. Again, the area should be such that, except in very sparsely populated regions, no school should be beyond a day's journey from the centre of the supervision district. The county division is almost always too large, the district, consolidated district, and even township frequently too small. Since, from the standpoint of administration by lay boards, it is undesirable to have districts too large, it is probable that the safest expedient is to be found in the practice, before alluded to, found in certain New England states, of having unions of townships for purposes of supervision and of compelling each town to enter into some supervision union.

Support of Supervision. — Again, in the matter of expense, while such supervision is from any standpoint of educational theory a legitimate charge upon the communities involved, there are good reasons for believing that the expedients found in Massachusetts and Connecticut of having the state bear a large share of the salary of the expert supervisor will prove in the long run advantageous. The supervision thus exercised may be looked upon as an extension of the work of the state and in a sense its benefits flow out to the state at large even more than does the work of the individual teacher.

The Selection of the Supervisor offers the same difficulties as does the matter of determining areas of supervision. Evidently more than one local board must be taken into account. Various schemes have been proposed to meet this need. It has been suggested that the supervisors should be deputies of the County Superintendent, appointed by him. The undesirability of this in all cases where the county superintendency is an elective office should be apparent. On the other hand, election by committees of local boards is open to some objection, although in all cities, even where the nomination of teachers has been surrendered by the boards of education, the latter is still responsible for the election of the City Superintendent. It is entirely probable that a scheme could be worked out, whereby the County Superintendent might nominate to a committee of local boards one or more suitable persons, the committee retaining the right to reject nominations for suitable reasons.[1] As before indicated, some such method would most effectively meet the demands for expertness, on the one hand, and responsiveness to local sentiment, on the other.

It can hardly be doubted that the problem of expert supervision for non-urban schools is to-day the central one in which rural education is concerned. Consolidation in coun-

[1] Undoubtedly this involves the idea of certification for these experts, as is now the case in Connecticut. Practical experience, a considerable academic education, and a specified amount of professional training are all indispensable. See Cubberley, "The Certification of Teachers," Fifth Year Book of the National Society for the Scientific Study of Education, pp. 84–86.

try districts will make it possible to have several teachers in one school; but this, even one where one is designated as head or principal, does not mean expert supervision. Not until each county can present a body of trained men and women, devoted to local supervision in the best sense of that word, will it be possible for considerable advance to be made in the matter of systems of grading, courses of study, special studies for rural districts, the increase of salaries for teachers, and the development of a teaching profession for country schools.[1]

3. THE AREA OF LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

The problem of the most suitable area for local administration is complicated by the modern demand for different types of education and for supervision. An area most effective for elementary education would probably not be conterminous with a suitable district for secondary institutions, while the industrial and agricultural schools, which are more and more being demanded, even in rural sections, will require special areas of their own. Formerly, when the establishment of high schools was left to the will of the locality, there were always large areas of the state that were outside of any high school district; but in recent times the tendency is to compel all areas to come within the limits of some high school district. Similarly, it is conceivable that as special

[1] The law of Ohio (1906) makes expert supervision mandatory in cities, and permits it in districts, but the State Superintendent thinks townships should be obliged to provide it, as many as four townships coming together for this. The supervisor would then have as many teachers under his direction as in our smaller cities. "He would be the executive officer of the boards of education, advising them as to a course of study that would be in harmony with the laws of the state, and best suited to the needs of the district. He would see that the course adopted was carried out in the schools. Teachers' meetings under his leadership should be held in each district, with perhaps an occasional joint meeting. His counsel and experience would be invaluable to the young and inexperienced teacher. The right man in such a position would be very helpful to boards of education and an inspiration to teachers and pupils. He would be able to create a favorable public sentiment, and to exert an influence in the community that would serve to bring into much closer and happier relations the home and the school. This form of supervision should be made mandatory." — State Report, 1906.

industrial and agricultural schools are founded, ultimately all parts of the state will be found within their districts.[1] In the preceding section it was shown that in at least one state (Massachusetts) every township is now obliged to be a member of a supervision district.

Present Tendencies. — The history of the district system in the United States shows that in certain stages of the development of settlements this type of unit is the necessary form of school organization. In cities and in thickly settled rural communities, the district tends to give way to a larger area, as the town, incorporated city, or consolidated district. Probably where township government is strongly intrenched, the town will grow in importance as the area of local administration, just as the single unit of city administration has tended to replace the district or ward system. But in the South and West where the county unit is strong and the township or precinct weak, there is no evidence that the district will diminish in importance, except that in populous areas where transportation is feasible, the consolidated district, which will not be unlike the government township in area, will replace the isolated one. But in any case it must be observed that the district of the sparsely settled South and West is relatively large, commonly exceeding twenty square miles. This, of course, is for elementary education The establishment of secondary schools demands the combination of districts, as it may involve the combination of townships and even the transportation of pupils. For the management of these schools, so far as lay boards are concerned, the most effective means will undoubtedly be found in the composition

[1] The State Superintendent of Virginia in his 1907 report recommends "that the Assembly add to the present act a feature permitting the State Board of Education, under proper restrictions, to establish in not exceeding six of the public high schools, agricultural education, manual training, and domestic economy. These subjects should be introduced in only a few schools at the start, in order that the work may be carefully supervised and nurtured When they have once taken root in our educational soil, and have demonstrated their great possibilities for usefulness, it will need no argument to convince the people of the state of the benefits to accrue from a rapid introduction of these schools in every county in the state."

of boards from existing district boards, since special elections for the larger districts can hardly prove practicable. In many states the centralization of functions already accomplished is sufficient to prevent the utter neglect and inefficiency which characterized the old-time districts. The district system has found its deepest degradation in those states where the locality must assume almost entire responsibility for school support. Where the state has imposed by law a minimum contribution to be made by the locality, or itself contributes extensively to the support of school, the inefficient district is not found; while the removal of the right of certification from local boards, and the development of county and state inspection, has prevented many evils which might otherwise attach themselves to local self-government. It seems probable that local administration of elementary education, in non-urban areas, will perpetuate that form of district which will enable the various members of the community to know each other and the school officials whom they elect to represent them. The school meeting may be, as some authorities assert, a vanishing form of control, but the annual election at which large questions of sites of schools, rate of local taxation, bond issue, etc., are passed upon and officials elected to carry out the will of the people, will undoubtedly resist centralizing tendencies. The peculiar character of city populations, of course, makes impracticable so great a development of democratic control there, and it must be pointed out that many authorities believe that, in the long run, the system of the county unit of school government, which resembles city control in its detachment from immediate popular government, represents the system which will give a maximum of educational efficiency.

4. DIVISION OF FUNCTIONS BETWEEN LAY AND EXPERT OFFICIALS

It has already been noted that the progress of centralization has tended to increase the powers of experts not only in educational but in all other fields of public administration

It has been shown that American education does not yet, to any sufficient degree, devolve powers and responsibilities on experts. There exists a certain permanent opposition between direction and control of activity, on the one hand, by specialists, salaried and permanent in office, and, on the other, by boards and officials elected by popular vote and representing the average of public wisdom and the prevailing fashion in public sentiment. And yet it cannot be doubted that, under a democracy, both forms of control are necessary. There enter into educational administration questions of public policy and expressions of public demand which can only be conveyed and expressed by the layman, acting in representative capacity. On the other hand, there appear constantly problems of direction and management for which the layman is quite unsuited, and for which, in the long run, only the expert trained for this particular business can prove effective.

Practical Examples. — It is very evident that in educational administration in the various American states the utmost confusion prevails at this point. There is no logical scheme of administration which provides at the proper point for division between lay and expert direction. In some of our best-governed cities is found the nearest approach to correct principles. These place in the hands of special experts, either individuals or commissions, such matters as examination of teachers, choice of plans for buildings, formulation of courses of study, selection of text-books, grading and graduation of pupils, after-training of teachers, supervision of instruction; while bodies representing the electorate select experts, hold the power of veto or approval over their action, approve of budgets or modify the same, fix salary schedules, and in general express popular approval or disapproval of courses of administration. The same division of functions is evident in Massachusetts where the Board of Education, appointed by the Governor, its membership changing gradually, is intended to represent public policy in general in regard to educational matters, but the execution of this policy in its details demanding expert control is left to the secretary and agents of the Board who hold office for indefinite terms and have every

incentive to become experts in their special fields. A popularly elected county board which appoints the Superintendent of Schools and gives him large powers of recommendation and initiative conforms to this scheme. The elected or more often appointed board governing the university or other large institution, which delegates large powers of initiative and management to the executive officer or president, but reserves final jurisdiction, also exhibits the same idea; and when to this form of organization we add the inspection by a non-salaried state board with powers of publicity and recommendation, but none of direct authority, we seem to have a scheme which, in the long run (and this is a most important point in all schemes of democratic control), ought to give the most effective combination of expert service and popular control.

The Basis of Differentiation of administrative functions should be into those, on the one hand, that require expert qualification and special training and those, on the other hand, that mainly indicate large matters of public policy, of public approval or disapproval. For the latter the appointed or elected board is desirable, provided the appointment come from some source which is directly responsible to the public; for the former, appointment for a long or indefinite term, by the board, and, if possible, on formal recommendation of higher executive officers. This formal recommendation, even if not called for by law, is imposed by custom upon all boards which are truly interested in procuring efficient administration. The observance of this principle involves the gradual withdrawal from popularly elected or appointed bodies of powers of initiation in details, but the development of powers and responsibilities of final control and approval. It involves the idea of constantly selecting experts for the performance of administrative functions, for initiating appointments, and for making recommendations as to further action. Medical inspection of schools and the preservation of the health of school children, construction and equipment of schoolhouses, appointment of teachers, development of new types of education, preparation of effective statistical presentations, outlining of courses of study, selection of text-books, the ranking of teachers,

the development of means of training teachers, — all these and scores of other functions represent fields wherein the expert is indispensable, but where the expert himself needs the support that comes from a lay board which first gives him appointment, procures him the means of work, and finally stands in a judicial capacity to determine, for the public, whether his efforts fulfil expectations. The application of this principle does not necessarily mean centralization, or the development of irresponsible bureaucracies. But it certainly does mean increase of efficiency, and it is, indeed, the only certain source of such efficiency. Its full application in American education would involve many changes in present schemes of administration.[1]

[1] **English Local Administration.** — In the elaborate scheme of local administration provided by the bill of 1902 in England, a detailed plan of combining expert and lay functions in educational authorities was evolved. Prior to the introduction of this bill, educational administration had been in the hands of local boards, popularly elected, usually for larger areas than in the United States. In some cities these boards were excellent, but in rural districts, especially, their performance left much to be desired. The bill of 1902 abolished locally elected boards and gave educational management into the hands of the City or County Council, which is a large, popularly elected body for the purposes of local legislation and administration, corresponding to our boards of supervisors or city councils. But the council acts as an educational authority directly only in the matter of finance. For other purposes of school administration it is obliged under the law to elect an education committee which must be composed partly of its own members, partly of leading representatives of educational interests in the area, and partly of educators. The scheme for the selection of these "coöpted" members has to have the approval of the English authority on education (the National Board of Education) before it can become effective. In this way every English education committee is composed partly of members of the council, popularly elected and especially identified with the financial aspects of local administration, and partly of the leading representatives of local educational interests. These committees, sometimes one for various types of education, more commonly subdivided for the different kinds of administration, have agents, clerks, or other executive officers who in some measure, though inadequately, correspond to the American city and county superintendent. The system is intricate, and, with the development of a recognized type of executive officer, might become very effective. Its complexity is due to some extent to the numerous types of combination necessary between public and private or semi-private education.

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CHAPTER VIII

City School Systems

Evolution and Growth of Cities. — The city has been a prominent fact in the organization of human society. In ancient, mediæval, and modern times large aggregations of people have dwelt together, and the social life of the people in a large and often congested community has been somewhat different from that of those scattered throughout the open country. In America we are rapidly coming to be a nation of cities. The century during which we have attained our growth as a nation has been especially favorable for the growth of urban communities. Labor-saving machinery has produced the factory, and the factory has often been proved to be the germ of a growing city. Never before in the world's history has immigration affected so distinctly the life of a people. As many of our immigrants have come from the cities of Europe, they have naturally sought homes in towns and cities of the New World where they could best follow the crafts and trades to which they had been accustomed. Adding to these factors of industry and immigration that of easy transportation, we have the chief causes of our urban development.

What our cities shall be, how they shall be governed, to what degree they shall be independent and to what extent under the paternal care of the state, how far the municipality shall go in caring for the needs of the people, physical, intellectual, and social, are questions of practical importance considered from a broad educational point of view. As our cities have come to include nearly one-half of the entire population, and as they constitute great centres of influence in respect of wealth, culture, and politics, it is evident that the problem of public education in our cities must become more

and more vital to the welfare of the nation. The extent of the problem is best indicated by the following figures taken from the report of the Commissioner of Education for 1906.

Numerical Growth of City System. — The number of school systems in cities of over 8000 people was given at the time of this report as 661, an increase of 67 over the previous year. The whole number of teachers employed is 106,000; the number of school buildings is 10,672, an increase in one year of 493.

Or, taking cities and villages of 4000 inhabitants and over, the number of school systems is 1325; the whole number of teachers in public day schools in these urban communities is 130,774. The enrolment of pupils in the schools is 5,441,213, which is 32 per cent of all pupils enrolled in public day schools in the country.

Whether we take cities of the first class, 661 in number, or the number of urban communities of over 4000, numbering 1325, we have a problem vast in its scope and import. The fact that the number of these cities is increasing nearly 100 each year is significant, and suggests that future generations will see marvellous things in municipal development.

Tardiness of Municipal Reform. — Dr. Albert Shaw begins his scholarly work on *Municipal Government in Continental Europe* by declaring that the distinctively modern city had its birth in the French Revolution, and that Paris has ever since then stood as its preëminent type. While recognizing that other great European cities have shown distinctive features in their organization and government, he holds that they have all been strongly influenced by the illustrations which Paris has given of the most thoroughgoing and complex organization. It is only within recent years that Americans have thought it necessary to study carefully the science of municipal government. And so the splendid examples which were to be seen and studied in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and Budapest have been in a measure lost to us. Whether in the administration of public education, in the control of valuable franchises, in the organization of public service in the interest of health and

convenience, or in making provision for the higher education and culture of the community, we have pursued until recent years a haphazard course. That most fundamental of all principles in civil government, honesty and security in the civil service, has only just been adopted as a principle of city administration. Selfishness and corruption have been so current in many of our cities that good citizens have turned away in disgust and have withheld their active interest. Wherever school systems have been under the immediate control of the city government, their progress has often been retarded, the schools have been regarded with suspicion if not with contempt by many people, and the establishment of high professional standards has been well-nigh impossible.

Relation of the City to the State. — The situation as regards city school administration to-day is certainly interesting, not to say promising. The relations of the state to the city and of the city to the state are gradually becoming defined, and it will not be long before certain fundamental principles will be recognized in all legislation affecting city affairs. On the one hand, we have the idea, which is present in a greater or less degree in this country as well as in Europe, that the city is an extension of the state government; that the larger cities, particularly, constitute so much a part of the energy and life of the state that their affairs should be dominated by the legislature. As Paris is essentially France, as Berlin is expressive of the governmental power of Prussia, so New York City carries in its throbbing life the destinies and welfare of the state; and in the same way Boston is typical of all that is best and most influential in the commonwealth. However much we may believe in home rule for cities, and however necessary it may be that American cities, as they have done in Europe, should have the opportunity of providing for the needs of their people without being thwarted and hampered by the central government, no one can deny that under existing conditions the very salvation of our cities depends upon the ability of legislatures to enact such provisions as

will safeguard the rights of citizens, take the government from ignorant and irresponsible politicians, and place it in the hands of honest and competent experts.

Recent Charter Provisions. — We have most impressive evidence of the validity of this principle in the results of recent charter provisions for cities as affecting the administration of public schools. Let any one compare the conditions as they existed a few years ago in New York, Rochester, and Boston with what can be seen in these cities to-day, and he will find most convincing evidence of the virtue of legislative action. It is exceedingly hard for a city to reform itself from within, especially in the field of public education. When corruption has once fixed its deathly grasp upon the official power, and its benumbing influence has extended to every part of the system and perhaps throughout the community, nothing short of a miracle can cause its overthrow.

The question open for discussion, then, is not whether the state shall have a large control of city affairs, but rather, what the nature of that control shall be To what extent shall cities be exempted from laws controlling the schools of rural communities? We reserve to a later discussion the question of taxation and distribution of revenue for school purposes, but it will always be a question whether states in undertaking to contribute more for the support of schools should exercise a more paternal influence over city systems.

Tendencies toward Centralization in City Government. — No doubt the examples of good city governments to be seen on the continent of Europe have had considerable influence in this country, at least indirectly, in recent years. Not only have students of this subject as well as statesmen aspired to bring about a more businesslike and economical administration of municipal affairs, but the feeling has grown that a larger degree of home rule is necessary in order to insure a higher type of administration. A commission appointed in New York as early as 1876 to devise a plan for the government of cities found that the introduction of state and national politics into city affairs was one obstacle to be overcome and

another was the assumption by the legislature of so large a degree of direct control. The remedies proposed, all of which tended to restrict legislative action, and to extend to the cities a larger degree of local action, failed in securing the desired legislation. Evidently the lawmakers of the state were not then ready for extensive reforms.[1] Mr. Bryce, in this connection, calls attention to certain reforms which were canvassed during the subsequent period. They were briefly: (*a*) civil service reform; (*b*) lengthening the terms of service of the Mayor and heads of departments; (*c*) granting of larger powers to the Mayor; (*d*) the election of the city legislature at large instead of by wards; (*e*) the limitation of taxing and borrowing powers by reference to the assessed value of taxable property. It is interesting to note that all these suggested improvements noted by Mr. Bryce as being in the air at the time he wrote his invaluable work, have been prominent features in the municipal reforms which have actually been worked out. More than this, the administration of many city school systems has profited both directly and indirectly by the practical effect of these principles.

An Example of Good Government. — It is not too much to say that municipal reform in this country received its greatest encouragement from the success of the first Mayor[2] who occupied that position in Brooklyn under a charter which went into effect on the first day of January, 1882. Never before in this country had a city government been administered as a business corporation. Never before had there been such definite placing of responsibility with absolute requirement of honest and efficient service. This administration was immensely popular with the people because every complaint received prompt attention and, as far as possible, the complainant was satisfied. So high-minded and efficient was the policy pursued that the Mayor had the hearty support of the Common Council which was politically opposed to him. Political influence was eradicated from the entire

[1] Bryce, *American Commonwealth*, p. 609.

[2] "An American View of Municipal Government," by Hon. Seth Low in Bryce, *American Commonwealth*, Chap. 52.

municipal service. So highly respected throughout the commonwealth was this administration that although many attempts at interference were made, at Albany, "no law objected to by the Mayor during this interval was placed upon the statute books."

Centralization of Power. — The tendency[1] to centralize authority in the Mayor and the heads of departments in the city government so successfully inaugurated here became, in the years following, a rallying-cry wherever new city charters were desired. In 1884 New York City adopted the same idea. From that time until 1897 charters giving practically the absolute power of appointment were granted to Buffalo, Cleveland, Boston, Lowell, Holyoke, Rochester, Syracuse, Albany, and Troy.

Next came the power of the Mayor to remove heads of departments, though this idea became operative in fewer cities than did the power of appointment. The veto power of the Mayor has also become well established.

Another step in centralization and in efficiency is seen in the small Board of Estimate in which the Mayor and Comptroller are leading members. More than a dozen cities have adopted this method of controlling the budget. The importance of the legislative branch of the city government has necessarily diminished, and the single chamber idea is in the ascendency.

In the discussion of the state as related to public education we have pointed out that while large freedom should be given to city school systems in the practical working out of every problem, it is well that the state should hold a supervisory relation to the city, thus securing throughout the commonwealth a good degree of uniformity and efficiency. This idea of the value of state oversight of such departments as health, charity, and education is likely to become a cardinal principle in all attempts to define the relations of the state and the city.

Enough has been said to show the trend of municipal government in recent years, and we can see in this whole movement the index finger of progress pointing to a more

[1] Fairlie, *Municipal Administration*, Chap. 5.

definite placing of responsibility upon small groups of persons or upon individuals who can be held responsible for the honest and efficient performance of their duties.

Special Functions of the Municipality in respect to Education. — While many states are inclined to take a more active participation in the supervision of all educational institutions within their limits, care has usually been taken not to restrict or curtail the activity of city systems in the differentiation and the development of the various branches of their work. This has hitherto been true, not only in states like Massachusetts, where there is the largest possible degree of local control in educational matters, but also in New York, which has the most highly centralized and the highest degree of state control to be found in any commonwealth. It is difficult to predict what may happen a good many years hence, because we are far from having reached a static condition, and many things are possible. It is safe to predict, however, that the city in educational affairs is to have an autonomy distinct from the state, and will be permitted to organize and support its schools with little dictation from outside. Even should states prescribe courses of study, they will be regarded as a minimum requirement, and cities can expand and broaden their curriculum to suit their own needs. Any other course than this would be restrictive and subversive of the best results.

The Control by the City. — At the present time nearly half of the more important cities regard their school systems as a part of the city government. In this list will be found Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, Newark, New York, Chicago, Providence, Worcester, Springfield (Mass.), and others. In all such cities the school budget showing what funds are desired for the several departments of the school system is prepared by the Board of Education and submitted to the Common Council, or the Board of Estimate, which has the power to summon representatives of the Board for more detailed information and to modify or reduce estimates, if this is found to be expedient. While this plan of organization has often been in disfavor because of the political nature of

many city governments, and the difficulty of securing just treatment of educational needs, the best authorities are inclined to feel that, under right conditions, it works better than any other. The city in all its fiscal affairs should act as a unit. The board having in hand the matter of apportioning funds should consider all the items in the budget, not only in relation to each other, but in full view of the assessed valuation of property and the amount of tax which may justly and properly be assessed for all purposes. It certainly would be vicious to have different boards within the same city competing for the revenues derived from taxation.

School Boards Independent. — It is undoubtedly true that during the period when municipalities have been finding themselves and working out more thoroughgoing and efficient methods of doing business, cities like Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Toledo, Omaha, Utica, Duluth, Youngstown, and many others have been able to act more independently and often more successfully than would have been the case under the plan of city domination. Boards of education in some, at least, of these cities have been not only most reputable, but competent and public-spirited As city government improves, the tendency will undoubtedly be to centralize authority and to bring every department under the same power. Whether boards of education will eventually make place for the single commissioner, or whether it will be found expedient and desirable to have the Superintendent of Schools possess full powers and be directly responsible to the Mayor, as in the case of the Commissioner of Streets or of Police, it is too early to predict. Certain it is that power and responsibility must go together wherever they are placed. And the city government must eventually take the form of a business corporation, conducting all its affairs with the utmost directness, economy, and skill.

Special Charter Provisions. — The most important event in the recent history of school administration has been a radical change accomplished in certain cities through special charter provisions and legislative acts, which at one stroke have secured the most far-reaching reforms. New York and New

Haven are instances of reform through new charters, while Rochester and Boston have achieved equally important reforms by amendments to existing statutes.

The Revised Charter for New York. — The revised charter of 1901 for the city of New York was the result of much study and considerable experience in connection with the provisions of the charter of 1898. It provides for a central board of forty-six members appointed by the Mayor: twenty-two for the Borough of Manhattan, fourteen for the Borough of Brooklyn, four for the Borough of the Bronx, four for the Borough of Queens, and two for the Borough of Richmond.

The Board of Education is required to divide the city into forty-six local school-board districts. It is provided that a local school board, consisting of seven members, shall be appointed, five by the president of the board, a member of the Board of Education appointed by the president of that board, and the district superintendent. These local boards do not appoint teachers, but have the power to transfer them, subject to the approval of the Board of Superintendents. They inspect and report upon schools, recommend additional accommodations when needed, report any failure of duty to the Board of Education, consider and determine questions relating to discipline, corporal punishment, etc., try charges against teachers, supervise janitors, report vacancies in the teaching staff, and see that laws relating to the sanitary condition of schools are enforced. They also have minor duties, such as reporting the absences of teachers, etc.

From the central board an executive committee of fifteen is appointed, in which each borough is represented. The city superintendent has large powers. He, with eight associate city superintendents, constitutes a Board of Superintendents. This board has practical control of all educational matters, such as the making of rules and regulations, promotion of pupils, recommending text-books, course of study, and nominating persons to fill all vacancies in the teaching force. Provision is also made for twenty-six district superintendents, who supervise schools in their own districts under the direction of the Board of Superintendents.

The board of four examiners, appointed for six years, examines all teachers, and appointments are made from an eligible list. A supervisor of lectures is appointed for a term of six years. All funds are dispersed through the department of finance. A teachers' retirement fund is established for the entire city, the benefits of which accrue to all teachers, superintendents, and members of the Board of Commissioners.

The compulsory law is administered by the city Superintendent of Schools, who is empowered to nominate attendance officers. Important amendments to this law were made to the effect that —

> No child between fourteen and sixteen years of age should be employed who did not obtain from the Board of Health an employment certificate based upon an actual school attendance of 130 days after his thirteenth birthday. It was further provided that all boys between fourteen and sixteen who had not completed the course of study for the evening schools should attend evening schools four evenings each week for a period of sixteen weeks in each year.[1]

Working under this charter provision, the Board of Education has provided for a superintendent of libraries, general director of physical culture, and supervisor of janitors.

Result of Reform. — No one who has watched, even in a superficial manner, the progress of events in New York City schools during these years of modification and reform can but be highly gratified at the large results which have been accomplished. It is true that new adaptations of means to end on so large a scale have occasioned some friction, and many who formerly wielded influence in various ways have ever been ready to criticise the slightest evidence of fault in the new system, or of error on the part of those who have administered it. But all candid persons will agree that in this metropolis of the United States a tremendous change has been wrought, full of benefits to every home in the city and to every child seeking an education. Considered on the material side, the system has provided, with almost miraculous rapidity, many schoolhouses impressive in their architecture and well adapted within to the purposes for which

[1] Palmer, *The New York Public School*, p. 312.

they are intended. A great system of high schools has been developed, highly differentiated and thoroughly modern. The needs of the delinquent and defective classes of children have not been overlooked. Schoolhouses have been opened as social centres, vacation schools, playgrounds, and various forms of athletic training have been provided. The great public lecture system is a significant feature of an educational scheme which considers the intellectual and ethical requirements not only of the children, but of the entire community.

Value of Centralization. — It should be observed that the crux of the whole thing is in the centralization of power in the hands of competent men, as, for example, the superintendent of buildings, supervisor of free lectures, and more especially in the superintendent of instruction. The tonic which is imparted to every part of the work and to every worker by these and other efficient heads of departments is like the life-blood in a living organism.

It should be noted that the Mayor has usually appointed good men to the Board of Education, and they, in turn, have appointed a competent board of superintendents. And so the system has prospered and has become, because of its scope and comprehensiveness, an object lesson to the country.

Changes Recommended. — The charter revision committee of 1907 recommends that the Board of Education be reduced in number from forty-six to fifteen, and that all mandatory provisions in the charter of 1891 relating to salaries, appropriations for, and expenses of, the Board of Education, be repealed. This is in line with certain other leanings of the committee in favor of a larger degree of home rule. The suggestion of a reduction in number of the members of the board is worthy of notice as indicating the tendency wherever reform measures are undertaken in earnest.

The problem of local boards which shall serve to give the people a close relationship to the schools has not been fully solved. To clothe such boards with any considerable authority would make the system unwieldy. Boards of visitors having only advisory power are less likely to cause friction.

Changes in New Haven. — Another instance of important

reforms accomplished through new city charters is seen in the city of New Haven, Connecticut. Prior to 1899, the town of New Haven, the New Haven city school district, and the city had all preserved their separate organizations and had their separate functions. The New Haven city school district was independent of both the town and city as regarded its financial action. In open town meeting it could decide what tax should be imposed for the support of schools, could vote money for the erection of new buildings for which it could issue bonds to an unlimited extent. The Board of Education was composed of nine members, and by common consent it had been for many years practically non-partisan. The members were elected at large, but the board had not been free from the pernicious influence of certain undesirable members, who by their tendency to political intrigue did not command the confidence of the community. In the main, however, it should be said that the board as a whole had maintained an honorable record and the schools had been conducted honestly. It is one of those instances where, with a system which was far from ideal, a good standard of honesty and efficiency was maintained. By the charter of 1889 the boundaries of the town became those of the city, and the corporate existence of the New Haven city school district came to an end.

Under the new charter, the Board of Education consists of seven members appointed by the Mayor. The Superintendent who, after one year, can be appointed for five years, is not removable except by vote of five members. He is given power to appoint all principals and teachers, to reassign or dismiss them, and report the same at the next meeting of the board. The Superintendent, also, with the approval of the Board of Education, prescribes courses of study, but the textbooks are designated by the board.

The Board of Education submits to the Board of Finance a detailed estimate of its expenses for each year, and the Board of Finance appropriates such amounts as it may deem necessary both for general and special purposes, and levies a sufficient tax to meet these appropriations. The Board of

Education is required to make annually to the Mayor a full report of its financial proceedings.

Reform in Rochester. — Equally significant changes in school administration have been effected by state laws. There is no better example of a complete, carefully considered, and thoroughgoing statute provision than that for the government of the schools of Rochester, New York, as amended in 1901.

The Board of Education is composed of five commissioners elected at large. They each receive a compensation of $1200 per annum. Any member may be removed by the Mayor for cause.

This board controls and manages the public school system and all its property, subject only to the general statutes of the state. This includes the important duty of purchasing sites, and constructing and caring for schoolhouses.

The board appoints a superintendent of public schools whose term of office shall be four years, a secretary who shall serve during the pleasure of the board, a supervising architect, and all other officers, principals and teachers, and fixes their salaries.

Here, also, the Board of Education is subject to the Court of Common Council in respect to all estimates, expenses, receipts, and disbursements.

Appropriations. — The Court of Common Council is required to appropriate for the Department of Education a sum equal to $25 per capita, based on the total number enrolled as pupils in the public schools, in case the estimates submitted do not exceed that amount. In case the estimates are in excess of that amount, the Common Council may, in its discretion, raise by tax the amount required.

The amount raised for school purposes constitutes five distinct funds; namely, the teachers' fund, the contingent fund, the building fund, the repair fund, and the library fund. If any of these funds prove to be inadequate to meet the expenses of the year, the Common Council has the power to borrow and apportion such moneys to the several funds as may be necessary.

The Superintendent is given large powers in respect to supervision and management, recommending for appointment, assignment, and transfer of principals, teachers, and pupils, and the enforcement of the compulsory education law. The new law provides for a board of examiners consisting of the Superintendent and two persons appointed by the Superintendent, who are paid for services actually rendered. This board of examiners prepares an eligible list, which is reported to the Board of Education, and is open to public inspection. The Superintendent nominates principals, but the teachers in each school are nominated by the Superintendent and principal jointly.

This law for Rochester differs from the charter provision for New Haven, in that the Superintendent does not formally appoint teachers, and the board is elected at large instead of being appointed by the Mayor.

The Boston Situation. — A still more recent and even more striking instance of radical reform is seen in the city of Boston. Previous to 1875 this city had a board of 116 members. In that year by an act of the legislature the school committee was reorganized and consisted of twenty-four persons. Subsequent to that date various acts were passed enlarging the powers of the board, but there was also enough of political influence in its membership to vitiate the integrity of its action and to bring the school system into disrepute. After many efforts to secure from the legislature relief from this condition of things, an act was passed in 1905, the effects of which have been most marked and salutary. Under this act the School Committee consists of five members elected at large to serve without compensation. By an act passed in 1906 the School Committee elects a superintendent of schools to hold office for four years, and six assistant superintendents. These constitute a board to be known as the Board of Superintendents and to have all the powers which had previously been conferred upon the Board of Supervisors. The great success which has thus far attended the work of the School Committee and the Board of Superintendents under the new law is due largely to the personality

and force of the chairman, who was the author of the new law, and who has done much to make it effective. The board thus far has been ideal in its composition, and has justly earned the confidence of the people. Their good judgment in giving the Board of Superintendents a large field for executive action is one of the strong features of the reform movement. It may justly be said of Boston that its schools for many years have been better in standard and in tone than the caliber and conduct of the School Committee would have led one to expect. Under the present régime it is to be hoped that the city which has always been one of the chief seats of culture may resume the position of leadership in public education which she possessed in earlier years.

St. Louis. — Were it necessary to multiply examples of reformed school administration, it would be only necessary to refer to those states which have recently passed general laws regulating the form of administration for cities of various size. Of this kind of legislation, St. Louis is a good illustration. Here we find a board of twelve members whose chief executive officers are the Superintendent of Instruction and the Commissioner of School Buildings. We also find a clear division of legislative and executive functions, so that the system works smoothly and effectively. The administration of the system has been marked by businesslike ability and educational acumen.

Cleveland. — The city of Cleveland has the distinction of having conducted schools for several years under the most radical legislative act ever passed in this country, namely, that of 1892. Its provisions, while unusual, were characterized as ideal, and in their operation proved to be so for several years. A school council of seven members elected at large was given legislative powers respecting school property and the control of the budget. A school director elected by the people received a salary of $5000 per annum, and gave bonds in $25,000 for the faithful performance of his duties. The school director appointed the Superintendent who was responsible to him and who was required to report to him annually upon all matters under his supervision. The Sup-

erintendent was given sole power to appoint and discharge all principals and teachers. When it came to pass that a school director was elected who was wanting in those high qualities necessary for a position of such power and responsibility, the system received its death-blow. A general law passed in 1904 affecting all the cities of the state changed the School Council of Cleveland into a Board of Education of seven members. The school director became simply a business-manager, and he as well as the Superintendent of Instruction became responsible to the Board of Education. Other cities which have accomplished changes resulting in a smaller Board of Education and more centralized management are Baltimore, San Francisco, Washington, D.C., Indianapolis, Toledo, and Los Angeles.

The Effect of Honest Administration. — How beneficent the change from a political and unbusinesslike administration of schools to the simple, direct, and straightforward performance of functions which is made possible under these newer charter provisions, and laws can be better understood as we discuss in the following chapter the subject of school boards and the relation they bear to the educational aims of school administration. In short, all these ideal features of educational accomplishment which it is the purpose of this volume to emphasize are dependent upon such an organization of the school system as insures honesty, economy, and freedom of action.

The ends sought by these new charters and laws are such as the banker, the manufacturer, or the merchant aims for in the conduct of his business. The same reasons which make one business enterprise successful and make its promoter the object of admiration, not to say envy, apply in the management of a school system. If the organization is simple and flexible, and every officer can perform his duties with no other purpose in mind than to be honest and efficient, a school system at once rises in the respect and confidence of the community, and there is increased opportunity for the growth of self-respecting professional ability.

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CHAPTER IX

The Administration of the City School System

Board of Education: Number of Members. — A study of the history of school committees and boards of education reveals all the vagaries of politics which have beset our growing American communities. As union and city districts have often been formed by consolidation or by the addition of suburban areas, and because every district or ward desires representation, boards of education have frequently grown so large and unwieldy as to preclude the possibility of directness and despatch in the transaction of business. Philadelphia with its board of 500, and Pittsburg with its 234, have in their achievements yielded striking examples of what ought not to happen.[1] It were just as well to follow the example of one of the New England towns which is said to have 200 trustees, one for every teacher employed. The evils and disadvantages of large boards have been seen in nearly all our large cities. They have often presented the appearance of a legislature, with parliamentary procedure, floods of oratory, log-rolling, and those methods of interference which effectually destroy the good intentions of executive officers. Simple matters of management and discipline, which could have been settled in five minutes by a superintendent, have been fought out on the low plane of party politics, and have too often been settled by party vote.

As has been seen in the instances of municipal reform already cited, the number of members of the Board of Education has been greatly reduced. Thus the Boston board, which until 1875 had 116 and latterly 24, is now reduced to 5. In Rochester the number was changed from 16 to 5, in

[1] Report of Chicago Educational Commission, p. 10.

New Haven from 9 to 7, in Baltimore from 29 to 9, in St. Louis from 21 to 12, in Indianapolis from 11 to 5, in Milwaukee from 36 to 21, in Atlanta from 14 to 7. These reductions indicate the trend, and while there are many school systems suffering from the larger boards with their attendant evils of ward politics and corrupt influence, yet the spirit of reform is abroad, and the smaller and more effective board is quite sure to replace the larger one. It is safe to say that there is no case on record where a very large board has not ultimately degenerated into a debating society of very common-place nature, and has been a serious handicap to educational progress.

Who make Good Members. — The question, What kind of people are best fitted for board membership, has been thought worthy of a place in discussions of this kind. One thoughtful student of this subject has discriminated against a considerable list of professions and occupations which he thinks are not calculated to produce the right people for this office. The same writer is not in favor of women as school board members.[1] Doubtless many individual instances could be found of men retired from business, politicians, unlearned men, and even women who are not well fitted to deal broadly and justly with educational affairs; but after all, in this field as in all others, personality, intelligence, and honesty are the qualities needed, and they are to be found in every vocation and in men and women alike.

Board should be Representative. — It is far less important that different sections of the city or different classes should be represented than that the board should include different kinds of trained ability. It goes without saying that the lawyer, the doctor, and the clergyman can each perform service of a peculiar character, growing out of his professional experience. The man of affairs or the industrial leader may render equally valuable service. It may also be said that the mechanic or wage-earner of limited education may prove a valuable member. The writer recalls with pleasure services of a high order given by men of no educa-

[1] Chancellor, *Our Schools*, p. 13.

tion except what they had gained by a lifetime of self-reliant toil.

The justice and wisdom of having women represented would hardly seem to need argument. The proper adjustment of school life to the needs of little children is best understood by women. Moreover, the growing life of girls in our public schools has too seldom had that sympathetic and watchful oversight which only women can give. Cases might be cited where at the present time in small boards of education one or two women supply a much-needed element in making the schools humane, hygienic, and homelike.

Methods of Appointment. — Probably the most incapable boards now existing were elected by wards. Of course, a small board cannot be so elected, and when all cities have been purged by the spirit of reform, there will be no place for ward politics in school elections.

Far better is the election of board members by the people at large. One thus elected becomes a representative of the entire population. If the board is small, say five or seven members, his actions are so clearly in the light that unless entirely regardless of public opinion he is held up to honorable conduct. Suffice it to say that small boards elected at large have not usually failed of being respectable.

The third method of securing members is their appointment by the Mayor. This gives the school department the same possibility of high and honorable service that is accorded to other city departments. Moreover, it places the responsibility upon the Mayor of selecting for this high office men and women who will be approved by the people. It is a noticeable fact that in New York City the Mayor in recent years has ignored party lines, and has appointed to this office the best available persons. But the jealousy with which many communities cling to their political rights and privileges makes it difficult to secure the provision for an appointive board in a revised charter or in an amended statute. Those seeking educational reform for the city of Boston, after trying for ten years to get a law which included this feature, were glad to accept the small board to be

elected at large. Other cities have had to make the same concession.

Length of Term. — The Chicago commission recommended that the term of office for board members be four years, and this corresponds to the practice in several cities where the matter has been most carefully considered. In the case of a small board it permits changes to be made successively, while a nucleus of those who have had experience continue in office. Whether elected at large or appointed by the Mayor, experience has shown that competent and devoted members are retained for more than one term, in case they are willing to serve.

Compensation of Members. — The practice of paying members of the board has been adopted in only a few instances. In Rochester, where each of the five members receives $1200 per annum, the plan has thus far worked satisfactorily. But it is a dangerous precedent, especially where members are elected by the people. It offers too large an inducement to common men to seek the office for pecuniary reasons and to resort to the uses of political machinery to accomplish the purpose. Besides, the payment of a salary implies a degree of responsibility which might encroach upon the executive functions of the Superintendent of Schools. If, as we hope to point out later, the true field of the Board of Education is purely legislative and advisory, it is a mistaken policy to have salaried boards and make it necessary that for conscience' sake they earn their money by performing duties which had better be undertaken by professional experts. The people's schools lie so close to the desires and aspirations of patriotic and public-spirited citizens, that it will never be difficult to find men and women who are glad, for a term of years, to serve their city and their country on boards of education.

Standing Committees. — In respect to this matter the Chicago commission again, after gathering advice from a large number of experienced educators, decided that for that great city the school system could best be administered by having only three subcommittees; namely, one on edu-

cational affairs, one on business affairs, and one on financial affairs. In several instances these three committees are organized under the head of schools, buildings, and finance. How mediæval and cumbersome many school systems are, is seen quite as well in the large number of standing committees which the board appoints as in the size of the board itself. Rochester, whose board at present has no standing committees, formerly had fourteen; and as this is a typical instance of what still exists in many places, it is worth while to notice what duties were assigned to each. They were named as follows: —

Finance. Qualification and employment of teachers. Organization of schools, and grievances. Text-books, library, and apparatus. Repairs. Buildings. Supplies. Fuel and fire fixtures. Printing. Free academy. Salaries. Janitors. Law. Apportionment.

What chance is there that a school board can deal consistently and effectively with the business of the department when it is parcelled out in this way, with the possibility of frequent confliction and overlapping of functions? And what possibility is there that a superintendent, however honest and capable, can bring his expert judgment to bear upon every school and every teacher in an efficient way, when he must wait upon 14 different subcommittees to whom are intrusted many of the things which he is best fitted to manage?

There is the widest difference of practice in regard to standing committees. Kansas City has 9, Lynn 9, Pawtucket 12, New Haven 3, St. Louis 3, New Orleans 9, Philadelphia 27, Duluth 4, Wilmington 15, Grand Rapids 5, Reading 9, Paterson 4, Springfield (Mass.) 15.

This list is sufficient to show the varying custom; and while it would hardly be safe to say that school systems may be classed as successful and unsuccessful according as they have few or many standing committees, yet it would be easy to show that those boards of education which have no committees at all, or at least not more than three, are making a better record for both business and educational accomplishment.

The Board as a Legislative Body. — Here, again, the Chicago commission urges that the board should be largely legislative, and that the executive functions be performed by two paid experts; namely, the superintendent of schools and a business manager. Such authorities as Dr. A. S. Draper, President Butler, and President Eliot have made this a *sine qua non* in their able advocacy of reform measures in school administration. This principle has already ceased in its application to be experimental. It has given added dignity to school boards, and has made of the superintendency practically a new office. In this respect school administration is but following the best models of city government, where there is the most definite fixing of responsibility and authority, accompanied by large freedom of action.

Magnitude of the Issue. — The school department of an American city is easily the first in importance of all municipal functions. Its budget is usually far larger than that of any other department. It has already undertaken a degree of differentiation of form and specialization of function which precludes the possibility of successful management other than by those thoroughly trained and experienced. The Board of Education should provide all the means necessary for carrying on the work, such as securing needed funds and constructing buildings, and should be ready to advise its executive officers whenever such advice is needed or desired. The agents whom they have elected to perform in detail the executive functions of the board are easily removed if found to be either incompetent or unworthy of confidence. They should give to these officers the most unqualified support as long as they perform faithfully and well their duties, and should be prompt in holding them to strict account in case of any failure of duty or evident unfitness for their task.

Nothing is more promising for the future of public education in the United States than the salutary lessons which are to be learned from those cities which have carried into school management the principles of municipal government and business reform. How soon these principles will be universally accepted and applied, it is difficult to say;

but every community has men and women who are thinking along these lines, and every state legislature stands ready to listen and to respond if the appeal for help is made with earnestness and sincerity.

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CHAPTER X

The Financing of Public Education

Expenditure for Education. — The United States Commissioner of Education estimates in his report for 1906 (p. ix) that the various states had spent, during the preceding fiscal year, the sum of over $307,000,000 on public elementary and secondary schools. This represents over two-fifths of all expenditures for public purposes by state, counties, cities, towns, etc., and is over 20 per cent of all forms of public expenditure, including that of the United States government. Of this amount about 3.5 per cent is derived from income on permanent state or local funds, 15 per cent from state taxation, 70 per cent from local (county, town, or district) taxation, and the remainder from various special sources, usually fines, license fees, etc. The value of school property is given at $783,000,000. Estimated in terms of population, the amount annually raised for the support of public education is equivalent to $3.67 per capita, or, in terms of the number of pupils in average daily attendance, $26.27 per capita. The value of school property is over $9 per capita of population and almost $70 per capita of average attendance.

The Growth of this form of public expenditure in recent years is significant. Since 1870 the increase per capita of population has been from $1.64 to $3.57, or a gain of almost 124 per cent. For each pupil in average attendance the expenditure has increased from $15.25 to $26.27, a gain of almost 70 per cent. In the same time the amount of money invested in school property has in terms of per capita of population increased about 175 per cent.

Results. — And yet when the country is taken as a whole it can be seen that this relatively enormous expenditure falls very far short of providing adequate school facilities for all

children. It gives an average length of school term of only 151 days of teaching, and an average monthly salary to men teachers of $56.31 and to women teachers of $43.80. Further inadequacy is shown by the fact that the average number of days attended by pupils enrolled was only 106. It is evident that while the support of public education has rapidly advanced in America, the demands made upon the public funds have also multiplied, and will continue to increase if current educational ideals are to be realized.

The Sources of this income for school purposes are to be found mainly in the taxable property of the country. The gross value of this taxable property has also increased greatly since 1870, but the per capita increase has not been equal to that of school expenditure. The average per capita wealth of the nation (in terms of taxable property) in 1870 is given as $624, while in 1904 it had increased to $1234, or an increase of nearly 100 per cent; but in the meantime the per capita expenditure for schools had increased 124 per cent.[1]

Increased Outlay of money is involved in almost every advance step that is proposed in public education. Better teachers can only be had through the expenditure of more money for salaries; a reduction of the number of pupils per teacher in cities means greater outlay; the lengthening of the school year in rural districts can be purchased only through higher local or state taxation; and the development of new types of schools and school facilities also involves increased expenditure. Other matters, like more adequate supervision, the increase in the size of the area of even distribution of school funds so as to confer larger support on the poorer regions, and the more extensive provision of free text-books and better material facilities for education, can only be purchased through very materially increased financial outlay.

Relation to Social Expenditure. — Large as is the cost of education, it is not so significant when contrasted with other

[1] Figures from Special United States Census Reports: Wealth, Debt, and Taxation, p. 44.

forms of social expenditure. It has frequently been pointed out that the outlay of society for liquor several times exceeds its expenditure for education; that tobacco costs the country at least as much as its schools; and that in recent years the amount of economic energy involved in advertising has approximated the amount expended in education, both of which, therefore, represent approximately equal costs from the social point of view. It is evident, therefore, that from the standpoint of educational administration, the problem of finance is not altogether one of recognizing when the limits of possible taxation have been reached; but it involves such utilization of different sources of taxation and income as to return to society the largest possible amount with the least possible demand on productive and socially useful industries and activities. Undoubtedly in many communities the limits of desirable taxation of property values have been reached, but only in a few states so far has extensive use been made of other forms of taxation.

Education a Social Investment. — The enormous outlay for education already made by the United States is not always sufficiently regarded as a form of social investment. Altogether apart from moral and other considerations, it should be evident that money wisely spent on education ultimately returns to the community excellent interest. Commissioner Harris has produced some figures which tend to show that in Massachusetts the productive capacity of the average individual is considerably greater than in the country at large, and the inference that this is due to the superior educational facilities enjoyed by the state is at least tentatively justifiable. It is not always as easy for the community to see the direct returns that come from money invested in education as in the case of expenditure for roads or other public improvement. And yet in the long run this must be true, and it is the function of those who seek to justify increased public expenditure for schools to make it clear. In this connection, owing to the increasing mobility of population, there is reason to justify the existence of larger taxing units. A small town may not desire to tax itself heavily, for

example, for industrial education if it finds that its best men steadily drift away to other centres after receiving their training. But for the state at large, or even the nation, to assume a part of this burden would be entirely justifiable, since in the larger unit the benefits resulting from heavy outlay would ultimately tend to be felt by those who have paid the taxes, or at least by the community of which they are a part.

I. SOURCES OF REVENUE IN DIFFERENT STATES

Invested Funds. — Besides several minor sources, the public schools of the various states derive their chief revenue from three directions: income on permanent funds, largely created by lands donated to the states by the national government; state taxation; and taxation in local areas under authorization of state law. Of the $322,000,000 raised by the various states in 1905–1906 for the common schools, 3.6 per cent came from income on permanent funds, but this amount varied largely among the different states. Nevada derives over 46 per cent, Texas over 28 per cent, Michigan over 23 per cent, and Wyoming over 21 per cent of their school revenue from permanent investments; while seven other states (Alabama, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Oregon) derive more than 10 per cent of their income from these sources. Naturally the North Atlantic states have very small invested funds, having had little public land, while in the Southern and Western states, where care has been taken of the donations made by the national government, revenues from this source are relatively large.

State Taxation for school purposes also varies greatly. In some states apparently no provision is made, as Oklahoma, Michigan, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Kansas, Wyoming, Colorado, and Oregon. In other states, like Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Illinois, Minnesota, and Nebraska, the contribution to school revenues from state taxation is less than 5 per cent. On the other hand, in nearly all

the Southern states this source of revenue is large, varying from 20 to 70 per cent. California raises over 45 per cent of the school revenue by various forms of state taxation, New Jersey over 30 per cent, Indiana 15 per cent, and Missouri over 12 per cent. Later discussion of the various sources of revenue will show that whereas state taxation has the advantage over local taxation of relieving the schools from the fluctuations of local support, it may or may not equalize educational opportunity, according to the manner of its distribution within the state.

Local Taxation obviously is the mainstay of public education. But local taxation, too, takes several forms. It may be county taxation, in which case there may be tendencies towards equalization of educational opportunities within the county; or it may be purely local to the town, city, or district, in which case popular opinion plays a considerable part in determining its amount and in appreciating the results of its expenditure. In New Hampshire and Massachusetts over 90 per cent of all school revenue is raised by purely local taxation; in Rhode Island, Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, South Dakota, Kansas, Colorado, Arizona, and Oregon from 80 to 90 per cent. In North Carolina, South Carolina, and Mississippi the amount so raised is less than 20 per cent, and besides these only in Georgia, Kentucky, Alabama, Texas, Montana, Nevada, and Washington is it less than 50 per cent.

Total Revenue. — But the full significance of state and local taxation can only be appreciated when taken in connection with the entire relative outlay of the states for public education. Since totals are quite meaningless unless taken in connection either with population or number of children to be educated, we can simply refer to the commissioner's report for the former, and give the latter in abridged form. Taking all the states together, the amount raised for public education in 1905–1906 was equivalent to $12.89 for each person between five and eighteen years of age, the ordinary limits of attendance in public schools. But in one state (Nevada) the amount so raised was in excess of $30; while in Massachusetts, New York, Colorado, and California it exceeded $25;

and in North Dakota, Montana, and Washington it was in excess of $20. But in three states (North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama) this amount was under $3; while in four others (Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Indian Territory) it was under $4. In all the states of the South Atlantic and South Central divisions the amount was under $10, averaging $4.04; while in all the North Central states it was over $10, averaging $14.74; and in all the states of the Western division, except New Mexico, it was over $12, averaging $21.19. Excepting Maine and New Hampshire, which respectively raised over $12 and over $14 per child of from five to eighteen years of age, no state of the North Atlantic division raised less than $15; while the average for this group is $21.56. In other words, if estimated in terms of money raised, the educational opportunities of the child in the Western division or the North Atlantic division are from four to five times as good as those of the child of the South Atlantic or South Central division.

This Disparity is not wholly explained on the basis of differences of taxable property, for while it is true that the per capita wealth of the Southern states is less than that of the North Atlantic and Western, the differences are not in proportion to the variation in wealth. The average per capita wealth of only one division exceeds $2000, as estimated in terms of property; while in the South Central states the average is $659, and in the South Atlantic $716. The North Atlantic division, raising more than four times as much for education as the South, has a per capita valuation of property of $1694, or only about two and one-half times the value of property per capita in the South Central and South Atlantic states. The average per capita property valuation of Indiana is $1174, but that state raises $16.09 for each child between the ages of five and eighteen for educational purposes; while Kentucky, with a per capita wealth of $675 in terms of property, raises but $3.94. Similar comparisons might be made to an indefinite extent, all of which, while tending to show a rough connection between property valuation in the various states and amount raised for school pur-

poses, show also that interest in education and local systems of taxation have important influence. Of course this showing is not final; for the ability of a given community to stand a tax is dependent upon other factors than mere property valuation; the character of the distribution of property is an important factor; even more important may be the fact that payments for taxes represent in a sense expenditure from the surplus of income after necessities have been met, in which case the ability to pay taxes would not vary directly with average amount of property, but in something of a geometrical ratio. That is, if the average wealth of one community is *a* and that of another 3 *a*, the actual ability of the latter to pay taxes may be considerably greater than three times that of the former.

2. STATE LEGISLATION REGULATING THE RAISING AND EXPENDITURE OF SCHOOL FUNDS

Varieties of Financial Legislation. — In the course of the evolution of the school systems within the various states, legislation in regard to financial matters has been varied and extensive. A considerable part of the codified school law of the states deals with the raising and disbursements of funds. This legislation may be studied under several heads: (*a*) a primitive stage affecting schools everywhere is that which permits or legalizes the action of local communities; (*b*) legislation fixing maxima and minima in matters of taxation, representing on the one hand the desire of the state to protect the local community, and on the other to hold the latter up to its obligations. Under this head may be studied the legislation which, without specifying amount to be raised, compels the district to provide certain types of facilities; (*c*) laws determining taxing bodies, and locating responsibility; (*d*) laws fixing the machinery for the distribution of funds; and (*e*) laws controlling form of expenditure, under which head may be studied legal control of bond issues.

a. **Permissive Taxation.** — Long before the state reaches

the stage where it may enforce the establishment of certain types of educational facility, it is importuned to permit progressive communities to tax themselves for the new form of expenditure. An analysis of current laws shows that a wide range is permitted in powers of local taxation; cities are conceded privileges in the establishment of evening schools, vocational schools, and playgrounds; country districts are permitted to expend money for the transportation of pupils; towns and districts are authorized to supply free text-books; towns of certain size may provide expert supervision; training classes may be established; libraries may be formed; and numerous other kinds of local expenditure become authorized. In many states public secondary schools have first been established by permission extended to localities desiring them. In time the establishment of high schools in certain types of districts may become compulsory, and the last stage is found when all school territory is attached to some high school district and is obliged to contribute to the support of secondary education. Similarly, in some states, the employment of superintendents is now authorized, but only in Massachusetts is every town compelled to sustain expert supervision. Frequently the general and compulsory adoption of a free text-book system is preceded by a considerable period when communities are permitted to choose for themselves whether they will incur the added expense of buying all books used in the schools. It is evident that the wide prevalence of permissive legislation is characteristically American, the underlying idea being that the local community should, within certain limits, be permitted to do those things which seem good to it educationally.

b. **Prescriptive Taxation.** — A second stage is found where legislation prescribes limits of taxation, or compels the performance of certain functions which involve expense. In many cases the law fixes a rate of state taxation or an amount which the state must raise. Of such a nature is the one-mill tax on all property prescribed by the laws of Virginia, Minnesota, Maine, and Ohio among others; the two-mill taxes of Illinois, the one-and-a-half-mill tax of Tennessee, and the one-

and-one-tenth-mill tax of Indiana, and the two-mill tax of New Mexico, limited to salary purposes. The constitution of Pennsylvania fixes the sum of $1,000,000 as the minimum amount which the Assembly must annually levy. North Carolina requires that the state government appropriate, in addition to the interest on regular funds, the sum of $100,000 annually among the counties, and an additional $100,000, "or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated annually out of the state treasury for the purpose of bringing up the constitutional requirement of a four months' public school term in each district" which cannot otherwise raise enough money for that term. Of this nature, also, is the "sum of $7 for each census child between the ages of five and seventeen in the state," which must be raised by a property tax in California. In Missouri "the income (of all invested state funds), together with not less than twenty-five per cent of the state revenue, shall be applied annually to the support of public schools." The state of New Jersey provides for an annual appropriation of at least $100,000 and in addition a state tax which shall make, "when added to the amount determined aforesaid, a sum equal to two and three-fourths mills on each dollar of valuation." For the aid of secondary education California provides a state tax of one and one-half cents on each hundred dollars of valuation, but which, after 1906, shall be "estimated by determining the amount at $15 per pupil in average daily attendance" the preceding year. In addition to a state tax of one and twenty-three hundredths mills in Minnesota, of which one mill goes to the state schools and the remainder to the University, the law provides certain standing appropriations: for state aid to high schools, $217,000 annually; for graded schools, $79,000; (and for other types of schools, varying sums); and necessary expenses of high school board, and school inspectors, $9500.

Prescribed Minimum Rate. — The state may impose a fixed minimum on local communities. In Oregon each county is required to levy a tax on all property of such amount as will raise at least $7 for each person from four to twenty

years old in the county. In Connecticut towns are, under certain conditions, entitled to state assistance, but not until they shall have raised a tax of at least four mills locally. In California the county must raise such a sum as, added to the state appropriation, will make $550 for each teacher (or group of seventy census children requiring one teacher). In Nevada where the state tax is large (six mills), the county must levy a tax of at least one and one-half mills and not exceeding five mills. In New Hampshire "the selectmen of each town shall assess annually upon the polls and ratable estate taxable therein, a sum to be computed at the rate of $750 for every dollar of public taxes apportioned to such town . . ." and "the town may raise an amount exceeding the aforesaid which shall be assessed in the same manner." The law of West Virginia provides that "for the support of primary free schools . . . the Board of Education (of each district) shall annually levy such a tax as will be sufficient to keep the schools in operation for five months in the year, provided that such tax does not exceed five mills." The County Board of South Carolina is obliged to levy a tax of three mills. In Maine each town must raise for school purposes "not less than eighty cents for each inhabitant, according to the census," "under penalty of forfeiting not less than twice nor more than four times the amount of its deficiency." In Ohio the local tax levy may not exceed twelve mills, "and in city school districts shall not be less than six mills." In New York the so-called Davis law fixes the rate for New York City at three mills, and special legislation has also provided Philadelphia with a fixed rate of taxation for school purposes.

Prescribed Maximum. — The fixing of a maximum rate which local communities may not exceed is very common in state laws. Undoubtedly it has been the experience of some states, especially where district or town meetings are not influential in fixing rates of taxation, that abuses have crept in and extravagance has resulted. It has already been noticed that with the development of legislation in the South following the Civil War, there was a strong disposition to protect local communities from the extravagance of propertyless voters.

Laws of this nature are illustrated by the example of Indiana, which permits town trustees to levy special taxes, "but no tax shall exceed five mills on property and one dollar on poll"; Ohio, where the "local tax levy for school purposes shall not exceed twelve mills on the dollar"; Virginia, where the supervisors may levy a special school tax, but not to exceed two and a half mills; Utah, where in regard to city taxation the law provides "that the tax for the support and maintenance of such schools shall not exceed in any one year six and one-half mills . . . of which at least three mills shall not be used otherwise than for the payment of teachers . . . "; and in Minnesota, where —

"In common school districts such district school tax shall not exceed fifteen mills on the dollar for the support of schools, or ten mills for the purchase of school sites and the erection and the equipment of school buildings; but in such districts in which such ten-mill tax produces six hundred dollars, a greater tax may be levied for school sites and buildings, not to exceed twenty-five mills nor six hundred dollars."

The General Assembly of Arkansas may levy a tax for the support of common schools "which shall never exceed in any one year two mills on the dollar"; and the Assembly may authorize districts to vote taxes "not exceeding five mills." For the exclusive use of primary and grammar schools the General Assembly of Virginia may levy annually a tax of not less than one nor more than five mills; and the supervisors of each county shall levy a tax of not less than seven and a half nor more than twenty cents (on the hundred dollars' valuation), and shall also levy a tax of not less than seven and a half nor more than twenty cents in each district for district school purposes; and if this should not prove sufficient, the supervisors may permit a special election to be held in the district to vote additional taxes, which, however, must not bring the school tax rate above fifty cents on the hundred dollars.

c. **Taxing Authorities.** — Owing to the increasing tendency of state law to fix minimum and maximum rates of taxation for school purposes, and the diminishing amount of option left to all but purely local bodies, the location of responsibility

for taxation in county and state is relatively of less moment. Nevertheless, important powers are often exercised by the representatives of the people in determining, within the limits prescribed by law, whether schools shall be generously or niggardly supported. In districts, towns, and smaller municipalities, the popular election still plays a large part in fixing the sums to be raised, and even in large cities it is rare to find bond issues for improvements effected otherwise than through popular vote. In New York the Board of Education of a union district may levy a tax sufficient for the salaries of teachers, if the public meeting fails or refuses to do so. Each board of education in Ohio fixes annually the rate of taxation necessary for school purposes, which, as noted before, may not exceed twelve mills, and which must be at least six mills in cities; and the board may even issue bonds, under certain limitations. In Iowa nearly all powers of school taxation reside in town and district meetings, but boards of education may certify certain amounts for specified purposes without the vote of the district. For example, $5 per school child for transportation, a sum for free text-books, and $15 per school child for teachers' fund, which sums certified to the Board of Supervisors, must by them be included in the tax levy. School directors in each district in Pennsylvania are empowered to levy taxes, both for current expenses and for building purposes, subject to limitations. They must provide enough for at least four and not more than ten months of school, and the maximum levy is fixed by law. In many states where the functions of county government are extensive, the powers of voting taxes are largely withdrawn from the districts, except in the matter of providing for permanent improvements. In other words, in cities and states where representative government tends to grow, the power to levy taxes marks the final distinction between purely popular and purely representative government; and, as before noted, in South and West, especially, the conditions do not favor town-meeting government. Popular will is exercised through control of representatives.

d. **Basis of Distribution.** — When the state has funds to

distribute for the support of schools, or when, similarly, the county distributes money among the towns or districts, the method of distribution has a very important bearing on the provision of school facilities. Communities vary greatly in their ability to pay taxes as related to their educational needs. Large cities, for example, frequently have a high per capita wealth, while rural communities not infrequently have a small per capita wealth, yet in the latter the number of children to be educated in proportion to population may be in excess of the former. In rural districts, even where the per capita wealth may be equal, the numbers of children may vary considerably, all of whom, in each case, however, can be taught by one teacher. It costs nearly as much to conduct a school in a district with ten children as in one with forty-five. Hence, if county and state pay over to districts amounts of money proportional to what they raise, the large districts with a low per capita wealth will be at a relative disadvantage, as will also districts with little wealth and few children to be educated, who will, however, take the full time of a teacher. Since the amount of school money raised in many states by the state or by the county is large, the methods of distributing this money come to be of great importance.

The First Method of Distribution is that found in counties where educational administration is highly centralized, and where the governing board is authorized to distribute county moneys to the districts, according to the option of such boards. By the County School Board of Virginia "the county school fund shall be apportioned among the several districts of the county, according to its judgment, having due regard to maintaining as far as practicable, a uniform term throughout all of the districts," and providing that a term of four months be maintained for all primary and grammar schools before funds may be used for the establishment of schools of a higher grade. The complete control over the schools of the Louisiana parish (the equivalent of the county) by the parish board is, in effect, the same as giving that body powers of distributing school moneys at will among the districts, which here have trustees (auxiliary trustees) only if the parish board deem

it desirable. In Georgia, the County Board is vested with complete control (though it may create subdistricts and appoint trustees thereto) and regulates salaries, terms of school, etc., subject, however, to the proviso that "they shall, as far as practicable, provide the same facilities for both races in respect to attainments and abilities of teachers, and length of term time." In Mississippi, except in separate school districts, the County Board and County Superintendent exercise similar control over salaries, terms, etc., and thus practically effect the distribution of funds.

The Second Method of Distribution, and one characterizing primitive educational conditions, is for the state or the county to return to the school area exactly its share of taxes relative to its taxable valuation. In this case the state or the county becomes simply the taxing body, but no districts profit or lose by this centralization. The advantage of the system is that it unifies taxation and compels unwilling districts to raise at least a moderate amount for education. Where permission to add by local tax to this sum exists, rich and ambitious districts at least do not suffer. As a rule, this form of distribution belongs to the earlier stages of the development of state funds raised by taxation, though whenever a change in existing schemes of distribution is proposed, there is always considerable pressure on the part of wealthy cities for some form of material recognition of the contention that their larger payments somehow entitle them to larger returns. In Tennessee the state imposes upon each county a compulsory school tax of one and a half mills, which is collected and turned over in exactly the amount raised. The same is true of a compulsory poll tax of one dollar. In Pennsylvania "one-third of (the state money) shall be distributed on the basis of the number of teachers employed for the full annual term of the district, . . . one-third on the basis of the number of children of school age, . . . and one-third on the basis of the number of taxables." The state school tax of New Jersey, as already noted, is $100,000, plus such a tax as will bring the rate for school purposes up to two and three-fourths mills on valuation; the product of this tax "the State Comptroller

shall apportion among the several counties in proportion to the amount of taxable real and personal estate of said counties respectively." This is, in effect, a compulsory tax on valuation within the counties, except as to the sum of $100,000 or more, which the legislature must levy, and which serves to equalize the local burden.[1]

A Third Method of Distributing state or county funds is the very common one of taking as the basis of educational need either total population or school population, the latter meaning the number of children supposedly in need of schooling. The method of distributing funds according to total population is little used, largely owing to the greater convenience and satisfaction of taking the census only of school children and, perhaps, owing to a vague notion that the number of school children is a more reliable basis than total population.[2] If states are tempted to use the national census as a basis, it is found that changes in population take place rapidly in some sections, and the need of a more frequent census becomes apparent. Hence in a large number of states the so-called school census basis is used in distributing school money to the counties, and frequently by the counties to districts or towns. Sometimes state funds are distributed among the counties on the basis of their school census population and by the counties to the districts on the same basis; or the counties, receiving the state funds, distribute them on some other basis. The school census basis of apportionment works out peculiar results in the case of the rural district, since the expense of the single teacher to the rural school is, or ought to be, substantially the same, whether the number of children in the district is large or small, so long as they can well be taught by one teacher. But where counties distribute money to rural districts in proportion to number of children, a district with ten children will receive only one-fourth as much as a district with forty children. The consequence is that, within the county, this method of distributing funds fails manifestly to secure equality of educational opportunity. Again, where

[1] As found before the legislation of 1908.

[2] Cubberley, *School Funds and their Apportionment*, pp. 94 *et seq.*

counties vary considerably in the relative number of rural districts they contain, the system of state distribution among counties on the census basis also tends to produce considerable inequalities. That county which has a large number of its children in village or city schools, obliged to employ not more than one teacher for each forty or forty-five children in attendance, will receive proportionately to number of teachers employed a much larger sum than is received by a county with a large number of its children in rural schools requiring teachers for each group of ten, fifteen, or twenty children. Notwithstanding this inequality, all of the North Central states except Indiana and Nebraska distribute their large state funds, both from state to county and from county to town or district on the strict census basis.[1] The consolidation of schools, of course, tends to remove the inequality, for, apart from the small rural school, the census basis of apportionment serves its primary purpose fairly well.

To Correct the Inequalities of the school census method, various devices are employed by a few states. In Indiana the state fund is distributed among the counties on the census basis, but the county auditor, in apportioning this among the cities, towns, and townships "shall ascertain the amount of Congressional township school revenue belonging to each city, town, or township, and shall apportion the other school revenue for tuition to each city, town, and township according to the enumeration of children therein." In Oregon the funds raised in the counties (there is no state tax) are distributed on the census basis after a quota of $50 is allowed to each district and $5 for each teacher who has attended institute. In Nebraska the state distributes funds to counties on census basis, and within the counties, after adding whatever county school fund is available, the entire amount is distributed as follows: "One-fourth of the whole amount to be distributed equally to the several districts in the county, and the remaining three-fourths" to be distributed on census basis. In Nevada a teacher quota is established of seventy-five census children or fraction thereof, and thus the total number

[1] Cubberley, *loc. cit.*, p. 125.

of teachers supposed to be required by the district or county is ascertained. Then forty per cent of all state and county money is distributed to the districts on the basis of the number of teachers, and the remainder on the census basis. This device, of course, especially helps the small rural districts. The California system provides for a teacher quota of seventy census children (or any number between that and fifteen in rural districts), and the state fund is distributed to the counties on the basis of $250 for each teacher on the teacher quota basis, and the remainder on the basis of average daily attendance during the preceding year in the various schools of the state. Within the county enough must be raised by local taxation to make $550 for each teacher quota; after this is distributed to the districts, the remainder is distributed on basis of average daily attendance.

Other Bases of Distribution are school enrolment or average attendance. The latter, it will be noticed, is partly employed in California. New Hampshire provides an "equalization fund" for poorer districts, which is distributed "in direct proportion to said average attendance and in inverse proportion to the equalized valuation per child [below three thousand dollars]." The "state literary fund" of the same state is apportioned among the towns in proportion to the number of "children of at least five years who have attended not less than two weeks." In Minnesota, both from state to county and from county to district, funds are apportioned on the basis of school enrolment, but no pupil may be counted more than once, and not unless he has attended school at least forty days in the year. But Minnesota provides, also, some forms of special aid for certain types of districts, including rural schools. Arizona requires the appropriation of $400 to each district having from ten to twenty census children, and $500 for each district having more than twenty children. In addition, $20 must be appropriated for each child in average daily attendance in excess of twenty-five. The constitution of Florida provides that apportionment of state school funds shall be "in proportion to the average attendance upon such schools."

Complicated Methods of Distribution. — In all cases hitherto discussed, the attempt has been to find a relatively simple basis of distribution in proportion to need or local contribution. It is true that apportionment based on enrolment or average daily attendance does, to some extent, put a premium on local efforts to get the children into school. But a few states have endeavored to work out a more complex basis of distribution which should distinctly recognize local efforts. The excellence of a school, educationally considered, is found not merely or largely in the number of children enrolled, but in the number of days' attendance made in all. In Washington the state fund is distributed among the counties in proportion to the total number of days' attendance, with a proviso that each district shall be credited with two thousand days' attendance. The county distributes to the district on the same basis. For certain districts in Vermont the town is required to divide the state funds in proportion to the number of legal schools, but any remaining funds in proportion to aggregate attendance. A portion of the funds not otherwise distributed is also, in New York and New Jersey, apportioned on the basis of aggregate attendance. It will be noted that these schemes put a premium both on length of term and on number of children brought into the school and made to attend regularly.

Other Schemes of Apportioning either state or county funds have been incidentally referred to above. Not only in Oregon and Arizona is there provision made for a preliminary "district quota" before other bases of distribution are employed, but also in Wyoming (where $150 goes to each district), Nebraska, (one-fourth of all county money first divided equally among all districts), and Idaho (where one-third is so divided).[1] In several states certain funds are apportioned for each teacher employed, on the assumption that the teacher's salary is the largest and most necessary item of expense. The teacher quota of $550 in California is an example of this, though only the state fund is definitely earmarked for teacher's salary. The New Jersey law obliges the County Superintendent, in

[1] Cubberley, *loc. cit.*, p. 177.

making his distribution, to set apart $200 for every teacher employed for full time. In Pennsylvania "one-third of the money annually appropriated for common schools in this Commonwealth shall be distributed on the basis of the number of paid teachers regularly employed for the full annual term of the district." The state fund of New York is first drawn upon to provide for supervision and library purposes and a small contingent fund, after which "he [Superintendent of Public Instruction] shall apportion to each district having an assessed valuation of $40,000 or less, $150, and to remaining districts and cities $125," and for each teacher additional to the first in all districts, $100, the remainder being apportioned on basis of population. In Delaware the state fund is divided among the counties in proportion to number of teachers.

Special Attempts at Equalization. — Attention has already been called to attempts, in the distribution of funds, to equalize educational opportunities in districts where property valuation is unusually low. New Hampshire attains this end by a grant increasing in proportion to number of children in average attendance, and inversely as equalized valuation below $3000 per school child. In Connecticut "every town having a valuation of less than $500,000 may annually receive from the treasurer of the state . . . a sum which will enable the town to spend for the support of public schools twenty-five dollars for each child in average attendance." In Maine, in certain unorganized townships, if the regular tax is not "sufficient to provide schooling for at least twenty weeks in the year," the remainder of the expense shall be met from a state fund. A new law of 1905 in Indiana provides for the creation of a special fund to aid those towns which, after taxing themselves to the limit, find that they have insufficient money for teachers' salaries. The State Superintendent exercises final authority in its distribution. In the directions for the distribution of the Massachusetts state fund, it is provided that "every town whose valuation does not exceed one-half million dollars shall annually receive $500, but if its rate of taxation for any year shall be $18 or more on the thousand, it shall receive $75 additional." Towns with higher valuation receive less of this

fund, so, in a sense, it is an equalizing fund. But to receive this aid a town must have maintained a school for thirty-six weeks, and must have complied with numerous other conditions. Ohio, in providing for a minimum salary law of $40, found that many districts could not pay that amount a month for eight months in the year, so state aid is given to the extent of making up any deficiency which remains after the district has taxed itself to the limit allowed by law, and has reserved three-fourths of the money so raised for teachers' salaries. In South Carolina the net income to the state from the sale of liquors "shall be apportioned among the various counties in proportion to the deficiencies existing after the application of the three-mill tax and the poll-tax to maintain schools for the time fixed" by law. In North Carolina the state provides a fund to bring the term of all districts up to the constitutional minimum of four months' school.

Penalizing — On the other hand, it is common to penalize districts for failure to maintain a certain length of school term by withholding the state funds. In this way the state makes an attempt to control local effort, but usually the standards the state is able to set are low. A curious reversal from this penalizing is found in an act passed in 1907 in Florida: "Every public school in this state maintaining an average daily attendance of eighty per cent during the regular term shall receive aid from the state in a sum sufficient in each case to maintain school for two months in addition to the regular term of such school."

Aid to Special Schools. — A form of state aid which is, in effect, the term of putting of a premium on certain kinds of local effort is found in the practice of allowing subsidies for special types of education. Evening schools, parental schools, vacation schools, classes for the deaf, kindergartens, manual training classes, and agricultural classes are so recognized in different states.[1] In the distribution of the parliamentary grant in England, it may be noted that most of the special lines come in for an exceptionally large amount, thus tending to put a decided premium on their local development. But,

[1] See Cubberley, *loc. cit.*, Chap. XV.

except in the case of states giving recognition to cities, the development in American states is quite meagre, thus far. In California the state provides the usual teacher quota ($550, part of which must be raised by the county) for each nine deaf children on the census list. In New Jersey, Wisconsin, and Kansas manual training receives special recognition. Evening schools get state aid in Connecticut and New Jersey. New York, New Jersey, and the New England states provide subsidies for the employment of expert supervision. Some Southern states also provide loans for buildings, which serve as subsidies.

Aid to Secondary Schools.—Only within very recent years has it become customary to provide state aid for secondary schools, and even yet only a few provide a material amount of financial assistance. At intervals throughout the history of some of the states private secondary education has been subsidized,[1] and many of the states long ago legalized the formation of high schools under local support. The state aid now given to high schools takes the form of a series of subsidies in Washington, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Rhode Island, and Maine. Minnesota makes an outright grant of $217,000 to be divided among high schools, restricting the amount to any one school to $1500, and limiting the number in any one county to nine dollars. In Maine each school receives, up to $250, an amount equal to the amount raised locally and expended for instruction. California levies a special high school tax of one and one-half cents on the hundred dollars for a high school fund; and of the fund so raised, one-third is distributed in equal proportions among all high schools, and the remaining two-thirds on the basis of average daily attendance the preceding year. The school, in order to receive its apportionment, must meet certain easy conditions as to number of teachers, length of term, etc.

c. **Other Forms of Legislative Control** are found in the almost universal state laws regulating bond issues for school purposes, and the quite general specifications as to uses of funds. We have already seen numerous cases of the desig-

[1] Jones, *State Aid to Secondary Schools.*

nation of the state fund to salary, text-books, and library purposes. Not infrequently legislative restrictions exist as to the amount which may be spent in a particular field, as for supplies, library, etc. Sometimes this affects the salaries that may be paid, as in Mississippi where the County Superintendent receives three per cent of school funds received annually by the county, but he "shall not receive more than six hundred nor less than one hundred and fifty dollars per annum." In the same state "the salaries for teachers in schools of one teacher shall be fixed by the county superintendent, between the following limits: for a third grade teacher, between fifteen and twenty dollars; for a second grade teacher, between eighteen and thirty dollars; and for a first grade teacher, between twenty-five and fifty dollars." The minimum salary laws of Ohio ($40) of Indiana (practically $40, but partly dependent upon the grade in examination), and of West Virginia (first grade, $30; second grade, $25; third grade, $18) are examples. In Maine and Massachusetts the minimum salary of the local superintendent and in most counties the compensation of county superintendent and members of the Board of Education are fixed by law. In California there is a provision that county school money may not be used for current expenses, except salaries and necessary supplies, unless school has been maintained eight months. In several states the amount that may be spent on conveyance of pupils is limited.

3. PROBLEMS OF FINANCE IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

Several large problems of educational finance are constantly claiming the attention of students of American education. Little can be done here except to formulate them and to call attention to certain aspects of more than usual interest. These are: (*a*) possible sources of increased revenue, as education becomes more expensive; (*b*) the relative proportion and kinds of school revenue which various taxing units should produce; (*c*) the distribution of state revenue

to counties, and the distribution of county funds to lesser units.

a. **Sources of Increased Revenue.** — It has already been pointed out (p. 144) that the expenditure in American states on education has grown during the last forty years more rapidly than population, and somewhat more rapidly than per capita wealth. Not only is this true of outlay for education, but it is also true in other channels of public expenditure. In short, the fields of state and public action are increasing, as every student of social conditions knows, and the cost of administration is increasing proportionately. The share of public money demanded by education, however, is so large that the administrator is peculiarly concerned with changes in the system of taxation which make the burdens more easily borne. So far, the taxation of private property has been the chief source of revenue of American states and localities. In the Southern states a variety of fines, licenses, and poll taxes have contributed to the support of schools. Inheritance taxes have been made considerable sources of revenue in some cases. Special tax commissions in New York and Pennsylvania have wrought extensive changes to the extent, at least, of largely relieving real property from the burden of state taxation. It is the belief of many students that some forms of indirect taxation like corporation and franchise taxes, should be developed within all the states, for the sake of taking from real property, to some extent, the burdens now put upon it. This may be of greater importance in proportion as the state assumes a larger share in the raising of the school revenue as it will undoubtedly tend to do in time.

b. **Territorial Distribution of Tax Burdens.** — The advantage of large over small units of taxation are two: (*a*) giving greater uniformity and stability to the supply of revenue; and (*b*) the equalization of educational opportunities throughout the larger unit irrespective of local ability to pay taxes, by distributing revenues in proportion to educational needs. But in all discussions of the expediency and social soundness of raising school money in larger units, it has seldom been

urged that the local community should be entirely relieved of responsibility. At present this is only possible, and that not uniformly, in some of the Southern states with county school administration as the chief source of authority. Except for certain forms of higher education, the national government does not serve as a taxing body for school purposes, but it has been shown that the relative per capita valuation of different states varies greatly, and at times it has been claimed that a national fund should be provided to aid those states which, like the Southern states after the Civil War, have been absolutely too poor to provide good educational facilities. In other words, if for the good of the commonwealth the state should tax itself and distribute the revenues with reference to local needs, so, it is argued, should the nation, which is only a larger expression of the state. This question assumes new interest with the growing demands for industrial education and the increasing mobility of labor, since states will, possibly like smaller localities, develop increasing reluctance to tax themselves for the support of expensive forms of industrial education if they see the trained men and women, the results of that training, drift regularly away to other states.

State Institutions. — Notice must be taken of the fact that many new types of education at once make demands upon the state as a whole. State universities, normal schools, state schools for dependent, delinquent, and defective children, and state industrial schools come within this category. Of necessity the entire state becomes the taxing unit for their support.

Tendencies. — Undoubtedly, as the cost of education increases, much of the expense will be borne by the larger rather than the smaller units. The national government now supports varieties of agricultural and mechanic arts education; it is being asked to develop local agricultural schools of a secondary grade, and to provide for the training of teachers of agricultural arts and science. The actual contributions of the various states increase, and the development of county control and township and consolidated districts means the enlargement of the taxing unit. This seems in-

evitable, in view of these facts: (*a*) the more satisfactory administration of fiscal matters in the larger unit; (*b*) the increasing mobility of populations, causing the larger rather than the local units to experience the benefits of education; and (*c*) the increasing heterogeneousness of the community as regards the distribution of wealth, which, coupled with the growing tendency to appreciate the obligation of the state to offer equal educational opportunities to all, makes only the larger unit feasible.

But no system which fails to put also a premium on purely local effort will finally suffice. In many cases it may be that responsibility for material equipment of buildings and furniture and cost of plant maintenance will be sufficient burden; but even this the state will have the right to bring up to effective standards.

c. **The Basis of the Distribution of State Funds** to localities and of county or township funds to schools has always been a problem of importance. Especially where the relative amounts raised by the state and county are large, does it become of supreme importance to so disburse this as to produce the maximum of educational result. We have already seen examples of the primitive tendency to have localities receive back from the state an amount proportioned to the amounts they have paid in taxes. Since this takes no account of local educational need, and, in fact, gives the largest returns to the localities able to raise the largest local tax, it has been recognized as out of harmony with the working of a true state system of education. In the great majority of states it has been replaced by the census, or average attendance, or gross attendance, basis of distribution. The plan of distributing money according to the number of children, whether in the area or actually in school, has proven fairly acceptable except, as has been noted, in the case of the varying sized rural districts each of which requires one teacher. Various attempts to adjust this have been made of which the California system is probably the most effective.

But there is a widespread feeling among educators and

others that the state should use its funds not merely to equalize educational opportunities, but also to stimulate local effort. We have already noted that the enrolment basis or the average attendance basis tends to put a premium on attendance at school, as does the Florida system of giving additional aid to schools making eighty per cent of average daily attendance. The Washington system of distributing money on aggregate attendance stimulates length of attendance and length of term. But all of these affect only certain factors of educational well-being. From the standpoint of the state, educational excellence, as found in any community, is a very complex thing. It is made up partly of the relative number of children who can be induced to come to school, and of the regularity and persistency of that attendance, and of the length of school year maintained. But other factors enter in: the grade of certificate held by the teacher, the salary paid, the stability of the teacher's position, the character of supervision, the number of teachers in relation to the number of pupils, the length of the school day, the character of the school building and material equipment, the degree to which consolidation and transportation replace the isolated district, the excellence of the upper grade work, the character of the text-books supplied, and many other elements. Furthermore, the progressiveness of the locality in providing educational facilities of a modern kind, as instruction in agriculture, manual training, domestic work, and the like, may seem to deserve not merely recognition but aid.

It will be recalled that probably the most extended and heroic attempt to realize this end occurred in England during the years when a part of the parliamentary grant was distributed to schools, public and private, on the basis of "results," as these appeared in examinations. It was believed that excellence of teaching management as well as ability to secure regular attendance could be measured best by testing the actual educational benefits realized by the children. An elaborate system of examinations, not at all uncongenial to the English educational spirit, grew up, and

"payment by results" became a current phrase. Although the system probably accomplished much good for a time, it finally fell into disrepute, and the parliamentary grant (which at present exceeds the amount raised for education by local taxation) is now distributed mainly on the basis of attendance, and in less degree on the basis of special types of studies maintained, like manual training, cooking, etc. Certain types of technical work are still rewarded on the examination basis. In addition, however, the general standard of national education is maintained by a system of inspection, and schools falling below certain detailed standards set by the national Board of Education are deprived of their share of the national grant. This system of inspection imposes exacting conditions as to certificates of teachers, length of term, character of buildings and equipment, and other factors of educational excellence.

It would seem that, owing to the many factors which enter into the making of an effective school system, and the difficulty of providing for these by general legislation, it will prove difficult to utilize the distribution of funds as a means of raising educational standards, without the development of a state system of inspection. This, at present, is in its infancy so far as our non-urban education is concerned. It may be that beginnings of inspection, provided in Massachusetts, New York, Wisconsin, and Minnesota (where a provision has lately been made for a special inspector of rural schools), indicate further developments in this field. Certainly existing systems of inspection by locally elected officials are insufficient to meet this need. Definite legal provisions providing for the encouragement of local effort soon reach their limit. Fixing the minimum of taxation to be met before state aid can be rendered, or the term of school to be supplied locally, or even the salaries and the number of teachers, can only bring pressure to bear on the poorest districts and counties. State aid for special features of excellence, as the provision of new forms of education, the decrease in relative number of pupils per teacher, the increase in the salaries of teachers, and the provision of supervision can only be effective with close inspection from without. To leave the form of distribution to

the discretion of officials, as in townships and some Southern counties, is not possible in the larger areas, without systematic and professional inspection.

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CHAPTER XI

The Schoolhouse: its Construction and Adaptation

Evolution of the American Schoolhouse. — The schoolhouse is one of the best expressions of American civic life. It is often a very good measure of the public spirit and civic pride of the community. It is a far cry from the little red schoolhouse standing on a site so stony that the land thus occupied is of no value whatever, with its small windows, its plain hard benches, and its red-hot stove, to the large, palatial structures which are to be seen in nearly all our cities and growing towns. The schoolhouse has had an evolution which has been influenced by increasing standards of knowledge and intelligence concerning hygiene and sanitation, the growing ability of the tax-paying population to make larger contributions for such purposes, and the ambition and pride of the people in making their schools equal to the best.

The New Architecture. — It would be somewhat difficult to state how it has come to pass that during the past twenty-five years we have developed a type of American schoolhouse which is not only superb and impressive in its style, but is remarkably well adapted to various grades of schools. Very few school buildings erected prior to the last quarter of a century are habitable to-day without important improvements. The reader of this statement will think at once of some monumental edifices that were built even longer ago that are still considered by some as worthy of attention. Among such is Girard College in Philadelphia, which for a long time was one of the attractions of that city. It is indeed a splendid monument to the memory of a gentleman who set a noble example of generous giving for education, but the original edifice is as unlike the modern schoolhouse as are the Pyramids of Egypt

or the Pantheon at Rome. It may be said in explanation of what has been achieved that we have developed in America a school of architects who, while familiar with the best ideals of ancient and modern architecture abroad, have shown their ability to recognize new conditions and new demands and to design buildings admirably adapted for every form of American life and enterprise. This power of conception and execution in the building line attained a real self-consciousness in the great work of the Chicago Exhibition. The same new genius and flexibility of creative power manifested itself at St. Louis, Buffalo, Portland, and Jamestown. Nothing in architecture at the present moment is more remarkable than some of the recent sky-scrapers in New York which compel the admiration of foreign visitors who have never seen or dreamt of anything like them. So in the mill construction so universally adopted we see a simplicity and fitness together with provision for light, ventilation, and comfort which are not surpassed in any other line of construction. The modern church, the office building, the apartment house, the private residence, the railway station, and the seaside cottage are all manifestations of the new architecture and its success in meeting varying conditions. It is most fortunate that some of the more competent men, like Richardson, in Massachusetts, and Snyder, in New York, have turned their attention to schoolhouse architecture and have sought to develop such a style as would permit the highest perfection in economy, convenience, and adaptation to educational needs.

Health Conditions. — Another factor which has favored rapid advancement in schoolhouse architecture has been the discoveries made by science and the medical profession concerning the importance of health conditions as affected by fresh air, light, freedom from dust, and good sanitation. These are the fundamental things which determine whether a schoolhouse is fit for occupancy or not. The modern architect must keep all of these conditions in mind during every part of his planning, and has continually to design his building so that these requirements of health, comfort, and convenience may be fully met.

Another most beneficent influence has been the demand of expert superintendents and teachers for better plant and equipment for educational work. Few architects, unless they have had large experience, are able to design a schoolhouse without the aid of experienced school officers, who know best how a given amount of space can be divided and assigned to the various needs of the school. Thus we find that the architect, the health officer, and the educator have worked together to produce the admirable buildings to be seen almost everywhere. This corresponds to the method which has long been in vogue in certain parts of Europe. The writer remembers visiting some years ago a new schoolhouse in Gothenberg, Sweden, and finding that the school desks and other appointments for hygiene had been decided upon by a joint committee consisting of the school inspector, the health officer of the city, and a reputable physician. No doubt we have yet much to learn, for a high school house of to-day is almost as complex, with its heating and ventilating apparatus, its laboratory system, and its means of intercommunication, as the ocean steamship.

Rural Schools. — Much progress has been made in discovering types of buildings well adapted to the needs of rural schools. As one-third, at least, of the school children of the country attend such schools, this is a much-needed advance inasmuch as the small schools throughout the country have been so inhospitable in their appearance and arrangement. Buildings containing from one to four rooms are now constructed and equipped with as much attention to ventilation, lighting, and comfort as is given in urban sections.

Village Schools. — Village schools, also, with pleasing design and attractive surroundings are coming to fill a larger place in the esteem and appreciation of the people. The rapid growth of electric traction has greatly facilitated the consolidation of the smaller outlying schools into the central village or town school. Where there are no trolley cars, transportation of pupils is provided in a systematic and painstaking way so that the child on the distant farm has the advantage of attending practically an urban school. This phase of educa-

tional development, which will be treated more at length in another chapter, is seen to great advantage in many states and is likely to become still more universal.

Legislation Needed. — But these pleasant pictures of progress attained in providing better school accommodations has its complementary shadow, for in many cases public spirit has not asserted itself, and schoolhouses are quite unfit to be the homes of children during a large portion of their waking hours. Only a few states have as yet passed laws compelling school boards to conform to those standards which are generally approved. Several years ago Massachusetts passed a statute requiring thirty cubic feet of air space for each child. This excellent law has been a great boon to the children of that commonwealth, and has exerted a wide influence upon school boards and heating engineers in other states, but in few of them have similar laws been enacted. The state of New York has amended its school law relative to proper sanitation and ventilation as follows: —

The New York Law. — "No schoolhouse shall hereafter be erected in any city of the third class or in any incorporated village or school district of this state, and no addition to a school building in any such place shall hereafter be erected, the cost of which shall exceed five hundred dollars, until the plans and specifications for the same shall have been submitted to the Commissioner of Education and his approval indorsed thereon. Such plans and specifications shall show in detail the ventilation, heating, and lighting of such buildings. Such Commissioner of Education shall not approve any plans for the erection of any school building or addition thereto unless the same shall provide at least fifteen square feet of floor space and two hundred cubic feet of air space for each pupil to be accommodated in each study or recitation room therein, and no such plans shall be approved by him unless provision is made therein for assuring at least thirty feet of pure air every minute for each pupil, and the facilities for exhausting the foul or vitiated air therein shall be positive and independent of atmospheric changes. No tax voted by a district meeting or other competent authority in any such city, village, or school district, exceeding the sum of five hundred dollars, shall be levied by the trustees until the Commissioner of Education shall certify that the plans and specifications for the same comply with the provisions of this act. All schoolhouses for which plans and detailed statements shall be filed and approved, as required by this act, shall have all halls, doors, stairways, seats, passageways, and aisles, and all lighting and heating appliances and apparatus arranged to facilitate egress in cases of

fire or accident, and to afford the requisite and proper accommodations for public protection in such cases. All exit doors shall open outwardly, and shall, if double doors be used, fasten with movable bolts operated simultaneously by one handle from the inner face of the door. No staircase shall be constructed with wider steps in lieu of a platform, but shall be constructed with straight runs, changes in direction being made by platforms. No doors shall open immediately upon a flight of stairs, but a landing at least the width of the door shall be provided between such stairs and such doorway."

The passage of this act was accomplished only after eight years of persistent effort on the part of the engineering society of New York. The same society assisted in securing the passage of an act in Pennsylvania which, as it is typical of the legislation needed in every state in the Union, is quoted in full: —

Pennsylvania Law. — "SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That, in order that due care may be exercised in the heating, lighting, and ventilating of public school buildings hereafter erected, no schoolhouse shall be erected by any board of education or school district in this State, the cost of which shall exceed four thousand ($4000.00) dollars, until the plans and specifications for the same shall show in detail the proper heating, lighting, and ventilating of such building.

"SECTION 2. Light shall be admitted from the left or from the left and rear of class rooms, and the total light area must, unless strengthened by the use of reflecting lenses, equal at least twenty-five per centum of the floor space.

"SECTION 3. Schoolhouses shall have in each class room at least fifteen square feet of floor space and not less than two hundred cubic feet of air space per pupil, and shall provide for an approved system of heating and ventilation, by means of which each class room shall be supplied with fresh air at the rate of not less than thirty cubic feet per minute for each pupil, and warmed to maintain an average temperature of seventy degrees, Fahrenheit, during the coldest weather.

"SECTION 4. All acts or parts of acts inconsistent herewith are hereby repealed."

Other states which have in the last three years passed laws affecting the sanitation of school buildings are Virginia, Wisconsin, Utah, Vermont, and West Virginia. It is not to be supposed that this kind of legislation will proceed as slowly as it has in the past. The pressure for better things from

boards of health, educational organizations, and public-spirited people will soon bring lawmakers to a more active sense of their responsibility.

Variety of Type. — It is obvious that there can be no one uniform type of schoolhouse suitable for all sections. The country school and the city school must be quite different, and buildings in the Northern states need a different treatment from those in the Southern states, where the climate is warmer, and those in the still more torrid province of Porto Rico. The great cities of the country have each sought to evolve types of school buildings well adapted to their needs as respects climate, growth in population, and financial ability. The citizen whose income is $100,000 per annum may properly reside in a more costly residence with more beautiful surroundings than he who has an annual income of $5000. Thus it is with a large town or city. While requirements of health and sanitation should be rigidly adhered to, such matters as architectural effect and other expensive features may be controlled by the condition of the public exchequer. So in judging of the results of a community's work in the evolution of a school plant it should not be considered so much on the side of luxury and display as with reference to health, convenience, and efficiency. Mr. Edmund M. Wheelwright, who has designed many schoolhouses for the city of Boston, and whose book[1] on school architecture is a leading authority in the United States, says : —

"The percentage of excess of cost between a school designed with regard for architectural effect and one of a purely utilitarian construction is not great. Under ordinary conditions, satisfactory architectural results may be obtained at an increase of cost not more than five per cent above that of the most 'practical' construction. A careful reckoning of the cost of the Brighton High School, the most elaborate school designed by the writer, shows that but eight per cent of its cost, above that of a purely utilitarian structure, covered the expense of its architectural features. It will be generally admitted that a large building demands a greater relative cost for architectural effect than does a smaller one. Few people now maintain that a pleasing architectural effect is an unimportant consideration, and that a beautiful school is not a factor in the education of the young."

[1] E. M. Wheelwright, *School Architecture.*

We are assuming that the school board is generally the responsible party in locating and constructing schoolhouses, although it is often the case that the city architect and the finance department of the city have a good deal to say. Keeping this in mind, let us consider the first great desideratum in providing a new school building, namely, its site.

School Sites. — This topic, which is of immense importance, can be treated only briefly here. In the first place, great foresight is needed in all growing communities in securing ample tracts of land for public purposes as schools, playgrounds, and parks, and these three features of civic life in their modern conception bear a close relation to each other. Too often it has been necessary to locate a large schoolhouse in a portion of the city where the prices of land are almost prohibitive, or at least seem to be so, and hence such desirable accessories as a playground, school garden, or a park cannot be considered. The superintendent and the business manager of a school system have a grave responsibility here, and while they cannot correct the errors of the past, they can look forward and secure such action as will prove wise and economical. The writer has in mind one instance where the chairman of a school board persuaded his associates to act with him in purchasing several acres of land in a growing section at a price of twenty cents per square foot, where it was manifest that a schoolhouse would be needed. The wisdom of that transaction was evident, for soon both primary and grammar schoolhouses were required upon that lot, and abundant space remained for gardens and playground. In the meantime the price of the land had risen rapidly.

The Ideal Site. — Under no circumstances should a school be placed upon land that is cheap because it is low and damp or is surrounded by factories or business blocks, or where there is noise or other unfavorable conditions. Rather should boards of education seek such sites as lend themselves easily to landscape gardening and permit noble approaches and beautiful surroundings. If possible, the lot should be large enough so that the building can be set well back from the street, and the grounds

in front have landscape treatment with broad walks, lawn, and shrubbery. On one side, at least, of the building should be a school garden, to be cared for by the pupils and teachers under the general direction of the janitor. In the rear should be the playground where pupils may have entire freedom in organizing their sports and games. The ideal arrangement is to have one playground for the boys and one for the girls, separated by a high fence or hedge. Then the girls may have their own games or gymnastics out-of-doors in gymnastic dress.

In a book entitled *The Ideal School*[1] an interesting picture is drawn of a park just outside the city where all the school buildings are grouped in such a way as to form an æsthetic combination of lawn, forest, fountains, and walks. The pupils are to be carried to and fro from their homes by free trolley cars owned or subsidized by the city. The sale of the old school property in the town with its more expensive sites is to provide the new location and plant. While this seems to many quite chimerical, it is to be noted that more than one town has seriously considered this plan. Whatever its practical utility may be, it is highly suggestive of the high standard to be kept in mind in selecting sites for the schools of the people. Nothing which the community can afford, either in architecture or its setting, is too good when thinking of the ennobling effect of dignity and beauty upon plastic minds. How absurd to teach art in our schools when all the surroundings within and without are crude and poverty-stricken!

Selection of an Architect. — The next thing to be considered is the selection of an architect. There are three ways of dealing with this matter: —

First, by asking architects to make competitive plans and specifications. This method prevents dissatisfaction on the part of the architects and their friends. It brings before those chosen to judge the plans the best that is available. Too often, however, the judges have before them a variety of attractive pictures, the merit of which they are incapable of

[1] Preston W. Search, *The Ideal School.*

estimating. Even if they call in experts to aid them, they find it difficult to form a judgment, as all the excellent features, both in design and adaptation, are not to be found in any one or two sets of drawings, but are more or less distributed among them all. The competing architects have thought to captivate the school board by an attractive picture which in its practical working out would have to be shorn of some of its ornamental features in order to keep within the appropriation.

Second, another method is to follow the example of the private citizen who chooses an architect of well-known ability, and after telling him in detail what he desires, permits him to make the plans for his residence. He can frequently consult his patron and so evolve a design that answers to every possible need. This plan, when pursued by a public board, creates more or less jealousy, and often subjects both the board and the architect to criticism. It, however, works better in its practical results than does the method of competition.

Third, the town or city has an architect as regular officer who has proven himself trustworthy and capable. In this case he studies the needs of schools from top to bottom; he is in close touch with school officers and in designing a building has their counsel and aid. He is able to produce a type of primary, grammar, or even high school building which is appropriate to the financial ability of the town, and which combines simplicity, elegance, and adaptation to every known want. If changes have to be made or enlargements, he is best qualified to act. In several cities of the United States this method of procedure has resulted in types of school architecture which are creditable to the municipality and to the nation. Working under such a system as this with a competent business agent or a small committee on buildings selected because of their practical judgment, there need be little difficulty about specifications and contracts such as are almost sure to arise where comparatively inexperienced people are attempting to do the business. In these days of experts school officers cannot be expected to know every-

thing about school architecture, and it is proposed in what follows to speak of only those things which are most essential and fundamental.

Lighting. — The approved modern school is constructed more with reference to lighting than any other one feature. With rooms rectangular in shape there should be windows on one side equal to at least one-fifth of the floor space. In the opinion of some, if the rooms are more than twenty-two feet wide, windows should equal one-fourth of the floor space. The substitution of an iron or steel mullion for the ordinary timber work has helped to solve this problem. It requires the highest skill of the architect to arrange a series of windows reaching to the top of the room and at the same time to secure an artistic result. Mr. J. B. Snyder, of New York, has solved this problem. The question whether the windows should reach to within three, three and one-half, or four feet of the floor is of less consequence than that their tops are nearly flush with the ceiling. This precludes the use of the arched or pointed window-sash except in those portions of the building not used for class purposes. While light may be admitted both through the side and rear of the room, there is an increasing tendency to have all the windows on one side, keeping in mind what was said above about the width of the room. As far as appearance is concerned, it has been found that symmetry is of more importance than anything else. This has been seen in the case of old buildings where additional windows have been introduced, presenting an unsymmetrical effect. If the conditions are such that the light is shadowed by surrounding buildings, then reflecting prisms may be used to advantage. Except in old buildings there should be no need for such devices. In the orientation of the schoolhouse it should be seen that every room receives the direct rays of the sun for some part of the day. Double windows should be placed on the cold sides of schoolrooms.[1] Mr. Felix Clay, an English architect of note, discusses at great length the subject of lighting schoolrooms and summarizes his views as follows: —

[1] *Modern School Buildings*, Felix Clay.

"1. The main light to be from the left, other windows being only supplementary, or for the purpose of ventilation.

"2. That the transparent glass surface in a class room should be, if possible, one-fourth of the floor space, and should never, even on the south side, be less than one-sixth.

"3. That the sills of the windows should be not more than 3 ft. 6. in from the floor, and if higher, should be bevelled off.

"4. That the glass should be carried as near the ceiling as may be constructionally possible.

"5. That the piers between the windows should be narrow, and splayed or bevelled off.

"6. That the window at the end of the room opposite the master's desk be as near the back wall as possible, and in any case the distance between the back wall and the window being at least as small as the gangway behind the last row of seats.

"The windows themselves should be constructed so as to allow the fullest amount of transparent glass surface. No transoms or heavy mullions should be allowed, because these are apt to cast shadows or make the lighting uneven, even though there may be a sufficient surface of glass after deducting these. It is hardly necessary to add that in calculating the glass surface it is not the window openings that are meant, but actual glass surface."

Corridors. — The corridors should be from nine to twelve feet wide, according to the size of the building and the number of pupils to be accommodated. They should be well lighted, and the walls should be tinted in richer tones than are used in the class rooms. Staircases should be placed at either end of the corridor. They should be without open wells, with broad platforms for each story, with risers from six to six and one-half inches and treads from ten to twelve inches wide. Hand rails should be placed on either side and windows should be placed at the landings when possible. Fireproof or slow-burning construction is here more important than in any other portion of the building. The under floor should be laid diagonally and the upper floors should be of hard pine or maple and should be grooved and splined. The proper height of basements should be from nine to ten feet; the first story thirteen feet, and the second story twelve feet, as the light in rooms on the second story is usually better than that on the first.

The ceiling plays an important part in the distribution of

light and should be white. Stamped metal ceilings have often been tried, but are not as good as the plain plaster ceiling for reflecting light. The wainscoting of the building and the class rooms especially should be simple, whether of hard wood or plaster, and so painted or finished as to preclude the accumulation of dust. Hat and cloak rooms, if placed in separate rooms next to class rooms, should be heated and ventilated as effectively as any other part of the building; if placed along the corridors as is often done, they should have special facilities for the ingress and egress of air in order to effect perfect sanitation and ventilation.

Blackboards. — Natural slate blackboards are in all respects the best and are in the end most economical. The first cost is about twice that of artificial boards, but they require no repairs and are easily kept in order. In primary schools the lower edge of the blackboard should be about two feet from the floor, and this should be extended to three and one-half for high school pupils. These blackboards should be from three to four feet wide and the length of from thirty to forty feet should be sufficient for any class room. Blackboards should not be placed in the narrow spaces between windows. A slot made in the top moulding of the board offers a convenient place for pictures which are to be used on occasion. Picture mouldings should be placed throughout the building. In the construction of buildings, large or small, such details as lunch rooms, laboratories, offices, teachers' rooms, libraries, and supply rooms are matters for consultation between the architect, principal, and school officers.

Assembly Hall. — The assembly hall, which is often placed under the roof, is safer and more convenient when located on the first or second floor. Some of the larger New York schools have followed the example seen in several of the concert halls and have placed the assembly hall largely under ground, partially even under the sidewalk.

Basement and Attic. — There is great economy in constructing the basement so that it is largely free from pipes, ducts, and supporting columns and is perfectly dry and well lighted.

It can then be used for manual training, janitor's rooms, lunch room, bicycle room, and such other purposes as may be desired.

Equally important is it to utilize the space so often sacrificed to an attic. By the introduction of dormer windows excellent rooms for domestic science with a dining room, sewing and drawing rooms may be provided. Still better of course is the plan pursued in many of the New York schools of having a playground or gymnasium on the roof, which in that case must of course be flat.

The modern school provides many features which a few years ago would have seemed unnecessary; as, for example, rooms for the storage of books and supplies, a library, a rest or emergency room for teachers and pupils, an art room where may be displayed some of the best work in drawing or where generous citizens may place casts or fine pictures.

The Schoolroom. — The unit of the school building is of course the schoolroom; and if this is of right proportions, well lighted, comfortably seated, and tinted and furnished in good taste, it becomes simply a matter of multiplication to provide the most essential part of the building. A room 32 feet in length permits three rows of desks and ample space for the teacher; 28 feet is a satisfactory width and permits five rows of seats with aisles of sufficient width. A room 28 by 32 feet approximates 18 square feet of floor space for each of forty pupils and with a story height of 12 feet gives 200 cubic feet of air space for each pupil.

Sanitary Facilities. — It has long since been ascertained that the sanitary facilities of a schoolhouse can be secured without objectionable results no matter where they are located. It is simply a matter of plumbing and ventilation. If placed in the building, there should be the most approved appointments. The same is true if located, as is often done, in separate buildings connected by a close passage. In both instances the very best appliances that the plumber's art can devise are none too good, considering the requirement of a large school.

The educational departments of several states, notably

Maine, Illinois, Nebraska, Texas, and South Carolina, have taken up the matter of schoolhouses and grounds and have published admirable illustrated monographs showing the most ideal features in all kinds of school buildings. Mr. C. J. Kern, Superintendent of Schools in Winnebago County, Illinois, has done much to show how rural schools may be made social and economic centres and how school grounds and gardens may become influential factors in the development of the child. As the consolidation of districts increases, there is a larger demand for good roads, and so the interests of the farmer and of education are both advanced.

New York City Schools. — There has probably been no better instance of the efficacy of having one intelligent man control the construction of an educational plant than has been seen in New York City. The difficulties to be overcome in renovating old buildings which have been surrounded by tenement houses and factories and in adapting new buildings to the limited areas which can be provided where land is very expensive, have given to the work of Mr. Snyder peculiar significance. The most typical plan adopted has been that of the H building, which permits the maximum of light and air for every class room. Says John Beverly Robinson, —

"This clever plan, originated by Mr. Snyder's active mind as most available for New York schools, is that toward which new schools will endeavor to conform as far as circumstances will permit. All architects will appreciate the skill with which this plan covers the needs of the case. On each front the plan presents an ample court large enough for a spacious playground and for trees and shrubbery in addition, much to the advantage of the untaught training of childhood as all will testify whose early years have known cool, shaded school grounds."[1]

A study of these New York buildings is most interesting and inspiring, as it is found that not only is ordinary provision made for teaching and health, but physical, manual, and æsthetic education have all been provided for. The buildings are all attractive without and are inviting and in good taste within. The high schools are impressive struc-

[1] J. B. Robinson, *Architectural Record*, Vol. VII, p. 371.

tures and are superior to the best to be seen in Germany, as, having been designed more recently, they conform more fully to modern rules for lighting, ventilation, and sanitation. The school plant of New York City receives daily over 591,000 pupils, who are taught by over 15,000 teachers (1906–1907). The school buildings as seen to-day are consistent with the ideals and aims of a school system which has freed itself from political influences and has made merit and faithful service the sole qualifications for employment and advancement.

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CHAPTER XII

The Schoolhouse (*Continued*)

I. HEATING AND VENTILATION

Principles. — The designing of the schoolhouse involves at the same time the planning of systems of heating and ventilation, and it is a fact that the alteration or improvement of these, once the building is erected, is a matter of excessive expense. There is, at present, little confusion or dispute regarding standards to be attained in these systems, but there is still much uncertainty regarding satisfactory methods of reaching them. These accepted standards may be stated as follows: —

a. **Temperature.**— Schoolrooms should be kept at a fairly even temperature of not to exceed 70 degrees F. or somewhat less. In climates that are moist and not subject to extreme fluctuations a lower constant temperature for the schoolroom seems possible. Sixty-five degrees or even sixty degrees in England and in Scotland is regarded as suitable. Some physicians believe that under conditions of good nutrition, ventilation, and suitable clothing the body could easily be habituated to feel comfortable in a temperature considerably below 70 degrees. Probably, too, frequent short periods of standing and exercising the body would be helpful, to preserve an active circulation of the blood.

b. **Regularity.** — The heating of the schoolroom should be such as not to involve draughts, irregular distribution of heat within the room, or during different periods of the day, or excessive heating of portions of the air in transit to the room, as where it passes over steam coils heated over 212 degrees, or over very hot iron.

c. **Humidification.** — In very cold periods some process of

humidifying warmed air should be devised, as the excessive dryness resulting from raising the air at low temperature and with moderate amount of moisture to the normal temperature acts in a destructive manner on throat and other tissues.

d. **Quantity of Air.** — The provision of satisfactory ventilation requires the regular introduction of from twenty to thirty cubic feet of fresh air per minute for each occupant of a room. This is to be introduced in such a way as to provide for the escape of contaminated air with the least possible mixing with the fresh air.

e. **Adapting Air for Use.** — In cold weather, air used for ventilation must be heated before introduction to the room. In cities it should be filtered, especially if it is drawn into the building from near the ground.

f. **Expense.** — In climates as cold as those of the Northern states of the United States suitable heating and ventilation cannot be had inexpensively.

g. **Initial Outlay.** — If the right kind of expert service is utilized in the installation of heating and ventilating systems, a considerable initial outlay is decided economy in the long run, due account being taken of the relative expertness or lack of expertness in those who can be procured to manage the system.

h. **Means of Control.** — Under present conditions teachers are poorly trained with regard to an understanding of conditions of heating and ventilation. Their own sensations are quite unreliable as means of determining conditions in a room. Hence, as far as possible, automatic devices should be employed, such as two or more thermometers in each room, thermostats if practicable, and some simple means of testing the purity of the air at intervals.

i. **Direct Heating.** — In regions subject to extremes of cold, and with the development of extensive window space for the suitable lighting of schoolrooms, heating by the indirect method is insufficient. For the exposed sides of buildings, for large windows on the north side, etc., direct heating is necessary.

The Factors that enter into the planning and management of systems of heating and ventilation are the following: (*a*) degree of expertness in service available for planning, installation, and management of systems; (*b*) extent of building unit to be affected; (*c*) expense of equipment that can be afforded; (*d*) climatic and other demands, and degree of efficiency desired; (*e*) the demonstrated efficiency of types of plants recommended. These factors are, of course, to some extent interdependent. But the action of any administrative body will or should involve a consideration of all of them.

a. **Simplicity.** — If conditions are such that the Board of Education or other authorities cannot or will not make provision for the employment of specialists in the field of school building designing, installation, and subsequent management, wisdom indicates that relatively simple and tried systems should be favored, rather than those which are complicated, even if apparently more effective and economical. The latter are likely to be badly installed and managed so as to be frequently out of order later. Systems of forced ventilation, for example, are undoubtedly the best when effectively managed, but they require much more expensive service for their right control, and, if not in good working order, are not so serviceable as gravity ventilation. Similarly a gravity system, if not well managed, may be much less effective than the more primitive one of drawing air into each separate schoolroom over or by the radiating coils. In a small school with inferior janitor service a furnace may be both less economical and less effective than properly jacketed stoves, designed to combine heating and ventilation, placed in each room. No satisfaction can result from the purchase of an expensive heating and ventilating plant which is frequently out of order and which, owing to bad management, brings teachers to the primitive device of opening windows in cold weather to procure fresh air. Almost all systems require a certain amount of cooperation of teachers in charge of rooms, and if it cannot be reasonably assured that these will have sufficient knowledge and experience not merely to

utilize the means supplied to their own rooms, but to avoid throwing the plant out of gear for other rooms, then the simpler rather than the more complex system is undoubtedly to be favored. It is frequently charged that teachers, by opening windows and doors, or closing ventilating channels, disarrange the heating and ventilating of an entire building. Obviously the interests demand either a simpler system or better instructed teachers.

b. **Size of Structure.** — To a certain extent the former question is also part of that which concerns the size of building unit affected. The building department of a large city, where schools to accommodate twenty-five to one hundred classes are being erected, can, for initial purposes of planning and installation, and also for purposes of management, procure a degree of expert service that is wholly out of the question in the village and rural school. To some extent in the latter of course the difficulties attendant upon design and installation can be met by having certain state or county requirements which must be met before buildings and equipment can be erected. But so far these requirements, found in a number of states, can only result in the establishment of very crude and general standards, and, perhaps, prevent waste and excessive cost. The school building law of New York, for example, is good in a general way, but until state inspection reaches the point where trained experts will be provided for the office and when a large degree of oversight becomes possible, the finer matters of heating and ventilation can receive little attention. But it is in the matter of management that most uncertainty exists. The systems which are most effective under good management are the most wasteful and ineffective under poor handling. In very large buildings sufficient engineering skill may be provided to get good results out of systems of ventilation combining the plenum and exhaust. But in village schools, with ordinary janitor service, it may prove far more effective to install a simple gravity system. Again, in rural schools where even untrained janitor service is not available, it may often prove economy in the long run to install such a simple system as

can be easily managed by the teacher and pupils. Under these conditions, it may not prove advisable to have even a furnace, but the combination of heating and ventilation by means of stoves, however simple in management, is something that should receive much attention in installation. In this connection, of course, state or county approval of building plans is preeminently useful.

c. **Window Ventilation.** — In many parts of the United States, for the greater part of the year, window ventilation is effective, and not injurious. Devices to improve this have not yet received sufficient attention. Where the climate is not sufficiently cold to require heat during much of the school year, open windows combined with a simple form of gravity ventilation, which operates mainly to withdraw vitiated air through slightly heated shafts, may be sufficient. On the other hand, in northern and eastern states, with long winters and periods of excessive cold, it becomes imperative, if the interests of children are to be fully observed, that extensive systems both of artificial ventilation and of direct heating be developed.

d. **Practical Results Differ from Theoretical.** — Especially in the matter of ventilation, and to some extent in heating, a great disparity exists between engineering theory, and the practical results obtained. Systems of ventilation, especially based on the gravity system, have seemed to be perfect from the scientific standpoint, but have failed in practice. Systems of automatic or semi-automatic regulation often fail to meet requirements, although theoretically perfect. Every one who has had extended experience with school buildings can recall numerous instances where school boards have experimented (for such it could be called) with new devices, only to find them fail in practice, either owing to inherent defects or to lack of ability shown in the subsequent management of the plant.

The Types of Systems of heating and ventilation in use, beginning with the most scientifically planned, are the following. The description given is brief and is not supposed to take the place of the detailed ones to be found in treatises referred to in the appended bibliography.

a. **Plenum and Exhaust,** combined with direct radiation in the schoolrooms. Air is drawn from outside of building, preferably from the top, by fans which force it along ducts into the rooms, after warming and moistening it by means of steam coils. Humidification is accomplished by jets of steam discharging into the air current. Somewhere in the duct bringing air into the building a diaphragm of burlap or other material may be stretched across, and a constant flow of water over this will act as a satisfactory filter for the air. With this system may or may not be fans in the attic to draw off vitiated air from rooms (exhaust). Or escaping air may be drawn into a large central chimney which, heated by the ascending current from furnace (the smoke, of course, being kept out of the chamber that carries the air). The most satisfactory arrangement is to have air enter the room through two or more openings on the upper part of the wall and discharge through larger openings on the same side near the floor. This avoids drafts, the undue mixing of foul and pure air, and most effectively prevents the establishment of channel-like currents through which air passes directly from inlet to outlet, thus leaving parts of room unventilated. In very cold climates it is undesirable to have air introduced so hot as to serve entirely to warm the room, so radiators are provided at exposed places, especially under the expansive windows of rooms lighted from only one side. This is the most effective system of combining heating, ventilation, and economy in very large buildings. It requires expensive management, but with use of electric current to drive the fans an engineer is not required. As usually erected, ducts are too small, with the result that the loss of energy is great if sufficient ventilation is obtained. Inlets should have four or six square feet for each ordinary schoolroom, and outlets should be even larger. The supply of heat in radiators may be regulated by the thermostats, which, especially when electric fans are used, results in considerable economy of fuel. In case air is introduced at a temperature above that desired for the room, it is better to have an arrangement whereby some that has not passed over the heat-

ing coils may be allowed to mingle with that which has been heated. This is effected by having the air duct divide just before it comes to the heating coil, so that, by means of a damper, only part of the air forced into the room will have passed over the heating coils. This damper may be regulated by a lever worked from the schoolroom itself, or automatically.

b. **Gravity Systems** of many forms all depend on the principle that heated air rises, or rather is forced up by cold air falling into its place. In milder climates the air warmed enough to be forced through the rooms also carries heat enough to keep them warm. In colder climates direct radiation must be used in addition to ventilation. The complete gravity system of ventilation always involves not merely the warming of the air which is to rise into and circulate in the rooms, but also the additional heating of air withdrawn so as to create a current of vitiated air away from the room. This is usually accomplished by having outlets lead to a large central pipe or chimney which is kept warm by a smaller central chimney, the effect of the hot chimney being to draw the escaping air out at considerable speed. The device of heating the escaping air (which even in warm weather may be accomplished by a very slight fire) makes it possible to ventilate the rooms equally in summer, when it is not desirable to heat the air that is drawn into the rooms. In the introduction of fresh air into the room it was originally customary to have inlets at the bottom of the wall. To some extent this grew up because original gravity systems simply allowed for the escape of vitiated air through holes in ceiling or through windows. But in cold weather if fresh air is introduced at the bottom of the room, it tends to move in direct line to outlets, leaving large spaces unventilated. Hence it is best to have air inlets somewhat high in the walls, and outlets near the floor, as in the forced systems of ventilation. Of course this reverses temporarily the upward movement; but in the general circulation of warm air from the bottom of the building ultimately out through the top sufficient momentum is acquired to withstand this temporary reversal. Open windows tend seriously to

derange the gravity system. Its effectiveness depends upon having very wide ducts, much larger than are ordinarily supplied, and in having several inlets at the bottom of the building for fresh, cold air, so that those on the lee side, wherever that may be at any particular time, may be closed, and those facing the wind left open. The air may be heated by furnace or by steam coils. The disadvantages of furnace heating are three: it is difficult to moisten or humidify the air properly; it is apt to be overheated in passing over very hot parts of the furnace, and so become disagreeable and injurious (for causes that are yet somewhat obscure); and it is quite possible for poisonous gases, especially carbon monoxide, to escape from the furnace and so render the ventilating air quite injurious. It has been demonstrated that carbon monoxide will escape through a furnace, even if all seams are tight, if the iron gets heated to a dull red. The system of steam coils for heating air used in the gravity system is more flexible and effective. The air does not readily get burned or overheated, and it is easily possible to introduce a jet of steam which will bring about proper humidification. Since in cold climates direct heat must also be provided for the rooms, the steam system of heating is more effective and safe. The gravity system may also involve the use of the thermostat for regulating temperature, and a device for allowing cold air to mix with the warm that is ascending to a particular room, in case the incoming air is too warm. Modifications of the gravity system, involving the circulation of warmed air through hollow spaces under the floor, and the withdrawal of the foul air through dry closets, were once in considerable vogue, but have been largely discarded. With ducts sufficiently large, and proper control of inlets of air, the gravity system becomes effective and economical for small buildings and inexpert service. With it ventilation during warm weather may be kept up at slight expense, which is not true of the forced system unless electric current is used for fans. In practice the gravity system should have separate ducts leading to each room, since the opening of a window on the lee side of a building during high wind may withdraw all fresh air from other

rooms. If the opening of windows cannot be controlled, then the effectiveness of the system depends on having the janitor able to shut off certain ducts, or diminish their supply so that other ducts may be brought into use.

c. **Local Ventilation with Central Heating.** — Since in almost all larger school buildings steam heating will be installed, even if an air-conveying system cannot be afforded, it becomes important to consider devices for ventilating rooms in which only radiators with either steam or hot water are found. One of these is to have grated openings into the schoolroom from the outer air just at the bottom of steam radiators, and the latter shielded, so that as the air about the radiator is warmed it ascends and draws in fresh air from outside. The shield around the radiator prevents any draft from reaching the children. Foul air from the room may be allowed to escape from a window opening, but this is usually inadvisable, because direct currents are apt to be set up from the radiator opening to the window opening, which carry off not merely fresh air but heat. Better is another opening, or two, not far from the bottom of the room, on the same side as the radiator; as air is drawn over the latter, and ascends in the room, air from near the floor, and presumably cold and foul, will be forced out. Such a system is largely affected by the blowing of the wind, and if air can find passage around doors or transoms, it will not give effective ventilation, but it usually works much better than simple window ventilation in preventing drafts, and in heating the air for use in the room. All inlets and outlets should have lids to be controlled by hand.

A simple modification of this plan is seen in some schools where no system of ventilation has been provided and no openings made in the walls. The steam radiators which are under the windows are set a short distance back and may even be left unjacketed. A broad duct of tin or galvanized iron is made, five or six inches deep and the width of the window, and so shaped as to permit of one end being placed under the partly opened window, and the other bent down so as to come near the bottom of the radiator. The radiator

heats air in its vicinity, which ascends and creates a current of fresh air from outside into the room. The bottom of another window, slightly opened, will act as an outlet, this latter being shielded so as to prevent a draft in case the current is temporarily reversed. Like the former, this device works well or ill according to the direction of the wind, but it is inexpensive and simple to manage and does provide some ventilation. As a supplement to window ventilation, to be used in extremely cold weather, it is of some importance.

d. **Local Ventilation and Heating.** — In many rural and village schools the stove is still the only source of heat. It is inexpensive to install and manage, but it is wasteful of fuel and distributes its heat badly. But when combined with a system of openings to outer air somewhat like that described in the last section, not only are its heating qualities greatly improved, but it can be made a very effective means of ventilation as well. This consists in having built around the stove a jacket extending to the floor and leaving a space of from six to twelve inches between the stove and the shield. Of course a doorway into the fire-box through the shield must be provided. Between the stove and the shield at the top the space is left open. The space under the stove is connected with the outer air, to that under the floor if it is wholesome, but preferably by ducts leading to the air at sides of the building. When the stove is hot, it warms the air between it and the shield, which air then rises and circulates through the room. Fresh air from outside is necessarily drawn in, and with a hot stove a constant current will be kept up. In ordinary rural schools much of the escaping air will pass through cracks around the windows and doors, but it may prove desirable to provide two or more outlets with flaps or doors, so that those to the windward may be closed, in which case foul air will always flow out to the lee side. As a means of preventing the discomforts of radiated heat, the above device is worthy of attention; but also in improving the ventilation of a schoolroom it is of great importance. If, when buildings are being planned, provision is made for a chimney which not only receives the stove pipes, but will also carry tubes to extract the

foul air (which should be admitted near the floor), the efficiency of the system would be increased. In a system used largely in Massachusetts[1] special "extractor flues" are built to carry off the vitiated air, and these are kept warm by additional small stoves. The system is then in effect a complete furnace system in miniature, all installed within the single room and capable of easy management.

e. **"Flushing" Ventilation.** — No system of school ventilation can be considered complete which does not permit occasional "flushing" of the schoolroom, which means a complete exchange of all the air within the room for that from without. In cold weather it is particularly easy to effect this, since with windows partly opened from the top and partly from the bottom, especially in schoolrooms with an abundance of windows, the exchange will take place in a very few minutes. This "flushing" will carry off dust and organic matter which are frequently not removed by ordinary processes. It must be remembered that the loss of heat through "flushing" ventilation is more apparent than real. It is true that the air introduced from without will, at the moment of entry, be at the temperature prevailing outside; but the amount of heat required to warm a room full of air is small when walls and all solid materials are already raised in temperature. When such an exchange of inside for outside air is effected, radiation from walls and floors and furniture very soon brings up the temperature of the introduced air with comparatively small loss of heat in the former. Of course, while "flushing" ventilation is going on, children should not be left sitting, and if the air introduced is very cold, they should even leave the room. But to have pupils vigorously exercising during this moment or two either in the room or in the hall outside is not harmful, but rather very conducive to health. There is no question but that, especially in poorly ventilated rooms, there should be a "flushing" at the end of every hour, and preferably at the end of each period.

Effects of Poor Ventilation. — The matter of school venti-

[1] See Sixty-fourth Report of Massachusetts Board of Education.

lation is one of the most complex with which the superintendent and principal have to deal. The obscure character of the ill effects of poor ventilation has tended to postpone any scientific consideration of the subject. Even yet it is not quite established whether the depression felt in unventilated rooms is due to the excess of carbonic acid gas, which is known to be produced by respiration, or to the decomposition of organic matter thrown off by lungs and skin. Furthermore, little is known as to possible habituation to foul air. But all investigations seem to point with certainty to the fact that human beings breathing the air that has been breathed before are temporarily depressed and may suffer permanent lowering of vitality and become more subject to disease. The probability is that if we could measure the product of school work we should find a startling decrease of school effectiveness in rooms not well ventilated, probably far more in the long run than would be the cost of a first-class system of ventilation.

Final Responsibility of Principals. — But the difficulties lie in the general recognition of all these facts. Thermostats may be devised to automatically regulate the temperature of the room, but *there is no equivalent* instrument to test the purity of the air. A relatively simple measure is Wolpert's air tester, which consists simply of a bottle of lime-water so arranged that a rubber bulb can pump air from the room into the bottle. The number of times the bulb must be squeezed before a certain degree of milkiness results is taken as a crude index of the purity of the air. More exact devices are available, but it is doubtful if they can be used except by the person really interested in the subject. It seems that the only way to attain valuable results in the practice of ventilation is to have principals of schools receive special training in this field. Until they shall have had education for this function, even the best of intentions in those who erect school buildings will be largely brought to naught.

Economics of Heating and Ventilating. — In the use of power for ventilation and fuel for heating and also ventilation, schools are peculiarly liable to suffer from the effects

of mismanagement or peculation. To some extent this loss can be obviated by careful keeping of accounts and measurement of work done. An excellent example of such a study is reported in 1906–1907 Biennial Report of the Schools of Erie, Pennsylvania. Over a series of years accounts were kept of fuel consumed, space to be warmed, and average winter temperature. The unit of work done was taken as "thousand cubic feet of air space heated." On the basis of this unit it was possible to test different kinds of coal, effectiveness of different systems of ventilation, etc. The following tables show some of the results:—

Year	Cubic Feet of Air Heated	Total Cost	Cost per M Cubic Feet	Average Winter Temperature
1898–1899 . . .	3,510,000	$10,009	$3.31	25.70 deg.
1899–1900 . . .	3,452,000	9,831	3 17	31.24 deg.

AVERAGE COST PER THOUSAND CUBIC FEET FOR NINE YEARS

Fuel		Ventilation	
Coal	$3.71	Gravity	$3 00
Coke	2.50	Natural (window) . . .	2.67
Gas	3.10	Fan (mechanical) . . .	2.45
System		Heat Control	
Furnaces	$2.93	Automatic	$2.39
Boilers	2.48	Non-automatic	2.72

Arranged in order of economical consumption of fuel during 1906–1907, the school buildings list as follows: No. 2, $1.85; High, $2.04; No. 18, $2.37, etc.

"The expense has been controlled to quite an extent by the intelligent efforts of the janitors to present creditable results at the close of each heating season."

2. SCHOOL FURNITURE

Principles. — Just as in the case of the installation of a system of ventilation, so the equipment of a school building with furniture involves extensive initial outlay, is to a great

extent a matter for the expert, and for its effective use requires active coöperation on the part of teachers. And as in the case of systems of ventilation, principles are not fully understood, as these relate to practice. But some which are considerably in advance of common usage are generally accepted by experts. Among the principal facts to be considered are the following: —

a. **Sedentary School Life.** — The greater number of days in the school year, the shortening of recesses, and the very sedentary character of the school life, combined with the great plasticity of the bones and muscles of youth, render school children extremely liable to permanent bodily derangements in case of maladjusted seats and desks. Even with the best of furniture, the long periods of sitting, the disposition of pupils to assume uncouth postures, and the inability, sometimes, of ill-nourished children to hold the body in the right position, may result in lasting distortions of body and injury to eyes; but these evils are greatly exaggerated by wrong types of equipment.

b. **Adjustable Furniture.** — Even in the most carefully graded rooms it is impossible to provide a fixed type of desk which will be satisfactory to all children. The single individual desk with a back to the seat is, of course, a great advance over older types of benches without back supports such as are yet occasionally found in rural schools in America, and even in city schools in Europe. And when the fixed individual desk with backed seat is provided, it is also an advance step to supply these in grades adapted as nearly as may be to the average or mode size of given classes of children. But even with the best adjustment many individual children will not be fitted. Sometimes rooms supplied with unadjustable desks have, along with a large number of a given size, a few of smaller and a few of larger dimensions, to accommodate pupils of unusual development. But this device is frequently rendered unserviceable by the necessities of having the seats arranged harmoniously in the room, the larger ones in the rear, and smaller in front, combined with the further fact that teachers do not always feel free to

locate pupils in the room solely with reference to seats, other considerations like those of discipline, ability to hear, etc., figuring prominently. For rural schools, however, the device of having seats of several sizes is a valuable one.

c. **Types of Adjustment.** — Accommodation to the needs of the individual pupil demands that school furniture should be of a flexible type, providing for adaptation both to individual peculiarities and to different kinds of work. At least three kinds of flexibility are to be considered, and are to-day provided for in different types of furniture: (*a*) adjustability in height, both of seat and desk top; (*b*) adjustability in the "plus" and "minus" distance, roughly, the degree to which the desk top stands in front of the seat, or, more correctly, the distance to which the vertical line from the edge of the desk top nearest the pupil is in front of or behind a vertical line from the front edge of the seat; and, finally, (*c*) adjustability of the slope of the surface at which the pupil works. The need of flexibility in height of seat and desk top is evident, if the liability of youthful bodies to lateral curvature and other forms of distortion is taken into account. Not less important is the position of the desk top with reference to the vertical line from the seat, as this also greatly determines whether bodily postures customarily assumed are good or not. Finally it is found that different slopes are necessary in reading and in writing, if the eyes are to be brought into correct position at the same time that the body retains its normal posture.

d. **Back Adjustment.** — The back of the seat should be such as will also give proper support to the child when he is in a normal position. Some authorities believe that the back should be adjustable also, that is, that it should have a spring so that it may yield to the pupil's weight when the latter desires to change his position, such as is found sometimes in typewriter's or office chairs. Since this type is expensive and liable to become a source of disturbance, it has not been widely introduced. But in view of the need of frequent change of position on the part of children, the idea involved is worthy of consideration.

e. **Freedom of Body.** — Not only should school seats be adjusted as fully as possible to the individual body, but it has come to be better recognized in recent years that if permanent bodily distortions are to be avoided, frequent opportunity should be given for movement and change of position. This may be accomplished partly by the flexible chair back previously alluded to. In some primary schools it is being secured through discarding the fixed desk altogether, and returning to the plan of having chairs and a large table around which children sit, as in the kindergarten. This requires more space, probably involves more noise, and does not provide height of seat and desk top adapted to each individual pupil. But it does permit much flexibility of posture and of work, and the frequent change of position may compensate for other disadvantages. Change of position or relief from the fixed postures that lead to malformations may be secured to some extent through frequent calesthenic exercises, standing, marching, periods of play within the schoolroom, etc. The development of these has, if anything, been retarded in recent years in the disposition to eliminate the recesses and to add to the amount of seat study. The development of more extensive gymnastic exercise, including that of a corrective sort, is important. Increase in the amount of laboratory and shop work will tend to counteract some bad effects of too much seat work, by providing frequent change. Garden or field work might contribute even more to sound bodies. It seems probable, too, that the tendency instinctive in the growing child to frequently change his sitting posture has not been sufficiently recognized, even with existing types of furniture. Instead of always bringing pressure to bear upon the pupil to return to one normal position, several positions, none unhealthful if not indulged too habitually, might be permitted. It is conceivable that the half-reclining posture commonly assumed by weak-backed children might not be objectionable if indulged in consciously as a rest for tired muscles, and if suitable precautions were taken to prevent it or any other holding of the body from becoming a fixed habit. Common sense would seem to sug-

gest that bones take their shape and muscles develop their strength, not uniformly, but first by pressure here and relief there, and *vice versa*. The school furniture should provide for the assumption of varied positions.

Functions of Teacher and Principal. — If true flexibility in school furniture is to be obtained, it can only be through the efforts of the teacher and the principal. When teachers can be trained to study the physical well-being of each pupil as closely as they scrutinize the scholastic attainments, it will not be difficult for them to diagnose cases of maladjustments to seats, and to procure proper fitting. It is a serious reproach that so often when rooms are fitted with expensive adjustable furniture, no genuine attempt is made to fit it to individual pupils. In this connection, something might be gained by a system of publicity in each schoolroom. If a notice in clear type and easily comprehended English were placed where all children would be apt to read it, discussing such matters as proper ventilation, heating, and seating, it might create enough public opinion to induce the teacher to take a more active interest. Such notice should indicate clearly to pupils their rights, and help them discover when correct conditions are not being fully met. But, in the last analysis, training on the part of the school principal is indispensable, and until supervisors receive special preparation fitting them for their particular work, many excellent educational plans will fail of realization.

The following principles are noteworthy, as regards school desks. (*a*) Authorities largely agree that between the verticals dropped from the rear edge of the desk and the front edge of the seat, there should rarely be a "plus" distance, but that in reading the verticals should fall together, making the "zero" distance, and in writing the vertical from the desk should fall two or more inches behind the vertical from the seat, making two inches of "minus" distance. If neither the seat nor desk top slides so as to make these distances adjustable, a slight permanent minus distance should be preferred. (*b*) For reading purposes the desk top should have a considerable slant, even forty-five degrees for the best conditions.

This is sometimes secured by having a top that may change its inclination, or by having a book-holder which may be moved out of the way for writing. Writing requires a slight inclination only, so in desks with fixed tops conditions have been equalized or compromised as much as possible, and the top inclines at a slope of from one in ten to one in six. (*c*) The introduction of vertical script has generally been believed to relieve children of an almost inevitable tendency to twist the body during writing. A revolving seat has advantages in the writing period, as well as making withdrawal from the desk a simple matter. (*d*) The straight back to a school seat is not favored. Authorities say that the seat should slope at an angle of ten degrees, but there is disagreement as to whether, in the seat with the fixed back, the child should rest against the support when writing. The kind of support which should be given to the back is also still a matter of doubt.

Simplicity and Durability. — The most difficult problem, apart from uncertainties as to the character of the back support and slope of top, in connection with school desks, is to combine simplicity and durability with efficiency. Many types of complicated desks have been proposed which seem to meet all hygienic requirements; but they have been unmanageable under ordinary school conditions, or have lacked durability. The usage given to school furniture by children is very severe, and complicated desks soon get out of order. Unless it is known that new types have been tried and proved successful, it is well for a board of education that has not under its direction experts to attend to these matters to rely upon relatively simple and well-proven types. In American states, of course, the desk which is adjustable at least as to height of seat and desk top is undoubtedly replacing the fixed type. Beyond that many features of flexibility are still in the experimental stage.

3. THE CLEANING OF SCHOOL BUILDINGS AND APPLIANCES

Floors and Dust. — In many respects the problems of cleaning school buildings are not unlike those encountered in keeping other types of public buildings in order. But the constant use of schoolrooms for a considerable part of the day, and the unusual liability of children to infection do introduce some special features. Of especial importance are devices for reducing the accumulations of dust which may be stirred up by movements and exercises. Floors, as a rule, cannot be covered in schoolrooms. Hence they should be made so as to reduce cracks to the minimum. In some German and many English schools they are constructed of small blocks, sometimes set in cement, which are excellent from the standpoint of cleanliness and also serve to greatly deaden sound. Floors made of soft wood require hardening preparations in order to withstand wear. After daily sweeping, floors and other woodwork require dusting with a damp cloth which is better described as wiping; dusting is universally conceded to be an abomination if performed with a feather duster, as it simply redistributes the dust in the atmosphere to be later breathed by the children.[1] In recent years some attention has been given to preparations of oil to be applied at frequent intervals to the floor, and which have the effect of "laying" dust and dirt so that it may be later wiped up. Excellent hygienic results are derivable from this process, though it is still somewhat in an experimental stage. Since this is a matter of requiring no great outlay, it is one in which every progressive board might well do some experimenting, as no possible harm can result.

4. THE DISINFECTING OF APPLIANCES USED IN COMMON

Contagion. — The public school offers a peculiarly favorable field for the spread of contagious disease. Children come from

[1] See Pruden, *Dust and its Dangers.*

all kinds of homes, breathe the same air, rub against each other, and frequently use common appliances. In reference to the things which are handled and touched it is especially important that either individual ownership should be promoted, or careful disinfection provided.

In the past the use of common drinking-cups has been necessary, and doubtless much disease was thereby transmitted. Something can be accomplished by arranging that the common cup or cups shall stand in running water when not in use. It is also a wise policy to subject cups to a disinfecting process each night, using hot water and soap, a weak solution of carbolic acid or sulpho-napthol.

Drinking Fountains. — But wherever running water is supplied, the use of the drinking-cup should be abolished and drinking fountains provided instead. These have been so perfected that they are capable of being used by all children, and are absolutely free from possibility of contagion. In principle, a small jet of water, rising a few inches, is provided, but with such low speed and regularity that any one may drink from it without discomfort. If water is abundant, these fountains are made to run continuously; but if water may not be wasted, a lever is provided which is so arranged that the jet runs only while the lever is held in a certain position. A spring carries the lever back when released and closes the fountain. Drinking fountains of this sort (of course, all varieties are still patented appliances) are now used in public places and on war-ships. They are frequently found in the best schools abroad.

The use in common of pencils, pens, etc., or the practice of having the school-books given out indiscriminately among pupils renders some system of disinfection of these desirable. Appliances of a very simple sort can be provided, involving a tight case in which the articles can be placed, and a small quantity of formaldehyde used to disinfect. The difficulty is greater in the case of books, but has been successfully met in public and school libraries. Or the school may provide tough envelopes in which pens and pencils can be kept, named for each individual so that the school retains control, but individual use is still made possible.

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CHAPTER XIII

Text-books and School Supplies

Functions of Text-books. — The European observer of American schools is impressed by the large part which text-books play in the various state systems. Much capital and business enterprise go into the making of text-books; many are made by the ablest teachers; they are large, splendidly illustrated, and usually well executed mechanically. Extensive legislation in each state regarding the selection, adoption, purchase, and even publication of text-books indicates a widespread public interest and state participation. Generally speaking, the content as well as the method of education in any given field is determined by the text-book; it is the pupil's *vade mecum*, and the teacher's guide. Too close adherence to the text is usually condemned as a vice of American education, but foreigners note admiringly the ability of the pupil to learn from his books, independently of the teacher.

Two features of American education have contributed mainly to this development: (*a*) The widespread prevalence of rural schools, with many classes, where the teacher could give each pupil or each class but little time, and where it was of utmost importance that the pupil, during the time that he was not reciting, should have abundance of well-organized material to study. From this condition has grown up the American custom of making the "recitation period," so called, largely an examination on the part of the teacher of the work done by the pupil in studying his book; (*b*) the large proportion of teachers who are immature and lacking in experience and funds of information as well as in control of method apart from the text. For these, too, the "hearing of the lesson"

has been the line of least resistance, and, probably, often of greatest profit to the pupil. These conditions have operated to produce the American type of text-book, with its digested content of all the knowledge which the child is expected to acquire, its excellent maps and illustrations, and its arrangement primarily for the teacher who "sets tasks."

Within recent years considerable pressure has developed in the pedagogic field to prevent teachers from relying too closely on the single text-book, and this has developed a tendency to use "supplemental" books. In the fields of reading, geography, history, science, and even in language study, supplemental books of many kinds have come to the front and have been widely used. The pedagogic significance of this need not concern us, except in noting the fact that it is an important movement in education and destined to yet greater developments; but we find that the situation, as regards the supplemental books, has greatly altered many of the older administrative questions touching text-books, like uniformity, methods of selection, state publication, and free supply to pupils.

Evolution of Text-books. — In view of the traditions and necessities of education in the various states, it is undoubtedly true that the text-book as an agency or tool in the educational process will long continue to be of supreme importance in determining the content and method of that education. Much as we may oppose excessive dependence upon it on the part of teacher and pupil, it will long remain true that the immaturity of the majority of our teachers, with their consequent want of initiative and experience, their lack of professional training, and the fact that in rural schools they have many classes and in urban schools many pupils, will render the part played by the text-book in education, second in importance only to the work of the teacher. But the text-book is still in the stage of active evolution; as pedagogical wisdom grows, as knowledge of the art of teaching crystallizes, and as new ideas of the educational content which should be taught to children develop, text-books will change accordingly. Every few years will mark decided

advances, and within certain limits every educator will preserve an experimental attitude toward new discoveries and efforts in this field. Recognizing that in education the text-book plays much the same part that the tool does in the hands of the workman or the machine in the factory, the educator who is progressive will study all innovations, and on finding in something new a superior instrument, he will unhesitatingly recommend the abandonment of the old and relatively inferior tool. From the standpoint of educational administration, it is of supreme importance that this evolutionary and experimental process be recognized. It is important that in the process of administrative centralization, conditions should not develop which will greatly limit freedom, or seriously discourage innovation, but which will permit advanced steps to be taken by communities and leaders which clearly see their way to better things.

Commercial Aspects. — In recent years the production of text-books has developed into a business enterprise of vast magnitude and national scope. Local production in state, county, or city, tends to diminish in importance. Competition still plays, however, an active part in production and sale, and the progressive producers are giving constantly more attention to the quality of service enlisted in the production of these books. It still remains true, therefore, that the community, board of education, or educator who desires to favor output of an advanced character, can do so. By putting a premium on the best, by conveying to publishers ideas of the quality of work in books demanded by the best teachers, and by giving wide publicity to excellence wherever found, communities and individuals can greatly serve to direct the process of evolution which is going on so rapidly in this field. There can be no question that as all good administration in education insists on putting a high valuation on the character and training of the teacher, similarly it should put a large premium on the development of the chief tools which the teacher must use — namely, text-books.

It is from this point of view that we must consider the various facts of an administrative nature in this field. The character,

scope, and means of legislation directing the selection, period of use, extent of uniformity, and designating the quality and price of text-books becomes of much moment.

I. UNIFORMITY OF TEXT-BOOKS

Absence of Uniformity. — Formerly in the district schools of the states, so the histories of education inform us, there was no uniformity of books within the school, but each pupil brought that kind of book which his parents had at home, and in that the pupil worked. Naturally, with the coming of the graded system came uniformity of text-books in a given school for a given year, but not infrequently a new teacher would want a change. The laws yet in force in Pennsylvania illustrate what was once a common condition. "Immediately after the annual election of the teachers in each school district of the state, and before the opening of schools for the ensuing term, there shall be a meeting of the directors or controllers, and teachers of each district; at which meeting the directors and controllers shall decide upon a series of school-books in the different branches to be taught during the ensuing year; which books, and no others, shall be used in the schools of the district during said period." In New York boards of education adopt and designate text-books, but "in the common school districts . . . the text-books to be used in the schools shall be designated at any annual meeting by two-thirds vote of all the voters present and voting at such meeting." A book, once adopted, however, may not be superseded for five years, except by a three-fourths vote of the Board of Education, or in common school districts, by a three-fourths vote of district meeting.

Compulsory Uniformity of text-books has come to be the rule in all states, to some degree. But the areas over which uniformity must prevail, differ widely, as do also the agencies designated to select books. Local uniformity — in district, town, or township — is found in all the New England states, and in the North Central and Middle Atlantic states, except Indiana, Kansas, Missouri, and South Dakota. In all of the Southern

states, county uniformity is prescribed, except in Delaware, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Alabama, where state uniformity prevails. In Iowa we find a transition stage. If one-third of the school directors of a county petition for county uniformity, the question must be submitted to popular vote, but uniformity, if voted, does not affect cities within the county. Arkansas also allows the question of uniformity in each county to be settled by popular vote.[1]

Many Western and some Southern states have adopted state uniformity, and have provided text-book commissions or other machinery for the selection and distribution of text-books. California undertakes the publication of its own text-books for elementary schools, but has discontinued the practice of employing local educators to compile such books. Now the State Text-book Commission can purchase or lease copyrights or plates. A variety of practices in connection with state uniformity will be examined later.

Reasons for Uniformity. — At the bottom of the widespread demand for uniformity over large areas, and for a fixed period during which books may not be changed, have been several motives. The shifting of population from one district to another has been an active factor, for with purely local adoption families moving into new districts were frequently obliged to buy new outfits of school-books before their children could attend the local schools. In regions where stock-raising and agriculture on rented land have developed on a large scale, this condition has affected a large number of people. Another factor has been the acknowledged failure of purely local boards in dealing with the problem of selection. In the competition to have books chosen, agents of various publishers have brought to bear all kinds of pressure, legitimate and illegitimate, and local boards have not always been able to make the selections which were best for the schools, or have made selections which have entailed undue expense on patrons. Undoubtedly, too, it was found in many states that the prices of books were being raised to an unreasonable figure by publishers and retailers, and this suggested the fixing of

[1] See Dexter, *History of Education in the United States*, p. 218.

the price by state or county authority. To a certain extent this was at the bottom of the state publication scheme of California, for it was generally believed that state publication would greatly affect the price of books sold to school patrons.[1]

Selection of Text-books. — Apart from the matter of the price, the most important function of authorities in connection with text-books is the selection. In many cities, where the right to select is a local matter, the Board of Education assumes this function, but with an increasing tendency to cooperate with the Superintendent. In 233 cities and towns of Massachusetts the Superintendent exercises no authority in the selection of text-books in 8; advisory in 85; joint power in 44; and in 92 he has full powers of selection.[2] Where county uniformity prevails, the County Board of Education usually makes selections, this board usually, though not always, being composed partly of teachers, and so involving a fair amount of expert service in the selection.

State Authorities. — In the matter of establishing state uniformity, of course the enormous importance of the work, and the strong possibility of corruption, has made the selection of the state authority for selection a difficult one. In Alabama the new text-book commission shall be composed of the Governor, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and "three eminent teachers of the state" selected by the Governor. But this text-book commission is aided by a subcommission of "a president or member of the faculty of one of the normal schools, a president or member of the faculty of one of the agricultural colleges, a superintendent of one of the cities, and two teachers of the common schools," who have advisory powers with reference to books, and the state commission "shall give great weight to the report and recommendation of said subcommission." In Indiana a board somewhat similarly constituted is found consisting of eleven members; but the source of each is partly fixed; it includes the presidents of two universities, and the state normal, the superintendents of

[1] See Faulkner, "The California State Text-book System," *Ed. Rev.* 20: 44.
[2] Prince, *School Administration*, p. 256.

the three largest cities, and "three citizens actively engaged in educational work in the state" appointed by the Governor. It is essentially a board of educational experts. When state uniformity (and publication) was authorized in California, the State Board was made to consist of the Governor, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and the presidents of the state normal schools; to this subsequently was added the President of the State University and the Professor of Pedagogy therein. Later the law authorized the formation within this board of a text-book commission of three, the limits of whose authority have not yet been fully defined, but this commission has power to employ an expert secretary and to make recommendations to the whole board. This text-book commission also is empowered to form committees or to procure recommendations from educators in the state in the matter of selecting books. In Oregon the adoption of text-books is not in the hands of the State Board of Education, but is under a special state board of text-book commissioners appointed by the Governor "from different sections of the state" for four years. There is no requirement for expert qualifications. In Kansas a similar board of eight is found, with no prescription as to expert requirements, "but not more than three shall be chosen from any one political party." In fact, the presence of teachers on this board would seem to be rendered impossible by the provision that "no per diem shall be allowed to any member of this commission who shall, at the time of service thereon, be receiving a stated salary from this state or from any county or city therein." In Idaho the State Board elects the commission, "at least two of whom shall be business men" and any one shall be eligible who "has had not less than five years' experience as teacher, and who is actively engaged in educational work in the state." The members hold office for six years.

In North Carolina the State Board is the Text-book Commission, but there is a subcommission of "not less than five nor more than ten (to be appointed by the Governor) from among the teachers or city or county superintendents actually engaged in the school business of the state," which subcom-

mission shall make examinations and recommendations to the State Board. In Nevada the State Board of Education consists of the Governor, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and the President of the State University; and the Text-book Commission is composed of this body with four additional members appointed by the Governor, who "shall be principals of schools employing not less than five teachers, or superintendents."

2. PRICE REGULATION

State uniformity practically always involves price regulation. The State Board or Text-book Commission is authorized to enter into contracts with the publishers or dealers fixing the rate at which books shall be sold or exchanged, and sometimes requiring the maintenance of supplies of such books at designated depositories. In the case of county uniformity, it is also common to have the price regulated at the time of the adoption of the book, for otherwise a local monopoly of an intolerable kind would be possible. Since the law or rule frequently requires that the local retail price shall not exceed the retail price anywhere else in the country, it is also customary to provide that if, during the life of the contract, the price should be reduced elsewhere, it will also be reduced in the district or state where the contract is made. Only in Southern and Western states is state contract found. In a few states, boards of education are authorized to buy books and sell them to individuals, as a means of reducing the price to school patrons. In Ohio boards may appoint an agent to sell to school children books which such board has contracted for, but at not more than ten per cent above cost, and it is even provided that where children are moving into another district where different books are used, they may sell back to the board the books they have bought. In West Virginia, New Mexico, Arizona, and Ohio the local boards may purchase books and arrange for local depositories for the sale of such books to school children. In the case of Ohio, where the State Board fixes a large list of books from which all adoptions must be

made, the prices for all are fixed by agreement with the various publishers. In no case does the state attempt to make a profit through dealing in text-books; in fact, there is frequently a deficit to be made up by appropriations.

3. FREE TEXT-BOOKS

In recent years the question of supplying text-books to pupils without cost has come to be an important one in educational administration. Very many years ago some cities began to provide free text-books (Philadelphia in 1818; Jersey City in 1830; Newark in 1838; Hoboken and Elizabeth, New Jersey, before 1860; Chester, Pennsylvania, in 1864; and Charleston, South Carolina, in 1856),[1] but it is only within recent years, comparatively, that the number of cities so doing has become extensive and that free systems prevailing throughout entire states have been made mandatory by law. At present it appears that in a dozen or more states (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Nebraska, Wyoming, and Utah) it is obligatory upon all or nearly all communities to provide free text-books, at least to grades below the high school, and in fourteen others[2] (Connecticut, New York, District of Columbia, West Virginia, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, Kansas, Colorado, Idaho, Washington) it is optional upon vote of the district. In a number of other states it is obligatory upon the district or town (in Kentucky the county) to provide indigent pupils with free books, which become the property of the district (California, Indiana, Kentucky, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, and Virginia). In the states where free text-books are optional, the movement in favor of them seems to be gaining ground, and in other states there are considerable numbers of teachers who favor some kind of free text-book system.[3]

[1] Report of Commissioner of Education, 1903: 2416.
[2] Report of Commissioner of Education, 1904: 2279.
[3] See Jenks, J., *Citizenship and the Schools.*

Area Purchasing. — In all states the territorial unit, which is primarily responsible for the management of the schools, purchases the text-books. Usually this is the district, township, or city. Generally the books are loaned to the pupils without cost, but a system of fines is sometimes arranged for the sake of securing good usage,[1] and it is expected that a given book will be used by several pupils in succession. The school has the custody of the books, and at the beginning of each year is supposed to have a supply on hand sufficient for all pupils, thus enabling work to be begun at once.

Public *vs.* Private Purchase. — Certain arguments in favor of and against the use of free text-books may be summarized and discussed:[2] (*a*) Poor children are not placed at a disadvantage, or poor parents heavily taxed. (*b*) The expense to the community as a whole is less than that in case of individual purchase. (*c*) Permits the work of the school to be effective from the very outset, instead of involving delay. (*d*) Uniformity is secured, and changes for better books more easily brought about. (*e*) Schools are popularized somewhat and attendance prolonged in the case of many children. (*f*) The books are public property, and through them respect for public property may be taught. (*g*) A varied supply of books, some strictly text-books, others supplemental, may be kept on hand, and the supply of material will be less limited. (*h*) State or county uniformity, of the kind which hampers local initiative, is rendered less probable. On the other hand, certain objections are quite generally felt: (*a*) Parents and children having such material as books supplied free tend to become more dependent on the state and less appreciative of the responsibilities of private ownership. (*b*) The exchange of books involves the danger of transmitting infectious disease. (*c*) There is and should be a strong æsthetic objection on the part of cleanly children toward handling books soiled by other children. (*d*) The building up of a private library at home is interfered with.

[1] In Yankton, South Dakota, books are rented to pupils. See E. J. Vert, *Education*, 21 : 27.

[2] See Report of Commissioner of Education, 1902 : 632, for results of an inquiry on this point.

(*e*) Children are more destructive of books not purchased by themselves. (*f*) Withdraws school money which should be used for other more needful things. (*g*) Greatly increases work and responsibilities of teachers, principals, and school committees.

Social Results of Free Books. — Not all of these points are of equal value. In those states which make it compulsory to provide books for indigent children it is found that comparatively few people in most American states come within that category. On the other hand, while undoubtedly the buying of text-books is somewhat of a strain on the resources of many wage-earners, we cannot overlook the fact that education has been free only within recent years, in European countries, and that there may still remain moral grounds for requiring parents to bear a slight share of a very direct form of school expense. In the last analysis, however, this question is one of the larger questions of social psychology involved when the state acts for the individual, which was discussed in a previous chapter.[1] Undoubtedly, in certain stages of development the provision of free text-books by the community does weaken the individual in his sense of responsibility and self-respect; but under other circumstances it only serves to foster these. From the various comments coming from quarters where free text-books have long been used, it is not apparent that evil results are keenly felt, though of course this is not an evident thing, the results of over-dependence on the state being insidious. A similar conclusion must follow from an examination as to whether the free loaning of books to pupils makes these less or more regardful of them than of their own property. It is a curious fact that of those expressing opinions on this matter[2] almost as many claim that the pupils are more careful of the free books than they would be of their own, as those who take the opposite view. And undoubtedly both are right, because they are dealing with different stages of social development, either the result of general community sentiment or of carefully directed school training. Every student of social conditions must know that, in certain social

[1] p. 49. [2] Report of Commissioner of Education, 1902: 632.

groups, the "free thing" is the thing to be treated recklessly and improvidently, while in others "public property" is something to be respected and preserved. It is conceivable that the American states, with their free land, free hunting-grounds, free forests, free fisheries, and free mines may have developed a considerable carelessness and improvidence in the use of these materials; but it is equally certain that, under right teaching, it is possible to develop the social sense of most of these communities, whether of young or old people, up to the point where some of the responsibilities of public ownership can be appreciated. It can hardly be doubted that under right teaching "to have these books for use, realizing that they are public property, and being held responsible for them, teaches pupils a valuable lesson in care of property, and makes them recognize the rights of the public." A little care on the part of school principals, by means of printed slips, will also greatly help in the matter of bringing improvident parents to a sense of their duty in the premises.

Economy. — From the standpoint of the community free books are economical, because they may be purchased in quantity and, where no state contract prevails, by local contract, which considerably reduces the rate; and because most books will serve several children in succession. In cases where there are several children in one family, of course, privately owned books may also be used by two or more members; but usually, owing to changes in the book used, this is impracticable. In the case of books owned by the school, they may be kept in constant use during the four or more years that it is on the list of texts prescribed to be used.

Aids to Progress. — Recalling what was said before as to the importance of having the best of texts in the school, it is evident that the system of free books makes changes somewhat easier, and thereby improves the opportunities of the schools. Where books are adopted by local authorities, it is difficult to make new adoptions without exciting protest from those who have recently purchased books, and who are, after the change, obliged to obtain a new supply. On the

other hand, where the school is the owner, no such public protest is encountered, especially since, as will be shown later, the old books on hand can, and under progressive conditions will, be used as supplemental books. Except in a very few remote communities the supposedly greater uniformity secured through free books and public purchase is negligible.

Use of a Variety of Texts. — One very important phase of the use of free text-books has not received the attention it deserves. The dependence upon a single text-book in any subject which has characterized much of the teaching of the past is not defensible on pedagogic grounds. Already, for many years, the importance of supplemental reading has been recognized. In the best elementary schools the teaching of history by the topical method involves the use of several texts, or of a text and other types of books, to supplement it. But other subjects of the elementary school can also be much more effectively taught if two or more texts are used to supplement each other. Especially is this true of geography, arithmetic, and language, as well as reading, literature, and history previously referred to. Now it is, of course, impossible to require the parents of school children to provide more than one book on any subject at one time. But under a system of free books, taking into account old as well as new, it is always possible to have on hand more than one type of text, which may be made available to the pupil. Of course, this does not mean that the pupil is habitually to use two or more texts, but only that any adequate development of the topical method should involve the gathering of material from more than one source. Again, even the best of books in the fields of geography, history, and arithmetic do not treat all topics equally well; even old books may have specially excellent treatment of special topics. The habit of cross-reference or comparative study of any topic is too valuable, in the estimation of able teachers, to be neglected. Only in the most modern developments of educational thinking is the full importance of relative independence of the single text-book fully recognized; but it is sufficiently well understood to make this a central consideration in the proposition to

provide free books. That school which has a considerable accumulation of books so that at times a pupil may change from one to another or may use two side by side is educationally fortunate; and this condition can only be realized under a free text-book system.

Free Books and State Uniformity. — If, as many educators suspect, state uniformity of text-books is destined to prove disadvantageous to education in the sense that it will prevent flexibility and adaptation to local needs, then it is important to note that, under a system of free books, state uniformity is far less urgent than under a system of private purchase; since the reasons which have produced state uniformity are to be found largely in the great expense entailed on individuals by frequent changes of text-books, and by the excessive burden imposed upon families that moved from one district or county to another where an entirely different system of text-books was in use. Children passing from one school to another find little difficulty in adapting themselves to different books; the real difficulty lies in the cost to families. The general prevalence of a system of free books obviates this necessity, and would relieve most of the pressure for state uniformity.

Aids to Attendance. — Finally, it may be noted that those having experience with free text-books claim that a prolonged attendance of pupils is secured, and that the schools are popularized. It may be doubted whether, in the long run, these considerations have much weight. More important, possibly, is the claim that under a system of public purchase, books can be on hand at the actual beginning of the term, and work begin with full effect. Practically it is known that under the system of private purchase many pupils are not supplied until long after the school has opened, and thus the early weeks of work are rendered ineffective. This is of especial importance in country districts, having but six to eight months of school in the year and where local dealers are irregular in securing books.

Objections. — Among the objections to the use of free books, two are of considerable importance: (*a*) The used books must

be passed over to other children after they have become worn and soiled. This certainly raises æsthetic objections, and it is possible that disease may be transmitted. Neither contingency can be entirely avoided, but in practice the use of paper covers which are replaced by new ones at each transfer of the book does something to mitigate the difficulty. It is also practicable within certain limits to fumigate books, by having an air-tight case and using formaldehyde solution. In public libraries this is considered an effective means.[1] (*b*) Another objection is found in the fact, discussed in a previous chapter (see p. 166), that many communities reach their limits of taxpaying capacity, and the development of a new source of public expense does not result in increased provision of public funds, but causes the diminution of expenditure in other directions. It is conceivable that the introduction of a free text-book system would result in an eventual lowering of salaries of teachers, or the lessening of other lines of school support, especially as the purchase of books is always a matter of purely local expenditure. The extent to which this operates in practice is obscure. In those states where the law permits communities to vote on the question of free text-books, it seems to be the richer and more prosperous communities which first take advantage of the opportunity. The history of public school support in the United States would seem to indicate generally that wherever a new source of expense has been added to the school system, — as the establishment of secondary schools, the adoption of manual training, or the provision of better school facilities, — where the taxpayers could see the results of the outlay of their money, it has not been difficult to keep up adequate expenditure in the older and established lines. Except where the legal maximum of taxation has been reached, it would seem that the same would be true in the case of the adoption of a system of free text-books.

Cost of Free Books. — As to the cost of free text-book systems, satisfactory information is not available. A study

[1] Library Journal, Vol. 22, p. 388, "Disinfection of books"; same, Vol. 4, p. 258, "Spread of Contagious Diseases by Circulating Libraries."

made in 1898 by the State Superintendent of Michigan[1] gives figures from a limited number of cities which may be summarized as follows: of twenty-five cities answering the question as to annual cost of text-books only per pupil in the elementary schools, eight gave the cost as being from 20 to 39 cents; eight from 40 to 59 cents; three from 60 to 79 cents; one from 80 to 99 cents; and four from $1 up. Of these last, Syracuse reported the expense as $1, Philadelphia, as $1.01, Springfield, Massachusetts, as $1.92, and Butte, Montana, as $2. Four cities in Nebraska reported an expense ranging from 40 to 59 cents.

Of thirty-nine cities giving the cost of free text-books per pupil, including high school, five reported expense as ranging from 30 to 49 cents; seventeen as ranging from 50 to 69 cents; seven from 70 to 89 cents; five from 90 cents to $1.09; and five in excess of $1.09. Of nine Massachusetts cities reporting, three gave an expense per pupil of elementary and high school books together of from 62 to 68 cents; two from 82 to 85 cents; and four $1 or more, including Springfield, $2.23. The commonest cost per pupil, then, for free books in the elementary school would be in the neighborhood of 40 cents per annum; while including high school it would be something like 60 cents.[2] The total cost of schools in the city systems of the United States in 1899 was given as $31.86 per capita,[3] so that a cost of 40 cents per pupil for text-books would represent from one to two per cent of the total expenditure. These, of course, are all very crude approximations, but it may safely be inferred that the adoption of a system of free text-books by any community will increase current expenses by from one to two per cent.

[1] See Report of Commissioner of Education, 1902: 639.

[2] See also Strayer, G. D., *City School Expenditures*, where some interesting figures are given as to relative cost of text-books and school supplies in 57 cities.

[3] Report of Commissioner of Education, 1906: 342.

4. SUPPLEMENTARY BOOKS

The very great importance in educational practice of supplementary books has been previously alluded to. Nowhere does the state attempt to regulate use of supplementary books, except in California, where the Text-book Committee has power "to adopt a list of supplementary books from which county and city boards of education shall select and adopt books for supplemental use in the schools." Very commonly the law providing for state uniformity explicitly deprives the state board or commission of the right to regulate the kind of supplemental books used, usually with the stipulation that the latter may not be required to be purchased by the pupil. In the case of California, the fact that the Text-book Committee makes such a list is no restriction in practice, for almost any acceptable book will be placed on the list.

Where county adoption prevails, it is common to have a list of supplemental books from which teachers or principals may choose. But practically this use admits of much flexibility, since these come more within the sphere of library books. They are owned by the school, are not constantly used, and are usually purchased for specific purposes requiring special adaptation. In this field, provided funds for the purchase of such books are available, educators have much liberty of choice.

5. THE PROBLEM OF UNIFORMITY

The causes which have operated to bring about uniformity of text-books are still operative, and the question as to what extent text-books should be uniform and selected by central authority, and how far an element of elasticity should be introduced into this selection is by no means a closed one in educational administration. Where the system of free books or of books loaned or rented to pupils prevails, many of the arguments for uniformity lose their force. On the other hand,

the ignorance and incapacity of many local authorities in selecting text-books stands as a strong argument against local adoption even in the case of free books.

The Objections against Uniformity in county or state are two: (*a*) even in the larger unit it is by no means possible always to secure by legislation a body immune to the larger temptations that may be offered for the selection of inferior books, nor is it at all certain that, granting the honest intentions of such bodies, capacity can be found for wise selection for a wide area and over a series of years. (*b*) But the more fundamental objection is to be found in the fact that extensive uniformity does not permit the flexibility which the progress of education demands. There are two reasons for this flexibility: (*a*) Communities differ very much in their demands on text-books. In the one a certain type of book may produce the best results which would be quite unadapted to the use of another community. For a school having a large proportion of foreign children one type of book is best suited; for a rural school as against a city school another type. (*b*) Again, flexibility is demanded in the interests of educational progress because, as previously pointed out, improvements are constantly being made in text-books which can only come to the front by being recognized in certain advanced schools first, after which their use will spread by the popular educational interest they awaken. Both these points are recognized in some systems of uniformity. The Ohio system is simply an open list, which can hardly be said to produce uniformity, though it does regulate prices throughout the state. In Texas, cities of over 10,000 population are exempted from the operation of the uniform text-book law; and in Idaho, if it appear to the boards of education of independent districts that the adoption of additional or different text-books from those of the state list "shall be to the best interests of the educational work of such independent district," they may submit their claims to the state text-book commissioners for a change, which the commissioners may grant. Again, in almost no states are the requirements for uniformity of books in the secondary school as rigid as for

books in the elementary school. In some cases the county or state provides an "approved list" from which schools may make their selection.

Selection by Experts. — Granting that uniformity of a certain kind must be had, it is or should be evident that the selection of the best books is unquestionably a matter for expert judgment. There are no ordinary standards of pedagogic quality for text-books, even if mechanical tests could be established; for a successful text-book is a work of art, having good or bad pedagogical qualities which enhance or diminish its serviceableness, and for judging this only experience and insight should be utilized. As with other types of tools, the effectiveness of the worker, whether teacher or pupil, depends very much upon the quality of the tools used; and it may well happen that a text-book which appears to be very expensive as contrasted with some other may in the education of the child be the best possible investment.

Hence it is obvious that the selection of text-books must be a matter for the expert — the expert in education, not in the making of text-books, is meant. Only the trained and experienced teacher or leader of teachers can say finally what kind of tool (text-book) will produce best results in the educational process. Only the expert again can say whether it is wise that the same book be used for a variety of schools, or whether considerable room for local adaptation should be allowed. We have already noted that in several of the states where uniformity prevails provision is made, through expert service on the board itself, or through the use of subcommissions of experts cooperating with the board, for utilizing the best knowledge of active educators in the selection of books, and similarly in the case of county boards. With the development of local expert supervision there can be no doubt that local selection will more and more be selection by the Superintendent or an expert body acting with him. (Cf. the state of Washington which, after some trial of state uniformity, has abandoned it and in districts of the first class has text-books selected by a district (*i.e.* city) commission composed of the Superintendent of Schools, two members of the board, and

two active teachers.) Everywhere, even in cases of state uniformity, it is possible that it would be well to have a lay body to approve of the work of the committee of experts, but the lay body should not have powers of initiation.

Adaptation to Local Needs. — But the question of uniformity will have to be submitted to another test in the case of the demand for flexibility and recognition of variation in local needs. If the prices of various good books selected by state authority are fixed, and if by means of free text-book or the Ohio provision that children moving out of the district may sell back their books to the district, the cost to parents moving from district to district can be relieved, is there any valid reason why the children of a given state should all be confined to exactly the same text? Undoubtedly the ability of the state to contract for all the books to be used by its children for a series of years does result in a slight diminution of price; and yet it can hardly be claimed that this is sufficient to compensate for the loss which might come through the failure of books to be adapted to certain types of local need or to the inability of schools of a progressive community to try the best of the newer developments in the field of text-books.

Conclusion. — As a tentative conclusion, the following is offered: the state or the county or the local supervision district should be an area for the selection of books, for making contracts as to quality and price; all selection should be in the hands of experts, subject to the approval of a lay board, or ex-officio board acting in a lay capacity; the books adopted in any one subject should be of more than one kind, that is, of more than one authorship or publisher; any city or supervised division should have the right to appeal, on grounds of educational opportunity and advantage, for permission to use books not on the adopted list, with a detailed showing of the reasons for such change, which reasons, it is needless to say, should come from expert educators; and the school should purchase books and loan them to pupils, so that not only will families moving into the districts not be subject to a heavy tax, but also the school may more easily change the type of book in use when newer and better ones

are adopted by the central authorities, the old books continuing to be used as long as possible for supplemental purposes. Through some such scheme as this only can it become possible to provide for each school or district the books best adapted to it, with opportunities to procure the best, and at the same time to minimize the possibilities of corruption in this very important part of business administration.[1]

6. SCHOOL SUPPLIES

School supplies are of various sorts. Some, like laboratory apparatus, globes, charts, maps, and furniture, must be purchased by the school. Others, like pencils, paper, ink, slates, and pens, are sometimes provided by the children, sometimes by the school. The tendency is increasing to have the school provide ordinary supplies, owing to the vastly greater economy involved, so far as the community is concerned. In the kinds of supplies first mentioned, no attempts at state uniformity and contract exist; many states provide for county regulation, that is, in order to protect the district from travelling venders, the county board adopts a list of the brands of apparatus or supplies which it is permitted the local authorities to buy. In the matter of supplies for pupils' use the schools are usually left independent, that is, the authority of the smallest division, district, town, or city, which spends public money, is left free. It is not uncommon to find considerable "graft" prevailing in this field of educational administration. There is frequently lacking business management, as in the provision of standard samples, the advertising for bids, distribution among schools and among pupils on a plan that involves system and checking against extravagance

[1] ". . . from the year 1894 to date, forty-one of our states have taken some action regarding either uniformity of text-books or the supplying of text-books free or at low rates. (The motives for this movement cannot be known at present.) Enough, however, is shown . . . to make it clear that our people generally have made arrangements for providing our pupils with text-books which they deem suitable, at such rates — if, indeed, they are not furnished free — that no hindrances shall be put in the way of a thorough elementary education." — JENKS, *Citizenship and the Schools*, p. 256.

and waste, and in providing for systematic publicity in school reports and otherwise. In the school systems of cities it has seemed desirable in some cases to establish departments of business administration, to care for the matter of supplies among others. Undoubtedly in cities a trained expert should be employed in this field, not, however, as the equal in rank of the Superintendent, but as a deputy for this special business. More even than in the case of text-books must local needs be consulted and provision made for the adoption of new and desirable things. Less even than in the case of text-books is uniformity or prescription from a central authority possible. There are, however, fully as great and important reasons why, in the selection and purchase of supplies, educational interests should stand paramount, and why, when possible, experts and expert management should be sought.

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CHAPTER XIV

The Superintendent of Public Instruction

In the previous chapters we have shown what changes have taken place in recent years tending to produce a higher degree of centralization in city government, more definite placing of responsibility, and a more satisfactory method of selecting executive officers. We have shown how both directly and indirectly these changes affect the administration of schools; and we now come to the consideration of the functions of executive officers in the school system.

Powers given the Superintendent. — It cannot be said that as yet there has been in any large number of towns and cities a clear separation of legislative and executive functions. While this step has been taken in some cities, in the larger number of instances we find boards of education not only legislating but still undertaking through committees or individually to manage much of the business connected with the schools, both educational and material. In other words, we find throughout the country every possible grade of power and opportunity granted to the Superintendent. He is seen as a mere clerk or servant of the board, simply carrying out directions as given by them, or we find him possessing almost autocratic powers and acting quite independently of the board. Between these extremes we can observe every kind of practice imaginable; but the trend is so strongly in favor of giving by statute large powers to the Superintendent in all educational matters that we prefer to consider his functions as related to the more ideal situation which we believe will soon prevail throughout the country.

Qualifications of the Superintendent. — The Superintendent considered from this advanced point of view is practically a new official. He holds a most important position in city

government, and the question what the future of American education shall be depends largely upon him. Hitherto, the person of ordinary ability and attainments has been able to hold his own and to work with and for the Board of Education, promoting harmony and often helping to secure a good degree of uniformity in the schools. But in the new régime, no ordinary person will suffice. The Superintendent of Schools must be the peer of the ablest man in other professions. He must possess those qualities of leadership and statesmanship which shall render him well-high invincible. So profoundly important is this matter of ability and personal equipment of the highest school official that it is well for us to consider it in some detail.

First, the Superintendent should have a good knowledge of the history of our country and the various factors which have entered into our civilization. He should be able to discern our national genius and character in the light of world development and the achievements of other nations. He should appreciate our peculiar racial inheritance, the spirit of our government, and the large place which its system of education should fill in our social progress.

Second, realizing what our political, social, and religious inheritance is, he should be able to conceive of education as a means of putting all children and youth in possession of that inheritance. In other words, he should possess the broadest conception of the educative process and have a definite idea of what part the schools are to play in that process.

Third, the Superintendent should be broadly educated. With university training as a basis he should have had such experience with men and affairs as to make him something more than an academic product. His early life may have been one of struggle and hardship, or he may have been deprived of the best advantages. If, however, during his working years he has kept his mind open and has drawn upon the great sources of culture, and has made it one of his chief objects to appreciate the higher life, he will not be found wanting when measured by the high standard we are describing.

Fourth, he should have convictions concerning educational

theory and practice for which he is ready to stand or even to fall. He need not be dogmatic or aggressive in urging his views; but, recognizing the necessity of the time element, using tact and good judgment, he should endeavor to educate not only his board and immediate associates, but the entire community to the principles which he believes are sound. In order to do this to the best advantage, he should be at home among men and be able to meet them on the plane of good citizenship and mutual interest in public affairs.

Fifth, he should regard the whole community as his proper field of labor, for the schools are so vitally related to all human needs and activities that the entire city becomes a parish to which the Superintendent must minister. This responsibility should include not only industrial and commercial institutions but libraries, churches, museums, clubs, and all other culture forces and the mutual relations which should exist between them and the schools.

Sixth, the Superintendent must be familar with the structure of the local government and cultivate a live interest in its doings. He will take note of the relation which the local taxes bear to the assessed valuation of property, to the municipal budget and its apportionment. He will be informed concerning the comparative expense of various departments of his own and other cities. He will also study with care the several items of the school budget and see how they compare with similar items in the school expenses of other cities of the same class. Nothing commends the work of a Superintendent more highly to practical business men than to find him possessing a ready knowledge of those fiscal questions which are ever recurring in educational management. Such wisdom and skill as secures the best possible return for the money expended and the economical use of all the means expended are at a high valuation when displayed by public servants.

Seventh, finally the Superintendent should have those personal qualities of courtesy, good breeding, and sympathy which make him a welcome guest in any home and which insure his social position in the community. He should be

recognized as a devoted and sincere servant of the cause he represents, and should be esteemed by all his associates as a loyal and trusted friend.

If it appears that this is too exalted an estimate of what a Superintendent should be, let it be remembered that he holds in his hand the destinies of all the children and is to be a guide and adviser to all the teachers, and the further consideration of his multifarious responsibilities and duties will only tend to emphasize the requirements just enumerated.

Superintendent should certificate Teachers. — Perhaps the most important function of the Superintendent is the part he takes in the certification, selection, and appointment of teachers. The prevailing practice and the relation which the Superintendent bears to it has been set forth in another chapter, but it is proper here to urge the wisdom of making the certificating and selection of teachers a purely executive matter to be performed by the Superintendent of Schools. In case the system provides for a Board of Examiners, the Superintendent should be the chairman of that board and should be able to use the eligible list in such a way as to have reasonable freedom in adapting persons to particular positions. Every teacher in the force should know that he owes his position largely to the choice of the Superintendent, and that he is responsible directly to him for the service he renders. In no other way is it possible to hold the Superintendent responsible for the quality of schoolroom work. It should also be possible for the Superintendent in exceptional cases, and especially in filling positions of a technical character, to go outside and find the person best fitted for the position. This prevents the stagnation which comes from long-continued in-breeding. It introduces new life and new energy and offers a premium to superior talent wherever it may be found.

The Principal as Adviser. — The policy of having the principal of a school jointly interested and responsible for the selection of teachers has worked well; and wherever it is so provided by the statutes or regulations of the department the wise Superintendent will always look to him for sugges-

tions and advice before nominating teachers for any school. There is a growing impression that it is wiser to give the Superintendent the power of nomination while the board officially makes the appointment rather than to give the Superintendent the absolute power. This insures the support of the board and enables them to stand in the public eye as approving and supporting the policies of the Superintendent.

Appointment and Dismissal of Teachers. — The dismissal of teachers who are found to be undesirable from temperament or character or who have failed to perform acceptable service, is a matter of great delicacy and fraught with difficulty. The proper order of action would require that the Superintendent should be thoroughly convinced that a change is necessary, and should then gain the approval of the board before taking action. In short, I believe that it should be provided by statute that the Superintendent can dismiss teachers only upon ratification by the board. It would, of course, be possible to give the one dismissed the right of appeal to the board, but the former course would seem to be safest and most productive of justice and good understanding.

Courses of Study. — Another important function of the Superintendent is the preparation of the courses of study. Here, again, the Superintendent should have a free hand. If he is wise, he will call to his aid his assistants, supervisors, and all teachers. He will treat the curriculum as something that is ever growing and expanding. He will not impose it upon his teachers as something to be blindly followed, but will wish to have it considered as a helpful guide which, at the same time, assures reasonable uniformity in the work of the several schools. The importance of this aim and the means of attaining it are presented in Chapter XVIII.

Wherever there has been coöperative action and a progressive development of the curriculum in a school system, there has been seen a high degree of spontaneity and loyalty on the part of the teaching force in carrying out its provisions. It is proper when a new curriculum is made, or when important changes are proposed, that the Board of Education should have the opportunity of giving their approval to the same.

But it is not to be supposed that men and women engaged in other pursuits than education can be experts or can be intrusted with the task of constructing a course of study.

Superintendent's Council. — Before proceeding to state other duties of the Superintendent, it is well to consider his relation to those who share with him the executive work of the school system. In the school system of a large city, there are usually assistant superintendents and supervisors. These officers should become a council of which the Superintendent is the presiding officer. In a small system the principals of schools may be organized in a similar body. By means of this council the Superintendent has an excellent opportunity of developing and disseminating the principles and purposes which belong to his policy. This council will be in session frequently. All sorts of questions will be analyzed and discussed. The Superintendent will hear patiently and gratefully all the opinions and suggestions which may be put forth. He will then decide upon such courses of action as will recognize the views of his associates and will at the same time be consistent with his own policy. In this council room there are developed a body of doctrine and schemes of practice which are to be influential in every schoolroom. Here more than anywhere else the Superintendent will display his statesmanship and will show his ability to reason as well as to speak, to hear advice as well as to make known his decisions, to accept gratefully and make use of the suggestions of others, while holding his own opinions and acting upon them. Through such a central body as this, the highest possible unity in the school system is attained, and, gradually, the entire staff comes to possess common ideals, common motives, and a good degree of uniformity in method.

This suggests the next great field of effort; namely, the supervision of teaching and the improvement of teachers in service. In some towns and cities this includes the direction of a local training school, and everywhere it includes the holding of teachers' meetings or institutes, by means of which teachers are to gain fresh supplies of knowledge and inspiration. In succeeding chapters attention will be given to

various kinds of supervisory work, as inspection, criticism, the just valuation of teaching, and the manner of aiding teachers in the professional growth, for these fill an important place in the Superintendent's list of duties.

Text-books. — Still another function is the selection of proper text-books. Here, also, the Superintendent, while possessing large powers, should seek the advice of principals and teachers, and should then have the approval of the board for such changes as may seem necessary. This topic in its many aspects is fully treated elsewhere.

Classification of Pupils. — The grading and promotion of pupils is usually intrusted to principals acting under the general direction of the Superintendent.

Compulsory Laws. — Of growing importance is the subject of the enforcement of laws requiring the attendance of children at school and the correlative requirement that children be not employed upon harmful or excessive labor at the age when they should be at school. Many states are backward in passing laws regulating the labor of women and children and requiring attendance at school. Obviously, the Superintendent, who is a progressive and constructive worker, will use his best influence to secure the needed legislation and will be active in making such laws effective.

Social Demands. — So great has been the tide of immigration in recent years, and so rapidly are we becoming an industrial nation, that provision has to be made for more complete and expensive evening and continuation schools than are usually to be found. To properly meet this demand, and adjust the school system to the needs of children of wage-earners, is a severe tax upon the school officials in all our larger communities.

An equally new and pressing demand is provision for the physical needs of children, including medical inspection, physical culture, and the proper coöperation of parents and teachers in securing that individual treatment which humanity and sympathy demand.

The Superintendent must also give increasing attention to backward and defective children, of whom there are so many

scattered throughout the classes in our large communities. Special classes, special schools, and the removal of confirmed cases of mental and moral defect to larger state institutions is a duty now devolving upon school boards and their executive officers.

Of equal importance is the separation of confirmed truants and insubordinates from their classes, and their training in truant or parental schools in such manner as will fit them to live and act among right-minded people.

There are many other social aspects of educational work to which the Superintendent cannot be indifferent and of which he may not be neglectful. For the educational system in our most progressive communities is made to include not merely children, but the adult population, and all the culture forces within reach are to be taken into account, and their aid is to be invoked in securing the highest uplift of intelligence and morality of the entire population.

Other Functions. — In thus enumerating some of the more important functions of the School Superintendent, it is to be understood that these are only the most conspicuous of his duties. Over and above all that has been suggested, there is a wide field where his judgment, his energy, and his social qualities will have full play. He sustains relations to the School Board, to his assistants, principals, and teachers and to the community, all of which make demands upon his time, his patience, and his ability. Is it not easy to see that from an ideal point of view he is the most important citizen in the city, and upon him more than any one else depends the welfare of human society?

Difficulty of the Task. — The task that confronts him is by no means an easy one. If he is not endued with considerable power, he is embarrassed by having to wait upon the board and, perchance, cannot advance his policies as he would like to do. If, on the other hand, he has considerable independent authority, he is in danger of making mistakes or at least of incurring the adverse judgment of those who are nearest to him, and so of finding himself standing alone without the moral support either of the board or of the community.

Relation to Supervisors and Principals. — Perhaps his most important function is that of securing the coördination of the various factors in the school system and that degree of coöperation and helpfulness which is essential to success. He sustains relations to assistant superintendents, supervisors, and principals, as we have already shown. When he comes to the special work of inspection and supervision, there must be no conflict of plan in respect to the general aim or the methods of handling the various subjects in the curriculum. If the Superintendent and the supervisors of a given subject have different views, their differences must not appear before the teachers. Either the supervisor must yield to the Superintendent, or the Superintendent to the supervisor, or they must agree to compromise and stand for the same thing. The wise Superintendent will not undertake to force his special views in respect to method, except in instances where he is sure that the system will suffer unless he does so.

In any system, large or small, the principal should be a large factor. He should have a considerable field of power and freedom to work. The highly centralized system will have much to answer for, if it curtails and dwarfs his field of action. He is in the line of succession to the schoolmasters who have left their impression on the world. To make of him a mere mechanical device for operating the great machine would be a fatal error. His professional pride, his enthusiasm, and his power of initiative in the vital matters of education should all be carefully conserved. He should be a leader in the small community to which he ministers, and should hold a place of dignity and respect among the citizens.

The value and efficiency of the Superintendent and of the system over which he presides are to be seen in the loyalty and support of every principal and teacher, — yes, of every pupil. Nothing should be sacrificed to make a perfect system; better let the system be sacrificed for the sake of the teachers and children. Here, again, it is seen how delicate and how peculiarly difficult is the work of the Superintendent.

Appointment and Tenure. — With all these things in mind,

it is appropriate to ask how the Superintendent should be appointed and what should be the extent of his tenure. It is easy to say that he should be selected and appointed by the board, but that hardly seems to meet the issue, inasmuch as many serious mistakes have been made in putting into this position persons who were unfitted by temperament and training to win success. There was a time when an unsuccessful lawyer or clergyman who needed to be rehabilitated was placed in charge of the schools. That time has probably passed, but there is always danger that a person will gain the position through industrious solicitation or through the influence of friends. It is popular to object to going out of town for a Superintendent, the assumption being that some one can be found at home. There have been recent instances of cities thrown into a tumult and the schools seriously disturbed by a lack of wisdom and tact on the part of executive officers. If the board in these cases had selected three Superintendents in other cities of unquestioned standing and ability, to nominate one, two, or three candidates from whom a selection could be made, the board would have been able to act with assurance, and much trouble might have been averted. Here, then, lies the remedy for a mediæval method of choosing the Superintendent. Let him be certificated and accredited so that the principle considered so important in the case of principals and teachers is not wholly ignored in filling the higher office.

Concerning length of tenure there is still much to be desired. In the larger cities, at present, the length of term for the Superintendent is to about an equal extent one, two, three, and four years. In New Haven and Peoria it is five years; in New York six years; and in Elizabeth, New Jersey, seven years. There are good arguments for making the term of office at least five or six years. This permits the newly appointed officer to take up his work deliberately, to study his field, evolve his policies, and lay strong foundations for the accomplishment of good things. He has no temptation to force issues or to be spectacular in his management. The most satisfactory chapters in the recent history of school

administration relate to cities where, under new charters or laws, Superintendents have been given larger powers and longer tenure. The results in most cases have tended to justify such procedure.

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CHAPTER XV

The Teaching Staff

Teachers in the United States. — The Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1906 indicates that during the year 1905–1906 there were in the common schools of the various states 466,063 teachers, of whom 23.6 per cent were men. Since 1869–1870 the increase in the population of the United States has been 118 per cent, and the increase in the number of common school teachers 128 per cent. In 1869–1870 men constituted 38.7 per cent of the teaching force as against 23.6 per cent in 1960; or, since the former date, the absolute number of men teaching in common schools has increased only 41 per cent, while the absolute number of women has increased 190 per cent.

Of these teachers 26.3 per cent were teaching in cities of a population exceeding 4000, and 73.7 per cent in places of less population. The census of 1900 shows that the relative number of people in cities of 4000 and upward was 39 per cent of the total, so that in proportion to population there are about half as many more teachers in rural districts and villages as in cities. Of the city teachers (including principals, superintendents, and special instructors in public day schools) less than 8 per cent were men, showing that the non-urban schools have a larger proportion of men than the urban schools.

In the Public High Schools there were, in 1904–1905, 28,461 teachers, of whom 13,440, or about 47 per cent, were men. Since 1889–1890 the number of teachers in public high schools has increased from 9120 to 28,461, or an increase of 212 per cent. In 1889–1890 the percentage of men teachers was less than 43, showing in this field an increase of the proportion of men, which coincides somewhat with the rapid increase in small high schools in recent years.

Training. — No satisfactory statistics exist showing the professional character of this vast teaching body. It would be highly interesting to know how much of professional training, how much of experience, and how much of movement from one school to another they represent. It may be assumed on the imperfect evidence available that only a small part of the teaching force of the various states has had professional training; that among both men and women teachers the period of service of a large majority is comparatively short — a matter of one, two, or four years; and that especially in rural and village schools there is little stability of tenure, whether voluntary or involuntary, on the part of those employed.

The Percentage of Trained Teachers, of course, is a variable quantity in the different states, depending on the local development of education, the ability of the state to hold its best teachers in view of the salaries paid, and the provision of facilities for professional training. It has been crudely estimated that about 100,000 new teachers are required each year in the schools of the various states to supply increases required and to make up for deficiencies caused through death and withdrawal from the profession.[1] In 1905–1906 there were reported to the Commissioner of Education statistics showing that from the public and private normal schools 10,996 students had graduated. Six hundred and twenty-two colleges and universities in the same year conferred degrees upon 16,418 students, of whom only a small part, of course, entered teaching, and of these only a small percentage had obtained professional training. In 1904 Massachusetts had 46 per cent of professionally trained teachers, the percentage having almost doubled in twenty years; while in Connecticut the percentage rose from 10 in 1885 to 45 in 1904. Of 7797 teachers in the elementary schools of California in 1904, 2875 reported themselves as graduates of some institution for the special preparation of teachers, indicating that 37 per cent had had some professional preparation.

[1] In Indiana over twenty per cent of all teachers withdraw from teaching each year; in Iowa the proportion is still larger.

"Perhaps, averaging all the different states of the Union, 15 to 20 per cent of all the teachers in our schools have received some special training before entering upon the work of a teacher. The remaining 80 to 85 per cent have been prepared by private study, and tested wholly by examination and experience, and have no special preparation whatever for the work of teaching." [1]

Service. — It is well known that teachers who remain in the profession for a considerable length of time ultimately tend to seek positions in cities, where living conditions are more attractive, salaries better, and tenure more secure. Hence the figures compiled by the Commissioner of Education in the Report for 1904 showing length of service, and length of tenure in the present place, for teachers in cities of 8000 population can hardly be called significant or conclusive as exhibiting general conditions; nevertheless, as showing the situation in cities they are suggestive. These figures [2] show that of the teachers in the cities reporting, 17 per cent of the men and 26 per cent of the women had taught less than five years; 21 per cent of the men and 27 per cent of the women five years and more, but less than ten; 18 per cent of the men and 19 per cent of the women ten years or more, and less than fifteen; 13 per cent of the men and 12 per cent of the women 15 years or more, but less than twenty; 10 per cent of the men and 8 per cent of the women twenty or more, and less than twenty-five years; 8 per cent of the men and 4 per cent of the women twenty-five or over, and less than thirty years; 5 per cent of the men and 3 per cent of the women thirty or over, and under thirty-five years; and 6 per cent of the men and 2 per cent of the women over thirty-five years. The median age-length of the service of men was between twelve and thirteen years, and for women between nine and ten years. Recalling that many cities procure their teachers from smaller places where they have already served a more or less long apprenticeship, and taking into account facts of common observation, it is evident that the personnel of the teaching force changes rapidly from year to year. In some normal schools it is found that the average teaching

[1] Cubberley, *The Certification of Teachers*, p. 8.
[2] Report of Commissioner of Education, 1904: 1280.

career of the graduates is in the neighborhood of four years.

Sex. — Of the teachers graduating from the public and private schools of all the states in 1904–1905 less than 14 per cent of the total number (9274) were men. In the North Atlantic states 17 per cent, and in the Western states less than 11 per cent, were men.

Direction. — The work of the great body of teachers is inspected and directed by a body of principals, supervisors, and superintendents who are, as a rule, the most successful of the teachers. Only a small percentage of these have had special professional training for their directive work, but they usually do represent long experience of a successful kind. Many teachers who have determined to remain in the profession seek positions of leadership, and so it happens that in the supervising body, while there may not be more special training, there is found more stability of tenure and greater reach of experience than in the rank and file of the teaching force. The percentage of men in supervisory capacity is also much larger than in other fields of teaching, though women already are filling many of these positions creditably; but many men will or can afford to remain in the profession only if they obtain the better compensation which attaches to the higher positions.

General Characteristics. — The effect, then, is that the American teaching force may be regarded as a large body of teachers, mostly women, of relatively short experience, only a small percentage having professional training, frequently shifting about, and not remaining long in the profession; but whose work is organized and directed by a supervising body, mostly men, who have had considerable experience, and who have relatively secure tenure. In city schools the experience and stability of teachers increase, as does the organization of supervision; while in the rural districts supervision is at a minimum, and here tenure is most uncertain, and the amount of experience possessed by the teachers is slight. Country schools, however, frequently obtain professionally trained teachers, since most normal graduates, outside of the city

training schools, serve an apprenticeship in the country preparatory to location in the city.

I. EXAMINATION AND CERTIFICATION OF TEACHERS

In the evolution of education in the states it early became the function of some authority to pass on the fitness of candidates for teaching positions. The teacher of the community school must be a person of good character, and must have an intellectual equipment sufficient to enable him to instruct the children in that which they did not know. Out of this demand has arisen the system of examination and certification. For a long period after many teachers began to receive special training for their work, it was still customary to subject the graduates of the professional schools to examinations not unlike those taken by candidates with no special preparation. Only recently has it come to be possible for specially trained teachers, in any considerable numbers, to be admitted to public school positions directly on exhibiting their credentials of professional training.

Local Certification. — The indigenous and local character of American public education has also rendered it customary for local authorities to refuse to recognize certificates issued in other communities, so that, with teachers frequently moving about, it was necessary for these to be frequently taking examinations. Petty officialism and the desire to favor "home supply" of teachers have also been responsible for perpetuating the practice of having newcomers, no matter with what credentials, submit to examination. Furthermore, as a supposed means of protection to the schools, it has long been customary to issue certificates which should be valid for only a limited period. Holders of low-grade certificates were regularly obliged to take frequent examinations. But with certificates of different grades, good for varying periods, a premium was put on the better scholastic preparation, which would give a higher certificate valid for a longer period or even for life.

The Effect of the Primitive Stages in the development of examination and certification are still widely found. Originally laymen gave the examinations, and it is still true that in Massachusetts and Connecticut lay boards are authorized to pass upon teachers' qualifications. The original examination was largely oral, but this has usually given way to the written. Originally it was conducted by one person, and this is yet the case in places; but the tendency has grown to have a board prepare questions and mark papers rather than an individual. There is still much of local exclusiveness, both in town and county, in the recognition of certificates, but gradually a system of interrecognition is growing, by which one county or state recognizes as valid the certificates issued by another. State centralization of examinations is a growing fact, as is also the compulsory recognition of credentials of professional training within the same state, or even in other states, without further examination. The State Superintendent of South Dakota reported in 1906 the results of an investigation of interstate recognition of certificates. He corresponded with all the states, finding some indifferent to such recognition and others hampered by legal restrictions, but a considerable number disposed to facilitate progress in this direction. Among those states allowing some form of recognition of certificates of other states, especially life diplomas and diplomas of graduation of normal schools and other accredited institutions, were: Arizona, California, Idaho, Kansas, Louisiana, Maryland, Minnesota, Missouri, Nevada, New Jersey, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, Vermont, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

Educators are generally agreed that in the interest of education certain principles should prevail with regard to the certification of teachers. Among these are: —

a. Certification only by experts.

b. Recognition without examination of credentials of professional preparation.

c. Specialization of certification.

d. Local tests should be supplemental.

a. **Examination by Experts.** — All tests should be imposed

by experts and should be designed to be genuine tests of teaching ability. Certification by laymen is impossible from this point of view, as would be also, in most cases, certification by a county superintendent chosen by popular vote. This principle favors the centralization of examinations, at least so far as preparation of questions and review of marking of papers is concerned, for county or state authorities are far more apt to represent professional qualifications for this work than local bodies. It favors the recognition of diplomas issued by schools which are themselves subject to inspection by educational authorities. It favors not only the written examination, but requires that this be supplemented by other tests, as oral examinations, credit allowed for successful experience, and actual teaching under oversight, where these are possible. It recognizes that no written examination can be devised which is an entire or even a fairly full test of the teacher's real ability to do that special work which lies before her.

b. **Professional Preparation** should be encouraged on the part of teachers, a premium should be put on successful experience, qualifications for special kinds of work should be recognized, and provision be made for a probationary period. This principle provides for the issuance of short-term and low-grade certificates for local use on the part of those entering the profession, but involves the necessity of having these certificates non-renewable and not recognized beyond the place of their issuance. But certificates issued for sound scholarship after sufficient tested experience to be recognized as having met probationary requirements should be long-termed and widely recognized. Encouragement must be given to professional training by certification on suitable credentials without examination, and practice teaching should be recognized as having fulfilled probationary requirements. For interstate recognition, the state board should act as a body to accredit training institutions in other states, or other examining bodies.

c. **Specialization.** — Under modern conditions, fitness for teaching is specialized, so that a certification system should

recognize many special lines of preparation. The following classes may be distinguished: kindergarten, elementary, high school, special, supervisory, and state life supervisory certificate. But in the course of time undoubtedly the standards will have to be adjusted so as to test various qualities in proportion as they are demanded of the teacher. Secondary school-teachers are all specialists, and their examinations or credentials should separately show their general culture, their special academic preparation in the subjects they desire to teach, and their professional preparation in theory and practice of education. The proportions of these various ingredients in professional preparation will have to vary greatly with the special work sought by the teacher. The teacher of manual art or vocational subjects will necessarily have less of the kind of general culture that is demanded of the grade teacher or the teacher of history or literature in the high school. The academic preparation expected of the grade teacher will differ in kind and quality from that demanded of the kindergartner, though from the latter may be required certain proofs of musical and artistic culture that it would be undesirable to insist on in the former. The enforcement of this principle will entail an examination of the various kinds of training given in the preparation of the teacher. For example, a modern tendency is to insist on high school graduation as preparation for normal school study; but in many quarters it is seriously doubted whether academic instruction as given in the contemporaneous high school is of genuine value in the preparation of the elementary teacher, except in so far as it serves as a selective agency, eliminating the naturally poor and inefficient students. This principle also contemplates the development of new forms of professional certification where distinctly modern fields of professional activity have evolved. This is conspicuously found in the matter of professional supervision of instruction at the present time, where the development of a special supervisory certificate would act as a decided stimulus in the evolution of special preparation for this important function.

d. **Supplemental Tests.** — Granting the general prevalence

of a system of certification, cities and other localities should be allowed to provide additional, but not substitute, tests as a means of local selection or to provide for the filling of places in an impersonal and automatic way. These additional tests should be based on professional scholarship, qualities of experience and general scholarship.

The Chief Problem in the testing of teachers at present relates to physical and social fitness. Strength, health, and certain qualities of personality are, in teaching, of an importance only secondary to those of scholastic fitness. Superintendents and others who employ teachers, apply crude tests based on observation and experience; but the reliability of these is comparable to that of the scholastic examinations of the old-time lay "school trustees." In time it will be necessary to develop more discriminating methods, and especially to apply tests to young people in preparation for teaching, so that the unfit may be excluded from training before they shall have given too much time. Only thus can the standard of the profession be kept up to its proper level.

2. SELECTION AND APPOINTMENT OF TEACHERS

The process of certification guards the interest of the state in a general way in regard to the professional qualifications of those who would teach. But from the number of certificated teachers it is necessary that educational authorities make appointments for particular posts, and in this there is much opportunity for selection and adaptation. Systems of appointment affect both the schools and the teaching profession; for if teachers are appointed to the choicer positions on other grounds than strict merit and special qualifications for the post, the schools suffer, and other teachers, feeling that the method of selection does not put a premium on ability, have their professional ideals lowered and their interest in education diminished.

Appointment by Laymen. — It has been shown that traditionally the local school board certificated teachers, but that in

the course of time this function has passed largely to other hands. In the matter of the appointment of teachers, it has remained true that the local authority is finally responsible. The most important function of all boards whether of cities or of non-urban communities is to select and appoint the teachers for the schools. In some large cities, the Board of Education has delegated this function more or less fully to the Superintendent; and in a few a system of competitive examination, with automatic appointment of those standing highest on the list, has replaced the system of personal selection. But speaking generally of American schools, appointments to the teaching force are made by the lay boards elected directly or indirectly by the people. In this phase of school administration there has been almost no centralization of authority.

The exceptions to the method of appointment by the Board of Education are the following: —

a. **Nomination by County Superintendent.** — In rural schools, especially where educational interest is strong and teachers, perhaps, not over-plentiful, the County Superintendent, if he has the confidence of the people, will be an active adviser in the selection of teachers. Local boards, if not personally interested in the fortunes of some applicant, will consult him, and very often follow his recommendations. Where interest is strong enough to make the election of genuinely strong County Superintendents customary, and boards are desirous of selecting the most competent teachers for their schools, the unofficial power of that officer may become very strong. This applies mainly to Northern and Western states, since in those Southern states where county government of schools prevails, the County Superintendent, as agent of the board, has even greater power officially and otherwise.

b. **Committee Appointment.** — In cities with large boards the appointment of teachers may be delegated to a committee of the board. This system has the same defects as a system of appointment by Board of Education.

c. **Superintendent as Adviser.** — In a considerable number of cities the Superintendent acts in an advisory capacity with

the board, and if local educational interest is good and the personality of the Superintendent commanding, his voice will have much weight. In 233 cities and towns investigated in Massachusetts by Mr. Prince,[1] it was reported that in 21 the Superintendent had full powers in the appointment of teachers, "joint" powers in 60, "advisory" powers in 89, and no power in 45. The remainder gave uncertain answers.

d. **Superintendent as Appointing Authority.** — The board may by rule, or (as in Ohio) under the state law, yield its power of appointing teachers to the Superintendent. Only infrequently does the board retain no right of veto or approval in this matter; but in an increasing number of cities all nominations or initial recommendations must be made by the Superintendent, and the board can only confirm or reject his nominations. The result of an inquiry answered in 1904 by Superintendents in 101 cities of the United States showed that in 24 per cent the rules of the board place in the hands of the Superintendent the authority and obligation of nominating or recommending teachers, the board only retaining the right to confirm or reject; while in 17 per cent the Superintendent is reported as "advising" or "consulting" with the Board of Education or its committee in the matter of selecting teachers. In most of the remaining cities the Superintendent has no direct authority, the election being entirely in the hands of committees of the Board of Education.

e. **Competitive Selection.** — A system of competitive or "civil service" examinations may be provided, so that the selection of teachers becomes largely impersonal. But usually the examination is intended to produce an "eligible list" of greater or less length, from which the Superintendent or other authorities may select appointees. This lends some flexibility. In New York, for example, an appointment must be made from the three candidates standing highest on the eligible list. This system is found in a relatively small number of cities like Lowell, New York, Albany, and San Francisco. In each the selection is not entirely automatic, since provision is made for an oral examination which takes account

[1] *School Administration*, p. 256.

of the personality of the candidate, and in some cases credit is allowed for previous experience.

The Problem of Selecting and Appointing Teachers. — In the primitive and the crude stages of the development of public education, when there were few trained teachers, and when the demands made on the schools were simple, the selection of teachers by lay boards worked well. These were usually composed of the best of representative citizens who were good judges of the general qualities of character and personality which entered into the making of a fairly successful teacher. A simple examination served to test the scholastic attainments. The Board of Education or school committee knew better than any one else the peculiar local conditions which the teacher had to meet, and made choice accordingly. The long continuance of this system led to the fixing of traditions in the appointment of teachers which give way very slowly to the pressing necessities of changed conditions. As indicated above, only in some larger cities and in one state have the methods of selection and appointment been fundamentally changed.

The Traditional System of appointment has some merits and, in a progressive and advanced system of public education, many defects. But some of the defects are obvious and easily recognized, and others are deep-seated and obscure. All history of American education, for example, recognizes the abuses of partisanship, political and religious, which have widely and frequently characterized the appointments of teachers; it is well known that here and there and at sundry times educational committees have fostered nepotism, have favored local as against outside candidates, and have even accepted bribes in the making of appointments. "Pull" and "graft" have had their place hardly less conspicuously in public education than in other branches of the public service. And yet it is probably true that the relative amount of this favoritism and corruption has not been large, nor has it, in the direct sense, except in a few periods and localities, greatly lowered educational efficiency.

Defects of System of Appointment by Laymen. — But the

system of appointment above described has probably much more fundamental disadvantages to educational advancement. It greatly influences the educational and professional standards of those who take up teaching; it determines ultimately the standards of educational compensation and so the efficiency of the force; and it also affects the morale of the force actually employed. The lowering of educational ideals thus made inevitable and the promotion of educational inefficiency brought about have been much more serious than all the evils attributable to the wilful partisanship, or even corruption of members of boards of education.

Inexpertness of Laymen. — For it is certain that only up to a certain point can the layman, however honest, and however capable in the general sense, act as a competent judge of teaching merit. Beyond that point he is incapable of making effective demands, unless he is disposed to accept the judgment and recommendations of some expert. Consequently the perpetuation of the older method of selecting teachers has tended to discourage professional training, since that training was not recognized at its true worth by those responsible for the selection of teachers; it tended to exalt certain qualities of personal appearance and good fellowship far beyond their true value in teachers; it failed to recognize the finer shades of professional efficiency, and so could not put a premium on intellectual growth after entry upon the profession. Having thus perpetuated mediocre standards, the educational system naturally failed to attract or to hold large numbers of those who had special ability and who demanded recognition of their special worth which they could not find in the teaching profession.

The inability of boards to discriminate as to the deeper factors of professional preparation has tended always to make boards select, among candidates apparently of equal merit, that one who could be obtained for the least outlay of money. In this way the standards of compensation have been kept low, and consequently both the quality and the preparation of those entering the teaching profession.

Maintenance of Standards. — In many respects, not the

system of certification, but the system of appointment, constitutes the gateway to teaching; and it is at this gateway that standards can be maintained which shall ultimately determine the character of the profession itself. Hence it is that the problem of appointment is fundamentally important in educational administration. And withal it is necessary that deep-seated and socially valuable traditions of democratic control be observed. It would be easy enough to centralize the appointment of teachers in some state body, as is done in European countries (cf. Prussia and France); but, granting the efficiency of such a system, it would appear to be at too great variance with American political traditions. It is indeed probable that under a centralized bureaucracy we should have even more of a repression of standards than prevails at the present time.

Nomination by Superintendent. — It will have been felt that the experience of some cities has already produced something of a solution of this problem. The Board of Education, really interested in the educational progress of the city, has finally realized that it could not effectively select teachers, so it has delegated this function to the Superintendent, directly or indirectly. But owing to the responsibility of the Superintendent to the board, he is prevented from exercising arbitrary power or of building up a system of bureaucratic control. To the educational expert is given the responsibility and authority, but the reins of final power still remain with the people or with the elected representatives of the people. The fact that the Superintendent himself is elected for an indefinite term of "good behavior," or, better, for a fairly long, but definite, term makes him responsible both to the board and to the community and effectively checks abuses of his power and authority.[1]

Selection of Superintendent. — The Superintendent himself must, of course, be selected by the Board of Education; and

[1] In at least one American city the nominations for teaching places are made by the principal and Superintendent jointly. Much can be said in favor of a system which would give the principal formal recognition in the matter of appointing teachers.

the query will naturally arise as to how the board can do this more effectively than it can perform the business of selecting the teacher. For the present, the qualities demanded of the superintendent are to a considerable extent not the results of training, but are personal and produced by experience, and these the business men of a board can judge somewhat better than they can pass on the qualifications of teachers; but in the course of time supervision itself will become a profession, requiring long and careful preparation, and then the average board will be confronted with the same difficulties that are now encountered in the selection of teachers. Under these conditions it can safely be said that a board will not act wisely in the selection of its trained supervisors unless it is disposed, and the community demands, that it seek expert counsel. In other words, the board itself must, in filling these responsible positions, in effect seek nominations from authorities who are in turn experts in judging of professional ability. It may be that it will be difficult to make such requirements of legal effect; but they are even now of full moral effect wherever the selection of administrative officers by lay boards is appraised at its full importance. But much can be done through publicity of one sort and another, of the kind that now prevails in England and Scotland, in the matter of the appointment of educational experts.[1]

3. TENURE OF OFFICE AND DISMISSAL

Only second to methods of appointment in their effect on the teaching staff is the matter of tenure and dismissal. The well-established tradition in the American school system is that the teacher may contract for a year of service, but beyond that he may be refused reelection, if not satisfactory to the authorities. In the rural schools of the United States,

[1] In these countries when a Board of Education or other responsible authority has to select a head-master or other expert, it is customary to advertise for applications, specifying salary and requirements. Candidates send in recommendations and credentials which receive consideration in general meeting. Naturally the employing authorities are much influenced by the recommendations of experts in education.

especially, the shifting of teachers is very common. It has become habitual on the part of many boards to expect to look up a new teacher at the opening of each new year. Much of this movement, of course, is due to the teachers themselves. From the rural schools they are gravitating toward the centres of population or are leaving the profession. An unpublished study made in 1902 in California, on the basis of data furnished by the county superintendents, showed that thirty-nine per cent of the rural and village school places were filled anew each year, and it was estimated that in about half of these the teachers would have been glad to return if the board of trustees or patrons were not in opposition.

Annual Election.— In the great majority of city schools the system of annual reappointment still prevails and is defended by many superintendents as conducive to the good of the educational interests of the cities. If teachers are given long term or permanent appointment, subject only to dismissal for unprofessional conduct or incapacity, it can be shown by the experience of many cities that under present conditions of supervision, dismissal will be practicable in exceedingly few cases, even where incapacity or defect of character is notorious. The reasons for this lie in the great difficulty of proving legally that a given teacher is incapacitated. If popular sympathy is aroused, the Superintendent and Board of Education are usually quite unwilling to face the opposition that gathers in defence of the teacher who is only relatively inefficient. Hence, all things considered, it is believed by many superintendents that the system of annual reëlection is the best, because it permits low-grade teachers to be dropped from the force without any public disturbance.

Permanent Election. — In a few cities, owing to special charter provisions, teachers can only be dismissed for cause, and, of course, the action of the board may be reviewed in the courts. In San Francisco and New York, for example, the effect of a number of decisions, reversing the action of the board and even compelling it to pay large sums of "back pay," has undoubtedly had the effect of making the boards afraid to undertake the removal of teachers. The effect of

this condition, especially in cities where there is no pension fund, and no age of compulsory retirement, is withering on the schools.

Appointment for Term of Years. — It is very uncommon to find legal provisions for the appointment of teachers for a longer term than one year; on the other hand, prohibitions on term appointments longer than one year are common. The new school law for Ohio, however, permits the Board of Education of any city school district to appoint a Superintendent for a term not longer than five years, and teachers for terms not longer than three years. During such period the teacher is protected from dismissal for insufficient cause; but at the end of that term, of course, the board is at liberty to select some one else. In many cities it has become customary to give by law a longer term to the Superintendent of Schools.

Uncertainty of Tenure. — In nearly all cities having well-organized systems the actual tenure of most of the teachers is fairly secure. Public opinion has compelled the board to retain the services of all those who have performed reasonably good service, and where conditions are stable teachers may be sure of reelection from year to year. But in many places where political or personal considerations affect to an extent the action of the board, the time of annual reelection comes to be viewed by many teachers with anxiety. This is especially true of those of only average ability, or those who have not obtained a personal following in their cities, who have no political influence. It seems probable that the amount of disturbance caused in the teaching force by the annual reelection is very considerable. Other factors in educational administration would naturally affect this. A large board open to personal appeals and inclined to nepotism; an influential Superintendent disposed to be vindictive or too hasty in forming judgments; a community where political or religious considerations had produced changes in the personnel of the board — all these would contribute to the general unsettling of confidence on the part of the teachers, and might render them apprehensive and disposed to seek "influence"

to help them to retain their positions. It is freely claimed by many men who leave the profession that they do so because of the instability, or, at least, uncertainty, of tenure under the conditions of the annual reëlection. Not being assured of his place, the man feels loath to become a holder of property or to assume responsibilities which would bring him loss and discomfort in case he were to fail of election. On the other hand, it is evident that the possibility of losing a position on account of inefficiency will, or ought to, serve to keep teachers intent on improving their professional capacity, especially under supervision that can discriminate as to that capacity.

The Problem of Tenure and Dismissal. — The building up of a stable and growing profession undoubtedly demands different conditions of tenure and dismissal from those which to-day prevail in most American states. A conspicuous educational fact in the European countries which have developed excellent school systems is the relative fixity of tenure enjoyed by educators who have stood the preliminary tests of scholarship and experience. The absence of a pension system, the uncertainty of tenure, the dependence of teachers on forms of influence other than those of teaching merit in holding to desirable positions, undoubtedly all contribute to the relatively low place of the teaching profession in American states, and especially its failure to attract competent men in larger numbers. Every state furnishes abundant evidence of the imperfections of the traditional systems of tenure.

On the other hand, it has been noted above that permanent election during "good behavior and competency" does not solve the problem under present conditions of supervision, since the demonstration of inefficiency is too difficult, and cannot be understood by the public. The retention beyond their periods of physical efficiency, however much it appear to be the desert of the poorly paid and unpensioned teachers, can only be viewed as a public calamity when the defenceless children of the schools are taken into account.

Election for a Term of Years. — Obviously the solution of the problem depends upon several factors. After a probationary period it can hardly be urged that there is good

ground for not electing teachers for two, four, or six years, instead of for one. Efficiency once established, it will not be found that teachers will change greatly in the course of a few years, but the longer term of election will give a valuable degree of security and satisfaction. On the other hand, the fact that after a term of years, instead of after one, the teacher may simply fail of reelection will certainly provide as much stimulus for professional improvement as can be expected from this kind of incentive.

Expert Authority in Dismissal. — The gradual transfer of authority to an expert supervisor in the matter of initiating, not only elections, but dismissals and failures of reelection, will also serve to counteract many prevailing evils. The chief weakness of the system of annual election in many communities is not that it may result in the refusal to elect the competent teacher, or the election of the incompetent, but that under board election there may be no real connection between reelection and genuine teaching merit; personal and foreign considerations may far outweigh teaching capacity. But with responsibility for refusal to elect resting on an expert Superintendent, acting under recommendations of principals, the security felt by the capable teacher will be in proportion to the efficiency and disinterestedness of the system of supervision. Cities now have the machinery for expert supervision, and slowly responsibility is being transferred to the right authorities; but rural communities still in most states lack expert supervision of education, and there it must be developed.[1]

The Stability of the Teaching Profession will also depend largely on the development of a system of pensions. After the experimental years when the teacher shall have found his place, if the possibilities of a pension are in view, there will

[1] "The Board of Education in each city school district shall appoint a suitable person to act as Superintendent of the public schools of the district for a term not longer than five school years, the term to begin within four months of appointment. Said Superintendent shall . . . become . . . empowered to appoint, subject to the approval and confirmation of the board, all the teachers, and he may for cause suspend any person thus appointed until the board or a committee of the board may consider such suspension." — Ohio School Laws, 1907.

be greater incentive to remain in one locality and to grow in professional capacity. This desire will also ultimately affect the board and compel it to remove or refuse to elect teachers only for reasons that will stand publicity and the criticisms of educational experts.

Final Jurisdiction. — In those communities where the evil effects of permanent tenure are keenly felt, it is generally thought that, for the purpose of effecting the removal of an incompetent or otherwise undesirable teacher, the Board of Education, acting under the recommendation of its experts, should have final jurisdiction, except in extreme cases of violation of the legal rights of the teacher. In any teaching force, and especially where the term of contract is increased, the right of removal must be sedulously guarded in the interests of the children. But such right of removal must also protect the teacher. These two ends can be met only by throwing upon the supervisory authorities responsibility for establishing, from the point of view of educational experts, professional unfitness or fitness. In this connection it is usually safer to foster and aid publicity rather than to shun it, both as to fact and as to expert opinion.[1]

4. TEACHERS' SALARIES

The effects of systems of certification, appointment, and tenure in determining the quality of the teaching force have been discussed. Another important factor, partly a consequence, partly a cause of the prevailing conditions in the above fields, is the compensation of teachers. One product of the indigenous development of education in the various states is the widespread tendency to compensate the teacher by the month and by the term, and where, as has been largely the case, the teacher is employed for only six or seven months,

[1] "Each Board of Education may dismiss any appointee or teacher for inefficiency, neglect of duty, immorality, or improper conduct; but no teacher shall be dismissed by any board unless the charges are first reduced to writing and an opportunity be given for defence before the board, or a committee thereof, and a majority of the full membership of the board vote upon roll-call in favor of such dismissal." — Ohio School Laws, Sec. 4017.

it has been natural always to estimate his compensation as a monthly payment, and to take no account of his entire yearly income. The traditional American teacher has been, in one sense, a sort of casual laborer. Along with this has naturally persisted the tendency for him to get out of this uncertain career as speedily as possible, and to return to it only in times of stress.

Low Compensation of Teaching. — It is generally conceded that the compensation of teachers in the various states is low. The Commissioner of Education shows in his report for 1906 (p. x) that the average monthly wage of male teachers for the preceding year, taking most of the states into account, was $56.31, which represented an increase of some 25 per cent in six years; while for women the monthly wage was $43.80, an increase since 1898–1899 of $5.66, or 15 per cent. Taking the states individually, the average monthly compensation of men and women teachers combined was reported as less than $30 in Virginia and Alabama; as ranging from $30 to $35 in one New England state (Maine) and four South Atlantic states (North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi). It was less than $40, but above $35, in New Hampshire, Vermont, West Virginia, and Florida. In only three of the North Central states (Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin) was this average over $50, and only in Texas and Maryland of the South Atlantic and South Central states did it reach $50. In all of the Western states except Oregon the average was over $50.

In the foregoing are commonly included the salaries of principals, who are usually men. Possibly a fairer view of compensation might be obtained from the salaries of women. Of forty-two states and territories reporting, it appears that the average monthly compensation of women teachers is: in Maine, Virginia, and Alabama, under $30 per month; in all the Southern states except Texas, Oklahoma, and Indian Territory, under $40; in all the states of the North Central division, over $40 and under $50, except in Illinois ($57.55) and Indiana ($53.20). In all the Western states it is over $50.00, except in Oregon and Wyoming.

Salaries in Cities. — These average salaries do not, however, indicate all the conditions. Teachers in city schools have higher salaries than do country teachers. The large cities of New York, Massachusetts, and Illinois make the average monthly compensation for these states appear large. In the elaborate report of the committee (of the National Educational Association) on Salaries, Tenure, and Pensions, the amounts paid in cities, villages, and rural districts are indicated, at least for typical states. It is impossible to briefly summarize these statistics, but some facts may be singled out for notice.

In 467 cities investigated, having over 92,000 teachers, it was found that the average salary of men teaching in the high schools was $1303 and of women $903; of men teaching in the elementary schools $1161 and of women $650. Principals, of course, receive considerably better salaries. Of the teachers above given, 68,000 were women teaching grades, and of these 44 per cent received less than $600 per year. But even here the influence of a few very large and wealthy cities greatly affects averages; for an examination of the salaries paid in cities of medium size shows that they are considerably smaller than those indicated above. Investigations of rural schools and village schools show proportionately lower salaries in most of the states.

From the Economic Standpoint of supply and demand, it is evident that these salaries are sufficient to procure teachers willing to exchange their services for what is offered in return. But it is a matter of common observation that a large proportion of teachers, especially in rural schools, are young women, and sometimes young men, who teach, not as a permanent occupation, but temporarily, pending the completion of an education or to aid the resources of the family. Where the compensation is low, the preparation and natural qualifications of those taking up the work will also be low. Teachers' salaries have somewhat increased in recent years, owing to a growing demand for better service. The relative scarcity of men in the profession, from one point of view, is not attributable to the meagreness of compensation, for it is

probable that, with a sufficient lowering of requirements, any state could easily obtain enough men to fill all the schools; but it is rather owing to the fact that a rising standard has finally debarred from the schools all but certain types of men, and most of these, with their ability and education, can find better recompense for their services elsewhere than in teaching.

Salaries of Women. — In most respects, teaching is woman's best profession, and it is a convenient one to enter for that large number of women who must work, but who will, after a few years, assume the responsibilities of a family. Hence the constant competition of fairly well-educated women to enter teaching and to serve at first for small compensation tends to preserve a low salary rate. Inasmuch as the economic law of supply and demand still affects much of our thinking, it is difficult to assert the need for advances in salary in face of the usually obvious fact that more certificated teachers are willing to teach than can find places. Of course, when the number of women and men willing to teach at the rate offered is less than the demand, salaries will tend to rise.

Development of the Profession. — What is evident with regard to the salaries of teachers in most American communities is that they are too low to enable the teaching profession to develop as it should. Doubtless, at any given moment, a marked increase in salaries would not greatly affect the efficiency of the teaching force; but none the less certainly, an advanced scale of salaries maintained in the face of competition would soon tend to draw into the profession men and women of better natural qualifications, better preparation, and more willingness to devote themselves persistently and professionally to their work. Until the time comes when society generally recognizes the desirability of maintaining levels of prices and wages to some extent independently of the economic law of supply and demand, as that is interpreted by people concerned mainly with immediate and observable wants, the surest grounds on which advances of salary can be defended has reference to the matter of improving the

effectiveness of the profession. This, of course, is actually what takes place in those cities which have come to recognize the value of a selected teaching force. A generous salary schedule gives the board and Superintendent the opportunity to select the best teachers from among many applicants.

Recognition of Merit. — If boards of education and other authorities responsible for the selection of teachers were generally capable of making the finer discriminations as to teaching ability, one of the surest ways to advance the compensation of teachers would be to raise as fast as possible the equipment and power of those taking up teaching, but only in a limited number of communities can boards yet do this, and too often the well-prepared teacher finds himself in competition with one not so well qualified, but whose inferiority is not evident to the administration.

Minimum of Salary Law. — Outside of cities, one of the means adopted to improve compensation has been the so-called minimum salary law, by which the state prohibits the payment to a teacher of less than a specified monthly sum. In foreign continental countries the fixing of minimum (and maximum) salaries by law is almost universal. In America the last ten years has seen the beginning of minimum salary regulation in a number of states.[1] Twenty-five years ago West Virginia fixed minimum salaries of $18, $22, and $25 per month for the various grades of certificates; these amounts have subsequently been raised to $25, $30, and $35. In Pennsylvania under a law valid to 1907, the minimum salary was $35; in Ohio $40 for eight months in the year; in North Carolina $35 for all elementary teachers holding state certificates and $40 for all teachers in high schools; and in Maryland it is $300 per year for every white teacher having an average attendance of fifteen pupils or more.

The new law of Pennsylvania (1907) provides for a minimum salary of $50 for teachers holding a higher graded certificate and having had two years' experience; and $40 for others. New Jersey has an extensive minimum salary schedule (1907), which is effective in a community only

[1] See Sies, "Legal Regulation of Minimum Salaries," *Ed. Rev.* 35: 10.

after it has been adopted by referendum vote. This schedule provides fairly liberal annual salaries. The minimum salary law of Indiana attempts to fix the minimums as a variable quantity depending upon grade of certificate, markings in examination, and lengths of experience, within some limits. This law, it will be observed, attempts to put a premium on quality of scholarship.

Salary Schedules. — The fixing of salary schedules for cities by state regulation is uncommon. Newark and Jersey City have adopted the minimum salary schedules provided for by the state law of New Jersey. In New York, as a part of the charter provisions relating to education, passed by the state legislature, there is an elaborate minimum salary schedule for various classes of positions. The fact that this schedule provides different bases for men and for women in the same positions has led to considerable controversy. Otherwise, since the minimum salaries are high, it has been acceptable in most particulars.

There is a form of salary legislation which, in some cases, acts to keep compensation up to an artificial standard. This is found in those states which fix the portion of school funds which must be devoted to salaries. In California all of the state fund, and, by a new regulation, sixty per cent of the county fund, must be devoted to salaries. Since no district may receive less than $550, this practically fixes a minimum salary of $60 a month for eight months for the most cheaply hired teacher. Under some circumstances, of course, the board might pay less and maintain a longer term, but this rarely happens.

Adjustable Salary Schedule. — The wisdom of minimum salary legislation is questioned in some quarters. Undoubtedly, it is an interference with the play of economic forces, but, if the position assumed above is correct, that considerations of the permanent welfare of the profession should dictate interference with economic laws where the wisdom of boards is not equal to the task of providing for the needs of future development, then such legislation is wise and to be encouraged. When graduated according to the capacity and

training and even experience of the teacher, it may be made a powerful stimulus toward building up a better-trained profession. Minimum salary schedules, however, cannot be simple; they must take into account different classes of positions and different grades of responsibility in teaching.

Equal Pay for Men and Women. — In this connection arises the vexing question as to whether in any salary schedules differences of compensation for men and for women for the same work should be recognized. In the New York City schedule before alluded to, a considerable difference of minimum was assigned to men and to women for the same positions. In all European countries there is universally a considerable difference in favor of the man. The gradual withdrawal of men from the teaching profession in America has been largely due to the fact that for a given expenditure the employing authorities could usually get a more cultured and better-trained woman than man.

It is a widespread belief among educators and other students of education that youths, and especially boys, should be taught by men as well as by women. The harmfulness of having children taught exclusively by women teachers is not yet a demonstrated fact, but is strongly held as an opinion, so that many boards are willing to offer a considerable premium to obtain men for a given place. When salary schedules are under consideration, if men are to be obtained for grade positions, for example, it seems incumbent upon the board to offer more to them than to women, since the living expenses of men are more, necessarily, than those of women, and men are being constantly tempted into the other callings. The typical woman in the teaching profession supports herself, primarily, and sometimes relatives incidentally; the typical man supports a family primarily, and also other relatives no less frequently than the woman teacher. Consequently the problem of a livelihood for the woman differs fundamentally from that for a man.

Division of Work between Men and Women. — Nevertheless, to fix a different grade of payment to a man for doing what seems to be identically the same work as a woman,

is bound to be a constant source of irritation and invidious comparison, and is questionable justice. The superiority of the man in the individual case is not manifest, however necessary, in the abstract, the presence of a considerable number of men in the teaching force may be deemed to be. It seems probable that some other basis of differentiation will have to be devised. Laws or regulations such as prevail in Germany, requiring that certain grades or certain studies should be taught by men, or that in the upper grades and high school men should always constitute a fixed proportion of the teaching force, would be fairer and would rest less on an individual basis. Having adopted such general regulations, it would then become necessary to establish salary schedules for the men of a kind which would attract and hold the requisite number of the right kind.

It is customary in all but rural schools to provide for advances of salary with maturity of experience, and on other grounds. The details of this will be discussed in Chapter XVI.

5. TEACHERS' PENSIONS

In American states we find only the beginnings of a pension system for teachers. In three, — Maryland, Ohio, and New Jersey, — public money may be used to aid in the formation of a pension fund. In several, special enactments have permitted or authorized the formation of annuity funds in certain large cities. Among these are St. Louis, New York, Boston, Chicago, San Francisco, Poughkeepsie, Detroit, Buffalo, Charleston, South Carolina, and Brooklyn. In most of these the fund is composed of assessments paid by the teachers, usually a certain per cent of the salary received. But in New York, fines inflicted on teachers for absence, and five per cent of all excise moneys on the sale of liquors are turned into it, and in addition it may receive bequests. The benefits from these funds vary considerably, but, roughly described, they provide a retiring allowance which usually has a maximum limit of $600 or less, either with or without disability. In some instances sick benefits and funeral expenses are provided for.

Present Development. — It is generally felt that these local associations are preliminary to the ultimate development of state pension systems. Because the teacher's compensation is low, and because it is difficult, on account of poverty, to retire an old teacher who may have reached the limit of best usefulness to the schools, it is claimed that a pension or annuity system, following the example of European countries, should be developed. The state law of Ohio provides that the Board of Education of any district may create a pension fund which shall be under charge of a special board composed partly of members of the Board of Education and partly of representatives elected by the teachers. The fund is the accumulation of a monthly assessment of $2 levied on each teacher, and the beneficiary must have had three-fifths of her teaching service in the county in which is located the district that makes the payment. Only those who have taught twenty years can receive the benefits of the pension, which amounts to $10 annually for each year of service, and may not exceed $300.

New Jersey has (1907) a comprehensive law regarding the establishment of a retirement fund for teachers. It is to be under charge of a state board, determined by act of legislature, which at present consists of three members of the State Board of Education, three members elected by the State Teachers' Association, and the Superintendent of Public Instruction. It is voluntary with teachers to become participants. Members are assessed one per cent of their salary, except such as have been teaching more than ten years, for whom it is two per cent. The pension is one-half of the average salary for five years preceding retirement, but may not be less than $250 nor more than $600. After twenty years of service teachers become entitled to the pension, if disabled; but they must have contributed an amount equal to twenty per cent of the average salary for the past five years. An entirely different act in the New Jersey laws is of interest: —

"Any school teacher in this state who shall have served as such in any school district in this state for forty years consecutively shall, upon

application to the board having charge of the schools in such district, be voluntarily retired from active duty on half pay; and it shall be the duty of the body having charge of finances of said district to provide for such payment monthly."

With a change of two or three words this could be made a comprehensive pension law; as it is, it applies to only a few individual cases of a very peculiar type. As a form of special legislation, it is, of course, most obnoxious; but, as a possible augury of further and broader action along the same line, it is of significance.

The Maryland Law involves no assessment on teachers, but the state has provided a fund to meet pension payments. "Whenever any person in this state has taught in any of the public or normal schools of this state twenty-five years and has reached the age of sixty years, and by reason of physical or mental disability . . . is unable to teach longer," the case shall be laid before the State Board of Education. This board, at its discretion, may place such person on the retired list, where he receives $200 per year.[1]

In many cases where retirement funds have been built up by teachers' associations, bad actuarial calculation has finally produced inability to meet the payments promised; for a time those first retiring profited at the expense of the younger teachers; but the depletion of the fund, or its failure to produce enough to meet payments, has created much dissatisfaction.

Problems. — The subject of pensions, of benefit associations, and of compulsory insurance is still very much unsettled in American education. In Germany a considerable part of what is termed the pension is really a form of the widespread compulsory insurance which prevails in Germany. The state compels the teacher, as it does other workers, to provide a fixed portion of their salary for a pension fund.[2]

[1] In European pension schemes, the feature of flexibility according to service is an important one. In France, under the old law, the teacher paid to the state five per cent of his salary and a larger proportion of the first year's salary and of each augmentation, for a pension fund. The pension then is one-sixtieth of the mean salary of the last six years, for each year of service, and a maximum pension of one-half the mean annual salary.

[2] See John Graham Brooks, *Compulsory Insurance in Europe*.

But compulsory insurance does not seem attractive to American teachers in its undisguised form. Many young men and women, even among those destined to continue permanently in the work, take up teaching as a temporary occupation, and these have no desire to contribute a portion of their salaries to insurance, which they never expect to utilize. But a similar condition destroys the effectiveness of cooperative benefit companies or associations formed among teachers; too few during the early portion of their teaching career are willing to cooperate, not expecting to be ultimate beneficiaries. The flat pension system, such as prevails in the army and navy, and frequently in cities with reference to police or fire service, is objected to by a considerable number of educators on the ground of its charitable aspects; and by many outside on the ground that it is socialistic and unwarranted by the needs of the profession.

Tentative Principles. — Two or three considerations should be noted. If compulsory insurance in whole or in part — for much of German compulsory insurance is only partly met by contributions from the beneficiaries — is adopted, it should provide that the benefits should be received by as large a number as possible. To that end, in case of death, the accumulated benefits should pass to dependents and heirs, as in ordinary insurance. Again, there should always be provision made for a considerable surrender value. Those leaving the profession should be able to derive a considerable benefit from their participation in the work. Again, after a certain limit of age has been reached, resignation ought not to be compulsory in order to share in some of the advantages of accumulated payments. The observance of these principles would, of course, make the insurance more costly, but it would make it far more attractive and satisfactory to those who desire to combine insurance with some form of investment.

Again, a complete pension scheme, involving payment in full by the state, is probably not, in the case of teachers, in the long run, anything of a gratuity. After the permanent establishment of such a system, salaries would always tend to be adjusted to make allowance for benefits realized from this

insurance. So, indirectly, teachers would be taxed for the payment of the insurance, and such a tax, like most indirect taxes, would not be felt, would not irritate, and would not provoke efforts at evasion. Since the state and the property of the state now pay salaries, in the long run, under a system of pensions, the state would not expend any more than it would by paying teachers larger salaries with no pensions. From the standpoint of the schools of the state the important question is whether the form of compensating the teacher partly by direct salary and partly by retirement benefits would produce more persistent and better service and less discontent in the profession, and whether it would relieve it of many relatively incompetent teachers. On the other hand, it is possible that a pensioning system might be of such a nature as to hold in the profession those who would and should go out of it, the partly competent.

Finally, a retirement scheme should not involve local experience only; teachers should be encouraged to migrate from less to more responsible posts, and even from state to state. But such changes should not deprive them of the accumulated advantages of funds they may have paid toward a pension. If necessary, on changing from one locality to another, they should be enabled to withdraw or have transferred a fair equity of what they have paid in.

6. EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THE UNIONIZATION OF TEACHERS

Associations. — A conspicuous feature of the teaching body in the various American states is the development of associations. These are varied in character and in functions, but fall mainly into two types: (*a*) General associations embracing the superintendents, principals, teachers, and others interested in education. Of this type is the National Educational Association with over five thousand permanent active members and eight to thirty thousand associate members (according to the place of meeting).[1] General associations for all

[1] See National Educational Association, 50th Anniversary Volume.

kinds of teachers are also formed in most of the states and within sections of states, or counties and cities. (*b*) The second type is that which is specialized around some phase of teaching. Kindergarten, manual training, science, normal training, drawing, grammar-grade principalship, superintendencies, — all of these have given rise to professional organizations with stated times of meeting and often with yearly publications. The educational value of these organizations is unquestionable; both in the general and in the special type, enthusiasm is aroused, professional knowledge disseminated, and very often steps taken to secure practical legislation to further the interests of publicly supported schools.

Protective Organizations. — Specific action looking to the establishment of professional standards and more satisfactory conditions, however, is not generally accomplished by these associations. They have been able to do little as a rule to improve the salary situation, except in very indirect ways. Neither have they done much to establish standards which should govern teachers in maintaining professional regard for each other in applying for positions. They have had little influence on the conditions of certification and appointment. These needs have given rise to the development of other forms of association which seek more directly to attain professionally protective ends. Under various names a type of organization has grown up, especially in cities, which has addressed itself quite directly to the attainment of certain fairly definite purposes of improvement of salary, protection of tenure, improvement of administrative control, and other conditions which are conceived to benefit the profession. This form of organization now and in the future is capable of developing very great strength. Like united bodies in other spheres of activity, as among professional men, industrial leaders, laborers, and even in social circles, they are able to exercise considerable coercive force over their members. Owing to their well-trained leadership and their striving after definite ends, they can develop great power of enlisting legislative aid. In one sense, the formation of unions among teachers represents a belated attempt, for in

almost all other callings they exist. In Germany, France, and England, teachers' organizations of this sort have attained far greater strength than in America.

Problems of Organization. — It is evident that organizations on a union basis are capable of very great good or very great harm, according to the conditions under which they work, and their dominating ideals. The public school teacher is peculiar in two respects with reference to the formation of unions: (*a*) he is a member of the civil or state service, and is not at liberty, from the standpoint of the welfare of the state, to enforce certain demands and to take certain action which might be legitimate in the person who is not a public servant; (*b*) secondly, his calling is, or should be, professional rather than industrial or commercial in its nature, entailing on him social obligations and calls to self-sacrificing service to a greater extent than the non-professional vocations. If the formation of strong unions should tend to interfere with the development of the ideals and the practices which should characterize the servant of the state and the member of a worthy profession, then their ultimate social effect would be very bad.

On the other hand, it must be recognized that as civilization grows more complex, and as the teaching profession involves a greater variety of needs and interests, real progress within it must, in the last analysis, come from the teachers themselves. Knowing their work in its difficulties and importance as no one else can know it, they must formulate those demands on society which will make for the efficiency of their profession. As isolated workers they cannot do this; society is slow to respond to demands that come from individuals, and it will be very slow to learn of itself the true significance of the teaching profession. As members of large, loosely organized associations bent mainly on fostering professional interest, teachers cannot achieve those practical and concrete ends which require cooperative action. And it is entirely possible that in organizations or associations which are mainly officered by those who, in the public school administration, stand in positions of authority, they cannot effectively do this.

In other words, it is probable that, judging from the analogy of social movements in other fields, the effective accomplishment of many of the practical ends of educational progress can only come from the organization of compact bodies of a homogeneous nature, that is, composed of teachers of one grade or rank, who will develop from within themselves their natural leaders.

There seems no reason to doubt that this form of organization of teachers will take place rapidly in the future. It may be expected and hoped for by all who desire to see in the teaching force evidences of true social self-activity and the development of genuine coöperation. But that the development of these organizations will be accompanied by many ugly and anti-social manifestations can hardly be doubted. They will often be placed on the defensive, and there will be danger that under these conditions they will forget their social mission and seek too exclusively the welfare of their own individual members. Yet, from the standpoint of social conditions as they now exist, it is probable that the greatest measure of professional advancement will come from the extensive development of these compact organizations cooperatively seeking ends that make for professional worth.

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CHAPTER XVI

The Improvement of Teachers in Service

Development. — The improvement of educational art and science on the one hand, and on the other the lack of power, opportunity, and incentive on the part of the individual teacher to study these after he has entered on the practice of his profession, produced during the latter half of the nineteenth century a variety of forms of organized effort for aiding, under direction, that professional growth which was generally recognized as being necessary to educational power. The large majority of teachers enter upon their work with comparatively slight preparation, but usually with enthusiasm for it and a keen desire to improve in its performance. Institutes, associations, reading circles, and summer schools have developed more extensively among American teachers than anywhere else in the world.

At first largely voluntary and not well organized, the tendency in recent years has been to systematize all work pertaining to the after training of teachers and to make it obligatory upon those who seem to need it. Public support in considerable amount has been given to institutes, summer schools, and reading circles, and in some states special bodies of officials have been created to render the work effective. Institutions designed for the preparation of teachers — normal schools and universities — have especially encouraged the development of special education for teachers in service and have often become the organizing forces of such professional training.

The Need of this Training arises from several sources. (*a*) The unpreparedness of the large percentage of teachers who enter service after passing simple scholarship examinations, and who, after beginning work, recognize their own

deficiencies. In the history of institutes it is found that many have, both in past and in recent years, given themselves largely to purely academic instruction, owing to the conspicuousness of this need among their members. (*b*) Many teachers, well prepared, perhaps, in the academic sense, lack interest in and knowledge of the pedagogic arts, — the fields of applied psychology and method. Since teaching is yet so largely a practical art, its fundamental principles being still obscure, it is difficult to develop power in its application without experience. But to meetings of various kinds teachers come fresh from their experience and ready to appreciate and measurably grasp information and suggestion regarding improved method. In this respect, much of the training of teachers can only be accomplished after they have had some experience upon which to build and interpret their principles. (*c*) The changing character of the demands, standards, procedures in education itself. Especially during the last half-century has education in the broad sense of the term made very far-reaching advances; and teachers of professional spirit or even merely desirous of meeting with public approval have been obliged to devote energy to keeping pace with the movements within their profession.

I. TEACHERS' INSTITUTES

Origins.— Apart from the indirect training accomplished through supervision, institutes represent the most widespread and persistent attempts to accomplish the improvement of teachers already in service. Their beginnings coincide roughly with the development of normal schools. According to Dexter the first was inaugurated by Henry Barnard in Connecticut in 1839. In the decade from 1840 to 1850 they were established in ten other states, and in most cases public provision was made for their support. Frequently these earlier institutes held sessions of from two to six weeks, in some respects resembling the recently developed summer normal schools. Attendance was at first optional, but in the majority of the states it is at present compulsory, the teacher

being frequently compensated for the time spent in attendance. The county is commonly the unit of organization, but provision is sometimes made to hold separate meetings, perhaps at more frequent intervals, for teachers in city schools. One meeting a year, lasting for a week, is the prevailing practice.

Control. — Very commonly the county superintendent organizes the programme of the institute, but in some states this function has been taken over by the State Board or the State Superintendent. State control prevails in Alabama, Connecticut, Florida, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska (where a dual system holds), New Hampshire, North Dakota, West Virginia, and a few others. In Georgia the State Commissioner may prepare the programme and syllabus of work. In New Jersey the State Superintendent secures instructors and prepares the programme for each county. A special institute faculty exists in New York, but it is provided by law that cities having expert supervision need not require their teachers to attend. In Massachusetts the state board takes an active part through its agents. Utah has a special board to organize and conduct institutes composed of the State Superintendent, the Principal of the Normal, and the County Superintendent in each county.

Special Modifications of the institutes are found in some states. The summer normal school differs from the institute in its greater length of term and the fact that teachers do not usually receive their salaries while attending, but frequently recognition comes in the shape of improved grading of certificate. In Louisiana the State Superintendent and the President of the Normal School are constituted a State Board of Managers to conduct summer normal schools with sessions of not less than four weeks. In New Mexico the County Superintendent "shall hold annually for not less than two weeks a normal institute for teachers and those desiring to teach," and it is further provided that instructors must be graduates of some institution for the training of teachers. In Nebraska the State Superintendent may coöperate with

the county superintendents of two or more counties and hold summer normals as a substitute for the regular institute. These may have a term of five or six weeks. In Minnesota the law allows for a summer training school of from four to six weeks.

In Ohio, where there is no county superintendent, "a teachers' institute may be organized in any county by the association of not less than thirty teachers in the common schools," the law providing for the machinery of this organization which has also the handling of an institute fund. In city districts in Ohio there is required four days of institute each year, but these need not be consecutive. A unique provision requires that in case a teacher is not employed at the time of an institute, the board next employing her shall add to her next month's payment of salary compensation for the time she was in attendance. A recent amendment to the Massachusetts law provides that "if a county association of teachers and others hold an annual meeting of not less than one day for the express purpose of promoting the interests of public schools, it shall receive fifty dollars from the commonwealth." A similar provision is found in Maine. The Superintendent of Michigan is authorized to hold an annual state institute, for which he may expend $400. The state of Colorado is divided into thirteen normal institute districts, and in each the county superintendents select a committee of three to manage meetings, procure instructors, etc. Expenses are met by a dollar registration fee, and $2 appropriated by the county school commissioners for each person in attendance. The State Board of Examiners of Colorado issue certificates to those desiring to do institute work. Application must state kind of work it is desired to present. Certificates will not be issued until appointments have been secured. Each application must have three indorsements, and must show that the applicant is qualified to be a teacher of teachers.

General Character. — The typical institute organized on a county basis, holding annual meetings of a week or less, with compulsory attendance of teachers, is not primarily

intended for urban teachers. In many states these are exempted from attendance and special provisions made for them. The institute is primarily for non-urban teachers, and therefore affects that part of the teaching force which on the whole represents least of professional preparation, of experience, and of stability in office. In most states the majority of those who attend have had no special training, have had short experience, and are probably new to the county. From the professional point of view the needs of these young teachers are many: they are weak in general education and culture; they are apt to be insufficiently grounded in the special subjects they undertake to teach; and especially do they lack the more specifically professional preparation in the art of teaching, including professional perspective. The instruction in the institute tries to meet these various needs. There are frequently general lectures intended to give enthusiasm for teaching and breadth of vision; special entertainments in music, drama, and recitation are planned for the sake of adding some touches of culture; special classes are organized for the study and review of limited fields of subject-matter; and lectures and lessons are given on method, applied psychology, and management.

The Limitations on Effectiveness of the institute are found in the fact that its membership is not homogeneous, its time is very limited, the members come with no previous preparation, and the instructors are frequently chosen for some general popularity or excellence which may not necessarily have reference to the work of a particular body of teachers. Owing to their lack of homogeneity it is difficult to organize classes for academic study. On account of the shortness of time—from three to four days, on the average—it is impossible to get serious study organized, or even to present much in the way of a continuous programme. Rarely have the teachers made previous preparation by reading and individual study, so that they are at a point to review in institute that which they have learned outside. Finally, the membership of the institute is instructed by men and women, sometimes having special preparation for this work, but more

frequently having experience as instructors in normal schools and universities, and knowing relatively little of the peculiar characteristics of the locality or teaching force with which they come into contact.

Positive Results. — The effect of these limitations is that the institute quite fairly meets some of the demands made upon it, but fails at other points. As a means of bringing the teachers of an area together, teachers who are frequently isolated and lonely, and of giving them some feeling of *esprit de corps*, it is usually excellent. Very often also it does much to give inspiration, to generate enthusiasm, and to produce in the teacher new interest in trying to solve the problems which confront him. Since most of the teachers reached by institutes are not working under trained supervision, the meeting with the County Superintendent and with others who hold official positions in education, and with more experienced teachers, serves to some extent to provide the counsel and suggestion which should come through constructive supervision. As a means of bringing the thoughtful and studious in contact with the newer thinking in their field it is also much of a success; for the instructors are usually abundant sources of information about new books, new journals, and new ideas that are afloat. Naturally, only a few of the teachers in the average institute are responsive to these influences; but these few are the leaven of the profession everywhere.

The Conspicuous Defects of the institute are its failure to improve general culture appreciably or to significantly affect special scholastic attainments in the fields in which the teachers work. To a great extent, also, the average institute fails in the matter of method, both general and special, since the instructors are not sufficiently close to the problems with which the teachers deal, and there is small opportunity for demonstration. An example of this is found in the fact that instructors are sometimes familiar with method and management only as these apply in carefully graded schools, but quite unfamiliar with them as they are involved in rural schools of one or two teachers. The consequences are that

many of their attempts at inculcating principles quite fail because they are unable to take into account the conditions under which rural teachers work — and these constitute half the teachers of the country.

Improvement of Institute. — The institute seems to have an established place so long as the conditions which now prevail in the teaching force — lack of training, lack of maturity, and extreme mobility on the part of many teachers — shall continue. Therefore the problem of improving it is a vital one. How can an annual meeting of all teachers in a given area, lasting approximately a week, with opportunities of engaging good educational leaders as instructors, be made most effective? It must continue its present merits of bringing teachers into contact and giving them inspiration. But it must improve educational attainments, both general and special, and it must make direct and practical contributions to the specifically professional powers of the teachers. In order to effect these ends the first requirement is that the annual institute should represent the climax of a year of study on the part of the teacher. We assume that the true teacher must be also a learner. A share, even if a modest one, of the teacher's time should be given to study along at least the following lines: (*a*) he should be studying in some of the fields that minister to general knowledge and culture; (*b*) he should be learning more deeply the subjects he has to teach; and (*c*) he should be studying those things in applied psychology, physiology, educational history, sociology, and method which will improve his command of the teaching art. More and more of this sort of study should be regarded as compulsory, if its ends can be achieved in no other way. The institute, then, should involve, among other things, a testing of the work done during the year and its reënforcement at various points. It should visit upon the teacher a specific demand for results of the year's study, and should reward him with clear indications of his accomplishments. The genuine problems that have been met by the teacher should be brought to the front and cleared up. If possible, methods of teaching should be exemplified, or

at least many teachers should report results of experimental work.

Organization of Institute Work. — To attain these standards, there will be needed more and more continuity of management and work. Whether this can be best accomplished within the county unit or by a state board, is still an open question. Expert direction, however, is very necessary, as also plans reaching several years ahead. These must be adjusted so as to be progressive for some teachers, but also so as to make provision for new entrants to the profession. The work of the institute week must be so planned as to utilize to the full experiences obtained in actual practice. The above demands involve considerable administrative difficulties, but it must be noted that in many places they have already been approximately overcome. Where local reading circles are combined with the institutes so that the results of a year's reading are focussed at the meeting, and where the books read are given some broader interpretations by master minds, valuable professional results have already been largely achieved. Where voluntary agencies or an unusually progressive county superintendent has enlisted most of the teachers in systematic study, the progress made in a year has been considerable, and the institute meeting becomes, then, a means of rounding up and completing the studies of the year. Much depends, of course, on the books, syllabi, and other study aids provided for the teacher; and an essential feature of the success of this kind of organized professional advancement is that it should be planned far ahead. The succeeding year's work should be mapped out in considerable detail and the widest possible interest aroused in it. The feasibility of personal study of this sort has been abundantly demonstrated in the case of correspondence courses, whether coming from special schools or from universities. In fact, it may be said that ultimately it must be recognized that the teacher who, under moderate guidance, is incapable of carrying on systematic study of the quality here outlined will be regarded as unfit to remain permanently in the profession.

Expert Conductors. — Other factors are doubtless involved in the problem of rendering institutes more effective. Each state will have to seek to develop a body of instructors especially for this work. At present there is usually insufficient organization. A system of paid institute instructors may prove most effective; but these positions might easily degenerate into a number of well-paid, fairly comfortable "jobs." It is probably better that, out of universities and normal schools, where the capacity of the incumbents is put constantly to the test, individuals should be selected and appointed for a period of some years to organize and conduct this work. With their scholarship and previous preparation, they could soon, if acting under appointment for a term, make local adjustments. The services of men of this type could be best enlisted through some form of state organization. Certainly, once appointed, it would be necessary for them to meet frequently with superintendents and each other in order to develop the fullest preparation for their work. To this end periodical conferences should be held. The content and methods for institute work need careful study, and contact should be maintained with practical conditions.[1]

[1] In Wisconsin the Board of Regents of the normal schools has a committee on institutes, who must approve institute conductors. A state fund of $9000 is given by the state for support, and is distributed among the counties in proportion to the number of teachers. For 1903 the state expended in all $28,000 on institute work.

There is held annually a convention of institute conductors in which the course of study for institutes is discussed. "The programmes show that only such work as is especially adapted to rural schools is attempted." Of 81 institutes held in 1902–1903, 3 were for twenty days, 25 for fifteen days, 32 for ten days, 9 for five days, 3 for three days, 4 for two days, and 5 for one day. In the year following the above the very long institutes had diminished, and the shorter ones increased, in number.

Institute work is regularly inspected by the State Superintendent or some one from his office. The Superintendent a few years ago urged all conductors to visit a certain number of rural schools in order to familiarize themselves with the conditions there prevailing, but little response was made to the request. Later he provided blanks in which they were to report the result of their visitations, and met with enthusiastic response. "Many of the leading conductors visited from three to ten rural schools during the year and made reports of their visitations to the State Superintendent."

Summer Normals. — Under some circumstances the summer normal may replace the institute, especially for young teachers who have entered service with very imperfect training and who, in country districts, teach but six or seven months in the year. The summer normal will always be a free school under state support, but it is doubtful if any arrangement can be made for direct compensation of teachers taking the work, as in the case of the annual institutes. Rather, the teacher's compensation can be made to come in the form of an increased salary when she obtains employment. Many boards of education, even now, advance the salaries of those teachers who take one or more summer terms at normal schools or universities. In the future evolution of the institute, allowance will doubtless have to be made for substitution of attendance at the summer normal in place of regular institute attendance. But if this release is granted, it can be argued that it should also be granted to teachers with regular professional training. It is conceivable that in some states the law requiring attendance of all teachers at institute is too rigid. For example, it is not usually possible to provide a special programme for secondary school-teachers, yet they are required to attend. In some counties a well-equipped corps of teachers from a city system are obliged to attend along with the mass of inferiorly trained ones. The result is maladjustment and a spirit of objection on the part of many who feel that the work given does not meet their requirements.

Subdivision of Institute. — In solving the problems of the institutes, further adjustments must be made within their organization. Much has been done in recent years with departmental work, where teachers are divided into sections, each having some special need or interest, and the programme adjusted accordingly. One advantage of small sections is that self-activity of the teachers (in shape of discussion, etc.) is promoted thereby, and this feature might be expected to increase in importance with the development of reading circles on the part of the teachers. The merging of several counties together in holding institutes and sometimes their combination with state or divisional association meetings

contributes greatly to the possibilities of sectional work. Many recent laws encourage the enlargement of the institute area, and with increased facilities for transportation this becomes possible. But if the continuity of the work of the institute is desired and attempts are made to combine with it a summing up of the year's study, then the enlargement of the unit clearly indicates the need of state oversight and control of programme.

2. READING CIRCLES

Teachers have generally taken an active part in voluntary movements for culture. The membership of Chautauqua and other associations which combine individual with co-operative study has been largely composed of teachers. In local communities and especially under active principals and superintendents small groups are organized, books selected, and provisions made for regular meetings at which the work read may be discussed. It has already been noted that not infrequently in connection with institutes, county reading circles are formed which may pursue systematic study year after year.

Ohio Reading Circle. — The most extensive reading circle work is found in the state organizations of Indiana and Ohio. The Ohio Teachers' Reading Circle was organized in 1883 and is governed by a Board of Control of eight, two of whom are elected annually by the State Teachers' Association. A trifling fee is charged, and members pledge themselves to do the prescribed reading. For a year's study a certificate is given, and for four years' systematic work a diploma, if the work is approved by the Board of Control. A review of the lists of reading represented in the report of the State Superintendent shows that in pedagogy recent contributions are studied, while also courses in literature and history are regularly pursued. Over a third of all teachers in the state are members of the circle.

The Indiana Reading Circle started at the same time as the Ohio. Its management within counties is usually in the

hands of the County Superintendent, but the state directors may appoint some other county manager, if it seems desirable. The State Board prescribes "two or more lines" of reading, but the county division can make special arrangements as to time and extent of reading to be taken. Examinations are given, and the results of these are accepted in some subjects by both the County Superintendents and the State Board in issuing certificates. Out of something over 16,000 teachers in the schools of Indiana in 1902-1903, 13,274 were members of the State Reading Circle. Branches were found in every county in the state.

Other states have organizations for the control and development of reading circles, among them being Colorado, Virginia, Maryland, and California. In Colorado the State Reading Circle derives its authority from the educational council. The council elects a supervisor for three years, who, with the State Superintendent, selects three others and all these make the Reading Circle Board. This board selects books, outlines topics, distributes books, and generally plans programmes. To encourage the work, the examination questions provided by the state for certain subjects are taken from books prescribed for the reading circle. In Virginia the professional course is of four years, and is designed as a preparation for certificate examination. The circle is under charge of the Board of Examiners. There is another circle for certificated teachers. Completion of courses is recognized for renewal or prolongation of certificate. In all these states the relative scope of the work is much less than in Ohio and Indiana.

The Success of the Reading Circle Work is largely dependent upon the efforts of a few leaders. Given enthusiastic directorship and teachers located so as to be able to meet easily, a considerable amount of work can be accomplished in the course of a year. The superintendent or school principal is naturally an organizing force, but in practice he frequently remains in the background, providing for actual leadership from the teachers themselves. Where a county or state board exists, it is sometimes found expedient

to provide a syllabus of directions, questions, problems for discussion, and an analysis of the contents of the books read. In this way material is supplied which serves as a basis for reports and discussions at meetings, since frequently the book read, owing to the inexperience of the members of the circle, may not provide sufficient points of attack for discussion.

Progressive Courses. — It is uncommon to find a course that can be strictly described as progressive, owing to the shifting membership of the circles. But since new books are taken up year after year, and only occasionally is return made for successive years to some classic, the course may become, in a sense, progressive for all its members, with the added feature that new-comers may take it up at any point. Usually two or more lines are represented, of which pedagogy and education is the strongest, and literature of next importance. History, philosophy, sociology, natural science, and current literature, as found in magazines, are other lines of study that are represented in various circles. A weekly meeting is most common, but biweekly or monthly meetings are also found, especially where teachers are much scattered. Evening meetings give the circle less appearance of formality, but may be inconvenient for scattered teachers. Small circles and branches frequently meet after school hours during the week, but such meetings are often found to be hard to manage, the teachers being tired. Saturday meetings are in vogue in some sections, and these are apt to assume the character of small institutes with set programme and formal features. A not infrequent attempt at such meetings is to have some one from outside the circle give a talk, which is interesting, but frequently destroys the self-active features of the true reading circle.

Aims and Materials. — Organized professional reading has been, so far, of sporadic development and has not become to any extent a source of expense to the state, as have institutes. It was shown in a former section that the future development of the institute is undoubtedly in the direction of connecting with existing reading circles, or evolving within itself the

means of coöperative reading and study. Pending this adjustment, it is undoubtedly to the interest of education that reading clubs should be widely fostered. Their effect for many teachers is good, and they can hardly ever be harmful in any way. Several problems still wait solution in connection with these circles: —

a. **Texts.** — The first is that of suitable material. Every teacher knows the importance to children who study by themselves of text-books adapted to their needs. A similar condition holds in reading circles. There is a scarcity in many subjects of books which are constructed so as to hold the attention of students and form a suitable basis of study. In pedagogy, especially, is this true, where much of the literature is not well organized or founded on practical experience. The study of the general subjects of a professional nature — such as history of education, psychology, and the philosophy of education — frequently appeals only to the more inquiring and speculative of teachers. But many others are seeking studies which illumine their own experience and give them consciousness of greater power. Educational books supplying this need are few. It is highly probable that with the development of reading circles among teachers, and the creation of a demand for a definite type of professional literature, a supply will be forthcoming. It is well known that the Chautauqua society markedly affected the character of many books produced for general reading. In the meantime, where a sufficient extent of organization prevails to make it feasible, the issuance of a syllabus setting forth questions and problems, and perhaps making some added interpretation of the book used, can be carried on with profit. For this purpose, it is desirable to have the syllabus made by some individual or committee that is closely in touch with the teachers who have to use the book. It is a fact that many teachers have not learned well the art of profitable study by themselves, and it is also a fact that instructors in normals, and especially in universities, have often not learned the art of preparing a guide or syllabus which is of genuine service to the teacher.

b. **Variability.** — Not only does the capacity of teachers vary, but their interests are also quite different, according to their age, experience, sex, and degree of intellectual development. No generally planned reading circle work can be successful which fails to take account, as far as practicable, of these factors of difference. Hence state or large organizations must provide flexible programmes, with considerable latitude for choice left to local bodies. Given opportunity for choice, the local group will, of course, decide somewhat on a majority basis what course of work to follow. A device that has been tried with success is to have some single popular book determine the line of study, but to have this supplemented by two or more others in the same field, which specially qualified members may take up instead of the prescribed book. This will introduce variety and permit the more advanced members opportunity for studies that do not involve repetition.

c. **Organization.** — In regard to size of club and time of meeting, often harm is done by too great attempt to find a simple basis. It is not improbable that under most circumstances the formation of a fairly large club to meet once a month or less often, with branches meeting at more frequent intervals, will give the greatest measure of success. In this way a large measure of individual work of a self-active nature could be accomplished in the branch clubs, while the inspiration that comes from the occasional large meetings under competent leadership might be accomplished in the centralized meetings. It requires a considerable body of teachers to develop a competent and inspiring leader. In the larger group the full effect of the leader's personality could be felt.

3. PROMOTION ON THE BASIS OF MERIT

Motives for Self-improvement. — The professional improvement of teachers will be, to some extent, accomplished by the agencies just described, even though no external motive for self-improvement exist. But owing to the limitations of so many who take up teaching and their want of serious inten-

tions in the profession, it becomes highly desirable to develop to the utmost every motive for professional growth. Forces already at work tend, undoubtedly, to put a premium on the trained as against the untrained teacher on entering the profession. But it is still characteristic of too many teachers to think that, once secure in an attractive position, the need for further study and improvement has passed away. Teachers seldom believe that boards are able to discern the effects of professional study, and they depend upon holding their positions by resort to other means. After teachers have obtained the skill and confidence in their work which come with experience, even superintendents are not always ready to demand further systematic study. Where institutes are provided and teachers' reading circles developed, many teachers, unconvinced of their practical utility, remain passive.

Salary Advances as Incentive. — In very recent years many superintendents have seriously considered the possibilities of utilizing the advancing scale of pay for the teacher as a means of providing greater incentive to self-improvement. In effect, of course, where employment rests on a private rather than on a public basis, merit tends to be always recognized and compensation advanced proportionately. But in public employment this is not so practicable. There are two ways in which teachers are now advanced on the basis of merit, assuming that the conditions of selection are wisely administered. Teachers pass from communities where compensation and opportunities are poor to places where these are better; and, within limits, they are promoted to positions of higher rank, as supervisors, principals, etc. But the former possibility does not affect the members of the ordinary city force who have settled in a given place. The latter affects a comparatively small number, and only those of easily recognizable qualities of personality, so that, for a large majority of city teachers, it does not act at all as an incentive.

Experience as Basis of Advancing Salaries. — The practice has grown up, especially under the conditions of skilled

administration, of having a schedule of advancing salaries based on length of experience. This practice is universal in European schools and colleges, but finds an analogue nowhere except in public service. The justification for it lies in the fact that, up to a very considerable age, teachers, on the whole, do improve with maturity and experience. To this, of course, there are many exceptions, for any body of teachers may grow less interested and less able with length of experience, and among most of them there comes an age limit when further improvement is uncommon. Under these conditions an advancing scale of compensation must be looked upon as a sort of pension.

Merit Basis. — From the standpoint of educational economy, therefore, the real problem is to provide an advancing scale of salaries, based, not simply or merely on duration of experience, but on actual teaching merit. Apart from previous preparation, the simplest and crudest test of improved ability is advanced experience. But if finer and more exact tests could be devised, so that of teachers of an equal amount of experience it would be possible to select those of the greater educational ability, in the large sense of that term, then it would be possible to prepare a scheme of advancing compensation based on real worth to the educational system. If, then, it could be made apparent that improved teaching capacity depended, to a certain extent, upon personal study and systematic preparation, it would be possible to utilize the advancing scale of salaries as an incentive for this study.

Difficulties of Ascertaining Merit. — The obvious difficulty of putting into practice a scheme that would certainly be approved by all who took the wider view of educational economy, lies in the fact that it is difficult to provide the machinery for ascertaining this improvement in ability. Teaching power involves factors that may, within certain crude limits, be tested by examination, as in the case of examination for certification. But it also involves other factors which are personal, intangible, and largely unmeasurable by ordinary standards. If teachers are to be advanced in compensation on some other basis than the easily measured one of length

of experience, what shall it be? Written examinations based on study are crude and, like the age test, will utterly fail in the case of some very able teachers.

Supervisory Tests. — Since in cities the work of teachers is supervised by trained and experienced principals and superintendents, their judgment as to the promotion of a teacher should apparently suffice. But this assumes some conditions which are not usually found. The supervision of the Superintendent is not sufficiently close, often, to make him feel competent to pass upon so important and delicate a matter as the advancement, or refusal of advancement, in the matter of the salary of the teacher. But supervision of instruction can never be primarily the main function of the Superintendent; that must rest largely with the principal, the Superintendent, or his deputies acting as inspectors. Trained principals, supervising the work of from fifteen to twenty-five teachers, should be able to know their work so well that the question of passing on its quality, subject to the corroboration of the Superintendent, should not, ultimately, be a difficult matter.

Composite Tests. — The solution of the problem is not a simple one, but it is not without solution, and in the interests of a system of education reaching its maximum efficiency, it is highly desirable that some system of merit promotion be found. Undoubtedly, this will have to be based on composite tests, into which examinations of studies, special papers written on educational themes, and teaching ability as measured by supervisors will all enter. In the interests of economy, and to prevent abuses, it is highly probable that the system must be competitive — that is, in each higher class the number of places must be limited, so that each class may be kept of definite number. For example, if teachers of a given kind, as primary, were divided into six salary classes, A being the first and lowest, and F the highest, and it were determined that the three upper classes could never contain each more than 15 per cent of the teachers, classes B and C 20 per cent each, and 15 per cent in the probationary class, then each year would probably see competition to enter

the higher class. To some extent, a time requirement might be imposed, as, for example, that a teacher must remain at least two years in any class before attempting to enter a higher class. Subject to these restrictions, then, promotion would be for those standing highest in their professional studies, combined with their actual teaching efficiency. It would seem also necessary to take physical strength and health into account, in measuring the deserts of the teacher for promotion, if for no other purpose than to protect some exceptionally ambitious teachers from overwork. But the reasonableness of this requirement, in the long run, is closely allied with educational efficiency, since, generally speaking, only teachers who know how to preserve health, and who are willing to do so, can do best work in teaching.

4. THE SABBATICAL TERM AND ITS USES

In the higher institutions of learning the custom has grown up of allowing instructors leaves of absence at stated intervals, often one year in seven, for the purpose of study, travel, and investigation. This is done without prejudice to the tenure of office of the instructor, and usually on half salary. A few normal schools are now doing the same thing, and even high schools, in some cases, are attempting to make provision for a year or half year of study on the part of their teachers. In the higher institutions the ultimate educational value of the sabbatical leave of absence is unquestioned, and it is regarded as a most profitable form of investment.

Leave of Absence. — In the elementary and high schools, within recent years, some progress has been made in allowing teachers a leave of absence for study or travel or rest, but this has been arranged usually as an individual matter, and in practically no case has it been possible to provide for any compensation during this period of absence. It would be a marked educational advance if a system that provides for prolonged tenure of office for teachers, would allow a certain percentage of its teachers to be regularly absent, even without pay. Under present conditions, many teachers are

willing to spend a year in travel at their own expense, if they can be guaranteed their former places on their return. The value to the schools of this leave of absence can hardly be questioned, since it would provide one of the most effective means of professional growth that can be secured. From the standpoint of ultimate economy and effectiveness, the school system could well afford to allow all of its regular teachers such leave once in four or five years for half a year and once in eight or ten for a full year, at half pay. But where this is still impracticable, it is highly desirable that teachers be permitted, systematically, to take this leave of absence, and even be encouraged to do so, at their own expense, but with a guarantee that their positions will await them on their return. In the case of women teachers who are in danger of physical breakdown, this is a matter of special importance.

5. SCHOOL VISITING

In the absence of the possibilities of the Sabbatical term, many city systems now make provision for systematic visiting on the part of the teachers. It can easily be understood, of course, that teachers in city systems especially do not find, during vacation, opportunities to visit other schools which are in session. Vacations fall too nearly together for this purpose. But if, during the school year, teachers can be released, even for one or two days, to visit the classes of other teachers who are reputed to be doing successfully the same kind of work as the teacher visiting, the profit is large and immediate. By means of substitute teachers, each teacher is allowed systematically time off to visit such schools as she finds desirable. Sometimes a report of this visiting is required at teachers' meetings. In at least one city this visiting is accomplished by closing the schools for the last three days of a given week, all the teachers utilizing the time to visit schools in neighboring cities. To this is added the rule that Saturday must be employed for visiting industrial plants or educational institutions, including

reform schools. In one state, where it is not practicable to provide a suitable programme for high school teachers at the regular county institute, provision is made to have the small number of secondary teachers visit high schools in neighboring counties.

The effectiveness of this for the teacher is found in the fact that the visiting teacher is so well prepared to profit by what she sees. Coming from her own field of experience, seeing teaching done in the same subjects and grades as she herself follows, she will be able to profit from devices and minute procedures employed by the teachers visited. The effectiveness of the visiting is much increased, naturally, by a systematic account prepared for teachers' meeting or for a study to be presented in the scheme for promotional testing.

6. CONSERVING THE PHYSICAL WELL-BEING OF TEACHERS

The means hitherto discussed pertain mainly to those features of the teachers' growth which are intellectual and moral in their nature. But the conservation of physical strength is of no less importance. It is the testimony of all who have investigated the subject, that teaching, when carried on with interest and effort, is peculiarly trying to the physical organism, and possibly more so to women than to men. In proportion as men and women of active, energetic, and enthusiastic temperament enter teaching, and in proportion as the exactions of the work increase, will the question of physical welfare assume greater importance. It is undoubtedly a fact that at present far too many teachers carry on their work from year to year in a state of physical illness which seriously impairs their effectiveness. Among the factors to be considered as affecting improvement in this field are: —

a. **Medical Inspection.** — The development of adequate medical inspection in the schools, which shall reach teachers as well as pupils is possible. A full consideration of the physical well-being of children will take into account children under

teachers who are not themselves well enough to give that interest and activity which is desirable. Through the system of medical inspection, higher ideals of health must be made general.

b. **School Programme.** — In planning school work and the school programme, little study has thus far been given to the effect of the same on the health of the teachers. Large classes and many hours of teaching are perhaps inevitable conditions. But departmental work might greatly relieve the burden of preparation of teachers in the upper grades. Forms of day schedules vary much in their tax on the vital energy of both teacher and pupil. Little attention of a scientific order has yet been given to the matter of arranging for a minimum of outside work for the teachers which is consonant with the best work of the school, in the matter of making reports, correcting papers, preparing lessons, etc. This phase of school economy has not yet received sufficient attention. (See sections on Programme, Departmental Teaching, etc.)

c. **Secure Tenure.** — Any scheme of tenure which gives the teacher a feeling of deserved security ; a retiring system which diminishes worry about future conditions; a system of possible leave of absence for a term or year when change is urgently needed; the development of systematic institute instruction and other agencies in the preparation of the teacher which will facilitate growth with a minimum of waste, — all these are agencies that must ultimately make for physical well-being. The same might also be said of a system of supervision which would enlist the teacher's coöperation to the fullest and make her relatively unconscious of the purely critical attitude.

d. **Recognition of Natural Limitations.** — In a system depending, to some extent, on competition as a stimulus, it is highly desirable that teachers should be made to realize their physical and intellectual limitations as early as possible, to the end that they shall not strive unduly. It must, of course, be true that many teachers will only have fair capacities for learning, that they will be incapable of profiting from studies

as much as others, and that in their schoolroom practice they will manifest deficiencies which no amount of self-endeavor can remove. Medical and educational supervision should coöperate in making the teacher aware of her natural limitations, to the end that undue straining and worry — a frequent vice with teachers — may be avoided.

e. **The Physical Surroundings** of the teachers may within limits be adjusted to improve health conditions. A special room for women teachers is not always found in school buildings, where teachers may be at their ease away from the classroom during intermissions and rest periods.

f. **Teachers' Clubs.** — In cities many teachers live away from home and board under conditions not conducive to best health. It is not improbable that the formation of teachers' clubs on a cooperative basis might result in the provision of conditions which would tend to relieve strain and make the surroundings more hygienic.

g. **Vacations.** — Sufficient study has not yet been given to the use of vacations and summer school study. It is thought by some that the summer vacation should not be spent in study, but others believe that the complete change of attitude from the expressive to the receptive involved in doing systematic study during the summer, or part of it, may in itself be decidedly restful. The probabilities are that, to a considerable extent, the matter is individual. Some teachers, tired with the constant outgiving of the school year, may find a time of study and receptivity the best preparation for another year's work; while others, who have lowered their energies too much for study, can profit most from a time of complete relaxation.

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CHAPTER XVII

The Supervision of Kindergartens and Elementary Schools

The supervision of instruction is, of course, the most essential part of the work of a school superintendent. However complex and pressing are the claims of other departments of his office, his highest value is found in the standards he sets for teaching and the methods he applies in reaching those standards. If his field is so large that he must delegate the supervision, he must, nevertheless, think about it and devise those methods which will tend to secure coherence and effectiveness in the supervision of others.

It has long been understood that the early years of a child's life are most important on account of the elasticity of his nature and the strength of the impressions which he receives. So, when the child enters school it is of importance that he find an atmosphere which is at once interesting and attractive, and at the same time productive of the growth of his whole nature. The kindergarten has made a distinct contribution to this field of education, and while it is not actually operative in all school systems, yet its spirit and aim are widely felt, and have exerted a considerable influence in vitalizing and improving primary education.

Supervision begins its work in securing for the first one or two years of the child's life the best that the kindergarten and the primary school have developed. It must discriminate between what is good and what is bad in both, and emphasize and encourage every desirable element. Avoiding a conservatism which clings to methods simply because they are Froebelian and that liberalism which overlooks the most fundamental kindergarten principles and permits

teachers and pupils to do anything they please, it should seek to discover an orderly line of progress through the first year, the second year, and the third year of the child's school life. The gifts and stories are made both symbolic and practical, and extend through the whole period. The industries are organized so that the child from the kindergarten continues, for a short time at least, substantially the same kind of hand-work in the primary school to which he has been accustomed. Language, which in a good kindergarten receives much attention, is continued in the school in such a progressive and constructive way that there is no appreciable lack in continuity. The same rule of sequence and progress should apply to number, games, songs, stories, and morning talks.

The Segregation of Kindergartners. — The first difficulty that arises is the tendency of kindergartners to constitute a cult by themselves, and to discuss and plan as though the kindergarten were not a part of a whole. The first necessity, then, is to bring kindergartners and primary teachers together, and have them consider in detail the aims to be sought and the several activities to be employed in both fields for the accomplishment of those aims. This means in every school system much patient study and long-continued effort. The superintendent or supervisor should never confess to weariness in this work, because it lies at the very foundation of the educational scheme and deserves the best wisdom and the most painstaking care. If, instead of the great meetings of kindergartners which are held annually, there could be half a dozen meetings held at different points in which kindergartners and primary teachers should think and work together, more rapid progress could be made in coördinating these two groups of workers and in removing the lack of unity which has too often prevailed.

Importance of Harmonizing Different Views. — It is important to note here that the most broad-minded and studious kindergartners are recognizing in an appreciative way the somewhat rival claims of the conservative kindergartners on the one hand and the more liberal kindergartners and pri-

mary teachers on the other. Miss Lucy Wheelock, writing in the *Elementary School Teacher* of October, 1907, on the theory of interest, states the case in such a way that it would seem not to be impossible to secure harmony of sentiment and action, for it is certainly of great moment that the education of children should combine both points of view.

"One school of kindergartners asserts that the mind is self-environing, that through imagination it may lay hold upon a larger world than that which the eyes behold. They would transcend the limits of the actual and often sordid environment. Those holding this faith would not give much time to the illustration of phases of experience, which are temporary and limited; but to those larger aspects which connect present and future by bonds of true and enduring worth. They demand continuity and logical sequence in the programme; stories modelled after certain universal types, plays which reveal the great institutional life of man in dramatic form, and present ideals of conduct which appeal to the imagination

"On the other hand, those who believe in the social training of children through their present recognition of social situations calling for an immediate response, believe that the natural subject-matter of a programme is found in the everyday experiences of children, which are largely bound up with the domestic and home occupations, and the fundamental industrial work of the community. These differences of belief plainly appear in the choice of gift-work and hand-work. We have —

The constructive	*versus*	The creative school
Use or Utility	*versus*	Beauty
The emphasis on constructive work in wood and paper, and sometimes in domestic processes	*versus*	Emphasis on distinction, classification and unification of elementary qualities
Emphasis on the product	*versus*	Emphasis on the creative process
Emphasis on the craftsman or artisan	*versus*	Emphasis on the artist
Emphasis upon doing the *real* thing	*versus*	Emphasis upon *make-believe* play

"There seems to be unanimity of opinion as to the desirability of some connected plan of work, which shall prevent a teacher from laying undue stress upon the temporary and accidental. There is a general assent to the position that no plan of work, however excellent, can be rigidly applied everywhere, and under all conditions. Whether the programme be made by a collective body or evolved by an individual to meet her own needs, the critical question is, What are the true interests of childhood, which should grow into permanent tastes and tendencies? The choice of subject-matter is determined by our answers to this question."

Is it not time that workers in the field of infant training should spend their time and energy not in insisting upon their own peculiar and temperamental points of view, but in discovering how the best that has been devised or suggested in every school of practice may be welded together and made a feasible basis for educational work? No wise superintendent can be unfriendly to the kindergarten, but it is his duty and privilege to strive for less segregation, more open-mindedness, and a more cordial and earnest cooperation.

Pathological Conditions. — School supervision will never overlook human conditions. It will view teachers and pupils as they are, and not as one would wish to have them. Every individual, whether child or adult, has his limitations to meet, his burdens to carry, and is always subject to those influences which affect temper of mind and spirit, which in turn have an effect upon the bodily functions and either encourage or discourage success.

Teachers. — It has been shown by statistics, especially in Germany, that teachers as a class are more susceptible to disease and are more likely to become incapacitated for work than many other classes of people. The routine and the monotony of school work, however cheerfully they are undertaken and however pleasurable they are found to be, leave their marks upon all teachers who are not unusually strong and able to resist such wear and tear. Moreover, teachers are sensitive to approval or disapproval. They are often worried and fretted by pupils who are undisciplined at home and are not altogether submissive in the school. Teachers are often made to feel the dislike and unfriendliness of parents whom it is impossible for them to know well enough to make them conscious of their sincerity and earnestness. As wage-earners they are anxious to please the school authorities, and too often sacrifice their pleasure, their rest, and even their health in trying to reach those standards which are set for them or which they set for themselves.

Children. —Children, also, passing back and forth from home to school and from school to the home, have to contend with waves of ignorance and prejudice which often tend to unseat

their faith and their courage, and perhaps to embitter their lives. Medical examinations show that many have some physical ailment which, in a measure, impairs their ability to do good work. When parents or teachers know such facts, they are scarcely able to make the necessary adjustment. In the home the family circle may be too large to permit such differentiation and care as the case requires, and in the school the classes are so large that individual treatment is well-nigh impossible. With fifty children grading all the way from the backward and almost defective member by a series of slight individual differences up to the most brilliant, it is hardly possible for the teacher to diagnose each case and take into consideration those physical, moral, mental, and social instincts, tendencies, and habits which the modern theory of education cannot ignore. If these pathological aspects of the school could be fully understood by all concerned, a long step would be taken toward the solution of many troublesome questions.

Scientific Supervision. — It is obvious that supervision has to undertake a task here which is at once scientific and full of human elements, a task requiring greater skill than the mere criticism of recitations or the interpretation and enforcement of the curriculum and rules. There is required the insight of the psychologist and the point of view of the biologist as well as familiarity with the social conditions under which common people live and work. It is in this field and in those related to it that the great profession of supervision is to find its justification and its success in the future. Every school will become a clinic, and every child will be under the eye of careful observers whose conclusions will be promptly and clearly communicated both to teachers and parents. Quantitative standards of school work will be thrown out as unworthy of consideration, and every human child will be given the opportunity to grow in the most normal way and to enjoy his achievements, whether great or small. In another chapter the physical side of child life will be discussed, and some attempt will be made to throw light, not only upon the conditions as they are, but on the best means of remedying them. This

pathological point of view which is now being presented is intimately related to every field which supervision is called upon to consider, and so the considerations just mentioned are to be kept in mind always and everywhere.

The Grouping of Pupils for Work. — One means of securing in primary work a variety of activities with economy of equipment and effort on the teacher's part is to form the class into two, three, or four groups and devise a programme which permits each group to be doing a different kind of work. Thus one or more tables arranged respectively for paper and cardboard work, painting, or other forms of manual training can be used. These three or four groups may be employed at the same time at tables, at the blackboard, and in recitation.

Pupils working in groups learn to develop social control and to combine with others in useful effort. The variety of activity which this plan favors prevents weariness and makes the school attractive and interesting, and we never need be afraid of too much interest, provided it leads to fruitful effort. It is of course possible to let children work without supervision and in such a careless manner that bad habits are formed. It takes a teacher who is skilful in organizing and planning the work to make the group system highly successful. At the same time, it permits the teacher to distribute her attention and energies most wisely. Manual training, gymnastics, games, athletic sports, and even the ordinary studies permit a large amount of group work, and give training in social cooperation.

Teaching how to Study. — The supervisor of elementary work is warranted in seeking quality rather than quantity. The spirit of the work, the way in which it is accomplished, and the habits of application and study formed by the pupils are of inestimable value. Training how to study may be made one of the highest ends in elementary supervision. The teachers, many of them of limited experience, think much of subject-matter. The curriculum is before them, and they are anxious to accomplish the amount assigned. So the giving of lessons and the recitation become of first importance. The supervisor, recognizing those more hidden and spiritual values

which are wrapped up in school life, will give his attention not so much to what the child is receiving as to what he is actually doing. Has he ability to acquire truth from the printed page; can he discriminate between what is large and what is small; between what should be remembered and what is of passing consequence? Are there sufficient study periods; does the teacher study with his pupils, discovering and emphasizing the larger truths? Does he assign lessons with such care that the pupils know not merely what the task is, but how it may best be attacked, so that whether in school or at home the effort to study may be to good purpose, and there may be satisfaction and confidence as the result? All these queries should constantly be in the mind of the thoughtful supervisor and, little by little, he may develop an entirely new and rational conception of what the school is, and the teachers will find new opportunities for professional growth in working along these broader lines.

The Supreme Test of the Teacher. — The teacher of the youngest children may so guide the thought of the class in developing a subject or in reviewing what they have seen or experienced that the children are acquiring a logical faculty, are able to distinguish between things important and unimportant, and are able to give expression in an orderly way to what they have gained. This applies not merely to statements concerning what they have made with their hands or have seen in their excursions to the fields or to the museums, but, as well, to what they hear from the teacher and what they read from their text-books. *Thought and its expression* — this is the true caption for the educative process whether in the elementary or the higher schools. The supreme test of what the teaching is worth is found in the power which the pupils have acquired to discover truth and express it. The best supervision directs itself to this chief end.

The teacher in his daily preparation for the classroom will plan and arrange such tasks as require real application and thought in a definite field, so that pupils may early learn to be responsible, and may develop self-direction and self-activity. Work that has no higher function than to keep children

busy, whether in the kindergarten, or the grades, should be eschewed.

Study Periods at Home and in School. — It follows from what has been said that the ability to study, involving as it does both consecutive attention and concentration of mind, deserves constant oversight by all who are responsible for the progress of school work. Every study period, whether in the primary or grammar school, should be supervised by the teacher. Even though he may have to perform some other work, he should have prepared the class for their study in such a way that they know just what to do and how to do it. The same remark applies to study periods at home, but here the difficulty of supervision appears to be much greater. There are many variable factors. The conditions in some homes make it next to impossible for quiet work with comfortable surroundings. The teacher will need to know what these conditions are, and will, as far as possible, secure the cooperation of parents in minimizing the obstacles which they present. He will also make a daily inventory of what the pupils have accomplished at home, and will thus train them to the same sense of responsibility for their home work which they feel for the work done under the eye of the teacher. Here, then, is another large field for supervision. Such painstaking effort as this is not usually found where the sole initiative springs from the teacher. Its value must be often reiterated, and teachers must be asked to report upon their success in accomplishing the desired ends. It should never be forgotten, however, that it is just as important to prevent too much home study on the part of conscientious pupils, as it is to induce the class, as a whole, to do the amount which is reasonable. Nothing is more reprehensible in school management than to permit pupils of grammar school age to carry home all their books with the idea of learning all their lessons for the following day. It is much nearer the ideal method to prohibit all home study and have everything done in the schoolroom. But there is certainly a golden mean which the supervisor should help the teachers to discover.

The Recitation. — In the German school, the period of reci-

tation is largely devoted to teaching. Herein lies the supreme excellence of the best European schools. The highly trained teacher, having perfect command of his subject in an orderly way, develops, step by step, the process of thinking which he desires his pupils to follow. The powers of observation, reasoning, and memory are all exercised and in such a way as to make the lesson both informational and disciplinary. As American teachers become more highly educated and trained, we are likely to see equally good teaching in our own schools and yet there is something in the recitation as understood by American teachers which is to be conserved and made still more efficacious, and that is the social experience which it gives where a sympathetic teacher invites the freest and most hearty coöperation. Under the best conditions the American child is more spontaneous and ready to contribute his ideas than the German child. There is a greater degree of sympathy, and the spirit of the school is consistent with the ideals of democratic government and the necessity for initiative on the part of every one who is to achieve success. Here, again, supervision must step in and find the proper balance between the respective parts to be played by the teacher and pupil in the recitation. We can learn much from European examples, but we cannot blindly imitate or copy them. We must develop a type of teaching and school discipline which is thoroughly American and which favors the highest development of individual power and social adaptation.

Marking and Reports to Parents. — How shall the modern supervisor of educational work view the marking system, and what principles shall guide him in deciding what his attitude shall be? To what extent shall the marking system be used as an incentive in the elementary school? Should the information conveyed to parents concerning their children's progress be quantitative or qualitative? These are rather important questions, but if the pathological and ethical elements of child culture are kept in mind, it would not seem difficult to answer them. The teacher's highest aim should be to awaken the interest of his pupils and secure from them the most cordial and earnest cooperation. For the furtherance of this

end there are several incentives much higher than the desire for high marks or the ambition to excel the accomplishment of some one else. If the lower incentives are given place, the higher ones are crowded out and their influence is lost. As students advance toward high school and college work, there may be some argument for the use of marks as an incentive, but in the grammar school they should be used for purposes of record mainly, and should not be made known to pupils. In communicating with parents, which, of course, it is well to do, the chief purpose should be to give such information as may enable them to aid the teacher in furthering the best interest of the child. Any physical, moral, or mental disability discovered in the school should be made known to parents. Persistent indifference and vicious demeanor should also become subjects of conference between the home and the school. Beyond this it would seem unwise to go. A simple card, using the letters A, B, C, D, etc., to indicate the grade of a child's efforts and accomplishments, as excellent, satisfactory, unsatisfactory, or poor, may do no harm, but parents should be educated to realize that the best that the teacher has done for the child or that the child has done for himself, is more or less subtle and elusive, and does not lend itself to quantitative statements. Why should educators pretend to believe in the capacity of the child for higher spiritual attainment, and yet present to home and society that view of the school which has to do with loaves and fishes?

The Improvement of Method. — It has long been recognized that teaching is both a science and an art. Teachers need some clear and rational principles to which they can refer in teaching the several subjects. It is a part of good supervision to make sure that a few fundamental things are so impressed that teachers will not forget them. If necessary, let them be printed in the form of a bulletin and fastened up in the schoolroom. Professor James, in his most helpful book entitled *Talks to Teachers*,[1] has suggested a number of principles which every teacher should know and understand.

[1] James, *Talks on Psychology and Life's Ideals*, p. 33.

The following statement concerning "reactions" is so lucid and self-evident that it might easily become a watchword in any school system: —

"No reception without reaction, no impression without correlative expression, — this is the great maxim which the teacher ought never to forget.

"An impression which simply flows in at the pupil's eyes or ears, and in no way modifies his active life, is an impression gone to waste. It is physiologically incomplete. It leaves no fruits behind it in the way of capacity acquired. Even as mere impression, it fails to produce its proper effect upon the memory; for, to remain fully among the acquisitions of this latter faculty, it must be wrought into the whole cycle of our operations. Its motor consequences are what clinch it. Some effect due to it in the way of an activity must return to the mind in the form of the sensation of having acted, and connect itself with the impression."[1]

The rules laid down by the same writer on "interest" are no less binding: —

"Any object not interesting in itself may become interesting through becoming associated with an object which already exists. The two associated objects grow, as it were, together: the interesting portion sheds its quality over the whole; and thus things not interesting in their own right borrow an interest which becomes as real and as strong as that of any natively interesting thing."

Also: —

"From all these facts there emerges a very simple abstract programme for the teacher to follow in keeping the attention of the child: Begin with the line of his native interests, and offer him objects that have some immediate connection with these."

And again: —

"Next, step by step, connect with these first objects and experiences the later objects and ideas which you wish to instill. Associate the new with the old in some natural and telling way, so that the interest, being shed along from point to point, finally suffuses the entire system of objects of thought."

The prescription given by Professor James concerning voluntary attention is also of universal application: —

"The subject must be made to show new aspects of itself; to prompt new questions; in a word, to change. From an unchanging subject the attention inevitably wanders away."

[1] James, *Talks on Psychology and Life's Ideals*, p. 94.

"The genius of the interesting teacher consists in sympathetic divination of the sort of material with which the pupil's mind is likely to be already spontaneously engaged, and in the ingenuity which discovers paths of connection from that material to the matters to be newly learned."

The criticism and advice of the supervisor comes with much greater weight if he can direct the teacher to such a storehouse of good principles as this to which we have referred. Psychology in the abstract is of little use to teachers, but when interpreted in the light of common, everyday experience and when seen to be simply the expression of our highest common sense and judgment, it will prove a star of hope to any teacher.

New Paths of Progress. — Two classes of students have thrown much light on the problem of child training in recent years: first, those who have pursued child study by gathering data concerning every aspect of child activity and life and then formulated conclusions; and, second, those who have applied definite tests to large classes of pupils in order to find some basis for methods of teaching. It is too early yet to say how much child study has contributed to our actual knowledge. It has doubtless conferred great benefits upon those who have taken part in the investigations made. It has discovered some differences between boys and girls with respect to endurance; it has brought into some prominence the physical aspects of child life, and has led school officers to be more alert in discovering defects of sight and hearing and in the best methods of dealing with them. The supervisor should be quick to recognize any definite contribution made by this class of investigators. He should also encourage in teachers that open-mindedness and insight which belongs to the professional educator.

Still more important is the contribution now being made by those who are seeking a scientific basis for school practice. While they do not make large claims at present, they are confident that the work they are doing, if continued, will give to teaching and school management a more rational basis. In the light of these newer studies, teaching, like the practice of medicine, will become highly differentiated. Each special

subject, like each special disease, will be seen to require a particular kind of treatment. The problem to be solved is, What special method is required for the development of each mental function? Professor Thorndike has this to say on this topic: —

"Training the mind means the development of thousands of particular independent capacities, the formation of countless particular habits, for the working of any mental capacity depends upon the concrete data with which it works. Improvement of any one mental function or activity will improve others only in so far as they possess elements common to it, also. The amount of identical elements in different mental functions and the amount of general influence from special training are much less than common opinion supposes. The most common and surest source of general improvement of a capacity is to train it in many particular connections."[1]

When experimental psychology has been able to formulate a considerable number of rules based upon long and careful observation, the work of supervision will become at once a matter of increased knowledge and skill, and the work of teaching will be greatly elevated and refined.

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[1] Thorndike, *Principles of Teaching*, p. 248.

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CHAPTER XVIII

The Elementary Course of Study

Because the American elementary school represents the most indigenous and most fully developed form of American education, and because it has been for many years the theatre of greatest pedagogic activity, it usually claims chief attention of educational administrators. Unlike European practice, where historic and social causes produced well-established secondary school systems before public elementary education became general, America first developed elementary education, and it has been universal for public secondary education to begin where elementary education leaves off — at the end of eight grades or years of work. English, German, and French secondary education begins much earlier than with us, and for several years of the ordinary school period the two kinds of schools parallel each other, presenting essentially different kinds of work. In one sense, therefore, much greater responsibility is thrown upon the American elementary school, for during its eight years it must provide for all classes of children to be educated, both those who at fifteen or sixteen enter upon industry, and those who continue on to secondary school and college.

I. THE CONTENT OF THE ELEMENTARY COURSE

The Older School Curricula of the elementary school, even to within a few decades, were relatively simple. The school devoted itself to what are called the formal studies, giving scant attention to anything outside of the vernacular subjects (reading, writing, spelling, grammar, composition, declama-

tion and language lessons), arithmetic, geography, and history. Mention was frequently made in the older programmes of morals and manners, object lessons, physical training, singing, bookkeeping, and drawing, but it is not in evidence that these usually received much attention. The content of each subject was defined by the text-book, and it was the approved method to follow the text rigorously. Courses of study were framed locally, and as there was little supervision except that of the more intelligent members of the community serving on school committees, each school was able to exercise considerable independence. In form, courses of instruction were very brief, as a rule, specifying quantitative requirements in terms of pages of text-books, and indicating topics in the briefest possible way. But the essential aims did not vary widely; certain specific ends of habit forming and memorization were chiefly sought. Skill and correctness in the use of oral and written speech, and in use of numbers, and a memorized content of geography and history, constituted the main purposes of instruction. Within the school little emphasis was laid on conscious application of the things learned.

Recent Developments — But in the progressive movement for the enrichment of elementary school curricula with which, among others, the names of President Eliot and Colonel Parker are identified, there grew up the aim of utilizing the elementary school period for much more than formal training. It was contended that the period of child life from six years of age to fourteen should not be devoted exclusively, or even chiefly, in the elementary school, to the narrow range of formal studies; but that this was a most favorable time for the cultivation of a wide experience in the spheres of nature and society. Knowledge of kinds interesting, or useful, or both should be acquired during this period; æsthetic and moral sentiments should be developed; abundant opportunities for self-expression should be made possible; and the education given should be such as would grow out of and reënforce the life which the child was living, to the end that preparation for fuller living could be most effectively accom-

plished. So the older formal studies were modified and enriched; their character was changed in the direction of adding a richer and more varied content. There were added to the curriculum, also, literature, nature study, drawing and art, music, hygiene, and manual work of various sorts. In some measure these changes are shown in the following schemes taken from different periods nearly twenty years apart. (See opposite page.)

The Enriched Course of Study, therefore, represents the attempt of modern education, in a democracy, to utilize the elementary school period to the fullest possible extent as a period of living and of preparation for even more complete living. The following quotation expresses these ideals fairly: —

"In order to get a preliminary view of what has taken place in recent years in the enrichment of our school course, we will merely tabulate the various kinds of new educative material that have lately lodged themselves in the school.

"First is the best literature suitable for young folks from the treasuries of our own country and from foreign lands It reaches back into all ages that produced valuable literature, and includes all varieties. This alone is a field abounding in rich resources. Closely allied to it is history, that of our own land and of other nations, including early traditions and stories, the striking epochs of the historic nations, the biographies of leading characters, whether heroes, poets, generals, statesmen, pioneers, religious teachers, scholars, artists, scientists, men or women.

"Second is the broad sweep of natural science studies, nature study in and out of doors. In its wide range this includes select contributions from a dozen great sciences, familiar to popular report, and each including a body of knowledge far beyond the mastery of a single man of learning. Especially in its more striking and commonplace manifestations, and in its applications to men's needs, science study is quietly pushing its way into schoolrooms and under the very noses of school-teachers.

"In close connection with geography and natural science, industrial and vocational studies (directly and indirectly) are supplying us with rich materials and bulky text-books for children to master.

"Out of all this is emerging the vague but gigantic form of a new study, sometimes called manual training. It is now spreading its clumsy limbs somewhat promiscuously through the whole school course. No one seems to know as yet how large a place this intruder is to occupy, but a fear falls upon many that some of the old studies and teachers may have to move out of the way or shrink back into a corner to make room for this giant upstart.

CURRICULA OF BOSTON ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, 1868, 1888, 1904

GRADE	1868								1888									1904								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	P.C.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	P.C.
Opening Exercises																		60	60	60	30	30	31	30	30	2 9
Morals and Manners								x																		
Reading	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	a	a	a	300	300	300	240	210		300	300	300	240	240	240	210	180	23 3
Writing	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a		b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	
Spelling	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a		b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	
Grammar						x	x	x	780	720	690	360	360	300	300	300	47 7	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	
Language									a	a	a	a	a	a	a	a		270	270	210	270	300	270	240	240	17 7
Punctuation			x																							
Declamation							x	x																		
Composition							x	x										b	b	b	b	b	b	b	b	
Arithmetic	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	120	210	210	270	255	270	195	180	16 6	150	210	210	270	270	270	210	210	16 8
Geography					x	x	x	x				120	120	180	135	135	6 8				120	120	150	150	150	5 5
History							x	x							150	180	3 1							120	120	3 4
Object Lessons		x	x	x																						
Elementary Science									120	120	120	120	120	120			8 6					90	90	90	90	4 5
Nature Study																						d	d	d	d	
Phys. and Hygiene															90	90						d	d	d	d	
Physical Training	x	x	x	x					90	90	90	50	50	50	50	50	4 6	60	90	90	80	80	80	80	80	6
Drawing					x	x	x	x	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	6 8	100	150	150	90	90	90	90	90	7 1
Singing			x	x					60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	4 6	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	60	4 3
Manual Training																					120	120	120	120	120	5 8
Bookkeeping								x																		
Total minutes per week									1230	1290	1260	1370	1353	1370	1325	1325		1350	1350	1350	1400	1400	1400	1400	1400	

x Subject taught, *but time allotment not reported.*

a Grammar in 1888 includes reading in first three grades, also writing, spelling, and language in all grades.

b Language in 1904 includes grammar, spelling, writing, and composition.

d Elementary Science in 1904 includes nature study and hygiene.

— From PAYNE, *Elementary School Curricula*, p. 54.

"Fourthly, the physical training of children is taking on larger proportions, and is demanding definite time and place in the programme, with gymnasia and equipment.

"Fifthly, there is getting to be a vague but pronounced feeling, almost conviction, that the fine arts have been badly neglected in schools and in the general scheme of education.

"Sixthly, the primary school of late has taken up into itself a good share of the kindergarten ideas and materials, games, stories, and social activities, while from the high schools the grammar grades have begun to draw down algebra, geometry, German, and French, and even Latin to fill up what one might suppose must be a depleted course of study.

"Seventhly, and lastly, we should not forget that a goodly number of jealous schoolmasters demand that we shall begin to put some real stress on the mastery of reading, writing, and arithmetic.

"Summing it all up, it is not too much to say that the school has begun to bring the whole range of human life and activity in select typical forms under its purview. This comprehends broadly the whole history of mankind in its typical and striking manifestations, the whole run of nature, animate and inanimate, and its relation to man, and all those great institutions, occupations, and traditional bodies of knowledge which man has accumulated in the course of the centuries. A complete university, with all its multitudes of sciences covering the full range of human thought and experience, has no broader foundation than the course of study in the elementary school." — McMURRY, *Course of Study in Eight Grades*, pp. 1–3.

Congestion of the Course. — While new material was being thus introduced into elementary school curricula, and pedagogical demands being made that the formal studies should be related and vitalized, the actual requirements in the formal studies themselves were not greatly abated. Tradition proved very strong in combating the elimination of topics from arithmetic, grammar, and geography, even though these were quite unrelated to the needs and capacities of the majority of elementary school pupils. As a consequence, the elementary curriculum, especially in the upper grades, has become overcrowded. "Such an enormous number of unrelated topics is presented to the child that organization into a unified whole is almost impossible by any mind, much less the untrained mind of the child." [1] Several harmful results have followed: teachers have found themselves required to teach subjects in which they had no adequate preparation, and they

[1] Payne, *Elementary School Curricula*, p. 42.

were apt to apply to the enrichment subjects the formal methods to which they were accustomed in the older teaching, with a consequent destruction of interest on the part of the child; under the pressure of too many recitations both old and new subjects were superficially taught; teachers and pupils were harassed by the multiplicity of recitations, and the health of children was often affected; in planning for the newer studies, teachers and supervisors were constantly experimenting with novel adjustments, so that patrons accused the schools of being whimsical and devoted to fads; and finally reactions to simpler programmes have frequently taken place, with harmful results to public appreciation of education.

Correlation. — The proponents of enriched courses had all along been insisting that it was not merely by adding subjects to the curriculum that elementary education could be fundamentally improved. The older subjects and the new must be integrated or correlated so that each unit of work undertaken by the child would make contributions of habit, skill, appreciation, knowledge, and sentiment, of the kinds that should be educationally in demand. Correlation of the studies, it was claimed, about proper centres, would result in improved education, and would solve the problems of congestion. Many experiments at correlation have been tried, and so far with some success in the lower grades; but in the upper grades the various subjects still tend to retain their individuality, and, whatever the idea of correlation has accomplished in the way of giving a richer and more related content to these studies, it has not provided devices whereby congestion of the course has been relieved. In fact, under departmental teaching, which has been inevitable in such subjects as manual training and cooking, and is frequently found also in drawing, music, and science, the tendency has been more toward individualization of the studies, and their isolation from each other.

The Reduction of Quantitative Requirement in each subject seems to be at present the most feasible means of producing a workable curriculum. In no respect does it seem possible to omit subjects which have found a place in the elementary

school. Each has its valuable contribution to make. But within these subjects many topics may be omitted. The standard of selection should be based on actual social needs, and the educational values realizable in each study. Less and less do educators contemplate using topics from, *e.g.*, grammar or arithmetic, merely as means of mental discipline. Each study much furnish its appropriate share of mental training, but must also have a content that is socially worth while, in ideas, appreciations, ideals, and must be so taught as to concurrently meet the needs of training along formal lines. The tendency has been for writers and text-book makers to attach undue importance to the subjects in which they have been interested. In the planning of courses of study it has become more and more necessary for those in a supervisory position, who are able to take account of the needs and capacities of the child with reference to the curriculum as a whole, to cut down the demands of various specialists. At present, so long as individual subjects are taught in isolation, this is the most profitable course for the relief of congestion.[1]

2. THE FORM OF THE COURSE OF STUDY

Primitive Forms. — When the content of the elementary curriculum was simple and mostly expressed in terms of pages of text-books, a mere outline sufficed as a programme of studies. Usually those for a given year were grouped in one division, or grade, as it was most commonly called, and not infrequently it was left to the text-book to give the only other statement of requirements.

[1] Other plans that are yet problematic will be discussed under a subsequent section (pp. 334 *et seq.*). These are: (*a*) Individual subjects might be so effectively taught as to produce the results now demanded with greatly decreased requirements of time and energy. (*b*) Daily programmes might be so arranged that at any given time the pupil might be carrying but few subjects; but by means of alternations by years or groups of months, all the subjects might be covered. It may well be doubted whether a programme which seeks to carry all subjects simultaneously is the best. (*c*) Alternative courses might be arranged in the upper grades, so that the school would still teach all subjects, but the requirements for any one pupil would be diminished. Manual training, commercial arithmetic, and drawing might be required for one group of pupils only; while another group might take a foreign language, algebra and geometry, and art instead of the above studies.

The More Elaborated Course became necessary when a more advanced pedagogy frowned upon too close adherence to a single text, and when enrichment made desirable the development of the topical method. At its best the modern course of study is voluminous; it contains a plan of work for each grade or year, and also a complete statement of the work, outlined topically, expected in any subject. It not only abounds in suggestions to teachers, but gives them much direct aid in indicating references, supplemental reading, and other aids. More suggestive still, some of the best courses attempt to aid the teacher in correlating related subjects so as to integrate the work of the class. Under these circumstances, the course of study, as outlined, becomes a kind of guide to the teacher in presenting suggestions as to method, useful devices, and collateral work for pupils. The most elaborated form of this is found when pamphlets are issued describing the work in a single subject, as is occasionally done in geography, history, nature study, and language.

Uniformity and Inflexibility. — To a very slight extent, indeed, do the principles of American education permit the possibility of elasticity in the elementary school. What the course of study contains is prescribed for all pupils alike, and this uniformity extends to the area covered by the course of study, be it state, county, or city. In its formal aspects the course allows no latitude to the teacher for choice or selection, though in practice the teacher must often make numerous adjustments, and omit many of the things which seem to be prescribed; but the curriculum, as outlined, with occasional exception of foreign languages, never expressly authorizes any change or adaptation. Hence, in view of the introduction of new subjects and the tendency to present an elaborate schedule of references and supplemental aids for the teacher, this apparent inflexibility has added to the complaint on the part of teachers regarding the overcrowded course. It is undoubtedly true that the more conscientious teachers strive to do too much, and to insist too fully on the apparent demands of the course; while others, appreciating more the spirit than the letter of the outlined programme of

studies, make many adjustments. It is probable that the effects of uniformity and inflexibility in the form of the elementary course are administratively harmful.

3. THE OFFICIAL SOURCES OF THE ELEMENTARY COURSE

Educational Experts within any given area usually formulate the elementary course, though in a few states like Massachusetts, where large authority inheres in school boards, these bodies formally "prescribe" it. Lay control in this matter has largely disappeared; superintendents, whether city or county or state, or else expert boards, have almost everywhere assumed complete direction. On the other hand, in few cases does large responsibility devolve upon the head of an individual school, thus providing in American education a marked difference from the English system where, under the general direction of the National Board, and of local administrative authorities, each head master, with his teachers, works out the course of study for his school. Within a given area — city, county, or sometimes state — the schools with us are regarded as part of a system, within which uniformity must prevail; and for this area one or more experts are officially responsible for the course.

The Improvement of the Course, however, is largely accomplished by these experts through incorporating suggestions derived from innumerable sources. The curriculum changes from year to year, and can be regarded as more or less tentative in character, since each new formulation represents modifications on previous efforts that are the result of protests and suggestions from teachers, the examples of courses devised for other places, and new pedagogical ideas that have been utilized. Progressive school administrators especially are constantly on the alert for suggestions, and they borrow from a wide range of sources. Educational writings, the comments of expert committees appointed to report upon the workings of special features, and the results of experience elsewhere are all utilized. It is evident, therefore, that in this

field of educational administration the maximum of responsibility falls upon the body of specialists and experts, for here their work is least hampered by tradition and external control.

State Prescriptions occur in the laws of most of the commonwealths, though in most cases the outline of subjects that must be taught is vague and general, and serves little else than a formal purpose. The exceptions are found in the requirements now lodged on the statute books of every state and territory, that the phases of physiology and hygiene relating to the effect of stimulants and narcotics shall be taught. By law this teaching is prescribed in detail, not only as to subject-matter, but as to place and time in the programme of studies. Usually there is included a statement of penalties that will be incurred if the law is not observed. Another prescription that is not uncommon requires that all teaching shall be in the English language, and permission is extended to teach in a foreign language only if it does not interfere with the learning of English. In the state of Maryland is found what appears to be the only exception to this rule; there it is permissible to teach in German exclusively in certain public schools. Again, it is often prescribed that the history of the state shall be taught (especially in some Southern states) and the title of the book which may be used for this purpose is given. Recently there has been added to the prescriptions in some states the requirement that humane instruction shall be given. The more recent school laws seem to indicate a spread of the tendency to fix courses of instruction by legislation. "Physical training shall be included in the branches to be regularly taught in the city school districts and in all institutions supported wholly or partly by money received from the state" is a requirement in the new law of Ohio. In Massachusetts, "Every city and town containing twenty thousand inhabitants or more shall maintain the teaching of manual training as part of both its elementary and high school system."

State Courses. — The development of the state course of study is an expression of centralizing tendencies. The state

administration of education, of course, implies power to make and regulate the course of study. But so strong has been local interest in this matter, and so effective the efforts of localities in meeting general requirements and standards, that the formulation by the state of a detailed plan of work is relatively uncommon. In New Jersey the State Board of Education has power "in connection with the County Superintendent of Schools, to prescribe the course of study" for the public schools. The system of examinations maintained by the State Department of New York carries with it, of course, the responsibility of giving its demands in detail, which amounts to the prescription of a course, exemplified in numerous syllabi and in the examination questions. Several states have had prepared in the State Department suggestive courses which might or might not be adopted. Massachusetts, Indiana, and California have done this, and in some cases have thus exerted considerable influence on local boards. The State Superintendent of Arkansas must prepare a course of study "which shall be followed as far as practicable," but as he is prohibited from naming any text-books, it can be seen that such course must be very flexible. A state course in outline form exists in Washington which county superintendents are required to enforce. In Utah a special commission of experts is created to prepare and prescribe a state course for schools, except those in "county school districts of the first class, and cities of the first and second class." Oregon also has a state course, which is prescriptive for districts of the second and third class, thus exempting cities only. Maryland, North Carolina, and Tennessee have detailed courses of study uniform throughout the state.

County and City Courses. — Outside of the states above mentioned, it is customary to find courses of study organized for the county as the unit of rural school control, and the city as a separate school organization within the county. In the latter the Superintendent is primarily the authority; in the former, the County Superintendent, or the County Board, which in many cases still retains this function. In each case there are often committees of teachers and principals who,

formally or not, act as advisers to the legally constituted authority.

Tendencies. — No uniform tendency is at present discoverable in the area over which a uniform course of study is expected to operate, except in the case of cities, which, in this as in other respects, tend toward local autonomy. Theoretically, much can be said in favor of state courses, but it is doubtful if they present opportunities for local adjustment and accommodation sufficient to meet the needs of American education. On the other hand, local authorities may not possess sufficient ability to deal with matters of this kind, which preeminently require expert judgment. It seems probable that there must ultimately be found machinery which will permit large opportunities to local areas in the way of initiative, subject, however, to approval by state authorities. Not merely counties, but districts and individual schools, should have liberty to make adjustments and variations; but no course should become effective until it has met the approval of some state authority enjoined with responsibilities of maintaining general educational standards.

4. PRINCIPLES APPLICABLE TO THE MAKING OF COURSES FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

It has been seen that the modern pedagogic movement has imposed new and extended obligations upon the elementary schools. Having a curriculum of possible studies more extensive than any pupil can take effectively, and being obliged to economize energy for the sake of the physical well-being of those who are to be educated, the school must put a new meaning into the phrase "educational efficiency." Educational science and theory have outrun practice, and experimentation has been slow and difficult. But the so-called new education has brought into view certain principles which would seem to be sufficiently accepted to be regarded as determining in progressive action at present. The elementary curriculum should be: (*a*) related to life; (*b*) flexible, according to the characteristics of groups to be educated;

(*c*) capable of utilizing the social and natural environment of the child; (*d*) adjusted so as to provide that education which is complementary to the educative influences of other agencies; (*e*) integrated in its final effects; (*f*) so detailed and flexible as to permit the teacher much freedom, while giving fullest guidance; (*g*) dynamic or progressive, and (*h*) adjusted so as to reflect local initiative and central control and approval.

a. **An Education related to Life** is more than ever the aim of modern pedagogy. The demand can only be made intelligible when translated into specific terms. It means that what is expended in the way of educational effort must somehow function in increased social or individual usefulness; and it becomes the business of educational administration to see that all that is taught by teacher and learned by pupil must so function. Subjects may not remain in the curriculum, methods may not be employed, simply because tradition has it so; the modern educator is under obligation to present evidence or satisfactory hypothesis as to what service this or that effort results in. Education for life, in this sense, means not merely the life of the individual, but the social life as well, and the social life which takes due account of the generations to come — all of which is conveyed by the phrase "the wider social efficiency." [1]

The child is educable along four lines sufficiently distinct to guide our choice of ways and means: (*a*) physical; (*b*) vocational; (*c*) social (or moral, religious, and civic); and (*d*) cultural (in a somewhat narrow sense of the word, embracing individual development along lines of pure æsthetic and intellectual interests for the ends of personal refinement and satisfaction). That education may be called general which contributes in an undifferentiated way to two or more of these aims, as the mechanics of reading, *e.g.*, may contribute to cultural, vocational, and social ends. But these four chief ends of education are largely realizable for each child in the life now being lived and in the maturity to come. Each end can be reached by appropriate effort, and, within

[1] See Kidd, *Principles of Western Civilization.*

limits, each end should be kept in mind during the entire school career. In attaining these ends, the course of study must enable the teacher (*a*) to put the child in possession of the social inheritance (variously segregated as religious, scientific, æsthetic, and vocational); and (*b*) to give the child opportunity for expression and utilization along each of the four great lines. The fundamental difficulties are: (*a*) to determine how much and what parts of the social inheritance are usable and vital to any given group of children; and (*b*) to find means and openings for expression and utilization of a psychologically genuine character in the modern life of urban residence and specialized vocation. But experimentation will resolve these difficulties, if the fundamental principle is kept constantly in view: does the study, exercise, experience, habit, etc., sought actually function in some physical, vocational, cultural, or social result which is worth while?

b. **Flexibility as a Feature** of elementary education is hardly yet recognized, but is a necessary corollary from the above principle. Not all groups of children are alike in their physical, vocational, social, and cultural needs; city groups differ from rural groups, negroes from whites, wage-earners' children from those of people of higher incomes, delinquent and defective children from those of normal character. At present, elementary courses vary from one place to another, and are different in reform schools, schools for defectives, and schools for normal children. In some cities where special classes exist, the curriculum varies in accordance with the supposed needs of the segregated children. Philanthropy at present maintains many schools having elementary courses with more of the vocational and social element than can be found in the public schools. Where indirect or unspecialized vocational education has been introduced (manual training, industrial arts, domestic arts), it is differentiated for boys and for girls. The widespread demand for more vocational education will undoubtedly result in the creation of alternative courses in elementary schools, perhaps with uniform social and cultural elements, differentiated according to the needs of the various groups concerned. This process has gone on

in college and secondary school, and there is no inherent reason why differentiation should not reach farther down, provided no further excuse is given for social separation into different schools than now exists on the race basis in many states. Our large universities and secondary schools, though they have educational differentiation, do not make social segregation necessary.

American public education may not follow the class or caste lines of European schools; but in the interests of effectiveness it must recognize as fully as possible the varied educational possibilities of the following kinds of groups of children: (*a*) groups differentiated according to natural or previously acquired abilities; (*b*) those distinguished by home economic conditions; and (*c*) those with different educational destinations. The extent of such differentiation is strictly limited by the economic resources of the community and the administrative resources of the school or local area.

c. **The Utilization of the Environment of the Child** is recognized in modern pedagogy as an indispensable means to effective education. Surrounding nature and the social life must be incessantly drawn on for concrete materials, illustrations, and opportunities for expression and experience. Hence the need in the courses of study for considerable latitude allowed to class and to teacher: hence text-books, if not made for local use, must be actively supplemented by pictures, objects, pamphlets, etc., all cooperating to the development of local community resources for the teacher. The problems in arithmetic, the materials for science study, the objects or projects for industrial arts work, the concrete interpretative materials for history and geography, must come from the local environment, and permit of direct adjustment to the children being taught. Recognition of this principle will tend to magnify the tentative and suggestive features of the courses of study, and will cause that instrument as well as supervision to put a premium on resourcefulness and initiative on the part of the teacher.

d. **The Complementary Character** of elementary education must receive recognition. The home, the church, the play-

ground, the shop, the press, the street, and the theatre are all educational institutions, sometimes good, sometimes not so good. What they do positively, the school must supplement where desirable; what they do negatively, the school must correct; for the school is the one educational institution to-day that consciously represents all society actively and consciously acting for educational ends. Moral education, for example, as a phase of social education, is a variable matter so far as the school is concerned, in the cases of children coming from careful homes and with religious training, and those from neglectful homes and the absence of any external moralization except that which comes from the unfavorable atmosphere of the street. The scope of physical education, too, must vary widely according to the environment; for by physical education we mean all the measures which, under the direction of the school, contribute to prolonged physical efficiency, embracing nutrition, habituation, instruction, correction of defects, and fixing of physical ideals. Under some circumstances schools should devote much means and efforts to the cultivation of physical well-being; in others, the customary outside agencies may have attended fairly well to that end. Unquestionably, a satisfactory plan of physical education for the rural community would be insufficient and meagre for the urban area; and the child of the slums has a large social claim on society in this matter over the child of more favored regions. This general fact now finds ready recognition in many cities in the development of medical inspection, and provision of playgrounds, baths, clothing, and even, in some cases, food. The principle is recognized when it is demanded that the city boy be given opportunity for preliminary education in the industrial arts, which are yet, to some extent, the easy heritage of the farm boy.

It will be recalled that European countries have largely assumed responsibility for vocational education because modern developments in industry have rendered ineffective its educational functions; that similarly their schools still retain the right to use religious education as a basis of moral development, a right which is denied to the American schools; and

that where the home cannot or will not perform its full duty in physical education, the schools are also taking that over. The removal of the school from a position of isolation, and its correlation with other educational forces, is desirable, both on the grounds of connecting education with actual life, and on those of economy of effort.

e. **The Final Integration of Studies** and experiences of the pupil is an essential aim of the course of study. It may be necessary for the pupil to acquire habits piecemeal, to develop skill bit by bit, and to gain knowledge by the general process of division of labor; but education is incomplete until these are integrated with themselves and with life. At present this aim is accepted, but its realization is largely an unsolved problem of method. Isolation has not only characterized school work as related to life, but also school studies and practices as related to each other. The widespread attempts to develop and apply the principle of correlation were aimed to remove this deficiency; but that procedure has not yet proven more than partially effective. It seems inevitable that the natural process of division of labor must continue to be recognized in education; and it is possible that schemes must be devised whereby division of labor and separation of effort must be followed by periods deliberately devoted to synthesis. Other principles recognized above make it clear that the integrated products of school activity cannot be the same for all children; but for the children within given groups, they may. But the indispensable aim must be that each pupil's education shall be integral in character, which is but another way of saying that it must function fully.

f. **In its Form** the course of study should be primarily a guide to the teacher. To this end it should not only exhibit in full the content which the teacher is expected to present to the child, but should also be fertile in suggestion of means and methods. It has been noted that in the older courses the teacher's work was mapped out in terms of the pages of a single text-book, and that this was followed by a topical system of outlining work, which frequently failed to indicate sources at all. A more effective procedure is that which in-

dicates prescribed, alternative, and optional work to the teacher by units, and with each unit or division or topic specifies not only the texts from which suggestions may be derived, but even by paged details the supplemental reading which may be followed. These specific references should embrace much more material than the teacher will use at one time or than the pupil can be expected to compass. But this will give the teacher variety of choice, and will enable her within limits to individualize the work of the pupil.

The course of study must exhibit a combination of prescription from central authority and opportunities for exercise of the teacher's discretion. To this end it should contain in unmistakable form: (*a*) a minimum of prescriptive work, in most subjects at least, which should roughly not require more than half the time of the ordinary pupil; (*b*) a large field of alternatives in which a quantitative prescription may be made, where teacher and pupil may exercise power of choice; and finally (*c*) a field of work which may be optional, for example, to be taken by the more capable pupils, or by those who have time, or by the teacher who has accomplished all of the prescribed work and has time for optional and varied exercises. In literature, history, geography, nature study, drawing, music, composition, language study, and even arithmetic, abundant opportunities exist for making the differentiations indicated above. When under both alternative and prescriptive work many suggestions are given, specific references cited, and suggestions of method developed, the task of the teacher is much reduced, and the opportunity and incentive to vary work according to equipment, tastes of pupils, and strong interests of the teacher greatly increased.

g. **Progressive Character.** — The course of study should be dynamic, in the sense that year by year it is changing, being modified in accordance with the results of experience and new developments in method. Both in the making of the course of study and in making these modifications, the rank and file of the teachers should play a prominent part, especially in the way of providing suggestions on the basis of their experience and study. Under adequate direction, com-

mittees of teachers should be formed to investigate particular problems, *e. g.* the work for a given grade, the references and citations in a particular subject, or the suggestions as to method. After studying the situation, such committee should report and make specific recommendations, which should be carefully reviewed by some other committee from among those standing in supervisory relations. Suggestions and modifications must, of course, finally go to the Superintendent for approval or veto. But in this way the teaching force, or a considerable portion of it, can be enlisted in a self-active campaign with regard to the course, and thus a right attitude toward it be developed. Successful superintendents have produced a variety of devices to accomplish these ends. Sometimes the regular course, printed once in four years, has each alternate page blank, or has considerable blank space after each topic, where additions may be made in writing. Mimeographed sheets containing additional suggestions may be sent from time to time to teachers to be interleaved in the regular course. Sometimes the entire course is in outline, but for each grade only the portion appertaining to that grade, with enough clews to the work of the grade before or to come to give the teacher some notion of the development of her subject. Sometimes the course is in separate pamphlets by subjects. The loose-leaf plan has been successfully tried, each teacher having a binder into which she inserts sheets as they appear, these being either the printed course by stages as it appears from the Superintendent's office, or mimeographed or written additions made within the school itself or even original additions made by the teacher herself. Under these conditions the course of study is to be regarded as a thing always in the making, and yet not undergoing revolutionary changes; and its development is measurably within the hands of the teachers themselves.

k. **Combination of Local Initiative and Central Control.** — The state must determine what the schools shall teach, and by means of inspection and other tests it is to be expected that centralization in the administration of the course of

study will increase. But it should be accepted as a principle that the general control of the course of instruction should not be prescriptive as to details, nor should it undertake to provide for more than a portion of the time of each school. In other words, the state should outline a certain minimum of subjects and of achievement within these subjects which it claims as its right of supervision; but outside of this it should leave large latitude to the local community, to the school, and even, as was suggested before, to the individual teacher. For, just as adjustments should be made within certain limits for the individual pupil, so also should adjustments be made for the community, and for the individual school. In a metropolitan city, for example, different sections vary largely in the attainments and capacities of the children dealt with. A uniform course of study for an entire city, prescriptive as to most of its features, is a pedagogic absurdity and offence. Minimum prescriptions, accounting for certain essentials, there may well be; but each course should also clearly indicate a large field in which the community, the school, and even the teacher has choice of units within a quantitative prescription, and also choice in some cases as to whether she shall or shall not give certain work.

But in all of this suggested flexibility, one condition is desirable; wherever choice is exercised, or special adaptation made, it should be made a matter of record, and if it represent a lasting change, should be approved by superior officers of administration. For example, the county course of study should be subject to the approval of state authorities; the modified course prepared by a single school should be subject to approval or veto by the city superintendent; and the modifications introduced by any teachers should be recorded or indicated and receive the approval of her supervisors. Under these conditions local initiative and central control may be efficiently combined and the means of permanent progress be developed.

5. PROBLEMS OF THE ELEMENTARY CURRICULUM

Most of the problems of the elementary course are pedagogic rather than administrative. Advances in psychological and sociological aspects of education have greatly disturbed, within recent years, some of the naïve considerations on which depended schemes of school work in former years. The present is a time of transition in the elementary curriculum, and because overmuch has been sought under the plea of enrichment, reduction and systematization are necessary. The following problems are of especial administrative interest: (*a*) The varying of qualitative prescriptions; (*b*) development of centres or units of correlation; (*c*) modifications of weekly or yearly programme; (*d*) differentiation of course according to abilities or educational destination.

a. **Qualitative Prescriptions** as indicated in the course are at present relatively unfamiliar. By this is meant the degree to which learning or ability in execution shall be carried. Some things may and should be learned so thoroughly and reviewed so frequently that they become automatic. Such are tables in arithmetic, some dates in history, some locations in geography, grammatical rules, definitions of words, etc. Other things may and should be learned simply to the point of appreciation and interest, and then allowed to pass. Stories read, pictures seen, experiments performed, supplemental reading referred to, may all constitute a valuable educational content, even though memory is not required to preserve them, and there is no subsequent rehearsal. A widespread fault of prevailing courses is that they do not enable the teachers to make these distinctions which are practically being made all the time, but in a haphazard manner. Many teachers try to have all types of learning about equally effective and permanent; others neglect some very essential matters, as teachers in the higher grades find. The problem is to find some means of differentiating and indicating to the teacher features of the course which may be learned differently in the qualitative sense.

Probably the most certain course is to recognize at the out-

set that such differences are desirable, and then proceed to indicate certain minima which must be learned thoroughly, in the full sense of that word. These should be made matters of review, year by year, no teacher assuming that previous learning has been complete. Then, at the other extreme, certain work might be indicated which should be taken for the sake of interest and appreciation and dropped, the results of this learning being something more intangible. If pupils and teachers were not held to equal account for all types of school work, and if the degree of learning expected were indicated, it is probable that there would be less apprehension of overcrowding the course.

b. **The Development of Units or Centres of Correlation** has engaged the minds of educators for many years, but few practicable schemes have yet been devised. The tendency of human experience to break up into isolated divisions is general; and the need that the child, in the learning processes, shall integrate these departments is imperative. The machinery of method tends to develop about the specialized subjects, and their multiplicity grows. The course of instruction should seek, as far as may be, to provide units of human experience which may be made the goal of the learning process, in the course of the approach to which the pupil will acquire various habits, kinds of knowledge, appreciations, and sentiments, perhaps by special stages, but which all finally unify. In present programmes, *e.g.*, we find only occasionally a unit of constructive work which may involve learning something of history, natural science, drawing, composition, manual art, industrial development, and applied mathematics. The mastery of another unit may be made the means of advance in patriotic sentiment, knowledge of the past, appreciation of geographical significances, and power to express in writing.

At present the difficulty of the problem lies in the fact that educational science has not yet devised a considerable number of satisfactory units, and especially in connection with such as it has produced, it has been unable to provide for a sufficient mastery of formal school arts, and of organized and

available knowledge. Two faults seem to have characterized past efforts in this direction; the units of correlation have been too vast and vague; and within them not sufficient provision has been consciously and manifestly made for formal and definite content processes, and for intensive learning on the one hand as against the less definite learning for appreciation and interest on the other. It is suggested that the isolation of smaller units from the fields of human experience accessible to the pupil, and within these the deliberate differentiation of phases to meet the respective needs of intensive drill work for specific habit and knowledge on the one hand, and general interest, appreciation, and background knowledge and sentiment on the other, are greatly needed in present courses, and as matters expressly indicated.

c. **General Programme Making** in the elementary school has so far received no scientific study, hence the problem of utilizing the programme as a means of economizing energy and increasing efficiency in the elementary school must wait experimentation. At present, in any given grade, all subjects are carried in parallel, with five or fewer periods per week in each, according to the exigencies of the situation. In European secondary schools a similar plan is followed; each new subject introduced must receive one or more periods in each week, until it is not uncommon to find pupils carrying simultaneously ten lines of work or study. In American secondary schools, thanks to the Committee of Ten, practice has quite changed; here it is customary to have not more than four studies pursued at the same time, but all of these taken intensively and throughout the year. It is undoubtedly true that in the elementary school some of the feeling of overcrowding is due to the many lines of study and practice with which children are at one time concerned, nine to thirteen so-called studies being not uncommon.

It seems highly probable that experimentation would show that fewer studies, pursued more intensively and with frequent recitations, might in some directions accomplish better results. For example, spelling now may appear but twice a week, or, if more frequently, for very brief periods. But it

may be that spelling, studied intensively for a month or two, might then be dropped and its place taken by some other subject, with better results in both. There are good grounds for believing that studies which aim primarily at habit forming should be pursued intensively at least long enough to result in some definite product, which could at some subsequent stage, when the subject is again being studied, be revived. Other types of work, like singing and moral instruction, may, on the other hand, be most effective when planned to come at weekly intervals. The solution of this problem waits the attention of the psychologist, as well as the teacher capable of experimentation.

d. **Differentiation of Curriculum** into courses in the elementary school is still unpopular in American education, partly owing to force of tradition, partly owing to fear of undemocratic class education. But it seems highly probable that such differentiation will take place in urban schools, and that the democratic character of education will be preserved by making all courses equally free and equally optional to all children possessed of the requisite ability. Where differentiation of courses should begin, and what should be the content of each course, are still problems. Experiments already show the entire feasibility of providing at the beginning of the seventh grade a special course preparatory to high school, and embracing a foreign language and replacing arithmetic with algebra and geometry, presented in concrete form.[1] Another course could clearly emphasize domestic arts for girls not going to high school; and another the industrial arts for boys who will not go on, but who will enter trades or manufacturing shortly after the elementary school period. A fourth course might give considerable place to business arts and practice, for boys and girls who will soon take up work in store and shop. In all four courses the vernacular studies, formal and in literature, would remain common, as might also history and civics, music, and physical training. In very large schools, it might be possible to differentiate courses in English so that the

[1] The plan prevailing now in Baltimore, Worcester, and other cities.

pupil going to high school would have more direct work for that purpose, and the child going into industry might have the most suitable preparation, along cultural and practical lines, that could be arranged. Under these conditions each course would present opportunities for special adaptation, with due consideration of vocational needs.

In adapting the overloaded course to varying group needs, perhaps it will be shown that other considerations should ultimately have some weight. For certain types of pupils it is conceivable that the demands in arithmetic might be reduced; for others, the more extended phases of nature study. But at present it is not in evidence that grounds for extensive differentiation below the sixth grade exist. From there on it can relate itself effectively with departmental teaching.

Many other problems, of course, arise in the administration of the course of study. The better training of teachers and the presence of trained supervisors may be a means of relieving the congested course, and of greatly increasing efficiency of output. The problem of length of day is a serious one: in view of the development of objective studies and the inclusion of physical training as a feature of school life, should not the day be prolonged rather than shortened, and means other than the shortened day adopted to preserve the physical well-being of teachers?

The most fundamental defect at present found is in the inability of the educator to measure actual educational output. What is the relative effectiveness of different arrangements of courses, or methods of administration? Few units of measurement exist, and even these are as yet badly used. But the final test of the economy and effectiveness of a course of study must be expressed in terms of output, pupils educated to this degree or that, and for measures of this we must wait on the development of educational science.

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CHAPTER XIX

Grading and Promotion

Number of Pupils per Teacher. — It is a fundamental condition of public school administration that children shall be taught in groups. This is an economic necessity, and the average size of the group under each teacher will vary with the resources which the community can give for education, the large or small compensation of the instructors, and other matters which require outlay of money. In poor communities the number of children assigned to each teacher must be large or she must be very poorly paid. Formerly it was not unusual to find seventy-five or eighty pupils taught by one instructor, and this condition still prevails in European countries where the money for education is not abundant. If the limit of expenditure has been reached, the number of pupils per teacher can be reduced only by lowering the salaries. In the elementary schools of the United States it has come to be felt that if the number of children assigned to a teacher is in excess of forty, the work must suffer. From thirty-five to fifty, then, constitutes a normal group of children, except where rural schools are found.

Reduced Classes. — In some cases this number is considerably reduced. Children who are mentally deficient require much more individual attention; hence where special classes of these are segregated, the teacher is not expected to have more than fifteen to twenty-five. Similarly in the case of classes of pupils organized for purposes of special study, or because they have presented disciplinary difficulties — the number must be considerably smaller than in the normal class. Often groups in secondary studies are organized with smaller numbers than in the elementary schools. It is found that laboratory, shop, and domestic education classes must have a lesser number than forty for effective teaching; in

fact it is generally insisted that a group of half the ordinary size is requisite for these special lines of work.

Grades. — Within the large group of pupils under any one teacher it has been the aim of modern educational practice to secure homogeneity either in the entire class or within two or more divisions of it. These groups constitute the grades, and the system of adjustment of pupils to these grades is called the graded system. Its object is to have within the grade or group the minimum of individual differences among members, to the end that the largest possible number may be economically taught. The existence of the graded system presupposes a carefully planned course of study, advancing from stage to stage either in difficulty of work or in the logical sequence of subject-matter. The course of study is so planned that the average or typical pupil, attending school regularly, should complete its various stages successively, and it is intended, under the graded system, to have as many as possible of children of like capacity grouped together for this purpose.

Homogeneousness of the Group is the essence of the graded system. But there are several kinds of homogeneity that might be considered. European practice, unlike American, aims to group boys together and girls together, rather than in mixed classes. Again, pupils might be grouped with reference to equal ages, but this basis of group formation is not practised in American schools. It is possible that children vary considerably in their ability to make a given rate of progress through the course of study, but in only a few special forms of grading is this recognized as a form of homogeneity to be observed. In the upper grades where physical changes are rapid, grading might to some extent be based on stage of physical growth reached, as pre-pubescent or post-pubescent. The one basis of classification, however, with which the graded system deals is that based either on the stage of intellectual advancement reached as measured in the course of study, or what is nearly allied to that, the ability of the pupil to do the next work presented by the course. The class thus formed contains boys and girls, and

pupils who are below the average age for this grade as well as those who may be above it. So long as the group is truly homogeneous by this standard and with reference to the course of study, it is probable that teaching can be carried on most effectively. The teacher gives directions to forty or more children (or a lesser number if two classes or divisions of the grade, at different stages of advancement are found in the room), all of whom have the same kind and amount of knowledge and skill back of them and all of whom have the same need of learning the things just before them. The difficulties of one will be largely the difficulties of all. The same lessons can be assigned to all, and the same explanations given with least waste of effort. Duplication of work is avoided, and month by month the pupils proceed abreast in their educational march.

Merits and Demerits. — The merits of the graded system are found in its great economy of time and energy, at least under present conditions of pedagogical method. Its evils lie in the fact that it may not be a perfect means of adjustment for each individual; for even if the group were perfectly homogeneous at the start, various conditions of physical infirmity, irregular attendance, inability to make the average rate of progress, and others, would soon tend to disturb the homogeneity of the group. A considerable number of pupils in any grade will be found to be badly adjusted, and their lack of adjustment will grow with their continuance in the grade. The graded system becomes mechanical in proportion as it makes difficult the finding of their proper educational places for those who do not continue to fit the group in which they started.

Reclassification. — From its beginnings, of course, the graded system permitted at least one form of readjustment for the individual pupil. At the end of a stated period — half year or year — a formal reclassification of pupils takes place, sometimes called promotion. The pupils who have finished the term of work fairly well are moved into the next stage, while those who have failed to keep pace are dropped back to repeat the work of the grade. Occasionally, too, the

exceptionally capable pupil is allowed to "skip" a grade, which is something more than promotion in the ordinary sense, and must involve some violent readjustments in view of the fact that a body of intervening work in the course of study must be omitted, or made up outside of regular class work. All students of education agree that the crude form of readjustment for the individual pupil, which takes place by simply putting him into the grade below, is harsh or wasteful, especially if the period between grades or classes is a year, or other long interval. In cities where large schools are found, it is common to have the interval between classes a half year; and various superintendents have even made the interval still less in their efforts to diminish the waste of time and energy for the class of pupils who fail of promotion. But, unless teachers are given more than two sections, the accomplishment of a plan of quarterly promotions is feasible only in very large schools. Quarterly promotion, with readjustments at those intervals, is usually entirely feasible in schools having twenty-four rooms or more. If, as in a few cities, children above the sixth grade attend separate schools from those below, then quarterly promotion is practicable in buildings of sixteen rooms. It is also practicable in smaller schools, if it is found by experiment that a teacher can profitably handle more than two sections within the schoolroom.

Differences in Ability to make Progress. — But even under the conditions of frequent promotion it is found that in the case of many individuals the adjustment is only partial. The fundamental difficulty is found in the fact that the homogeneousness that is established under the ordinary system of promotion is a homogeneousness of intellectual ability that might be described as static, but which takes little account of varying abilities in the matter of the rate of progress, or dynamic ability. This point might be illustrated by a figure. Assume that in a regiment of troops were a considerable number who could march fifteen miles a day with moderate ease, but for whom a more rapid rate would be disastrous; also a certain number who could quite easily march thirty miles per day. If, then, the rate of march is fixed at twenty

miles a day, which may be the rate for the midmost man in ability, or the typical man, it is obvious that those who naturally could march faster will fail to make the advancement they should, while those who can march only fifteen miles will either fall by the wayside in the longer march or be strained in their efforts. If the exigencies of the case did not dictate otherwise, it would be more effective to divide the regiment into three groups, for each of which a rate could be devised that would produce more effective results.

Cambridge Plan. — Many educators believe that what is here figuratively described holds true of children as they are found in our schools. It is contended that owing to inherent or other causes, some are able to make faster progress through the course than others, and that in a course of study designed to be completed by the average pupil in eight years, some pupils should be given opportunity to finish in six or seven years, while others should be allowed nine or ten. Attempts to provide systems of grading involving the possibilities for adjustment here suggested have been made in several cities, of which that of Cambridge has received most attention. Roughly described, the plan in vogue contemplates the separation of the children entering an intermediate grade into three divisions, each one of which is designed to proceed at a different rate through the remainder of the course. When different divisions are quite near to each other, it is possible to transfer a pupil from one to the other, if his condition seems to warrant his entering a class proceeding at a slower or more rapid rate. At least two kinds of flexibility are found in this system which do not exist in the old; the pupil may, if able, proceed rapidly, or if necessary, slowly, through the course; and also, if at different stages of his school career his ability to make progress varies, he can move from a slow-going to a fast-going section. This is especially important in the case of pupils who have had periods of illness, or in the upper grades when a period of rapid physical growth or change sets in. It also permits some adaptation to pupils who come from poor homes, or pupils of low physical condition.

The system of grading or promotion just described requires large schools, unless teachers handle several classes or sections. It would be necessary to divide any one division into at least as many grades as years were required to finish the course, in order to provide for one entering class each year. Under these circumstances, assuming all elementary pupils in one building, it should be a feasible system in a twelve-room building, each teacher having two sections.

Flexible Grading. — The above scheme is systematic throughout. In other places schemes of flexible grading have been adopted which, while fully recognizing the varying capacities of pupils in the matter of rate of speed through the course, do not attempt to systematically arrange for each division, but rather aim to provide for contingencies as they arise. Groups are formed, but the membership of these may be changed when experience demonstrates that a better classification is desirable. Furthermore, the important fact is recognized that in some studies or pursuits more minute classification is desirable than in others. There are "essential studies," so called, in which divisions may be small; but in other subjects several sections may be grouped together. Large sections are divided when it is apparent that smaller groups, taking different subject-matter or moving at different rates, are desirable. The subdivision of groups is apparently limited only by the capacity of the teacher to deal with a number of sections. The system thus developed is difficult to describe, because in some respects it is fluent and changing, according to the conditions which arise. In one city, for example, the superintendent notes that after an epidemic many new groups were formed to accommodate those pupils who had lost considerable time. The efficacy of the system depends on the constant watchfulness of superintendent and principals, with the cooperation of teachers. Its limitations, theoretically, are not found in its failures to make adaptations for the pupils on the intellectual side, but in its disturbance of social groups in the school, the prevention of the formation of enduring classes, and in its demoralizing effect on the continuity of the teachers' work. But those who have tried the system

think little of these limitations, while they feel that its advantages are very great in providing for the largest possible number of pupils the place in the course and the character of work best adapted to them.

By varying the Quantity of work within a given grade attempts are sometimes made to make adjustments to individual capacity. A certain class, for example, may be divided into two sections, the one composed of the more capable and the other of the less capable pupils. In both sections the aim will be to complete the assigned portion of the course in the same time; but the brighter pupils will be given a fuller content of study and practice than the other, the latter being confined, as it were, to the more necessary features of the course. Both sections will take the same time, but the more able one will have received in any given topic a fuller experience, more opportunities for outside and supplementary study, etc. Where the course of study provides a certain minimum of work which must be common to all pupils, with additions to be taken by those having unusual time or ability, the possible adjustments that can be made on this basis are considerable. Such a plan should make possible the regular promotion of many pupils of mediocre ability or of those attending irregularly, who, if held to the usual requirements, could not go on.

Batavia System. — Another device designed to introduce flexibility into the graded system is found where the time of the teacher is systematically divided, so that part shall be given to class-work, involving the entire group, and part to individual work. This plan, sometimes called the **Batavia** system, does not so much make provision for varying rates of progress on the part of different pupils as that it provides different amounts of teaching according to the capacity or incapacity of the pupil. The assumption is that with more individual teaching and assistance, the weak pupil can, at least in essential subjects, be made to keep pace with others who make progress chiefly on the basis of class-work. The work of the teacher is partly class-work, but also she is required to give a definite portion of her efforts to systematic instruction

of individuals especially needing it. Under some conditions, with specially designed schoolrooms accommodating seventy or eighty pupils, it is contemplated that two teachers should work in the one room, one responsible for the class instruction and the other devoting herself to the instruction of individuals.

Individual Teaching. — Finally it may be noted that from time to time it has seemed to educators feasible to relinquish the class system largely and to accomplish much teaching simply through the work of the teacher with individuals. Under the individual system it is contemplated that each pupil shall proceed at the rate most natural and effective to him, merely calling on the teacher for aid when insuperable difficulties present themselves. Of course in many rural schools, where there may be but one or two pupils in each class, especially of older pupils, it can be seen that the teaching is of necessity individual. Furthermore, in ungraded classes, serving as adjuncts to the ordinary classes in city schools, much of the instruction must be on an individual basis. The success of individual teaching depends largely on the particular subject under consideration, and the perfection of the text-books and other aids which the pupils must use. It is probable that in much of American education, especially where the teacher has all her pupils in one class, teaching and recitation become excessive, and study and work within the school are too little developed. It is probable that with good text-books, and syllabi prepared which would map out in detail the work of the pupil and give him an abundance of explanation, the older ones at any rate could proceed much more largely on the individual basis than is the case at the present time.

On the other hand, it may be questioned whether the so-called individual method will succeed with groups the size of those which must be kept under the teacher at the present time. Individual teaching, for example, might be quite practicable if the teacher had but twenty pupils, whereas with forty it becomes impracticable. In the latter case it may prove always necessary to keep the pupils carefully abreast in their studies to the end that explanations and recitations

may be kept on a basis of combined economy and effectiveness.

Ungraded Classes. — Another device for mitigating the evils of the graded system is found in the establishment of ungraded or special classes, to be more fully described in Chapters XXI and XXII. In effect this amounts to separation from the regular classes of those individuals who harmonize least in their attainments and capacity for work with the regularly established classes. These ungraded classes must be small, must be in charge of exceptionally capable teachers, and in them the teaching must to a considerable extent be individual. Into these classes are placed the pupils who, owing to physical or mental defects, cannot keep pace with the ordinary grade of work; pupils who are ahead of their grade, and who may with some coaching be advanced a grade beyond; bright pupils who have lost something of the course through illness or absence; and sometimes pupils who make difficulties of management — to the end that in smaller classes and under closer teaching they may be induced to take hold of their work more seriously. The effect of the removal of these members from the regular class is to render it more homogeneous and more conformable to the ideals of class organization. The two difficulties that arise with regard to the special class are its expense, and the unfortunate necessity of congregating within it pupils of widely varying capacities and dispositions.[1]

Tests for Promotion. — Under the graded system there is annually or semi-annually a time of reclassification, and all

[1] In the secondary school the matter of promotion now rests on a different basis from that in the elementary school. The student pursues but few subjects, each of these having a definite and well-ordered content. It therefore becomes administratively possible to advance him from one grade to another in individual subjects, and this system has in the more progressive schools replaced the plan of keeping a student in a given year or grade until he has passed in all subjects. This "promotion by subject" has been advocated for the elementary school, and would seem to be inherently a valuable means of making adjustments to individual capacity; but the administrative difficulties in the way of having elementary pupils recite in different classes seem insuperable under present school conditions. With the development of departmental work in the upper grades it is possible that the principal could be recognized to some extent, especially in the case of formal subjects like grammar and arithmetic.

pupils who are deemed worthy of continuing their work in unbroken order are said to be promoted. It has become customary to utilize the desire for promotion as an incentive for better work on the part of the pupils. Associated with failure of promotion is disgrace and a conviction of lost time and effort. Promotion is associated with consciousness of successful performance. Hence the tests which are applied to determine fitness for promotion come to have much significance in the careers of school children as incentives to effort. Naturally the teacher always utilizes the record of the day's work in some measure as a stimulus. But at times, and especially in the upper grades, much has been made of examinations for promotion. Frequently machinery has been devised whereby these should be given by superintendents or others not directly associated with the teaching of the child. Under these conditions both teachers and pupils have had strong incentives for doing the work which will make the best showing in the examinations. Naturally it has been necessary to make them written rather than oral, owing to economic and other considerations.

The Examination System of determining fitness for promotion has in recent years fallen somewhat into discredit. It has been found that the pressure brought to bear upon the pupil has not been all educative. It has stimulated some pupils, but failed to stimulate others; and those stimulated were the pupils least in need of such additional compulsion. The examination itself has often degenerated into an instrument of torture. Its results have not always been even fairly satisfactory tests of real ability to advance into higher grade work, but rather tests mainly of ready wits and retentive memories.

Promotion by Teacher. — Consequently the development of other methods of determining fitness for promotion have come into vogue. Responsibility now commonly devolves almost entirely upon the teacher, acting in consultation with the principal, the former being free to give such tests as she finds wise. Sometimes the teacher is given entire freedom in promoting a given fraction, say two-thirds of the class,

the remaining third having to submit to an examination. Again, the teacher designates for promotion all about whom she is certain, leaving a residue whom the principal examines, sometimes in conjunction with the teacher of the grade above. Another scheme found in some communities, especially where examinations are conducted by a county board, is to have a system of accredited teachers who have entire liberty in the matter of promotion, and other teachers whose pupils must submit to examination. The accredited teachers are those who have been long enough in the school system to have their work well known; who have developed excellent teaching capacity; and whose judgment in promotion is sound, as indicated by the success of their pupils in the grades above. The accrediting of teachers is, of course, a delicate matter, but under competent supervision ought not to offer great difficulties. The probabilities are, that with the development of more flexible systems of grading, teachers will have to give special study to the matter of promotion, and that supervision also will have to be directed more to this matter than is now the case. It can certainly be said that in view of our present knowledge of the injuriousness and inadequacy of the system of written examinations, it will hardly be possible for any well-organized school system to rely solely upon them for promotion.

Classification in Subject-matter. — The first problem of grading and promotion has reference to the classification which should be made within each subject in the curriculum. In the introductory stages of the discussion of elastic systems of grading it has too often been unjustifiably assumed that all of the subjects of the school programme stood on the same footing — that each subject should be subdivided into as many parts for grade study as any other. But this has not been ascertained. We know, for example, that arithmetic and history study are subjects having ascending stages, which can be used for classification, and that any given stage can only be taken in its order. On the other hand, is it equally as desirable that similar stages should be recognized in science study, drawing, the study of literature, and mo[illegible]

instruction? If not, then is it not possible to allow pupils to be divided into smaller groups for the purpose of studying arithmetic, grammar, and music, but in larger groups for geography, literature, science, and moral instruction?

Number of Sections in Room. — The second problem has reference to the number of sections within the schoolroom which it is profitable for the teacher to handle. In many city systems each elementary school teacher has only one section, or grade, which is not subdivided for any purpose. The recitation periods, under these circumstances, can be long, and when the class is studying, it can be entirely under the observation of the teacher. On the other hand, in rural schools, a teacher often has six or more grades, or sections, separate in most of their studies. Under these circumstances the teacher must have many recitations with short periods, and during the recitation the major portion of her pupils will be engaged in study. Between these two extreme cases we find a variety of practices. Commonly, city teachers have one grade, but a few divide it into two sections for some kinds of instruction. Occasionally they have two different grades, or subdivisions of one grade pursuing work at different stages; or again teachers are required to have three sections in the single room. There must be somewhere a medium of economy, determined partly by the factors which make for effective teaching and learning, such as length of recitation, amount of study time within school, strain upon teacher of supervising study and conducting recitation at the same time, advantage to pupils of having carried on in their hearing recitations of pupils slightly ahead or behind themselves, and the like. Many arguments are possible against the rural school necessity of having five to eight sections all studying or reciting at once. On the other hand, it is probably harmful to pupils to have only one very large section, alternately studying or reciting in the room at the same time. It is probable that each teacher should have at least two sections always in the room, the one reciting, the other studying.

Basis of Flexible Grading. — In considering schemes of flexible grading it is obvious that light must come from the solution of these two problems. For example, it might be suggested that an ideal schoolroom would be that having forty children not unlike in age and attainments, all of whom would constitute but one class in singing and informal music study, and in the study of literature, natural science, penmanship, and drawing. But this large group would be divided into two groups in history, and in geography; into four groups in language or grammar study; and into even as many as five groups for arithmetic and the mechanics of reading. The rate of progress in essential subjects might be quite different in the different sections, leading to readjustments possibly into other classes at the close of the regular term of promotion. For example, in the mechanics of reading the object of the division of pupils into five sections in the lower grades would be to make as many readjustments as possible for varying capacities in this field, which is one of the critical studies in the first three grades. But in higher grades it might still be desirable to preserve five divisions, not because pupils now must make different rates of progress, but simply because the division into sections affords the most convenient means of practice. On the other hand, in studies which depend less on logical sequences, or involve less finely discriminated stages of ability, two sections or one may be managed, provided these can learn most effectively through the combined activities of the larger group.

Essential and Additional Studies. — Another basis of distinction to meet the above problem may be found in the differences that might be observed between the essential and so-called additional studies. The aim of the grading system might be to make enough divisions for fairly accurate adjustment in the more essential studies, but to leave the divisions large in the less essential studies. Furthermore, promotion should be based primarily on the essential studies, even to the extent of allowing a pupil to omit at times, and with sufficient excuse, the less essential. This would give opportunities for considerable adjustment for those studies which are necessary

to progress up through the grades, while at the same time allowing children to pursue as well as they might be able the less prominent studies. The difficulties in the way of this adjustment exist in the fact that, while it is actually practised in some measure in all schools, it is not agreed as to what are the essential studies. Tradition has indicated certain of the formal studies as being essential; but we have yet no measure of the quantity or degree of thoroughness in each, which might be regarded as constituting its measure of essentialness. And what are sometimes thought the non-essential or ornamental studies are being recognized by educators as peculiarly essential. The fact is that the pedagogical problems of the elementary curriculum are not yet sufficiently clear on a number of points involved in the above problems.

The Separation of Brighter from Slower Pupils is a feature of several systems of flexible promotion. However useful this may be as producing homogeneity for the time being, its ultimate psychological effects are far from being understood. Will the groups of less ready pupils tend to become fixed, thus drawing lines which will affect the social life of the school? The advocates of flexible systems think that because capable pupils will always be put, for a time at least, in groups containing those moving more slowly, social disadvantages will tend to be corrected. For example, where a class is divided into two sections, it is contemplated that these sections shall preserve their membership intact throughout the course. Only considerable experimentation will demonstrate whether this will be the case, or whether the coalescing of groups will be carried on sufficiently to offset tendencies to permanent and social separation of bright from slower pupils. This problem also arises in the case of that kind of segregation which does not aim at having pupils make different rates of progress through the course, but at giving a brighter section richer work in the regular subjects.

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CHAPTER XX

The Administration of High Schools

Unique Features. — The American high school, as the typical secondary school, is unlike the European in three particulars: (*a*) Its course begins at the close of the full elementary school period, (*b*) its term is seldom more than four years, and (*c*) the school is coeducational. In all typical European secondary schools, the courses are planned to begin before the termination of the traditional elementary school period; they are from six to nine years in length; and coeducation is the exception. European and American secondary schools are somewhat alike in their curricula, in that studies contributing to general culture play the main rôle, and in the fact that the content as well as the method of teaching is largely determined in response to the demands of the superior institutions. Flexibility in European schools is usually accomplished, not by separate courses, but by the establishment of separate schools, each with a fairly rigid course (an exception being made as regards the English boarding schools, which may have several courses). In the typical American high school flexibility is accomplished by having two or more courses, sometimes modified by alternative or elective studies, to any one of which the pupil may adapt himself.

Extent of Secondary Education. — American public secondary education is widespread and rapidly growing in importance. In 1905–1906, out of every 100,000 population, 880 were enrolled in the public high schools, a total enrolment for the country of over 740,000. Of this number nearly 58 per cent were girls. The number of these schools was 8031, the 740,000 students being taught by 30,844 teachers, of whom over 53 per cent were women. The average number of pupils

per teacher was nearly 25, the average number of teachers to the school nearly 4, and the average number of pupils per school slightly under 100.[1]

Variability. — But there is much variability in the size and completeness of equipment. "The secondary schools in the country with only one teacher outnumber by a considerable figure all those with five teachers or more. Those with only one or two teachers outnumber considerably all the rest."[2] Over 36 per cent of all high school students are in schools having from one to three teachers, and only 31 per cent in schools of eleven teachers or more.[3]

City High Schools. — The census of 1900 indicates that about one-third of the population of the United States was found in cities of over 8000. These contain 790 public high schools with an average of about 400 pupils each, with one teacher to a trifle less than 30 pupils. The schools average almost 14 teachers each. The city high schools have over 30 per cent more pupils per teacher than the non-urban schools.

Specialization of Teaching. — The departmental system of teaching prevails almost universally in these high schools; that is, each teacher is a specialist teaching one or more subjects to all the pupils who take that subject, or so many

[1] Report of Commissioner of Education, 1906 *et seq.*

[2] Thorndike, "A Neglected Aspect of the American High School," *Ed. Rev.* 33: 245.

[3] TABLE SHOWING THE APPROXIMATE PROPORTIONS OF THE PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL ENROLMENT OF THE UNITED STATES IN SCHOOLS OF FROM 1 TO 110 TEACHERS.

Number of Teachers	Students Enrolled
In schools of 1–3	teachers are 36.6 per cent of all students enrolled
In schools of 4–6	teachers are 22.1 per cent of all students enrolled
In schools of 7–10	teachers are 9.1 per cent of all students enrolled
In schools of 1–10	teachers are 68.6 per cent of all students enrolled
In schools of 11–20	teachers are 13.5 per cent of all students enrolled
In schools of 21–101	teachers are 17.8 per cent of all students enrolled

— (Abridged from THORNDIKE, *Ed. Rev.* 33: 254.)

classes as his time permits. The staple secondary school subjects are, somewhat in the order of general importance: mathematics (algebra and geometry); English (literature, composition, and rhetoric); Latin; History; French and German; physiology, physics, chemistry, and physical geography. Greek, civics, trigonometry, biology, astronomy, psychology, commercial subjects, manual training, domestic arts, are found occasionally. In some states drawing is a strong feature, but in others it is hardly found. Systematic instruction in music is uncommon, but singing and chorus work in opening exercises and sometimes for an hour a week is frequent.

Uniformity of Programme. — Prior to the issuance of the Report of the Committee of Ten the high schools differed widely in extent and character of programme. The curricula of even the small ones contained many subjects, but these were arranged in short courses, sometimes only twelve weeks in length, or the pupils carried alternative subjects, reciting in each two or three times a week. The effect of the Report was to greatly unify high school work in nearly all the states. The number of subjects to be carried by the individual pupil was reduced until now but four are usually studied seriously at any one time. Four or five recitations per day of from forty-five to fifty minutes each has become the rule. Few subjects are now taken for less than a full year. Since nearly all the high school courses are largely affected by college admission requirements, and it was from the colleges that the demand came for the simplification and unification produced by the Report of the Committee of Ten, it is of interest to note that the colleges tend to fix the above form of programme, by putting entrance requirements in the form of fifteen or sixteen points, each point being supposed to represent a study pursued for one year with at least four recitations per week. This programme, which has become a fixed feature in American high schools, is widely at variance with that prevailing in the secondary schools of England and Germany; in these countries it is customary for the secondary school pupil to carry from seven to ten subjects simultane-

ously, having from two to five recitations weekly in each, and carrying each subject for a series of years.

Attendance. — With the exception of some commercial studies, almost all the work in the high schools is planned for students who take the entire course, which in most of the states, and excepting only small, one-teacher high schools, is four years. A very large number of the students, however, who enter stay only one or two years. It is estimated that of the total enrolment in public high schools, 43 per cent is in the first year, 26 per cent in the second year, 18 per cent in the third year, and 13 per cent in the fourth year.[1] Over a series of years it is found that the number of graduates from all public high schools has been from 11 to 12 per cent of the total enrolment. This varies among the states from 6 to 16 per cent, being highest in the North Central division. Since the total attendance at high schools is increasing some 5 or 6 per cent a year, the percentage of graduates compared with the total enrolment as given above tends to exaggerate the apparent falling off in attendance. But it is a well-recognized fact that of all pupils who begin high school work less than one-third ordinarily graduate.

Six Years' High School Course. — The relation of American secondary to elementary education has been long a source of considerable dissatisfaction. It is felt by most educators that the distinctively secondary school studies should begin earlier than is now the case, as is universally the practice in European countries. But the democratic tendencies of America have opposed the formation of school courses parallel to those of the elementary school, for more favored pupils. Sometimes the attempt has been made to have all pupils about twelve years of age take up distinctively secondary studies, but this has proven most unpopular, since for most of the children these studies are valueless. As long as it is insisted that the elementary school programme must be uniform for all children it is obviously impossible that foreign languages, algebra and geometry, and other

[1] Report of Commissioner of Education, 1905 : 822.

secondary school subjects should be studied. And yet educators who are most in contact with children who take a secondary and college education feel that for them there has been a serious loss of time, especially in the last two years of the elementary course. It has often been suggested that high schools should lengthen their courses to six years, but so far the plan has not been made operative in the secondary schools.

Obviously, the solution of the problem rests upon the disposition to differentiate the work of the upper grades of the elementary school. As was shown in the chapter on elementary course of study (p. 327) there is no inherent reason why alternative courses should not be offered in the seventh and eighth grades. Equality of opportunity, which is the demand of democracy, does not mean equality of work, provided always alternative courses are kept equally open to all kinds of children who can pursue the studies with profit. Once grant the practicability of alternative courses, there is no reason why one of these courses should not contain one or more foreign languages, algebra instead of arithmetic, etc., and be essentially secondary in character. Even though these classes were held in the elementary school building, it would be possible to have the work departmental in character and carried on by properly qualified secondary school teachers. The course not preparatory for high school would naturally be organized primarily for those children who contemplated leaving school at or about fourteen years of age. A plan of reorganization of this kind can usually be effected with very slight change in present machinery of administration and will accomplish all desired objects of the six years' high school course.

I. EDUCATIONAL AIMS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

With the increased attendance in public high schools, with the changing demands of industrial and civic life,

and with widening knowledge of the psychology of learning, it has been inevitable that the aims of secondary education should materially change. The present is still a period of uncertainty and transition. Within recent years, and especially as the attendance at secondary schools has come more and more from the ranks of industrial and agricultural workers, to whom a complete high school course, followed by a college career, is impossible, the demand has risen for more opportunities for vocational training in the period commonly allotted to secondary education. The usefulness of many of the studies which have long occupied a prominent place in secondary education has been questioned. Historically, the following factors have largely determined the secondary school curriculum: —

a. **Influences of the College.** — The most prominent has been the college. A limited number of the graduates of the high schools seek admission to college, and the latter has always tended to indicate a series of specific requirements which its entrants should meet. It has been able to set educational standards much more definite and determinable than could be found in any other quarter, and it has always been a matter of concern to the high school that its graduates should be able to meet these on an equality with students coming from purely preparatory institutions. Hence, the college has been able very largely to determine the extent, variety, and quality of the high school curriculum, except in the purely commercial and manual work. Relative educational values, except as they affect the student's capacity for college or professional work, have been peculiarly obscured by this form of control. Another factor has also added to the confusion. It has always been obvious that the graduates of high schools were numerous among the successful men in the world of affairs, and hasty reasoning has tended to ascribe their success in part to their secondary education. It has been forgotten or unrecognized that the high school is very selective in its action, and that it continually tends to drop those who have inferior capacity. The consequence is that graduates of the high school, altogether apart from

the effects of their education, represent a highly selected class, on the basis of natural ability, capacity for application, and cultural influences in the home environment.

b. **Theory of Mental Discipline.** — Another influence has been the persistent and widespread theory of mental discipline. According to this belief there are certain studies which are peculiarly fitted to train the mind to greater power, even though these have little practical value in themselves, in either a vocational way, or in giving a stock of cultural ideas and appreciations. Latin and mathematics occupy prominent places in all secondary school curricula because of a general belief in their value as agents of mental training. This is illustrated by the fact that in almost all high schools mathematics is a prescribed study for girls as well as boys, although the former will very rarely follow the subject up and apply it either to cultural or vocational stages. This theory has also affected the character of the teaching of other subjects not originally introduced for disciplinary purposes. Modern languages, science, and even history have been modified along lines supposed to be suited to mental training.

c. **General Culture as an Aim.** — The third influence has been the desire to make of the high school an institution of general culture and information. Many of the studies at the time of their introduction were expected to minister to this end; in fact, if we trace back to the Renaissance the study of the classics, the same thing might be said of them. But the introduction of the various sciences, of English literature, of history, and of civics has been primarily dictated by considerations of general culture, even though these subjects have subsequently become essentially instruments of mental discipline. Often it has happened that a study introduced for cultural purposes has ceased to function in that way when its disciplinary aspect has been emphasized in response to the demands of the colleges.

Restrictions on Aims. — The ascendency of the two former aims in the minds of secondary school teachers (preparation for college, and mental training) has largely prevented the

adjustment of the high school to the needs of the large majority of students who do not complete the full course. But it has been tacitly held that, even for those who stay but one or two years in the high school, the course as originally planned is at least as good as any other in that it provides a year or two of sharp mental drill. Under these conditions, of course, the value of the content of the course is minimized. In the Report of the Committee of Ten expression was more than once given to the theory that it mattered little what the high school student studied, so long as he studied it with a high degree of effort and with clear thinking, since thus he would get the requisite mental training either for further study or for participation in practical life.

The foregoing aims, then, have hitherto prevailed in determining the theory of American secondary education. The college has made certain demands for specific power and knowledge and these the secondary schools have sought to provide. The broader aim has been to secure mental training, and the belief has been that the character of the course has contributed to this, whether the student pursued it for a long or for a short time. The original cultural aims have been subordinated. But different aims have asserted themselves to some extent in recent years. The commercial departments of high schools have been characterized mainly by a vocational purpose. Although many of the manual training secondary schools are primarily designed to fit for higher technical or other institutions, some of them have accepted a vocational aim within reach of their own resources. In a theoretical way many educators have set the civic or social aim as a large one for the high schools, but without suggesting means for its realization, beyond a brief course in civics. From many quarters has come the demand that the secondary schools should do more to fit girls for domestic life and in smaller high schools to fit boys for the more scientific agricultural pursuits. From time to time, also, renewed attempts have been made to insist that cultural aims should actually be realized in the high school itself. Music, art, modern literature, general science, have been urged as appropriate

ends of educational effort in this direction, but on the whole such demands are yet ineffective.

Problem of Educational Values. — It will be seen that there are a number of problems of educational values, and only in the light of some solution of, or hypothesis regarding, these problems is it feasible to discuss educational aims and the conditions which should govern in the formulation of curricula. Among these problems are: —

a. **Mental Discipline.** — Are there certain studies, practices, and pursuits which are peculiarly fitted to give mental power of a general character? Traditionally, the study of classics and mathematics have long been defended on the above grounds. The rigid and quantitative study of some sciences may likewise be so supported. Disciplinary methods of treatment have also greatly affected the teaching of history and English literature.

Psychological studies at present give no satisfactory answer to the above questions, though they do tend to unsettle many dogmas which had come to be accepted. The whole question has been complicated by the undoubtedly selective effect of the high school. Only the students naturally most capable enter the high school, and of these only the best, as a rule, graduate. Furthermore, the more classical subjects of the programme have until very recently had the best teachers, and have attracted superior students. These, therefore, have made the best showing, and the studies pursued have been given credit. It may be said that many psychological investigations have shown that general training as a result of specific training has failed to reveal itself; but the full educational implications are not yet clear.

b. **Self-activity.** — Other things being equal, does the educational value of a study vary with the interest with which it is pursued, and the consciousness of its value to the student? Within limits the desirability of free election and of vocational studies depends upon the solution of this problem. Some of the vocational subjects are undoubtedly pursued with greater consciousness of adaptation to needs than are the more academic studies. Free election would somewhat tend to

fix responsibility on the student and evoke a deeper interest in the studies selected. Though in a general way interest and consciousness of purpose are believed to promote educational value, these considerations are not yet greatly effective in determining high school courses.

c. **Problem of Vital Aim.** — Is it feasible to make a differentiation of educational aims for secondary work which will tend to react on choice of content and method in subject-matter to the end that clearer and more conscious ideas may prevail in high school practice, these aims to supplant the inharmonious and incomplete aims of college preparation and mental discipline which now control?

Various attempts have been made to formulate aims of this kind. The vocational aim is now in evidence, but there is no agreement as to how far it should prevail specifically and how far only in a general way. The social aim is distinctly in the minds of many educators in the shape of a body of civic and moral ideals, knowledge, and habits which should be developed as a result of a high school education; but it is evident that very little of high school practice deliberately or accidentally contributes to this end. It has been shown that culture, in the narrower sense of the word, implying mainly the evoking of æsthetic and purely intellectual interests, has at times asserted itself. But it is probable that the studies, as at present administered, do not function in this way. A more fundamental and definite formulation of educational aims is greatly needed, to the end that it may determine character, scope, and method of high school studies and practices.

2. FIXED COURSES AND THE ELECTIVE SYSTEM

The foregoing discussion has shown some of the problems which must underlie the administration of a system of study, if it is sought to make the most effective adjustment possible to the individual pupil. Flexibility in the course is highly desirable if it can be shown that it does make considerable difference to a student what studies he follows; but if per-

sonal choices are apt to be unwise, and if it makes little difference what studies a student pursues, or with what degree of interest, then freedom of election may be undesirable, and even productive of harm.

Growth of Flexibility. — Generally speaking, the high school has always permitted freedom of choice among two or more courses. At first these were the classical and non-classical, the latter being held distinctly inferior. But as the teaching of science, English, and history improved, the resulting scientific, English, and modern language courses grew in value and in public estimation. In small schools there was often relatively little choice except in the matter of a foreign language where a modern could be substituted for an ancient. Then came choices among several sciences, but the number of these offered diminished with the increased requirement of the laboratory method. At present it may be said that throughout the secondary schools of the United States there are prescribed: a foreign language, algebra and geometry, English, a science, and one year of history. This makes about two-thirds of the course, leaving certain possible alternations, to be made according as the student aims to enter this or that college, or to go into active life.

But in some schools much more freedom is allowed. The student may omit all foreign languages and may even omit mathematics if the remaining studies will give the required units. In a few schools, it is permitted a student to take such subjects (if he can accommodate them to his programme) out of their accustomed order; as for example taking second-year chemistry in his last year in school. In a few schools the system of election is free, subject to the requirements, *e.g.*, that there shall be two units of English, two of history, one of science, and one a foreign language. If the school is large and several sciences are offered, besides four years of history, three modern and two ancient languages, etc., the range of choice is considerable. The most extreme form of election, of course, is found where the only requirement imposed upon the student is that he shall present a certain number of units for graduation, without reference to any pre-

scriptions at all. This is found in a few high schools, and when these offer manual training and domestic subjects, the possible range of choice becomes great indeed.

Prescription *vs.* Election. — The arguments for and against the elective system are familiar. It is claimed that election permits greater adjustment of work to the individual pupil, and it is usually assumed that selection of subjects shall be made with advice of teacher and after consultation with parent, the pupil being supposedly serious in his choices and not swayed by whim. If to the boy or to his parents it seems improbable that he will stay more than a year or two, he may elect the work which will give him the maximum of educational profit during that time. If he has strong interests or antipathies as concerns certain studies, or if his parents strongly favor or oppose them, then by making his own selections he will take them up with strong interest and can be held to fuller responsibility. At its best, election is supposed to involve the idea of large self-activity. On the other hand, we have the familiar arguments that a youth of fourteen to sixteen is not able to make an intelligent choice of subjects, that he does not know his own future, that he will take certain studies because the teacher is popular or because the studies are reputed to be easy. The youth will make of his secondary education a hodge-podge, and will at the end regret that he did not put himself under direction.

Varying Needs. — If we assume, as most parents do, that studies do differ in their educational values on the basis of content as well as in reference to mental discipline, and also as affected by the attitude and interest of the student, then there are reasons of adaptation to be considered. High school pupils differ widely among themselves in capacities, interests, possible careers in school, and future place and occupation. Their educational needs vary largely, in so far as these are affected by the content of studies and uses to which studies can be put. If the parents knew the school and its purposes, they could do something, as could also the pupil. On the side of the school it could make adjustment to the pupil if it knew him well, his interests, capacities, probable

future occupation, probable length of stay in school, and other factors of importance. But the school does not know these and lacks both the machinery and disposition to find out. Under these conditions, the problem is to find the means of choice which may come nearest to making the best adjustment. Certainly, unless we assume that the main end of the high school is simply mental training, and that in the fixed programmes the high school already possesses the best machinery wherewith to accomplish this, it can hardly be claimed that adjustments can be made simply by providing two or more fixed courses among which the pupil may make a choice. It needs no argument to show the uncertainty of the choices made by the pupil if left to his own judgment.

Effective Adjustment. — But under a system of free or largely free election of subjects it is still possible for an adjustment to be made which will involve composite action. If the pupil's previous school record is taken into account, the parent carefully informed as to the possibilities and probabilities of the various lines of election, and the pupil brought into consultation with an advising teacher and even with the principal, then it is possible that a better adjustment of studies can be made. To the objection that this is a laborious process it can only be answered that if it involves less waste of youthful energy than is lost through maladjustment to courses, it is surely an economical measure.

There are many who believe that the large high school of the future will be not a classical or commercial or manual training high school, but that within the one institution will be offered opportunity for many lines of vocational work for both boys and girls, and a richer programme of social and cultural studies than is found at present. If that should prove to be the case, then in such a school the careful planning of election would become very important. It would be desirable to make various adjustments according as the vocational interests of pupils were strong and their vocational needs pressing; for all education should seek to keep alive the cultural elements and social elements, even in modest measure, when vocational education is being followed. On the other hand,

there will be many pupils who would and who should be allowed to devote themselves largely to cultural and social studies, but who at the same time might take some portions of the vocational work for the sake of obtaining fuller education.

Whether or not full election of subjects should prevail depends upon the acceptance or rejection of certain theories of mental training, and upon the degree to which the high school confines itself to imparting certain cultural information or widens its scope to varied lines of educational possibilities. Owing to the doubt which clouds the theory of mental training, there are many who say that educational adjustment should be sought largely through the contents of the various studies, and that the educational worth of the latter should be determined on the basis of the degree to which they contribute to the formation of the habits, the fixing of the knowledge, and the development of the ideals which make for cultural interests, vocational power, and social righteousness and service.

Coeducation. — It has been pointed out that the American high school is usually coeducational. In European countries this is seldom the case. Historically, women and girls had long been denied the educational opportunities which had evolved for men and boys; and only within recent years have they won the right to equal participation in educational opportunities. Throughout the United States, except in some universities and professional schools, women now participate in all educational advantages, according to ability. Motives of economy have at the outset caused communities to erect high schools which should be coeducational; and the results from coeducation not proving apparently bad, the practice has persisted, even in large cities which have ample means, if desired, to provide separate schools for the sexes. Recent studies show that the percentage of students in public institutions which are not coeducational is very small, and growing constantly less; while in private institutions the percentage of students in non-coeducational schools is increasing in comparison with the percentage in the coeducational; but the

gross number in both types of private school is falling off. In other words, the coeducational private school is yielding more rapidly than the other kind to the inroads of publicly supported secondary education.

Though coeducation seems to have proven a success, and though it has failed utterly to produce some of the evils which were anticipated from it, nevertheless some eminent students, approaching the subject from what practically amounts to a new point of view, find reasons to believe that it is apt to be harmful in its ultimate results. There can be no question that coeducation is not yet a matter of settled policy, and it certainly still presents open problems. Some of these are: (*a*) Does not coeducation tend to force upon the girl, however able she may be to pursue them, studies more suited to the use of boys and men? (*b*) In pursuing these under competition with boys, may girls not overexert themselves from the standpoint of physical health? (*c*) Or may not the preponderance of women teachers and girl students tend to feminize the programme, making it unprofitable for boys? (*d*) If, as some believe, the highest social possibilities of boys and girls are realized through separation and segregation during the sensitive adolescent period, so that boys become more manly and girls more womanly, then does not coeducation tend to interfere with this development by bringing boys and girls too much in contact?

It may be frankly admitted that we do not yet know the solution of these problems; that we must wait on evidence, collected under very difficult conditions and subject to imperfect standards of measurement, before we can obtain answers. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that modern progressive tendencies within the field of secondary education itself may largely mitigate some of the supposed evils. (*a*) The growing flexibility of the high school curriculum makes it entirely possible for most girls to make programmes of study quite different from those of boys, in the aggregate, just as the programmes of various types of boys will differ from each other. The general introduction of vocational work as part of the school programme will tend to further differentiation.

In other words, the typical modern high school of large size offers a variety of educational opportunities, and tends less to prescribe the programme for any pupil; so that various kinds of individual adjustment are feasible. (*b*) The large high school also offers many opportunities for social differentiation. Pupils tend to fall into groups, in games, social meetings, etc., and these, if left to themselves, give opportunity for various kinds of sex-segregation. This, of course, does not involve the complete segregation of the boys' or girls' boarding school; but it does offer the normal kinds of segregation and incidental contact that prevail in the home and in social life of the community generally. (*c*) There can be no question but that the physical well-being of all secondary school pupils, and especially girls, needs careful oversight. Not merely the studies, but also the social life of the pupil needs careful consideration, and investigation, beyond that which has yet been made. Many girls are now over-stimulated, but there is little evidence that this has any persistent connection with coeducation, and the efforts to relieve it in general would probably also relieve the part due to the presence of the opposite sex.

3. SPECIAL FUNCTIONS OF PRINCIPALS, HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS, AND TEACHERS

High School Supervision offers some peculiar problems. Effective supervision of elementary school work is supposed to involve pedagogical uplifting of the teacher through the aid of a principal who knows the conditions of pedagogy well, and one who is able to apply them in the entire field of elementary education. But in the high school, comprehensive supervision of instruction in the constructive sense is largely impossible because of the great degree of specialization. Only a most unusual man or woman would be able to be so familiar with the range of secondary school subjects in content and method as to be able to supervise effectively the work. In the large high school this constructive supervision must be left to heads of departments; and in the small one

must be secured indirectly, through the failure or success of the students and the inspection of college examiners.

Powers of Principal. — It is noteworthy that in the management of American secondary schools much larger responsibilities devolve upon the principal than in the elementary schools, the office corresponding more nearly to the European practice. To a considerable extent he formulates the policy of the school, arranges courses of instruction, and at least has considerable powers of recommendation in the matter of selecting teachers. The community holds him responsible for the success or failure of the school, and consequently he is given large administrative powers. To such an extent is this true that very frequently, at least in cities of moderate size, the superintendent of schools devotes his attention primarily to elementary education, leaving the high school principal largely free. Not infrequently there has existed conflict of authority, the principal seeking powers coordinate with those of the superintendent and the right of direct communication with the board. Because the interests of elementary and secondary education involve so many different problems, it has occasionally been proposed that different boards of education should govern the two types of school, or that within the single board there should be two committees, one for each type, with large independent powers. Unquestionably, however, these separatist tendencies must be wrong in the long run, for effective city supervision involves centralization and coördination of functions; the board of education should control all city schools, and under them the superintendent should be the general administrator of the system. But beyond this there is every reason for giving those in direct control of the high schools extensive authority and as much responsibility. If the city is large, there might be an associate superintendent of secondary education, and it would be well if such an office included supervision of all the education beyond the traditional sixth grade, so that the industrial and academic training of almost all children over twelve years of age could be unified and more effectively adjusted. In smaller communities the high school principal should be

given large powers of initiation and direction, as should ultimately elementary school principals. The high school principal, with the varieties of specialized work which he controls and the varied interests to be considered, should have power to select his faculty from a wide field. His choices should always have the approval of the superintendent and the board before final election; but these should not attempt to make selections for the high school without the consent of the principal. Similarly, in the matter of the course of study, the selection of text books, and the purchase of equipment, the principal should have extensive powers of initiation and should be held responsible for results.

Coördination of Departments. — Apart from these matters of general administration, the principal has other important functions. The first is in reference to that kind of supervision which will secure to each student under various specialized teachers, an apportionment of work which will be hygienically and educationally suitable. In the elementary school without departmental work, the teacher coördinates the various kinds of work performed by the pupil; under the departmental teaching of the high school, it is seldom that the various teachers will make an effective coördination without close direction from the principal. In their competition for the time and energy of the pupils many secondary teachers are in danger of overworking the growing children and of disregarding hygienic considerations. Much of secondary education is probably vitiated by failure to take due account of health conditions, especially in the case of girls. Upon the principal, organizing and supervising his faculty, much responsibility for many of the necessary adjustments finally fall.

Adjustment of Pupil. — Where the curriculum of the school is flexible as regards the work a given student may take, a large responsibility also devolves upon the principal to enable each student to make the best adjustment possible to him. In small high schools the principal may do this himself; in large schools he must delegate some responsibility, but hold himself as a court of appeal. As pointed out before, these adjustments should not be made without the close and intelli-

gent coöperation of the parent. In few cities is enough yet done in the way of providing the parents with sufficient information regarding the aims and possibilities of the secondary schools. Long before a pupil is ready for high school his father should have received from the high school a carefully prepared circular of information, answering the questions which an interested parent should want answered. Shortly before entering the high school, the child should receive a blank which may be filled out by the parent for the information of the school and giving ample opportunity for expression of opinion on the part of the parent. A similar blank should have been filled out by the pupil's last teacher, giving full information as to his tastes, capacities, behavior, and other facts which the secondary school should utilize in trying to locate the pupil. The pupil himself should be provided with printed information, and should be expected to fill out a blank with details of his ambitions, purposes, tastes, and reasons for his choice of particular lines of work. The principal or other adviser of the pupil should utilize all the information thus collected, and, if necessary, interpose his objections. To effectively adjust the pupil to the work which he is to take in the high school (the liberal high school, which does not merely prepare for college, is meant) is a matter of no little educational importance, and should be one of the large functions of the principal.

Social Relations. — A further extension of this oversight is found in the establishment of profitable social relations for the pupil. Experience and theory concur in indicating the critical nature of the high school period in the fixing of social relationships. The vogue of athletics and social groups in the high school is proof of the natural demand on the part of the pupils for experience in social coöperation. In small high schools the relations between pupils and faculty are apt to be close and personal; in large high schools this is only possible through the development of special agencies. The high school teacher meets possibly two hundred different pupils each day. Under these conditions, the establishment of personal acquaintance becomes very difficult, and it may

be said that the only way to accomplish this is through some form of specialization of the social and advisory functions, under the direction of the principal. Where it is desirable to have oversight of the social group activities of the pupils and to have the school kept in touch with the homes of the pupils, it is possible that a special social agent or secretary for the school is necessary. This is especially important if the school seeks to coöperate with the pupils in seeking employment after leaving school. On the other hand, advisory functions may possibly be best exercised by members of the regular faculty through some system of assigning to each member a group of twenty or thirty pupils to which such member will act as adviser. Since during the long summer vacation many changes take place in the high school, pupils drop out and others undergo changes of attitude toward their work, it is desirable that the advisory teacher should continue with the same group through the vacation, so that she may discover changes of the sort indicated, and so that at the beginning of the year pupils who are not beginners may find ready some one with whom they are acquainted. There are some reasons for believing that it might prove advantageous if the adviser continued with the same group of pupils through all the years of their course. The continuity of relations thus established would tend to become more personal, and each faculty member would come to know a small group of students very intimately.

Pedagogical Supervision is essentially the function of the head of a department. The programme of studies is an affair of the entire school, but the adjustment of methods and content within any line of work, and the improvement of the teachers in that field, must rest with the supervisor. The head of a department is himself a teacher, but opportunity must be allowed him to acquaint himself with the other teachers in his field, to the end that the standards of their work may be improved.

4. PROGRAMMES OF INDIVIDUAL PUPILS

At least two considerations must be influential in arranging a programme of work for the individual pupil after his choice of subjects has been made. There are: (*a*) certain conditions of the learning process resting on physiological and psychological grounds; and (*b*) the limitations of the school and its staff on the economic side. For example, where the work of a student is partly in such subjects as mathematics and partly in industrial subjects or laboratory work, it is generally deemed better that the earlier part of the day should be given to the first subject and the latter part to the work involving greater motor activity. But where a large equipment and staff are maintained, this is not economically feasible. The entire plant must be kept in operation during the school day. Similar considerations apply to shop work and where out-of-door farm work is developed in special types of high schools. Teachers and equipment must be kept in operation, even though the adjustment of work produced does not meet all the requirements that physiological considerations might suggest.

The operation of the elective system, to some extent, interferes with the regularity of the course of some students, and may have the effect of crowding some days with work and leaving others relatively empty. If the conditions of management are desired to be quite mechanical, this is an evil. But if considerable range is allowed for adaptation and modification in the individual pupil, he will speedily adjust himself to the conditions. It is even desirable within certain limits that the pupil should be required to fit himself to his own programme, and to make his own adjustments, as this gives him experience in initiative in action which will be of service later.

In the management of the high school, these considerations are important with regard to study: —

a. **School Work.** — As far as possible, study and preparation should be done in the school, and facilities ought to be provided for this. Classrooms are not always the best places for preparing work, though other facilities are not

always available. For several types of work, ample library space is desirable, so that pupils may carry on study and writing under library conditions, which, in their sphere, tend to reproduce the businesslike application of the laboratory and shop.

b. **Home Work** should be assigned largely with reference to the entire quantity which the pupil is expected to receive from various teachers. In fact, it is possible that each teacher should keep a record of assignments, to the end that frequently the situation as regards any individual pupil may be checked up, and investigation made as to whether home assignments are excessive. Or records made at frequent intervals by each teacher could be kept in the principal's office for frequent consultation by teachers. The bookish side of high school work tends to be demanded in excess of pedagogic requirements. The adviser should cooperate in enlightening the pupil as to the best methods and conditions of home study. Great wear and tear is caused by wrong methods of study, and by the nervous and uncertain attitude of the pupil when home conditions are unfavorable.

c. **Physical Culture.** — The adjustment of the course and day should be such as to leave a considerable portion of the afternoon for physical training. In large cities, of course, where there are few opportunities for physical exercise and broad physical development, gymnasiums must be used, like shops and classrooms, in turn. But under favorable conditions, when the possibilities of exercise are widely and generously appreciated, when walking, games, gymnasium work, and the like are all recognized to their full limit, it will be more and more possible to utilize a portion of the afternoon period for the physical education of the large majority of the high school pupils.

d. **Midday Intermission.** — The programme of work should allow for considerable intermission at midday. The half-day session often tends to become unhygienic. Of course it may not be necessary for all teachers to stay the full day.

5. ORGANIZATION OF COÖPERATIVE VOLUNTARY ACTIVITIES

Social Activities. — The American high school tends to develop a considerable range of social or group activities of a voluntary nature, some of which harmonize with the aims of the school and some of which do not. Literary societies, debating societies, athletic clubs, fraternities, field clubs, and journal clubs are formed. From one point of view these represent something entirely normal and wholesome, unless misdirected; for they are the functioning of the social instincts, and lead to experience which will later serve a useful purpose in social activity. The high school age, so-called, is a period of active social interest and great capacity for the formation of habits. The qualities of loyalty, cooperation, group competition, and clan-like sympathy are very strong. Giving the stimulus of leadership and example, they tend to work out actively in various forms of expression. The exercise of these powers may prove quite absorbing to the pupil and cause his devotion to his prescribed pursuits to flag and waver. Furthermore, the development of a certain social exclusiveness or clannishness, which appears in connection with the exercise of these voluntary group activities, may interfere with the democratic character of the school, and may entail standards of expenditure and of extra-school activity which many students are unable to meet. On the other hand, they often tend to supplement the work of the school excellently. The athletic activities, at their best, minister to physical development and certain forms of cooperation; the literary and debating societies, as well as the group devoted to the publication of journals, frequently give valuable experience. The fraternities, within certain limits, give social experience and power.

The Direction of School Organizations. — The problem of these organizations at the present is one of development and direction. They manifest great vitality and are probably fundamentally involved in the wider growth of the children. Many educators must view them with sympathy, in spite of the fact that they so often conflict with the narrow aims of

the school; for they do seem to contribute something of educational value, which the school subjects do not. It is useless to say in this case that the children should be compelled to await the close of their high school course for the time to indulge in these activities. In so far as good results do come from all voluntary activities of the kind described, they undoubtedly find their efficacy in the fact that this is a period of plasticity as regards the social instincts, and that development must come at this time or not at all.

School Coöperation. — The fact is that so far as American day schools of secondary grade are concerned, they have seldom cooperated in the development of these activities, and not infrequently have maintained a positively hostile attitude. In this respect, one notices a strong contrast to the boarding-schools of the best type where the need of such coöperation becomes more insistent. The great effectiveness of the typical English boarding-school inheres at least as much in the excellence of the social life developed as in the curriculum. But the American high school, as a day institution, has not assumed much responsibility for the social development of its pupils, and social activities of various sorts have been allowed to develop sporadically, or as stimulated from outside sources. The connection between the home and the school in large cities has become less close, hence the former has been able to exercise only insufficient control of the pupils in their cooperative activities. In such matters as athletics and fraternities, the high schools have not developed traditions and forms of their own, but have imitated higher institutions of learning, usually boarding schools, and have thus given a quite artificial direction to their social activities.

What is wanted is a hearty recognition of the desirability of many forms of social activity in the high school, and the active participation of the faculty or specialized members thereof in their development. Already there are some evidences of this in the matter of athletics. Under a director of physical education, having a broad view of the physiological and social significance of sports and athletics, much can be done, as experience shows. Possibly in other social matters

a large high school could not do better than to develop some kind of social secretary or school visitor who should study social needs and coöperate in the realization of means to meet them. In some schools the practice has arisen of having each society which is organized with the school as a basis select some member of the faculty as an advisory or counselling member. This works well, and teachers should be provided with time and means to coöperate. In small schools an active principal, of course, keeps the advisory functions in his own hands, but under present traditions he is not always sympathetic, looking upon social activities as something to be tolerated, but not encouraged.

Authority of School over Social Organizations. — The general principle that all social activities within the high school should conform to large standards of aim and propriety laid down by the school, is sound. In legal contests with organizations, like fraternities and athletic clubs, which have tended to set aside the authority of the school, the courts have usually decided in favor of the faculty and its controlling board of education. The faculty must be in a position to regulate interschool contests, to affect the standards of school publications, and to impose a proper limitation on fraternity activities. The school must develop machinery which will enable it to carry on this supervision effectively and constructively. It is pedagogically unwise to think of suppression as a remedy for the evils which are incident to social activity in high schools. The school must seek out and develop lines of social participation, and must aim in friendly manner to aid those of spontaneous development. Only thus can it recognize the vast importance of this period in social education. Social education of the best type will not be found in books, nor even through the contact of teachers of high social power. It must be learned in action, and the schools must aid in the development of channels for these activities.

6. SELF-GOVERNMENT AND DISCIPLINE

The Discipline of High Schools is affected by the fact that traditionally this type of school does not aim to keep all kinds of students, but only those who are manifestly profiting from the course. Hence it holds itself free to excuse from further attendance (to use no harsher term) those who by their conduct fail to contribute to the welfare of the school. To a great extent this is effective as long as the authorities have to deal only with individuals, but when groups with considerable inner coherence have been formed within the school, it becomes practically very difficult to maintain discipline on the above simple basis. To a considerable extent the antagonism of many high school faculties to the activity of athletic and fraternal associations finds its source in the fact that the strongly cooperating groups thus formed may tend to assert themselves in the discipline of the school to the extent of refusing to observe regulations, or of maintaining a passive attitude of hostility to higher standards of scholarship. The effect of this cooperative resistance is demoralizing to the school, and, to a measurable extent, the faculty finds it necessary to yield. If the result is a sort of drawn battle, each side watching the other for overt signs of weakness, the faculty seeking to detect and convict the ringleaders of the opposition, the resulting situation is most unfortunate for the school. At the same time, it cannot escape the careful student of the situation that the pupils are developing certain powers of cooperation and loyalty to accepted beliefs which seem to be in much demand in the industrial and social world which will ultimately receive these boys and girls.

Student Coöperation. — To meet this situation or to prevent it from arising, it is necessary that means of extensive coöperation should develop, and that the faculty of the school should enter into sympathetic coöperation with the pupil's point of view. Various devices have been experimented upon in trying to secure this result. Of course the personality of principal and teachers often accomplishes re-

sults which are very real, with but little external manifestation of machinery. The rules of the school may provide for an elective consulting committee of the students, which coöperates with the faculty. When such a committee is truly representative of the student body, it can accomplish much, and provides a regular avenue for the expression of the sentiments of the students. It is found most effective not to elect a committee at the beginning of the school year, but preferably in the middle, to the end that such committee or a large part of it may hold over the long vacation. To this committee the faculty may refer questions of general policy for discussion, and even cases of discipline. Of course the authority of the faculty must finally prevail, but in school government it avails much to get any policy or case fully and sympathetically before the students.

Self-government.— The above is the preliminary step toward student government, or student self-government, as it is sometimes called. If it once be conceded that it is desirable and advisable to call representative students into council in case of policies and procedures, then it is apparent that the effective organization of students, with this end in view, may also become desirable. Many high schools have, therefore, developed in greater or less degree student government, in which a committee or regularly elected set of representatives of the students assumes some of the authority and responsibilities of control and discipline. In some large schools, schemes of government patterned after that of a state or nation are developed, with legislative, executive, and judicial divisions. Before these organs come matters for legislation or administration. Back of the system of school government, of course, must stand a strong personality; otherwise, the thing might mean shipwreck. The high school cannot exercise a complete control over the lives of its pupils, hence it must limit its powers of discipline largely to the school and school life. If it had control of the economic and social life of its pupils in every respect, as has the George Jr. Republic, it might allow corporate responsibility to go much further. As it is, however, in some schools a really great amount of

authority has been devolved upon the pupils with good results.

The Ends of Self-government are twofold: it is a means toward preserving the order and effectiveness of the school; and it is a means of the social development of the pupils. Even if, in the former respect, it did not prove more effective than ordinary forms of external control, it would probably still be abundantly justifiable on the ground that it promotes the social development of the students who come under its influence. For it teaches citizenship and the responsibilities of corporate life in a very objective way, and it must of necessity be largely democratic. In view of the persistent need in a democratic country for preparation for civic duties and the inculcation of a sense of civic responsibility, it has been felt that self-government in schools as a means of discipline should be greatly developed, in view of the fact that experience already demonstrates its feasibility.

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CHAPTER XXI

The Administration of the Normal School

Professional training for teachers has been accepted as an essential factor in the development of public education. Since the first normal school was opened in Massachusetts three quarters of a century ago, the ideal of expert teaching has made rapid headway, until every state in the Union supports normal schools, and many of our universities and colleges provide instruction in the history and theory of education. Many cities support training-schools for the same purpose, and there are also institutes, reading circles, and other agencies supported at public expense. The number of public normal schools in the United States is 181, private 83, making 264 in all. There are 269 universities and colleges where education has a recognized place. Several cities support training-schools.

Demand for Professional Training. — The current belief has been that education differs widely from other professions in being easier to acquire and practise. This has been due to the fact that the larger number of teachers have entered their work with no training whatever, and the additional fact that many men and women have attained both success and eminence, having had only academic training. But with the example before us of Germany and France, where all teachers are trained and tested before being certificated for work, and in view of the acknowledged superiority of German teachers as regards technique; also, in the light of our increasing knowledge of the child, and the laws of mental life, — it is safe to predict that in the not distant future it will be made impossible for any person to teach in schools of importance without adequate preparation. Let it be acknowledged that

education is a comparatively new profession, and that the field which it properly includes has not been fully determined or explored; let it be admitted, also, that the history of normal schools in the United States is not a story of enlightened and consistent progress from the known to the unknown. It is still true that the chief hope of progress in popular education lies with the Normal School.

Difficulties in the Way. — Until recent times state legislatures were moderately slow in making sufficient appropriations for the housing and equipment of normal schools. For many years these schools were computed to receive as students persons of meagre education, and so must either add professional training to a foundation which was quite unstable, or else proceed to give such instruction in the common branches as might be necessary. As high schools were established in all towns and cities, it became possible to make a stand for high school training as a prerequisite to admission to the normal schools. Many states have taken this step, and according as the high school training is broad and thorough, and the normal school is equal to its task, teachers have entered the field who have both scholarship and teaching ability.

Unsettled Questions. — There is still a great lack of agreement as to what should constitute normal training, what studies and in what amount, what proportion of theory and what of practice, and how these two phases of professional education should be related to each other. Even in the field of the history of education, which is almost universally regarded as an essential study, the leaders seem to be in a maze of doubt and uncertainty as to the best selection of subject-matter. According as the educational ideal is narrowed to very practical ends, or as it is broadened to square with the highest conception of human life and destiny, so the history of education as taught in normal and other professional schools ranges from typical studies of theory and practice to the significant phases of the growth and progress of peoples and the social factors which have affected their careers.

The Old and New Psychology. — The same general situation exists in the field of educational psychology. Some believe that all instruction can be based upon intellectual laws well defined and established. Others declare that teaching as a science cannot be built upon psychology at all, and that teachers receive very little benefit from its study. Some who have faith in their ability to establish the principles of teaching on a psychological basis are contented with the conclusions which have a historic support. In more progressive circles the value of the old and familiar psychology is minimized, and the genetic and experimental aspects of the subject are pushed to the front.

In the field of method and practice there is an equally wide variation, and it would not be possible to find exact agreement among any considerable number of experts as to the best way to develop technical skill in the various fields of practical work.

Diversity of Type. — It is obvious that because of the great variation in opinion and belief regarding the inner motive and practical methods of normal school instruction, it would be unreasonable to expect any considerable degree of uniformity of type, taking the country as a whole. There are other reasons than those already mentioned why the normal schools of the United States have always presented a great variety of type, and still continue to do so. All the characteristics of soil, climate, relief, educational advancement, public spirit, and civic pride, which determine the quality and quantity of other forms of public service, operate in this field, also. It is noticeable that in any given state there is some similarity in organization and equipment as well as in the methods employed.

Grouping according to Type. — The report of the special committee on normal schools, published in 1899, grouped normal schools of the country roughly as those of New England, the South, the Middle states, the Mississippi Valley, and the Pacific slope, and pointed out the special characteristics of each group. Doubtless, the ten years which have elapsed since that report was written have seen some reduction in

this variation of type. At present, the most marked differences are found in the adjustment of theoretical and practical work, and even here there is a decided trend toward the practice school as an increasingly influential factor.

The Industrial Normal School. — If we include in our consideration such institutions as those at Hampton and Tuskegee and all similar schools in the South, supported largely by benevolence, we find a marked change from the common type. This is caused by the necessity of adapting education to vocational ends. The abolition of slavery left a problem of ignorance and inefficiency in the black race which is yet by no means solved. General Armstrong and his followers, in undertaking to train teachers in agriculture and the mechanical trades, gave a turn to the normal school problem which is of immense significance to American education and life. To train the children of ignorant people, black or white, to work with their hands, learn useful trades, become honest, thrifty, socially and morally strong, is coming to be looked upon not merely as a special thing in education, but as the recognition of a universal principle and one that must be recognized throughout the country. The success which attends such institutions as those we have cited, as well as that most impressive of all modern institutions for normal training, the Macdonald College near Montreal, are prophetic of a common school education in the future which shall come close to the lives of the people, bringing thrift and beauty into their homes, teaching those practical arts which make both men and women more serviceable and also making that differentiation which is demanded in our congested cities, whereby boys and girls are introduced to useful trades and are put in possession of the elements, at least, of skilled handcraft.

The Outlook for Rural Schools. — In the great fields of horticulture, agriculture, and forestry, the normal schools of the United States which train teachers for the rural sections have not only a large field for practical effectiveness, but a rich and interesting opportunity considered from the higher and more ideal points of view. The administrative problem as regards the normal schools of the United States is no

longer to be confined to a scheme of education which is theoretical and bookish, but is to find its subject-matter in real things, — in the farm, the shop, and those practical activities and those civic and social functions which dominate our common life. In this way the industrial element will gradually be introduced into all common schools. The Manual Training idea will be broadened and deepened. The idea that all normal schools may be alike will be discarded. Just as in our great cities there are now different kinds of high schools, such as commercial, technical, manual, and literary, so we may expect to see in the future, normal schools specially equipped to train teachers in agriculture, having at their command a farm and all the means of making practical illustration of their vocation.

Normal schools may also be specially organized to prepare teachers for various kinds of technical and trade instruction or for commercial pursuits. Those who are thus trained will then become teachers in other normal and training schools and in industrial establishments, some of which are already undertaking to provide instruction for their operatives in order that they may be able to earn a higher wage and become more valuable to themselves and the concern.

Unity in Educational Ideal. — What has been said would indicate that diversity of type in normal schools is likely to increase rather than diminish in the coming years. This may be expected especially as we consider the special purposes which such schools have and the adaptation which they should make to the social and industrial needs of the community where they are located. If, however, we view them with reference to their acceptance of modern educational ideas and their liberality and elasticity in accepting and applying them, we may look for increasing unity. That the teaching in some normal schools has been as dry as dust, and the attitude of instructors has been rigidly conservative and dogmatic, cannot be denied. Some of them are behind the times, are too well satisfied with what they have accomplished, hesitate to employ others than their own graduates,

and thus suffer from the dry-rot which inbreeding always occasions. No administrative officers in educational work are more independent and freer from molestation than the heads of normal schools. Except as they have the children of the community in their practice schools, they have their way undisturbed and are not amenable to outside criticism. This is one explanation of the retardation of progress which is to be seen in some of these schools, and points to a danger which should be recognized in their administration.

What may be Demanded. — Normal schools ought to lead rather than follow; they should be willing to make experiments; they should cultivate open-mindedness and patient investigation on the part of their students; they should anticipate the needs of communities in respect to the closer relationship of the school to the community — the treatment of peculiar, defective, and neglected children, the segregation of disturbing elements, the nurture and oversight of city children during vacations, the establishment of social centres, the relation of schools to public libraries, to museums, churches, to æsthetic culture, to commercial and industrial movements, to books and reading. The normal school, like any other school, may be cursed by too complete a system and by a too great perfection of method. It has long been understood that a school as a machine may be superb, and yet as a vitalizing and enriching influence it may still be lacking.

New Fields to be Occupied. — Viewing the normal school as the fountainhead of educational influence in the state, how important that its administration should be alive to the rapidly changing conditions of modern life, to the discoveries of biological and psychological research, to the fruits of child study, to the wide range of physical defect which is to be recognized and considered in every school, to the methods of preventive and corrective treatment, to all those pathological conditions which affect both teachers and pupils. Attention to these matters insures professional joy and satisfaction in teaching, but their neglect permits the school atmosphere to remain abnormal and unwholesome. Looking at the problem from this broader point of view, it would seem that there

must, of necessity, be a convergence of opinion and action in coming years, so that in progressiveness and real professional alertness there will be almost a common type.

The Movement is surely Forward. — Public education holds so lofty and dignified a place in American thought that inertness, ultra-conservatism, and blindness to modern demands will not be tolerated. The normal school of the future will combine the most careful selection and unification of subject-matter with the methods of the experiment station and the clinic. The elimination of the old and the substitution of the new will not be approached with dread and hesitation, and educators in this field will be as quick to act upon new discoveries as are physicians and clergymen in their departments of work.

The Aims of the Normal School. — In the report to which reference has been made and which may be regarded as a sort of Bible on this subject, the qualities requisite in the teaching staff of the normal school are named in the following order: first, character; second, teaching ability; third, scholarship; fourth, culture; fifth, professional spirit. Arranging these characteristics in a slightly different order for the sake of logical and progressive sequence, they would seem to stand for those aims which every normal school should seek to reach, namely: first, character; second, scholarship; third, culture; fourth, teaching ability; fifth, professional spirit. Each one of these aims is essential to the others; they are all closely related to each other, and it would seem difficult to arrange them in any other order, thinking of their relative importance. Let us briefly analyze these aims and see what they have to suggest toward a solution of the administrative problem: —

First, Character. — The intending teacher is presumably young, has by inheritance those physical, ethical, and social qualities which go to make up personality. The first question which the normal school must face is, "Can personality be improved," and can this improvement be made with the distinct purpose of adding vocational and executive power? Thinking of the immense importance of personal influence

in teaching, of the truth that life begets life and that heart speaks to heart, it must be seen that the normal school should seek to awaken those emotions, those modes of thinking and those forms of conduct, that fidelity and that outlook upon life which will react upon the individual and induce an organic change which is like cellular growth in the plant world, but which steadily approaches its proper mode. There should be an atmosphere charged with consecration to a high purpose; there should be ambition to do well in an honorable profession, there should be daily satisfaction in growing power; there should be the consciousness of achievement; and there should be the inspiration which springs from the pursuit of truth and the study of truth as a means of helping others. Surely this is the first desideratum in normal training, and it is of such spiritual significance that it must be regarded as more important than other and more technical aims.

Second, Scholarship. — Here, also, there is a definite work to be performed. No attempt to absolutely separate academic from professional training has, or ever will, be successful. Whether with high school or college graduates, subject-matter must be approached in a more mature and serious way than has been the case in other schools. It must be viewed at a new angle; there must be a different perspective. What passed for knowledge becomes ignorance when sifted in the light of the teaching process. Here the important can be separated from the unimportant. Fundamental relationships may be discovered and proved; cross-references may be made; the importance of apperception and association give a new significance to learning. Then there are practical questions of intrinsic worth and pedagogical adaptation which give the subject-matter new values and new functions. Mere acquisition sinks into insignificance; interest, appreciation, thinking, and proving become active elements; the study of nature presents new interests and new beauties; the process of knowing things for the sake of teaching them becomes a clinical process. It is not merely the truth itself, but its value as an active force working upon the human mind and its effi-

cacy to inform, to discipline, and to refine. There is a possibility of being misunderstood in the use of terms, but in general the attempts which are often urged to make the normal school purely professional imply a neglect of subject-matter which is fallacious. The history of education and psychology furnishes new insights which can be utilized only as they are applied in sifting and organizing the materials for teaching. The review of whatever has been studied in the elementary or secondary field, if directed by pedagogical experts, will develop new interests, proper points of view, and a more ready command in student teachers. No one should undertake to give instruction in a normal school who does not have the professional spirit in the use of subject-matter, not merely for its broader cultural values, but as concrete material for the illustration of rational methods of teaching.

Third, Culture. — That general culture is needed by teachers is self-evident. Many come to the normal school from inferior homes. Their inheritance has not been one of education and refinement. The social group to which they belong has not been charged with uplifting influences. Their acquaintance with the best books is limited, and their æsthetic taste is unformed. Here, as in all educational work, the corrective element must come into play, and the normal school must endeavor to so level up the standards of its students through cultural influences as to partially overcome the conditions mentioned. There must be in the school an atmosphere of art, music, and good books; the faculty of the school and the teachers of the training-school should have much to give, and should be generous in their giving. Social circles should be encouraged in which much attention is given to personal power, cultured conversation, good form, and refined behavior. Much of this must be, of course, incidental and natural. To stimulate too much self-consciousness or to make such attempts to improve the personality, mechanical or perfunctory, would defeat the end in view. It must be apparent, however, that the administrative aim must here find as large a field as in the case of character and scholarship. The pedagogue must first be a man or a woman

in the true sense, and must represent what is good and true in life and conduct, so that he may be a living force, always teaching by example and by silent influence.

Fourth, Teaching Ability. — The transmutation of theoretical knowledge into skill, with all that is therein implied, has probably taken the most conspicuous place in the thought and effort of those engaged in training teachers. Recent discussions have laid very great emphasis upon teaching as an art, and upon the various means available for training work, as also upon the continuance of improvement in ability after the teachers have entered the service. It is generally agreed that the practice or training school is a very important part of the normal school equipment. The administration of this phase of the work will later be discussed by itself, and so it is only necessary here to recognize the relative place which the cultivation of technical skill holds in the work of the school. However great the emphasis we place upon character, scholarship, and culture, we freely admit that freedom, ease, confidence, quick adaptation and adjustment, power in presentation, skill in questioning, and facility in the use of all the elements of teaching are likely to hold the first place in professional training.

Fifth, Professional Spirit. — The requisites for successful teaching already mentioned point unquestionably to that ideal condition of the mind known as professional spirit. It is most desirable that American teachers possess this quality, for it lifts their vocation above that of the ordinary wage-earner and transfigures the worker. The normal schools of the country must set their face sharply against too much formalism and red tape, or too much refinement of method. They must ever seek to liberalize, to broaden, to enrich the minds of all their students so that the practical efficiency so desirable may be inspired and sustained by the impelling purpose of professional zeal. The mercenary spirit of the practices of the trade-union are quite opposed to the highest conception of teaching.

The Control of the Normal School. — The relation of the state to its normal schools is not quite uniform. In California

there are both local boards and joint boards, the former of five members appointed by the Governor, which directs the expenditures of the school, and the latter composed of the presidents of the several normal schools, presidents of boards, and two elected members from each board, formulates the course of study.

In Colorado there is a board of seven members, six appointed by the Governor and confirmed by the Senate. The state superintendent is the president ex officio.

Each normal school in Illinois has its own board, which possesses full authority.

In Kansas there is a board of regents appointed by the Governor which holds office four years, one-half being appointed every two years. This board makes courses of study, selects teachers, and fixes salaries.

In Maryland the State Board of Education controls the normal schools, formulates courses of study, appoints teachers, and directs how the revenues shall be expended. The principal is a member of the board and has large influence in its legislation.

In Massachusetts the Board of Education has entire control of the state normal schools, which is one of the few matters in which they have any authority.

In Minnesota there is a special board of nine members, of which the secretary is the State Superintendent. Four members reside in the several cities where the normal schools are located, and these resident directors, with the presidents, manage them, subject to the regulations of the board. Teachers are named by the presidents of the schools.

In Missouri normal schools are governed by boards of regents. Each school has its separate board which controls the course of study, appointment of teachers, and the expenditure of revenue. The State Superintendent is a member ex officio, and has the power of voting. The State Board of Education of New Jersey, consisting of sixteen members, is appointed by the Governor, two for each congressional district. The normal schools are governed by this board. The cases cited are typical of the practices throughout the country.

The normals of Pennsylvania differ from those of other states in being restricted by a somewhat peculiar law. Each school must have a faculty of six professors, accommodations for three hundred boarders, and a chapel seating a thousand adults before it can be legally recognized. Each school is in the hands of a board of trustees of eighteen citizens, six of whom are appointed by the State Superintendent, and twelve are elected by the contributors. Courses of study framed by the convention of normal school principals must be approved by the State Superintendent.

Maintenance of Normal Schools. — In the report of the Commissioner for 1906 it is stated that of the 181 public normal schools, 157 received from public appropriations the sum of $4,643,365; 20 received $631,680 from tuition; 16 received $142,941 from productive funds; and 37 received $341,167 from other sources. Thus the aggregate income from 157 schools was $5,759,153. This does not include $1,549,906 appropriated from public funds for buildings and improvements. These figures show that tuition fees constitute no very important part of the funds required for maintenance. The states have accepted the responsibility for the support of normal schools, and, this being the case, they are not likely to receive in the future any considerable sums by endowment.

There are eighty-three private normal schools which own considerable property and receive fairly good support from churches and other benevolent organizations. In Pennsylvania, where each student pays tuition, there has often been a surplus which has been put into improvements or the erection of buildings. The Colorado Normal School is supported by tax of $\frac{1}{8}$ mill on the state assessment. In addition, the school has received special appropriations. The total income of this school for the year 1905–1906 was $78,500. In addition $20,000 was received for buildings and improvements. The one Indiana normal school at Terre Haute received in 1905–1906 $115,371 from the state and some additional funds from other sources, making its total income $119,835. The Iowa State Normal School received from the state in the same year $174,250 and other funds, making its total income $194,250.

The revenues of the state normal school at Emporia, Kansas, are derived from three sources: first, appropriations from the legislature; second, income of the endowment fund; and third, fees from the model school and special pupils. In several other instances the income of the school is increased by moderate fees from pupils in the model or training schools. Wisconsin is unique in having a normal school fund amounting to about $2,000,000, which is derived from the sale of public land ordinarily accorded to the state as swamp lands. A comparison of these recent appropriations with those made a decade since show decided growth in the progress of liberality and willingness of the states in supporting normal schools. The agricultural prosperity of the country has been most salutary in its influence upon this class of expenditure for education.

The Curriculum of the Normal School. — It is not proposed to discuss at length this branch of the subject. The following outline for a two years' course as pursued in one of the older schools of the country probably indicates what has been regarded as a minimum requirement in all normal schools: —

1. Psychology, history of education, principles of teaching, methods of instruction and discipline, school organization, school laws of Massachusetts.

2. Methods of teaching the following subjects: —

   a. English — reading, language, composition, literature, history.

   b. Mathematics — arithmetic, bookkeeping, elementary algebra, and geometry.

   c. Science — elementary physics and chemistry, geography, physiology, and hygiene, study of minerals, plants, and animals.

   d. Drawing, vocal music, physical training, manual training.

3. Observation and practice in the training-school, and observation in other public schools.

A good many have introduced courses of three years and four years for the special purpose of training teachers for secondary

schools, and several, as, for instance, the normal college at Albany, are specially committed to that class of work.

The variations from a common type in respect to the curriculum may be classified under two heads: first, those schools where great attention is given to the newer subjects, as child study, school gardening, horticulture, and agriculture, manual and industrial education, domestic art and science, the practice of self-government and the study of such correlations as the school and the home, the school and the library, and the relation of the school to the social and industrial and commercial activities of the community; and second, those pursuing advanced methods of treating the history of education, educational psychology, school management, etc., to which reference has already been made. As previously suggested, the strength of public education in America will not lie along the path of strict uniformity either in educational provisions or in method, but rather in a growing flexibility and wise adaptation to local needs and changing social conditions. There should be, however, a common understanding as to the broader functions of professional training, and the readiness to revise all systems and plans to suit the requirements of a nation that is yet in the making, and which puts the free public school as the first chief means of establishing and developing our free institutions.

The Training or Practice School. — The limits of this discussion will permit only a brief statement regarding what is, by general consent, the most important means which the normal school can employ to accomplish its practical ends. This training-school should be well housed, thoroughly equipped, and should present in its working aspects the same features as a good public school. If it falls short of this, or if it is in any way unusual in its arrangements or greatly superior to the common type, it will partially fail in its purpose.

Such a training-school should be large enough to provide training facilities for all the students in proper order. Many normal schools numbering their students by hundreds are much handicapped by having a very small model or practice

school. According as a school has in its graduating class 50, 100, or 200 students, there should be from 10 to 20 class-rooms in the training-school.

Centralization and Unity Required. — The director or head of the normal school should, of course, be supreme in the management of the training-school. At the same time the principal of that school should be a person of initiative and force, and should be given, within reasonable limits, the greatest possible opportunity to work out the objects for which the school exists. The principal must be in close and sympathetic relations with the heads of departments, with critic teachers, and all other workers. His word should stand above all others with reference to the general plan and spirit of the training work. The main thing is to have unity of purpose, which is recognized both by the president or director and the principal. Too great independence of action on the part of heads of departments or critics is disastrous. In an institution where different parts of the work need to be closely articulated, there is a call for a reasonable amount of self-suppression and loyalty to the general aim.

Correlation of Theory and Practice. — Heads of departments will undertake to secure correlation between the work in the normal school and the work in the grades. Each subject should be taught in somewhat the same spirit in both departments. They will hold frequent conferences with the classroom and critic teachers, discussing the subject-matter and deciding what may be eliminated and what may be regarded as most essential. The teachers in the training-school should be both teaching experts and wise critics. Their best service will be in conducting lessons before their students in such a model way as to make the desired impression. All criticism should be constructive and cumulative. Nothing is worse than criticism which breaks down and undermines courage and confidence, and nothing is better than that which inspires hope and arouses new ambitions. Severe criticism kills enthusiasm and brings into relief the mechanical features of teaching work.

Student-teaching. — Normal students should first observe

good work, and then should have the opportunity of teaching at least one lesson per day throughout the entire year, although the training work for a given student may be compressed into a few months, provided he is relieved of other demands. Students should have only a small group of pupils in their first efforts at teaching, but gradually be able to assume control of an entire class and conduct it alone for a full session. This suggests the great importance of observation work and practical experience in all the details of classroom management, the use of books and materials, and other things which belong to the duties of the teacher.

Little need be said about the place and function of the *model* school. If the normal school can have placed at its service a few schoolrooms taught by the very best teachers, which may serve as an object-lesson, there can be no objection, and it may be of considerable value. But the usual policy now is to make every room in the training-school as nearly perfect as possible, and not to let the idea prevail that anything less than the best is permitted.

New Demands upon the Normal School. — We have already referred to the newer studies which are knocking for admission to our educational system, and for which the normal school must provide teachers. There are other demands arising from the growing and increasing differentiation of normal from abnormal pupils. If there are to be special classes for those physically defective or deficient, or for those who are morally unfit to associate with other pupils, there will soon be in every state and every city a demand for teachers specially trained for this work. Each normal school must have its special classes, and serious study must be made of abnormal pedagogy. There is also a demand for specialists in institutions for the feeble-minded, in asylums for orphans, in reformatories and prisons. Should the normal schools of the country take up this class of work, the usual training would receive rich additions of knowledge and experience. For every teacher needs to have an insight sufficient to discriminate between those who can and those who cannot respond to normal treatment.

Professional Training for Secondary Teachers.—The higher the grade which one teaches, the greater the demand for scholarship and the less the demand for special methods. This is a partial excuse for the lack of professional training on the part of university and college teachers, and is an argument in favor of a training for secondary teachers which is specially suited to their needs. The indications are that for the most part secondary teachers of the future will receive their training in universities and colleges, where departments of education have been established. Normal schools have a sufficient field in providing teachers for common schools and in meeting all those demands which arise from the increasing variety in subject-matter and in the recognized need of special work for various classes of children.

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CHAPTER XXII

Administration of Vocational Education

Definition. — Modern social economy assumes that all normal and mature persons have callings or pursuits by means of which they become self-supporting and contribute their share to the productive activities of society. All that education whose means and methods are determined primarily by considerations of vocation rather than by one of the other chief aims of education — physical well-being, moral and social efficiency, and personal culture — may properly be designated vocational education. Like other forms of social development, vocational education can be considered in two large aspects which shade into each other: that which is unorganized and depends on the play of the natural instincts of imitation, play, curiosity, submission to authority, etc.; and that which is organized and purposeful. Among primitive peoples and among many of the workers of the present there is no organized vocational training or instruction. The growing child, in an active social environment, "picks up" his training; native interests lead him on, and imitation and trial finally give him a measure of skill and power. But for the skilled or learned callings society has devised more or less well-organized educational procedures. Leadership in war, the priesthood, and medicine; the practice of metal-working and textile arts; and numerous other occupations familiar to the historical student illustrate lines of vocational education which have long had an elaborate development. These have been possessed by guilds or families and the learning has passed on from generation to generation as part of a cherished inheritance. The subjects taught by the schools, ostensibly cultural, have often assumed vocational characteristics. Thus, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and music may be made to so deliberately min-

ister to self-support as to become truly vocational subjects; and similarly, drawing, manual training, and science instruction may have content and method determined by practical considerations so as to be properly defined as vocational. Beyond these come those forms of teaching, as in the commercial and trades subjects, in which every step is regulated by the necessities of the calling.

For purposes of discussion, vocational education may be considered in five main divisions, which do not, however, constitute a rigid or mutually exclusive classification.

a. **Professional Education**, embracing the learned professions, teaching, navigation, higher phases of engineering, prominent activities in artistic pursuits, and perhaps the exclusively directive word in some other fields;

b. **Commercial Education**, fitting not merely for the more advanced positions, but also for the lower ones which require specialization and a narrow technique, including even the elementary stages of business arithmetic, correspondence, etc.;

c. **Industrial Education**, preparing for the trades, industrial arts, crafts, and nearly all factory processes;

d. **Agricultural Education**, fitting for the agricultural arts, care and breeding of animals, economic aspects of marketing, etc.;

e. **Household Arts or Domestic Education**, including not only the specialized occupations which are followed for gain, but also the general homemaking arts which are practised by wife and mother who thus contributes her share to social production.

In each of these divisions we find the beginnings of organized education. Historically, as soon as any calling developed a considerable body of specialized knowledge and skill, some form of apprenticeship grew up about it by means of which vocational fitness has survived. Except in the professions, however, schools have only recently taken up preparation for vocation; some form of apprenticeship has been the general means of transmission.

The modern movement for vocational education that may

be carried on in schools, and for public support of these, finds its origins chiefly in the following causes: —

a. **The Breakdown of the Apprenticeship System.** — Except in a few crafts, the former highly organized apprentice system has disappeared. The development of factory production, the increasing mobility of labor, the specialization of commercial and industrial work, and the application of science to industry, have all tended to diminish the effectiveness of apprenticeship, and to deprive society of the social benefits which flowed from it.

b. **The Application of Science** has complicated and advanced productive processes in industrial, agricultural, and household arts to an extent which renders the older means of transmission and learning ineffective, if not impossible. Until very recently, for example, in the agricultural arts, skill and knowledge sufficient for existing purposes could be passed on from father to son, from employer to helper; but the application of science here has rendered the older methods impracticable, and it is evident that the successful tillage of the soil in the future will require the kind of scientific knowledge and developed skill which can only be procured in specially organized schools and laboratories.

c. **Occupationless Classes,** owing to the foregoing conditions, are apt to result from the increased numbers of boys and girls who have no opportunity to acquire special vocational training. These constitute a socially dangerous element, especially as it is felt that to some extent they are the victims of social injustice. All of society profits from the economic revolution resulting from the application of natural forces to production, and from scientific progress; but in the process there is dislocation of producing classes, and it is widely felt that society must, by providing the educational means, fit these as well as may be for some form of production and self-support.

d. **International Competition.** — The success or failure of nations which have specialized their fields of production depends in large measure on winning markets through superior productive capacity. Experience has demonstrated that

the nations which first and most effectively develop vocational education will do this. Germany, Denmark, and Switzerland are conspicuous instances at present; but the example set by them is having its influence on other nations as well.

e. **The Adjustment of the Home** to meet modern conditions of labor and consumption has not been sufficient, under the traditional methods of transmitting the household arts; consequently, for the sake of public health and the physical welfare of the masses it is felt that household education of a special sort is no less necessary for women than are other forms of vocational education for men. The nurture of children, the economizing of consumption, and the development of rational standards of living are all involved in a way vital to social well-being.

Relation to Public School Administration.— How far vocational education will become a part of the aims of public education is yet uncertain. In European countries, professional training has long been subsidized by philanthropy and by the state. In both Europe and America teachers are fitted for their work not only at public expense, but in some cases their living during the period of preparation is also partly met from public funds. In the Eastern states of the United States professional schools, usually attached to universities, are maintained largely by philanthropy and slightly by state contributions; while in the Western states, the tendency is strongly toward state control and support. Through the endowment of higher education in agriculture and mechanic arts by the national government, training for leadership in these fields has come to be a public matter; and the nation also supports a variety of forms of industrial and domestic education for its Indian wards. For professional leadership in army and navy the nation also supports special schools.

Besides normal school education, many American states now support higher commercial schools in connection with state universities, while a few have special schools for secondary grades of agricultural and industrial education. Where

states undertake the education and custody of special social classes, like delinquent children, defectives, and dependents, vocational education of some sort has come to be recognized as an indispensable adjunct.

Within cities and other local areas, a variety of forms of special or semi-vocational education have developed, usually taking children of the secondary school stage. Schools and classes for manual training, domestic arts, and commercial subjects are not uncommon, usually supported from local contributions. In the main these do not actually fit for a special calling, but aim to give a groundwork for vocation. Still less specialized are the manual training, drawing, household arts, and commercial subjects of the elementary school, in the teaching of which the vocational aim is often frankly repudiated. But in these same municipal elementary schools evening classes are often found in which the vocational studies are more prominent.

So far, in spite of a widespread demand, purely industrial schools, private or public, are uncommon. A few trades are taught in some private institutions. These are especially handicrafts which still make use of apprenticeship, among them being machine-shop practice, bricklaying, tinsmithing, electric-wiring, carpentry, and sign-painting. In these schools a portion of the apprenticeship period is passed, and the groundwork training for directive work is given. Some private schools experimenting with the teaching of trades to girls, in connection with dressmaking, millinery, and factory processes, are also found. Publicly supported schools doing this specialized work are still in the experimental stages.

In some quarters the opinion is widely held that it is not the function of state to enter more extensively than at present the field of organized vocational training. Two sets of reasons for this position are urged: (*a*) The state already trespasses more than enough on the field of private endeavor in educational matters, and should not, by more extensive systems of taxation, develop vocational training which ought to remain with the family, the guild, the employer, and the individual; and (*b*) granting the desirability of public edu-

cation, the state, with its cumbrous political machinery, is in no position to carry it on successfully and to make the innumerable adjustments which are needed. Many educators do not yet believe that, barring certain professions and crafts, trades and factory processes can be successfully taught in schools and apart from the actual pursuit of the callings themselves.

On the other hand it is claimed that, with the breakdown of traditional forms of training, and with the growing inability of private and philanthropic initiative to supply the need, it is incumbent upon the public to provide instrumentalities for the needed vocational instruction, even though this involve extensive experimentation to achieve successful methods. It can be shown that many of the more progressive foreign countries have advanced far beyond the United States in the control and support of numerous types of vocational education, though to a considerable extent they have done this by cooperation with existing systems of apprenticeship. Varied experimentation has been required, but it has finally been determined that many forms of vocational preparation, especially where science and fine art are involved, do lend themselves to public school administration. The development of this education profits the individual and enriches society. Time only can show what are the inherent limitations in state management, but in the meantime social demands are such that all educational administrators must face the problems involved and preserve an open and receptive attitude.

So far as administrative experience with various types of vocational education has gone, the following principles appear to be fairly established: —

a. **It is a Social Right** of all to have guaranteed to them by society some form of training which will contribute to self-support and productiveness. Social expediency has hitherto determined that the preparation of leaders should receive especial attention from the state, since in the lower forms of vocation the guilds, the family, and individual initiative were sufficient to produce a measurable amount of efficiency. But

the higher social expediency requires that, for the welfare of the individual and for social development as well, society undertake a broad control of these agencies. This is manifest in the widespread approval and support of vocational education among the negroes; in state endeavor to procure, even at great expense, self-supporting capacity among delinquents and defectives; in the extensive development of opportunities for technical training of workingmen in France, Germany, England, Belgium and elsewhere; in the efforts of philanthropy to aid by the establishment of special industrial and domestic arts schools, the children of poorer communities; and in the efforts of employers themselves to raise, by means of special training, the efficiency of their workers. The original introduction of reading and writing, to be taught to all classes at public expense, was often justified on grounds of its contribution to self-support and industrial efficiency; and it is simply one of the effects of modern progress that these simple instruments must now be supplemented in order to realize the full intent of the original promoters of free public education.

b. **Adaptation.** — But the ends of vocational education cannot be realized without extensive adaptation to the needs of various types of workers. All forms of public education have measurably failed in adaptation, but in the training which fits for occupations flexibility is indispensable. Probably the tendency will be to recognize certain age periods as marking the close of the time that can be devoted to education exclusively by different classes of youths. For example, a large part of the children of the schools will leave at fourteen; hence, it is desirable that, as far as the vocational needs of this class can be realized, they should have received, between twelve and fourteen, some training for the wage-earning employments which they are destined to enter. Another large class may be assumed to be able to continue in schools until the age of sixteen is reached, after which they enter on various grades of gainful employment. Other classes may roughly be assumed to enter work at eighteen and at the end of the college or professional school period. Furthermore, within

each group such differentiation of vocational preparation must be made as will insure the maximum of general preparation for some groups of allied callings. For example, for children leaving at fourteen some previous preparation can have been had in the four distinguishable fields of commercial, industrial, agricultural, and household arts. For children of this age the preparation can be but partial at best, and it must not be to the exclusion of cultural education; but some opportunities there should be, even if it be assumed that the continuation schools will be open to these children after they enter employment. For those who begin employment at the approximate age of sixteen, the vocational preparation can be still more differentiated and specialized, even though it cannot yet reach, for many, the stage of rendering apprenticeship unnecessary.

c. **Concreteness.** — A fundamental necessity in vocational education is that it shall connect intimately with the actual practices of the callings for which it fits. For some forms this involves the development within the schools of procedures resembling those carried on in the vocations themselves; for others, where the school may not reproduce concrete conditions, it necessitates the close coördination of the work of the industry with that of the school, each performing a complementary part, as illustrated extensively in the continuation teaching of German schools. Under the influence of the traditions of school education there is an almost inevitable tendency to neglect or undervalue the concrete aspect of vocational preparation; but modern pedagogy insists that it is only in this direction that permanent results can be achieved. Concreteness of teaching means that vocational education must usually be expensive; that its teachers must be intimately in touch with the conditions of the market, shop, and field for which they aim to prepare their students; and that there must in many lines be a working coördination of practice in apprenticeship in shop and factory with the more abstract presentations of the school. But the experience of Germany is demonstrating that during the period given to vocational education, learning must not be subordinated un-

duly to wage-earning, as is the tendency in some forms of continuation schools; to the learning processes the child or youth must be able to give at least part of his best energy, and a reasonable share of time.

d. **General Courses.** — Though there are yet many unsolved problems in connection with courses of instruction in vocational subjects, it is commonly agreed that general and undifferentiated work should precede that which is highly specialized and mechanical, though this by no means requires that the preliminary work should be of a technical character. The tendency of many of the industries has been in the direction of extreme subdivision of work; and all-round training is not in demand. But as preliminary to specialization it is believed that some training directed toward the general field is desirable, both for the sake of giving wide vocational experience, and to make later adaptation to changed lines of work more feasible. Before the age of sixteen, for most workers, a considerable part of vocational preparation, while concrete and practical as it can be made, should be in the underlying arts. There is yet a pedagogical question as to how far this instruction should be formal and depend on logical sequences, and how far it should follow natural interests and aim at completed products. In domestic arts the tendency seems strongly in the direction of making the work practical, and the logical aspects less dominant; while in some quarters manual training in wood, metal, and other materials is abandoning a strictly formal order, and is tending to become more a course in industrial arts, with the emphasis on finished products and the cultivation of wide interest and appreciation rather than technical skill. Similar tendencies are found in the yet imperfectly developed agricultural education for younger students; while it is only slightly in evidence in commercial training, owing to the fact, perhaps, that business schools, more than other types, aim to complete the apprenticeship stages. Roughly, it may be claimed that modern tendencies in general vocational education are to utilize some of the child's time during the years from twelve to sixteen for the purpose of giving experience with the tools,

materials, products, and processes of the general field into which he aims to go; but that the pedagogical processes involved in achieving these ends are yet obscure and perhaps undervalued. Recent pedagogical developments lay much stress on the acquisition of fundamental interests, appreciations, and experience with the concrete, in the expectation that this will provide a wide foundation for later specialization, and will rescue the worker from the narrowing tendencies of that specialization. The wide and generous experience of the boy on the farm or in the unspecialized shop is taken as the model for this aim. The dangers at all points are two: undue abstractness and bookishness; or narrow formalism in concrete processes. In some instances it should be noted that the forms of general training here suggested have gone to the extent of involving their economic concomitants, as where children are encouraged to consume their own products or to sell them or otherwise carry the process of production to its social conclusion.

Specialized Instruction. — But the ends of vocational education cannot be achieved merely through courses of general instruction. More and more, in view of the social and industrial needs of the time, the demand is that some special fitness be given to those who are to follow a special calling. Whether this can be accomplished apart from the pursuit of the vocation itself in its own surroundings is still a question, so far as many industries are concerned. It is true that commercial and trades schools have succeeded fairly well in conferring special technique in the case of some pursuits. Typewriting, stenography, book-keeping, bricklaying, electrical wiring, plumbing, tailoring, millinery, and certain forms of machine operating can be taught in schools as experience shows. But these cover only a small number of the possible occupations into which young wage-earners must enter. For the others it has not yet been demonstrated that courses of instruction in schools, apart from the actual field of practice itself, can give the technique that is desired.

Many unsolved problems, apart from those implied in the foregoing discussion, still occupy the attention of educators

studying vocational education. Among these are: (*a*) the problem of demand for this education as affected by vocational specialization, especially that found in factory processes; (*b*) the problem of support; (*c*) the problem of women in industry during an indeterminable period preceding their entrance on home making; (*d*) the problem of coördinating vocational education with the other chief forms, physical, social, and cultural; and (*e*) minor problems like those presented by the opposition of trades-unionism, adjustment to localities, and that of provision of the necessary teachers.

a. **Effects of Specialization.** — Economic progress through the utilization of natural forces, the invention of machinery, and the division of labor, seems to bear varying relations toward vocational skill. In certain stages of economic development, it seems generally true that all workers must receive more exact preparation; but in highly organized industry, machinery may reach so great a degree of perfection that all but the purely directive workers need have no training at all, or little. Industries vary widely in this respect, but some students of the subject believe that with the further perfection of machinery and the development of production on a large scale, the need for expertness and special training must diminish rather than increase. If this be true, then the social demand for vocational preparation will continue in the direction of preparing leaders only, leaving the rank and file of workers to find their greatest usefulness in performing work that requires little training. This tendency is only slightly manifest in the professions; it moderately affects the commercial fields; and it finds its present fullest expression in the industrial arts. But it must be noted that the older household arts have become industrial arts through economic development, a situation which greatly affects woman's place in modern industry. In some departments of agriculture the process has long manifested itself, though not at all in others; but observers point out that with the territorial specialization of industry, and the application of machinery and science in this field, the same movement must also affect nearly all forms of agricultural education.

If it be true that the effect of economic progress is to render special preparation less urgent for large numbers of workers, the effects, of course, are more serious socially than economically, since the general economic results of machinery and specialization are to make more abundant the wealth and utilities which maintain life. But modern society is not yet adjusted to the problem of establishing and maintaining a high social standard of living among people who are unspecialized or who have no capital of knowledge or skill along vocational lines. It may be said, however, that we have not yet any adequate data upon which to base extensive generalizations regarding the momentous effects of modern vocational specialization. It is a problem that is fundamental to many phases of education, especially that which no longer considers only the production of highly efficient leaders, but seeks to reach the masses of workers. For the present, notwithstanding the questions raised, the proponents of industrial education assume that there are to be found types of instruction and training which will not only increase the productive capacity of all workers, but will react favorably on their culture and standard of living as well.

b. **The Problem of Support.** — In general it may be said that vocational education of all sorts is highly expensive. Teachers require unusual training; they must usually have smaller classes than can be found in the ordinary school; the equipment must be more costly. If practice or practical exemplification are sought, material must be consumed, which increases the necessary outlay. While no details may be given here, it is sufficient to say that full time vocational training (as opposed to continuation or evening work) requires an expenditure of from $75 to $300 per year for each student. In some lines of technical instruction and in trades instruction employing materials extensively, the cost may be even greater. In some schools the attempt has been made to market the product of the class work, and with considerable pedagogic and financial success; but under no circumstances consistent with true vocational education can this meet more than a small fraction of the total expense.

But from the social standpoint, this large outlay must be regarded as an investment whose success is determined by the extent to which it promotes social well-being and the productive capacity of the community. If, as seems demonstrated by the existence of schools already established in America and abroad, well-organized vocational education will greatly increase the productive capacity of workers, then it is entirely possible for the state or other social agencies to embark extensively in training of this sort, confident that it will more than maintain itself in the long run. As yet we have no accurate measurements as to how far this is the case; but it hardly requires demonstration in the case of those lines of industry and commerce which now depend upon the schools to provide their most productive workers.

It has been customary to think that the local community should bear a large share of the expense of maintaining industrial education; and this would be the natural condition if there returned to each community the productive results of those whom it educated. But, under modern conditions of production, labor is peculiarly mobile; workers move by thousands not only from town to town, but from state to state and nation to nation. Feeling this, the smaller communities will more and more be loath to tax themselves heavily to educate workers who may, when reaching the age of maximum productive capacity, carry their capital of skill and knowledge to other regions. It is well known that America has profited, to a great extent, by the skilled workmen of other countries, notably England and Germany. However much we should encourage local patriotism in the support of vocational education, it is also well to admit the advantages of a distribution of the burden. Already the national government contributes the major part of the cost of agricultural education in the United States; and it also contributes quite extensively to the higher technical training, in schools of engineering and mechanic arts. Social economy will doubtless demand that the states as wholes be made units for many sorts of vocational education, at least to the extent of part of the cost. However justifiable high local taxation may be for elementary education and for sec-

ondary education of a cultural sort, it cannot be wholly defended when we confront the larger problems of vocational education. Ultimately, the larger areas, even including the nation, will contribute an increasing share, since the benefits distribute themselves widely.

c. **The Problem of Women in Industry.** — Under primitive economic conditions the home was woman's workshop, and early marriage meant continuance in the industries in which she had already served her apprenticeship.[1] Modern economic progress has deprived the home, in large part, of the functions which provided the occupations of women; and altered social conditions have deferred the period of entering on marriage and home making. The large majority of the daughters of wage-earners of the present time find it desirable and necessary to spend the years from fifteen or sixteen to twenty or twenty-five as producers, while probably living at the parental home. Whatever defects the system may have, it is impossible to deny that it is the best under present conditions. These girls cannot be producers by remaining at home; the modern division of labor and factory processes have rendered that impossible. To remain at home as non-producers and lacking systematic employment is not only anti-social, but tends to personal degeneration. Early marriage is opposed by all modern conditions making for a higher standard of living.

Hence has arisen the modern invasion of industry by women. From the standpoint of vocational education they present peculiar problems. Under primitive conditions any

[1] "The richness of development which came to a woman's life when she was a producer, when she spun the flax and wove the household linen, when she ground the corn and cured the meats for the household table, when she made the candles and soap, and the numerous articles necessary to the running of the house, is no longer possible for her under modern conditions. The keeping of the home was then a science and an art. It gave the woman an enviable place in the development of modern life and industry. It was the natural field of her activities, and in her immediate environment she found the forces which gave her unlimited opportunity for creation and self expression. Her place in industry was unquestioned; she was the centre and soul of it, and from the results of her efforts have come many of the largest and most prosperous industries of the present day." — FLORENCE M. MARSHALL, in Bulletin No. 4 of The Nat. Soc. for Prom. of Industrial Ed.

education acquired or given simply furthered the usefulness of the woman when she became a home maker in her turn; but the modern division of labor is such that education for a particular line of industry or pursuit not only does not qualify for home-making arts, but may tend directly to prevent their acquisition. It is not yet in evidence that society can afford to have these women continue in the industries in large numbers after they marry and undertake to rear children. On the other hand, there is a widespread conviction that so important are the arts of home making, care of children, etc., that they require special education in their turn, to which at least part of the time during adolescence should be given. Furthermore, owing to the fact that women must remain, on the average, but a few years in specialized industrial callings, it seems unnecessary and perhaps impossible to give them the prolonged apprenticeship training which is for specialized men workers the most necessary preparation.

From the social point of view the problem is one of finding for women as far as practicable those specialized callings which can be entered with comparatively little preparation, and which will not too greatly interfere with the later home-making capacities, either through deleterious effects on health or through depriving the girl of all opportunity to learn something of household arts. Obviously, it is preeminently the function of legislation and social custom to protect women in the industries by limiting hours of labor, prohibiting physically *harmful work, night labor, etc., and by promoting those conditions* which will preserve the physical and moral well-being of working girls. On no other conditions can society maintain itself wholesome. The need is greater in the case of girl labor, because of the lack of leaders of their own sex and the greater tendency of industry to injuriously exploit unskilled and unorganized workers competing senselessly against each other for employment.

For this field of vocational education it would seem that the years from fourteen to sixteen are peculiarly valuable. During these years the girls can be taught certain funda-

mental processes, can be acquainted with the conditions of the market, and can have interest and elemental knowledge of the home arts stimulated. Properly prepared, they can then enter industry somewhat capable of avoiding its pitfalls, and of preserving themselves physically and morally sound in their contact with the gigantic industrial processes of the time. On the other hand, it is conceivable that society may refuse to give young women an extensive and costly vocational education, in view of the fact that their natural field, after a few years, is not in industry, but in the home.

d. **Problem of Correlation with Cultural Education.**— In the minds of many people, the chief objection to vocational education is that it tends to monopolize all the effort of the learner and to become frankly utilitarian. In practice it has often been found that vocational preparation, either through apprenticeship or in schools, has excluded opportunities for culture or civic training. Educators, especially, feel that they must claim as long a time as possible for the purposes of a so-called liberal education. It is felt that the college period, or much of it, should be saved from the narrowing tendencies of purely professional preparation; for those who enter the higher walks of commerce and industry, the endeavor is to have the entire secondary school period devoted to the ends of liberal education; and, similarly, in the case of those who do not go to the high school at all, there is the greatest unwillingness that any of the elementary school time should be appropriated to the more utilitarian pursuits. It has thus remained true that at any given time education is apt to consciously pursue but one of the main ends; for a time it is almost exclusively liberal; then, when the youth enters the trade or business school, or goes into apprenticeship, cultural education is almost wholly neglected, and effort is concentrated on practical pursuits.

From the standpoint of social economy it seems probable that the tendencies described above are wrong; that, for the sake of integral development, all the valid aims of education should be kept in view during the entire preparatory period. Society demands that each adult, within the limits of his

capacity, shall be physically well, shall be vocationally capable, shall have civic and moral insight and motive, and shall keep alive some cultural or æsthetic interests. But to insure this all-round development, it is essential that each part of it receive more or less continuous attention; it may well be doubted, for example, whether it is wise that a youth of sixteen should devote himself exclusively to any kind of vocational preparation, to the exclusion of all social and cultural interests; but there is also reason to suppose that much of our secondary education, which utterly ignores vocational considerations during the formative period, not less seriously handicaps its students.

Obviously, the solution of the problem lies in the adoption of means whereby, while any one phase of education is temporarily given first place, the other phases shall not be neglected. Even quite early some attention should be given to vocational preparation, even if it extend only to the degree of giving a basis for intelligent choice; and when the time comes that it should receive major consideration, the effort should be to prevent it from absorbing the time and effort which should go to developing physical well-being, expanding social capacity, and keeping alive some lines of personal culture. Sometimes, indeed, these may be closely integrated with the vocational work; but whether or not that is feasible, they may not be neglected.

We find at present the beginnings of a policy of integral education in various types of schools. In the best institutions for negroes, like Hampton and Tuskegee, the fundamental aim is vocational, in that means and methods are adopted to fit the blacks for the largest sphere of vocational capacity in their environment; but at no point are other lines of development ignored; time is reserved for physical training, a variety of studies and practices fitting for civic life are kept up, and no one can be found who is not doing something to keep alive æsthetic and intellectual interest of the kind that promises personal culture. Similarly, in schools that have recently been founded in New York and Boston to teach trades to working girls of from fourteen to sixteen years of age; great

as was the temptation to confine their efforts to vocational preparation, it has nevertheless been found desirable to include in the programme studies and practices which conduce to physical efficiency, and others which make for social and cultural power within the limits of the lives of these girls.

In seeking to accomplish this end, however, the great temptation besetting the public schools is to make the social and cultural education of a remote and unfunctioning kind. This tradition gives us the anomaly of students in mechanic arts high schools studying Latin and ancient history, while neglecting the social and cultural possibilities that lie near to them. The problem of finding for each class of people primarily pursuing vocational studies the social and cultural pursuits which will most effectively function for them is by no means solved; but at present the most needed factor in the situation is the disposition to reject the purely traditional lines of cultural and civic training, unless their significance is manifest. Possibly it may be better for educational progress that schools primarily devoted to vocational education should be established, with the expectation that eventually, as in case of the girls' schools before alluded to, they will add a measure of social and cultural work of a functioning kind, rather than that the attempt should be made to develop this vocational work in situations where the traditions of an older education survive to the extent of defeating the legitimate ends of modern education. Certainly if in American mechanic arts schools, business schools, and schools of household education, the vocational aim must be preserved simply as an incident to a traditional liberal education, the schools may not be called vocational; on the other hand, it is equally undesirable that schools should grow so highly specialized as to make no effort to continue during the period of vocational preparation some social and cultural development of the kind which will function in the lives of those being trained.

A phase of this problem is found in the question as to whether, for social reasons, vocational schools of various sorts should be established as separate institutions, unconnected with the schools of traditional liberal education.

From an ideal standpoint, it would seem better that in any community there should be found one large plant with libraries, shops, classrooms, and other educational facilities, so that pupils from twelve to eighteen could find a large variety of educational opportunities, some primarily cultural and social, others primarily vocational, and adapted to various callings for boys and girls. Within this institution would be, to a large extent, social equality; but the programmes of various students would differ widely; some might take mainly shop work, with one or more cultural branches added; others might take primarily the liberal subjects, with a minor amount of domestic or industrial study.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that attempts to erect schools of this sort have sometimes failed, especially in the matter of vocational education. The practical subjects, when introduced, have soon become formalized and of little service for actual vocation. The cultural subjects taken by students who must soon go to work have been non-functioning, owing to the prevalence of standards of work determined by the students who are preparing for college.

Consequently, many educators, and especially people looking at the matter from the broader civic point of view, have felt that it would be better to establish separate schools for particular lines of vocational pursuit, and to allow them to first develop their means of vocational education freely and to the utmost, with the expectation that cultural and social phases, correlated with the vocational education, will then evolve. The immediate objection to this plan is that social classes will tend to form. Between various social classes in America there is already too much misunderstanding and lack of sympathy for the good of a democracy. If vocational schools for various types of callings are set up so far apart that the members of each do not come in contact, do not in any way share the same social and cultural opportunities, so far as these are afforded by public schools, then there is real danger that class differences may grow. Hence the public is confronted with the dilemma: shall these schools be separately established for the probably

greater efficiency that will result, or shall efficiency, at least of a temporary sort, be somewhat sacrificed to the need of keeping the future professional and industrial classes in contact with each other during the impressionable period of youth?

e. **Problems of Teachers.**—The teacher in vocational education needs two distinct kinds of preparation: he must on the one hand know the work he teaches in its concrete and practical aspects; and he must know the general pedagogic arts, including knowledge of children and youth. Teachers with the one or the other of these measures of fitness are available, but not many with their suitable combination, and it seems difficult to provide such teachers. In foreign countries most success has been obtained in taking men from the trades, from commerce, and from agriculture, and giving them as much of pedagogical fitness as possible. In America, so far as this kind of education has developed, it has rather tended to take people first trained as teachers and then expect them to acquire the practical arts they attempt to teach. Neither system is productive of satisfactory results, and in time measures must be devised to combine the two kinds of preparation. To do this will require that the prospective teacher not only keep closely in touch with the actual field of vocation which he attempts to teach, but that he have even served a due apprenticeship in it. At the same time, he must have studied the arts of teaching which are measurably the same for all kinds of instruction, so that he may economize the time of himself and students.

Minor Problems.—Among the lesser problems of vocational education, the first in acuteness, at present, is that of making adjustments to the requirements of organized labor. In various trades and industries, especially, the workers have organized to further their class interests. Among other functions, they control the matter of apprenticeship, fixing numbers, length of service, etc. These unions have at times manifested hostility towards trade schools, fearing that these would either turn out large numbers of workmen to

disturb the labor market, that their training would lower the standards of the trade, or that the graduates would be unfriendly to the principles of the organization. In Germany, and to some extent in England, industrial education has largely made peace with the unions, but developments have not yet reached that stage in America. It can hardly be doubted, however, that if vocational education, either general or specific, represents a positive social demand, in time the unionized workmen of the country will take the larger social point of view. In time their coöperation should be felt in adjusting the standards for special forms of education; and, on the other hand, the schools, in their attention to social education, must learn to see clearly the significance of the union movement in maintaining standards of living and production, to the end that its social contributions may be sympathetically understood.

A more persistent problem is found in the necessity of adapting vocational education to local conditions. America has not yet developed the territorial specialization of industry which prevails abroad, and socially there is a widespread desire that diversification of industries may continue to prevail. But the education of workers requires specialization of types of instruction on grounds of economy. In communities of diversified industry this may prove very difficult. Possibly separate schools like those now established for professional training will have to be set up, to which students may go for specialized training. The larger cities, of course, have peculiar opportunities in this direction.

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CHAPTER XXIII

The Administration of Physical Education

Definition. — Attention has previously been called to a possible fourfold division of education which should prove helpful in adjusting means and determining the relative importance of various educative procedures. These four chief aims are physical, vocational, social, and cultural. Physical education broadly includes all of the means which contribute to physical well-being, comprising nurture and a favorable environment for growth, exercise, and work, as well as corrective and curative activities. The attainment of the ends of physical education implies not only control of the physical environment of the child, but the deliberate formation of habits, the imparting of knowledge of hygiene, and the stimulation of the better ideals of physical efficiency.

The Relative Importance of physical education in this broad sense is such that it should undoubtedly be given first place in a completely integrated scheme of social economy. In the evolution of schools, there was first taken up those educational functions which the home could least well perform, and naturally, therefore, school education has been traditionally identified with cultural education, because the home, the church, and the shop long retained their efficiency as special educational agencies. But it can hardly be questioned that physical, vocational, and social education are, in the order named, more important than cultural education in the narrow sense of that word. It must be noted that what are called the elementary branches more or less underlie all the above divisions; and that what is called mental discipline, and the development of the scientific attitude, is ultimately common to all, and is not in any sense the exclusive possession of cultural

education. Hence, in so far as the administration of public schools takes account of physical education, it should attach to it more importance than to any other division as far as attitude and appreciation are concerned.

Cooperation with other Agencies. — A fundamental principle in public education is that it should not perform those functions which can be safely left to private or semi-private agencies. Physical education, broadly speaking, is still largely a function of the home and the community, apart from school. But the school is to-day the one chief agency which represents all the people; it therefore devolves upon it to coördinate various agencies, to the end that the importance of physical education shall be appreciated and its demands be met. For it must be recognized that, whatever the obligations of the home and other agencies in this matter, these are often met very imperfectly and sometimes not at all; in which cases, the school must proceed to supply the need. But it should do this in a scientific manner, so as to preserve the efficiency of other agencies. For example, the nurture of the child is primarily a matter for the home; but in case the school receives children improperly nourished it is under obligations, now generally recognized, to see that this need is met. But it must do so by first bringing all possible pressure to bear upon agencies which have traditionally been charged with this responsibility; and only in the last resort should it perform this duty itself.

The Prominence of Physical Education in the school system has been steadily increasing in recent years, for the following reasons: (*a*) the conditions of modern, and especially of urban, life require increasing attention to matters of play, nurture, prevention of disease, scientific methods of cure, as the price of physical efficiency; (*b*) modern specialization of industry has rendered the home and other agencies far less effective as factors in the physical development of a growing body than was formerly the case; (*c*) the school has come to claim a large share of the time and energy of the growing child and becomes therefore, after the home, the most important fact in his environment and the agency which

makes greatest exactions on his growing powers; (*a*) the great increase of scientific knowledge in recent years with regard to the conservation of health and the increase of physical efficiency has imposed a special obligation upon the school.

Scope of Physical Education embraces: (*a*) the provision of favorable environment for natural growth; (*b*) nurture; (*c*) regulation of work, exercise, play, etc.; (*d*) correction of defects; (*e*) instruction in hygiene; (*f*) development of ideals of physical efficiency; and (*g*) socializing of physical power and knowledge. The part that the school may play in this scheme must be determined by what other agencies actually do or can be induced under suggestion and compulsion to do. A large part of the work of the school must consist in evoking the coöperation of other agencies.

A Favorable Environment for the natural processes of growth embraces not merely the acknowledged factors of air, sunlight, cleanliness, companionship, and protection from the elements, but also many others which have only tardily received recognition. Modern science finds that space and incentives for abundance of spontaneous play, freedom from excessive noise, relief from too incessantly varied stimulation, and opportunities for social expression are also vital elements. Next in importance is the provision during time of work and regulated activities of surroundings which shall not prove detrimental. Under this head must be considered such matters as ventilation, warming, seating, stair climbing, lighting, and the other conditions of a material sort surrounding work. Less recognized, but equally important in its physical effects, is the social environment made by schools. The teacher is a large factor in this, and according to his character and ideals may do much to harm or benefit the child.

Playgrounds and other opportunities for spontaneous play have come to be regarded as indispensable. Responsibility for providing them is being increasingly assumed by the school boards, and there can be little doubt that with the fuller development of the machinery of public education, pro-

vision will be made for ample playgrounds and that supervision will also be provided. Under present conditions in American cities society is at a great disadvantage in this matter. In the expansion of population, land has been seldom reserved, and can now be obtained only at great cost. In many large cities the park system has been laid out with little reference to provision for the opportunities of play, but rather for driving or walking. Undoubtedly the ideal park system is that which provides open spaces, with trees and shrubbery, in long belts or strips, not farther than three or four blocks from any city dwellers. If land were laid out in this fashion, with special areas equipped for out-of-door gymnastics, city children would frequent these spaces rather than the streets. Playgrounds adjacent to schoolhouses are valuable, and the modern tendency is to insist on their provision in connection with new schools. Playgrounds in basements or on roofs are necessary where land is expensive, but it is with difficulty that they can be made to supply needs so satisfactorily as vacant areas devoted to park and recreation purposes alone. Americans must hope that improvement in means of transportation, and the building up of manufacturing enterprises in villages remote from cities, will both relieve congestion and provide the necessary territory for the development on a larger scale than has been heretofore realized of natural parks wherein children may find a true play environment.

The School as Physical Environment. — Much attention has been in recent years given to the injurious effects of wrong school conditions on physical well-being. Matters of ventilation, heating, lighting, sitting, and climbing have received attention, and improvement here has been fairly marked. At present theory is considerably ahead of practice, so that if boards of education and superintendents choose to procure the services of experts in providing approved facilities, it is not at all difficult to find them. But some other factors of school environment have not received equal attention. In cities large schools are so located as to suffer constantly from noise. They may be near street-car or

railway tracks, or the adjacent streets may be paved with materials which do not serve to deaden sound. The proximity to the school of shops dealing in food-stuffs and stimulants that are injurious to children is a phase of environmental influence that has not yet received sufficient attention.

The Teacher's Influence on the physical well-being of the child has also received as yet insufficient study. It cannot be doubted that teachers vary greatly in their unconscious capacity of either taxing the child unduly or of supplying a soothing atmosphere. In elementary schools pupils are under one teacher five or more hours daily. The nervous, highly strung instructor produces a most unfavorable physical effect, as may also teachers who are overstrenuous, or who administer work injudiciously. The situation is complex, and our knowledge in the premises insufficient except for tentative action. But it is one to which supervisors and medical inspectors might well devote increased attention, and it might well be made the subject of considerable study on the part of those who train teachers. A discriminating supervision, by the use of scholarship, disciplinary, and health records, should prove able to detect the presence of teachers who operate unfavorably on the physical well-being of their pupils. If facts of this nature could once be adequately established and certain criteria developed, it would be possible to enable teachers to make the necessary adjustments themselves, within the limits of fixed temperament and habit.

Social Environment. — In addition to the teacher the children of the school constitute a social environment about each other which plays a large part in physical development. In two respects this is artificial from the standpoint of the social surroundings to which children in their evolutionary development have been accustomed: the group is larger and more complicated in its activities; and the social movement or action is apt to be artificial and intense. The amount of social restraint necessary in schoolrooms and large schools doubtless has deep-seated physical consequences. At present all that our knowledge permits us to demand is that periods of social relaxation be not infrequent, and that teachers

be induced to provide opportunities for the occasional expression of social life on a natural basis. Under the best conceptions of school discipline now prevalent, and especially where considerable social and coöperative activities enter into the programme of the school, it is probable that social conditions result in better physical growth.

The Effect of the School on Home Environment may, under progressive educational conditions, be very marked. As it assumes increasingly the responsibility of diagnosing the physical condition of the children, unfavorable home conditions will come into view and by various means of instruction (to be discussed later) it can aid in improvement. In one direct respect the school may save the child from unfavorable environmental conditions at home, through its control of his study. Under wrong theories of pedagogy the school has at various times imposed upon school children outside tasks without being able to control the conditions under which the tasks have been performed. The result has been that the child has been deprived of otherwise available opportunities for physical exercise and social relaxation and has been obliged to continue his school work under most disadvantageous conditions of air, light, bodily posture, and irritating interruptions. So far as average homes are concerned, home study can be imposed in large amount only at the risk of having it done with injury to the child. Better that the school, with its favorable environment of light, working material and quiet, should give the child additional time in which to finish necessary studies.[1]

The Day's Programme. — At present there is much uncertainty as to the proper adjustment of the day's programme with reference to its physical effect. In the majority of American schools tradition has fixed a relatively short school day, infrequent intermissions, and a short noon-hour. This gives considerable time for play outside of school hours, but does not provide for the long noon rest that is found in German schools. In not a few secondary schools the day has been

[1] Recently in the crowded quarters of New York City the schoolrooms have been opened even at night for purposes of study.

still further shortened by the development of the half-day session, or one-session plan. This concentrates the time of recitation, and allows a considerable part of the day for preparation. No satisfactory study seems yet to have been made of the physical results of these various plans. In some quarters it is believed that because of the increase in manual and objective work, consequent upon the introduction of industrial, domestic, and agricultural arts as phases of school curricula, and because of the control of physical recreation, the school day will have to be considerably lengthened, but that the parts of it will be taken up with work making essentially different demands upon the pupil. For example, the programme of one pupil might be so arranged as to give forenoons largely or exclusively to shop, field, and laboratory work, and the afternoons to class recitation and "book" work. For another pupil, owing to the necessity of keeping a school plant constantly employed, this programme would have to be reversed. It is probable that the importance of alternating different kinds of school work so as to prevent undue strain along one line is not at all properly appreciated as yet.

Physical Adjuncts of School Life. — Not only must the school seek to preserve about the child a favorable environment for natural expression and also surroundings and conditions that will not work too great harm during the process of organized education, but it must also within limits control numerous adjuncts which make for physical well-being. Mention can only be made of food as one of these. In extreme cases the school may assume the functions of the home in providing this if it can be shown that it is indispensable to the educational well-being of the child. More important, the school can coöperate with the home, even to the point of employing compulsory measures, to the end that parents provide sufficient nurture for their children. We have hardly yet more than the beginnings of this correlation, but the existence of medical inspection, the school nurse, and the school visitor will eventually produce these complementary features of school work. Much of this coöperation can be brought about very simply through the processes of

instruction in hygiene. With the development of cooking and sanitation as phases of school work for all girls and the better training of teachers in matters of hygiene there can be made to grow up standards of healthful living which will be made the common possession of all children in the schools. To a large extent this condition of wide appreciation of standards has been already brought about in public education in the matters of external dress and cleanliness.

School Baths. — It is probable that the school system will go much farther in providing free bathing facilities than in giving food, especially as the former do not seem to impair powers of self-help as does the latter. In the European schools we find baths made a frequent adjunct of public school life. Their importance as a means of promoting physical health and well-being cannot be denied; and they constitute one of the means by which the school can serve the entire community, for there is no inherent reason why school bathing facilities should not be at the disposal of the adult portion of the community outside of school hours and during the vacations.

Directed Play and Games. — While it is of first importance that facilities should be provided for all children to express themselves in spontaneous play, it is also desirable that much in the way of physical development be obtained by means of directed play and organized means of physical expression. Under crowded conditions and when affected by social stimulation, it is found, for example, that competitive games involving groups become too highly specialized and strenuous and that supervision and even direction is necessary. Many city children hardly know how to play, especially when the mingling of nationalities has broken down folk traditions of games. For these not only direction but even compulsion may be necessary to procure the desired play activity. The provision of adequately trained supervision will be a considerable expense to the community, but the cost will be repaid many fold in the increased productive capacity of the children resulting. The relative amount of physical well-being to be achieved by these means is large, probably much

more than that accomplished by ordinary gymnasium practice. Games, athletics, swimming, and dancing are the special forms of controlled physical development now beyond the experimental stage. In all of these it will be noted that a considerable social element is involved and there is every reason to believe that the conservation of this social adjunct is an important feature in realizing the best ends of physical education.[1]

It must be recognized that there is a pathology of play and games, which it is the function of directors of physical education to counteract. America has witnessed the development, under social approval, of specialized athletics to an extent which would indicate the belief that vicarious exercise were possible. This specialization has had the harmful effect of making games complex and difficult and of imposing such high standards that only individuals of unusual powers are incited to take active part. The result is that those most in need of physical exercise fail to find opportunity or incentive; and those who do take part, driven by social appreciation, are apt to give to physical exercise an unwise amount of energy. It has been demonstrated that athletics are pursued excessively in many educational institutions and that the physical results are bad.

Gymnastics. — A still more controlled part of physical education is found in gymnastics and calisthenics, in which the aims are two: corrective, in the sense of giving special or local exercise for the purpose of supplying deficiencies of strength or development and also to counteract the probable evil effects of prolonged confinement to seats or other constricted positions; and developmental in the sense of body and health building and in giving ability in coördination and movement which is believed to be of physical value. Gymnastics have the value of being individual and of effecting a

[1] No sufficient attention has yet been given to the practicability of carrying on a large part of this education out of doors, especially in village communities and in mild climates. Large secondary schools in Southern and Western states regard well-equipped gymnasia as necessary prerequisites for physical education; but for most purposes a small equipment in school yards would meet every purpose much more effectively.

large amount of physical exercise in limited time; of not requiring extensive room and outdoor space; and of being capable of application to special local needs. For example, two or three minutes may be devoted at frequent intervals to breathing exercises as a phase of calisthenics. The value of this comes from the fact that the school life and occupations fail to provide the necessary stimulus to deep breathing, and constricted postures may even lead eventually to imperfect development of the organs of respiration. Again, school life offers little inducement for the development of shoulder and arm muscles; calisthenics and gymnastics may measurably supply the need. As a means of physical education it is quite possible that gymnastics have been overrated, as against games and outdoor exercise carried on under direction. On the other hand, classroom calisthenics have not been used sufficiently. Both should be regarded as supplementary for correctional purposes to the much wider and more extensive opportunity for physical development through exercise, games, and manual work; and all forms must be integrated under competent direction which takes account not merely of school conditions but home conditions as well.

Instruction in Hygiene. — Recent years have seen a widespread interest in developing as a part of the regular curriculum such instruction as would minister to the knowledge aspect of the conservation and development of physical efficiency. This instruction has not always realized its full purpose, owing to untrained teachers and bad pedagogy. Frequently it has not connected with the actual lives of the children educated, and has concerned itself with matters beyond their range. While all instruction in hygiene should proceed from teachers with as good scientific training as practicable, nevertheless it is not desirable to attempt to teach the science of physiology to children. To some extent instruction in hygiene may be correlated with biology, nature-study, and domestic science and art; but it should have as its principal organization assembled information regarding the art of preserving a sound and effective body. As far as practicable material from the environing life should be util-

ized and instruction should be informal, though having a definite amount of time assigned to it. It should be based on coöperation with the home, and should seek to advance the home in those matters of hygiene in which the science of the age is ahead of the knowledge and traditions of the home. Practical applications of bacteriology, scientific conclusions as to effects of stimulants, practical information regarding dietetics, instruction regarding contagion and the care of the sick — all of these are topics which should not only be dealt with in the instruction in hygiene which the school gives, but constant recurrence should be had to them in talks, illustrated lectures, and experiments where practicable, until educators may be assured that each child has at least been well informed within the limits of his comprehension and ability to apply his knowledge as to the known facts of health preservation. Similar lines of instruction regarding growth of strength, formation of physical habits, counteracting the harmful effects of certain kinds of work, and methods of fully utilizing energy should be developed.

Ideals of Physical Efficiency. — Instruction in hygiene and the arts of living well leads to knowledge but not necessarily to the ideals which largely serve as motives to action. The production of right ideals in this field is to a considerable extent a matter of special pedagogical method. It is well known that the most effective stimulation of physical ideals has been among peoples dedicated to the military arts. In the life of this class not only the conscious demands of the environment, but all the suggestion of song, story, history, painting, and statuary, and personal hero worship is made to contribute to the end of stimulating the ideals of and motives for physical prowess. Athletics produce in a considerable number of the boys of our generation similar ideals, but these often seem insufficient, as they do not lead to permanent development, nor do they function in the broadest conceptions of health and physical efficiency; they are incomplete and one-sided. But a large aim of physical education is the production of ideals of this kind on a broad foundation.

Disease, lack of ability to work, physical weakness, malformation, must all be made matters of reproach, and the opposite qualities made matters of admiration. There is a pedagogy by which this can be accomplished, through the proper utilization of play, of instruction, of story, of painting, and of song, but we have as yet only slightly developed this pedagogic art. Because teachers themselves are not yet possessed of these ideals, they cannot develop them in their pupils. Because business men and workers have low ideals or inactive ones as to physical efficiency, the environment of the child contributes little beyond the half-atavistic standards of the sports and games. Teachers and the entire community must rise to some conception of the meaning of balanced physical efficiency in terms of bodily strength, endurance, comeliness, freedom from deformity or disease, and ability to resist the corrosion of specialized employment before the schools will find the art of inspiring right ideals of physical efficiency. But in stimulating this form of social consciousness the schools must even now lead where they can, and teachers must strive to produce followers on a slightly higher plane than they themselves, even though popular appreciation lags.

Social Hygiene or Sanitation. — Since it becomes more clear that in many ways the preservation of health and the increase of power is as much a social as an individual matter, instruction in hygiene and the development of physical ideals should take account of social conditions. Children should receive instruction as to the meaning of community sanitation and the means and methods employed. Public efforts in dealing with disease, in stamping out communicable forms, in isolating sources of contagion, and in social prophylaxis should be made as clear as possible. Certainly the school can do no more serviceable work than to indicate to children in such ways that they can understand and even make their parents and associates understand the meaning of the war against tuberculosis, the fight for pure milk, the legislation against adulterated foods, and the efforts to control the insect sources of contagion in malaria, typhoid, and plague. The connection of this form of instruction with that in the social field which

looks to clean streets, control of garbage, and the elimination of vice should be obvious. And throughout it all, instruction must be supplemented by the utilization of the means which will produce motives for sanitary living and service, *i.e.* ideals of social service and coöperation.

The Machinery of Physical Education. — The task of physical education is great and even that which is under public auspices approximates in importance the work of purely cultural education. Its importance has received tardy recognition, and the machinery for its management is seldom yet provided. In most city schools there has developed, frequently under the department of health, medical inspection of schools. This had its origin primarily in the need for early discovery of contagious disease, and for this purpose physicians visit the schools at intervals and inspect suspicious cases. The next step was medical examination of obviously defective children, especially those suffering from troubles of hearing and sight. So far, in only a very few cities has this examination been extended to the diagnosing of the physical defects which handicap the school child.[1] In the meantime in many school systems there have been introduced special teachers of gymnastics or physical culture and sometimes directors of games. Not infrequently these have had medical training. A widespread interest has grown up in the physical welfare of school children, and a vague consciousness that not enough is known regarding the main facts is prevalent. Our knowledge is at present insufficient and badly coördinated, and little of it rests on a statistical foundation; that is, many things are known regarding individual children, but not enough regarding general tendencies and characteristics.

The Department of Physical Education. — Unquestionably the logical solution of the problems of physical education in the broad sense of that word demands that in each school system there should be a department composed of leaders properly equipped in the medical and pedagogical sense who should assume large direction in matters of hygiene and

[1] But Massachusetts has recently made medical inspection, with some examination, a compulsory feature of all school systems.

physical development. Such department should be a division of the school administrative system under the board and chief executive head, and its leading members at least should give their entire time and effort to the field of physical education of children. The work of such a department should embrace at least the following lines: (*a*) Inspection for contagious diseases and fixing of quarantine. This work now performed by the board of health might be still retained by it or, if transferred, should require closest cooperation with the board of health, for in this respect the entire community is immediately concerned. (*b*) Examination of school children for defects and procuring remedies therefor. Glasses, surgical operations, etc., should be required of parents unless these could show inability to provide the same, in which case the community must bear expense; and the enforcement of the doctor's prescriptions requires coöperation of the school nurse. (*c*) Medical supervision of the conditions of school education, such as furniture, lighting, drinking facilities, sanitaries, print of books, hours of instruction, programme of work, methods of teachers (in so far as these react harmfully on children), lunch-rooms, playgrounds, games, etc. (*d*) Supervision of teachers to the end that these are themselves preserved in good physical condition, that their teaching and control conforms to the requirements of hygiene, and that they are equipped to impart necessary instruction in hygiene. The supervision of instruction should be special, or subject, supervision and should extend to the regular teacher only in so far as she aims to teach hygiene. Under this head also falls the organization of the teaching of hygiene. (*e*) Administration of games, physical exercises, and special forms of physical instruction.[1]

The Preparation of Directors of physical education must, as shown by the above scheme of work, not only involve medical knowledge and experience, but also pedagogical training. Medical inspection at present is greatly hampered by (*a*) the possession of only medical knowledge on the part of the physi-

[1] An excellent discussion of this subject appears in the 9th Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of New York City, 1907: 133–142.

cians detailed, and (*b*) by the fact that they do not permanently specialize in this work. Too often young men, beginners in medical practice, are utilized who have little insight into the full scheme of school courses and sometimes insufficient appreciation of the conditions under which teachers work. Only careful pedagogical preparation and considerable experience will produce the type of person who can direct this work. It will be seen that much of the programme involves fields of investigation which now hardly fall within the scope of medical practice. For example, the hygiene of the printing of the text-books which must be used by the school children is a large and important aspect of medical oversight. The examination of children for those slight defects of sense organs or throat which may not impair general health markedly, but which seriously affect the child's learning capacity is another. Again, at present the average school system has no expert to whom it can appeal on such matters as the hygiene of seating and of daily programme; the head of the department of physical education should be such an expert. Another field of work is in the preparation of teachers for the work of giving instruction in hygiene. It is commonly assumed that the teacher, in the course of her professional training, receives equipment sufficient to enable her to carry on her teaching indefinitely. This is a serious mistake. In order to teach many of the newer subjects, the teacher must obtain much of her equipment after beginning work. If the average young teacher is to be prepared to teach hygiene successfully, she must be carefully taught and supervised by some competent medical expert in this field. This can be effected by the formation of special classes for teachers' meetings on Saturdays, or by special institutes held for a couple of weeks at the beginning or end of vacation. By concentration of instruction much can be done in a very short time. To this add the provision of illustrative materials by a competent supervisor, and occasional lectures to assemblies of teachers, and the ends of hygiene instruction will be in some measure met.

The Function of the Regular Teacher in physical education cannot yet be defined until fully developed expert direction

prevails. In the elementary school it will undoubtedly be found that, acting under skilled direction, the regular teacher can do much better than she now does the work of instruction in hygiene, personal and social, and the preservation of a wholesome environment about the child. It is probable, also, that she will prove able to do much by calisthenics and leading in play in the matter of direct physical correction and development; and also in preliminary diagnosis of health conditions, to the extent, at least, of isolating cases that should receive detailed attention. In view of the probable fact that expert medical oversight will prove very expensive, and the frequent examination of all children impracticable, this phase of the teacher's work will assume much importance. For it the teacher will have to be trained to detect symptoms and to study children carefully, to the end that when dulness, nervousness, and other signs of physical disorder manifest themselves, she will be able at once to make provision for examination by the medical expert.

The School Nurse. — Experience has demonstrated that a necessary adjunct to the medical director is a school nurse who can act as an intermediary between the physician and the school on the one hand, and the school and the home on the other. In the early days of medical examination, even when defects were discovered and reported to the parents, often no action was taken. It is impossible that the medical examiner should follow these cases up, nor can the principal of the school assume entire responsibility. The school nurse as an adjunct of the school can take charge of difficult cases, come into contact with the home, and administer relief in case of necessity. The nurse can also aid the teacher in making preliminary selection of cases which seem to demand special medical attention, and can be of much assistance in the preparation of data for records and reports.

Records and Reports in physical education may be made to serve several purposes. Medical examination will result in the preservation of records of size, strength, growth, abnormality, illness, etc., on the part of the child in some form of permanent history. With advancing knowledge it is

probable that the daily programme of the child, both in work and play, will be based increasingly on this history. These records, when accumulated so as to be statistically serviceable, may be expected to supply the yet unknown generalizations and laws regarding physical changes, growth, effects of disease, results of play and work, etc., in childhood. They may be expected to disclose the correlations between school life and home conditions, between work and exercise, and between different kinds of school work. In another form these records must also be used to inform parents and, in statistical form, the community regarding school conditions. The school, with its greater command of knowledge regarding the particular child and children in general, must stand ready to give advice to the home and to make recommendations to the community; and it can safely do these things only on the basis of a possession of facts.

National and State Action. — Reference has been made elsewhere to the movement to establish, either under the Bureau of Education at Washington, or as an independent Department or Bureau, a division of government which should concern itself broadly with health and other matters of the well-being of children. Such department could carry on researches somewhat analogous to those now fostered by the Departments of Agriculture and the scientific bureaus under the Department of the Interior. The need of something of this sort is real, since many complicated problems, requiring time, resources, and the services of experts, must be investigated.

Within individual states nothing has hitherto been done to organize work of this sort. But as medical examination becomes general and the importance of wide physical education clearly perceived, it is inevitable that state agencies of supervision and direction, as well as investigation, should be established. The larger cities may well remain autonomous in these matters; but smaller and non-urban communities must have their work coördinated within large units of area. In other words, under the state departments must be organized divisions dealing with the physical well-being of the

children under education. These departments would be in charge of men combining medical and pedagogical expertness, and would not only direct the work actually available, but would advance the field through investigations.

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CHAPTER XXIV

The Administration of Correctional Education

Prevention of Crime. — One of the large aims of social economy is to diminish the percentage of the vagrant, vicious, and criminal elements in society. Under primitive conditions the existence of a large proportion of anti-social members was impossible, owing to the straitened conditions of living, and the easy elimination of the unsuitable. But, under modern civilization and culture, it is possible for a large proportion of individuals to live in a parasitic or predatory way, unless systematically prevented. For ages during the evolution of complex social conditions, society has been constantly endeavoring to cure itself of its pathological tendencies to develop criminals and vagrants, but usually with indifferent success. This has been largely the case because the punitive or corrective measures applied have affected mainly adults in whom habitual tendencies had already become deeply ingrained. The nineteenth century, especially, has seen develop the large conception that prevention rather than cure is the most suitable principle for the use of society in dealing with anti-social classes; and prevention is a matter of taking children who are likely to become vagrant, vicious, or criminal, and so educating them as to make social members.

Correctional Education. — The general acceptance of this idea has led to the evolution of different species of education whose general character is correctional — that is, it takes the child who, owing to unfavorable environment, neglect, or possibly inherited predisposition, has manifested tendencies toward wayward and vicious conduct, and so educates him by special means as to reform him and to equip him with habits and standards which, with some continued oversight, will give

a satisfactory start toward right social living. The types of institutions that have been developed to apply correctional education are the following: (*a*) reformatories, which take criminals over the age of sixteen and first offenders, and which, while subjecting to genuine imprisonment, endeavor to educate them; (*b*) juvenile reform schools, taking criminally disposed and vagrant children under sixteen, and by parental care and education seeking to work permanent reform; (*c*) parental schools, which also keep constant custody of children, though for short terms; (*d*) day truant schools; (*e*) the juvenile court and probation; (*f*) special or disciplinary classes. These institutions may be divided into two classes—those which remove the child from the custody of his parents, and stand *in loco parentis* for a term at least; and those which leave the child at home, but seek to reënforce the responsibility of the parents and to improve the control of the home and school.

I. REFORMATORIES

It has long been recognized that prisons do comparatively little to reform their inmates. Experience has shown that of those committed to state prisons a considerable percentage are still youthful — *i.e.* under twenty, and first offenders, while others have not been at all habituated to crime. For these special prisons, called reformatories, have been set apart in some states, and in them types of education have been developed which have proven effective in reforming a considerable percentage of those committed. This education is: (*a*) industrial, since it is evident that most of the young men in these institutions are without skilled occupation, and if they are to lead honest lives after leaving the institutions, it is necessary that they should be taught to earn a living; (*b*) moral, accomplished partly by the device of "honor" sections and indeterminate sentence by which those who comport themselves best will be entitled to early release; and (*c*) intellectual or cultural, made necessary by the fact that many

of these prisoners have had very meagre schooling in earlier life. The work of the reformatories in some states has proven most effective; but their organization and administration belong essentially to the field of penology rather than education.

2. JUVENILE REFORM SCHOOLS

These institutions, like reformatories, are directly descended from prisons. At all times in the history of prison institutions it has been found necessary to confine children. Sometimes, as in the debtors' jails of the eighteenth century, they may have been the children of men imprisoned for debt. More commonly, child offenders, youthful witnesses, and neglected children have been incarcerated. Over a century ago the attention of humanitarians was called to the evils of child imprisonment in England and America. The resulting agitation produced special prisons, called houses of refuge, where the contaminating effects of the association of children with hardened criminals could be obviated. The more progressive American states now have these special institutions, but there are still several (especially in the South) which have no facilities for separation of youthful delinquents from hardened offenders.

Evolution of the Modern Industrial School. — The houses of refuge were most imperfect; they were prisons, and prison conditions, including forced labor, uneducative and unremunerated, were still the rule. The physical conditions were bad, and the moral situation often worse. Step by step improvements were developed; barred windows and other prison accessories were modified; the forced labor was replaced by industrial work which should prove educative and form the basis of employment after leaving the school; more women were put in charge of boys; segregation of various classes of children took place to reduce the possibilities of contamination; and a merit system was developed, on the basis of which each pupil worked out his own release through credits for good behavior. Not all schools in America rep-

resent yet these conditions; but the standards exist, and it is now well established that constructive correctional education is a practical thing, waiting only the means, the right leaders, and the disposition to accomplish it.

Extent. — In 1905–1906 there were reported to the Commissioner of Education 97 reform schools, having an enrolment of 37,683. Most of them are located in Northern states, only a few small ones being found in the South. The running expenses of reform schools, to the amount of almost $4,000,000 a year, is met from state and occasionally from city funds. A few of the schools are controlled by private or religious corporations, but, especially in the Western states, the large majority are state institutions, managed by boards of trustees appointed by the Governor. Only four or five of the above schools have an annual enrolment of more than 1000; the large majority contains from 200 to 500 inmates. The term of commitment is indefinite, and release depends upon good behavior and upon the finding of a suitable place into which to put the released youth, unless his home is acceptable. On the average, boys committed remain a trifle less than two years, and girls somewhat longer.

The Education given in reform schools is distinctly fourfold — physical, vocational, social (or moral and religious), and cultural. Considering the inferior physical condition of the children committed, their urgent need of being taught to labor and become self-supporting, and their lack of moral character, the relative importance of each kind of education is in the order given above, and to organize it on this plan is the aim of the better-managed institutions. The results of the work justify the procedure of the schools. Not all of them preserve reliable statistics or possess information regarding those who are released. But where conditions are normal and modern standards observed, the evidence shows that from 75 to 90 per cent of the children committed are not only prevented from returning to crime, but are made self-supporting and respectable. It can be shown that, from the standpoint of economy to society, the cost of the schools — something over $100 per inmate per year — represents

good social investment, in that it prevents the making of criminals whose ultimate cost to society must be very great.[1]

Principles. — In the administration of juvenile reform schools, the following principles seem to have been fairly well demonstrated by experience: —

a. **Integral Education.** — The juvenile reform school exists for the training of that class of children who have insufficient home care or who have become wayward to the point where their homes can no longer control them. The institution must therefore provide all forms of education — physical, vocational, moral, and intellectual — up to the point where the youth may be intrusted with liberty, under supervised parole, to fit himself into active life. The school must have a variety of agencies for effecting the different kinds of education, and the expense of carrying it on is necessarily large.

b. **Administrative Boards.** — In the best of current practice, reform schools are under the management of boards, either appointed by the state, or by some semi-private authority. These elect a General Manager or Superintendent and give him large powers in selecting his assistants and managing the institution. In some states there is inspection of the institutions by the State Superintendent of Schools, or State Commissioner of Charities, but the most common form of supervision is exerted through state boards of charity and correction. Unless these boards are given large responsibilities for management, in which case they become governing or controlling bodies, as in Wisconsin and Iowa, they seem to

[1] In Great Britain there are two types of reform school. The so-called reformatories are for youths up to the age of sixteen who have been convicted of some offence, though occasionally they receive children under fourteen years of age. In the industrial schools, only children under fourteen are received, and these need not have been convicted of any offence, but may be merely neglected children, in danger of becoming delinquent. The first type had in 1903 nearly 6000 inmates, while the industrial schools, including a few boarding truant schools, contained over 22,000 members. There are also day industrial schools which contained over 3300 members who lived at home, but spent the full day in the school. The cost per capita for these institutions ranges from $100 to $125 per annum, a cost about the same as that for reform schools in the United States.

In the day industrial schools, parents must contribute two shillings per week.

be most effective when they are non-salaried bodies, and, as far as may be, non-partisan. These state boards coördinate and bring up to the standard the work of the various charitable and correctional institutions, and guard the interests of the state in this field of expenditure and public activity.

c. **Cottage System.** — From some points of view the small reform school approximating the conditions of the home is superior for moral training; but from the necessities of classifying the inmates, teaching various trades, and maintaining a specialized faculty, as well as in the interests of economy of management, there are many reasons why the institution should be large. The best of recent theory and practice points to the development of reform schools on a large scale to accommodate from five hundred to a thousand children, but home conditions secured through what is known as the cottage system. The underlying aim of this is that the school should be situated at a considerable distance from cities, should have a large tract of land, and that the inmates should reside in cottages accommodating from twenty to forty, each cottage under charge of what is known as a "housefather" and "housemother," preferably a married couple, and that within each cottage the inmates should have, not merely sleeping and dining quarters, but also reading-rooms and facilities for social recreation. Physical culture, as well as literary and vocational training, can be carried on in central buildings specially arranged. Under these conditions the inmates can be properly classified for purposes of school-room instruction, for vocational training, and for physical education, and, at the same time, can partake of some of the advantages of life in small groups and under homelike conditions. The cottages can be made the basis of classification by age, by character developed within the institution, or by some other serviceable standard.

d. **The Age of Commitment** to institutions of this type should not exceed sixteen, and usually it will not be under ten. The sentence should be an indeterminate one, but not extending beyond the eighteenth or twenty-first year of the age of the inmate. Release from the school should be con-

ditioned on two factors — that the inmate shall have proven worthy of it by continued good deportment and ability in the work of the school, and that the paroled youth shall have an appropriate place to which he can be sent where he can begin a life of self-support, under the supervision of parole officers.[1]

e. **Fourfold Education.** — The education given within the institution must be consciously and deliberately fourfold: it must be physical, vocational, moral, and cultural.

1. *Physical Education.* — Owing to neglect and bad environment, most of the children who have reached the stage of being committed to a reform school, have imperfect physical development and bad physical habits; they commonly show the effects of undernutrition, and irregular living. Their moral defects are often closely associated with physical deficiencies. Their success and character in the life they are to follow after leaving the school will be largely dependent upon an equipment of health, physical strength, and good habits. Under suitable control of diet; regular and wise alternation of work, study, play, exercise, and rest; special gymnastic and military drill; and instruction in hygiene, — it is practicable to quickly correct many deficiencies and provide a large positive equipment. This development is a marked feature of all the best schools.

2. *Vocational Education.* — All investigation tends to show that the most prolific source of the criminal or vagrant character is found in lack of ability to do work well. Children who are raised under conditions which do not make necessary the learning of a vocation, or acquiring habits of industry, provide the largest number of parasitic and predatory members of society. Hence reform schools, recognizing the practical impossibility of having their charges acquire vocational powers outside of the institution, have, for many years, devoted a considerable part of their efforts to this end. The situation has been complicated by the fact that in the early

[1] In case a youth prove irreclaimable, it is the conviction of penologists that he should not be released, but should be transferred to a reformatory or prison when he reaches eighteen or twenty.

schools it was endeavored to make the children partly contribute to the support of the institution through some form of productive labor. Of necessity, this had to be work of a factory character, with much specialization; it soon ceased to be educative and was performed under conditions which made it loathsome to the growing youth. Lately, the best institutions have given up factory and productive labor, except so far as this is distinctly educative, and have, on a considerable scale, undertaken to teach their inmates trades, or other vocations, which can be followed for self-support after leaving the school. A large part of the work of the institution itself is performed by the inmates, and after some habits of industry have been acquired, the youth is directed into some specialized line, where he learns the beginnings of a trade.

3. *Social Education.* — Within itself the reform school must combine the various home and religious influences which make for moral training. Usually there is religious education, though in state institutions, necessarily, of a nonsectarian character. There is usually found a considerable recognition of the utility of direct instruction in ethical and in civic relations. But the more effective agencies for moral education are found in the organization of the life and work of the institution itself. The entire routine of work, play, and rest is so conducted as to lead to the formation of a body of useful habits. Classification is so carried on as to prevent the relatively uncontaminated from being corrupted by the worse members. Certain privileges within the school, like residence in an honor cottage, visiting days, etc., and the release of the inmate finally, are conditioned on behavior, working out through what is known as the merit system, by which the inmate literally earns his own release. But he can only do this by long practice of self-control, right conduct, and industry, the net effect of which is the formation, within measure, of a moral character.

4. *Cultural Education.* — Children committed to the reform schools are usually far behind other children in their school attainments. Many are not bright in the school sense of the word, and many more have been very irregular in

attendance. The reform school, therefore, must undertake so much of this form of education as may be necessary for the pupil. Sometimes the schools have attempted to follow the same courses of study as are found in the public day schools, but this is usually deemed inadvisable in the best institutions, since the conditions require the making of an independent programme. The urgent needs of the reform school youth along the lines of what is called in the institutions "literary" education, are partly practical and partly cultural; in either case instruction should be adapted strictly to the character and prospective lives of the youths themselves. For example, oral and written English, drawing, arithmetic, and simple devices for accounts, are very practical needs, and should be ministered to directly in connection with the vocational pursuits of the inmates. The primary cultural needs are found in connection with the establishment of habits of reading of a profitable kind, and this can best be accomplished in the cottage homes. More, perhaps, than ordinary persons these children, as adults, will require resources against idleness and vice in time of leisure. For this purpose, nothing can equal taste for reading and wide acquaintance with books. The second large cultural agency is music. Living a more or less communal life, and having apparently considerable taste and talent for music, under suitable instruction considerable education can be accomplished in this field. Most of the institutions maintain bands. Musical instruments should be found in the cottages. Through the two or more years' residence, with daily assemblies, it is possible to give extensive training in singing, the moral and cultural value of which is apparent in the lives of this class of youths who may be more than usually susceptible to emotional influences. Generally speaking, the pedagogy of cultural education in these schools is yet quite defective.

f. **Classification of Inmates** within the school is desirable, though the basis of this classification has not yet been accurately determined. The first essential is that youths that may be capable of imparting contaminating influences shall not be

allowed to live with those who might easily be harmed. Frequently, but not invariably, this will involve the separation of the mature and hardened from the relatively immature. In case of girls it will involve the separation of those who have been living lives of vice from those who have been committed for other causes. But within these large limits the administration of classification is frequently based on conduct in the institution. There may be an honor cottage in which the freedom is greater and the privileges of a more marked character than in the others, and to this cottage are promoted the exceptionally well behaved and those who have neared their period of release, owing to satisfactory conduct. At the opposite extreme is found a cottage which might be designated as a local prison, where the most unmanageable are found. Since many of the children committed to state reform schools are defective mentally, weak though not absolutely feeble minded, it has been found desirable to reserve one cottage for this type, so that living conditions and work could be adapted to their specials needs. In some institutions various devices are employed to develop the *esprit du corps* of the group in each cottage, so that a considerable corporate sentiment and conscience may be made to prevail. For example, a cottage may be deprived of some credit or privilege if one of its members runs away, or commits a flagrant offence. The result is that all the members of each cottage are enlisted to prevent the commission of offences. The psychological procedure involved in establishing these conditions is not yet clearly understood, best results being accomplished by the intuitive insight of the wise administrator.

g. **Parole.** — The youth who is released is always sent into employment, or to his home if this is suitable. In some states special laws exist for indenturing the released children, with the provision that if conditions are not satisfactory the youth may be returned. The average stay of boys and girls in reform schools is about two years, and the average age at release is between fifteen and sixteen. Less than half of the children released can be returned to their homes. Consequently, some sort of care and oversight is desirable for

those who are still immature after they leave school. Under favorable conditions for administration, we find attached to each school a system of sustained oversight. The youth is released, not finally or absolutely, but on parole, and liable to return. An agent of the school receives the weekly or monthly reports of the youth from himself and from his employer or guardian. The agent not only corresponds regularly with the child, but at intervals visits him, gives him encouragement, and makes local adjustments, or even finds him a new place if the old is unsatisfactory. If the youth violates his parole, steps are taken to procure his arrest and recommitment. All experience has shown that an effective system of parole supervision which includes provisions for visiting at intervals those paroled is one of the most economical agencies in the administration of these schools, judged by its final results. It serves to carry the reformed youth over a very critical time in his life when he is endeavoring to make adjustments to practical conditions.

Problem of Producing Capacity for Self-direction. — The juvenile reform schools are remarkable for the number of experiments which they have worked out to a successful conclusion. Three large problems still confront them, which have not yet received adequate attention. (*a*) The first is to develop in their charges not merely industrial but also economic capacity in the sense of having full appreciation and knowledge of the conditions of self-support. Many of the graduates of these schools are well equipped for some kinds of labor, but they do not know how to spend or save money. They have been controlled and directed so long by the state that in this respect they are still children, and their lack of acquaintance with conditions of thrift, saving, and spending may even cause their return to crime. It is well known that one of these schools under peculiarly excellent private management has succeeded to a great degree in producing conditions of a true economic education, through actually paying the youths for their work, and obliging them to pay for their board and lodging and other needs. What the George Junior Republic has accomplished in this direction

could be done also by other schools, on somewhat the same lines as in certain reformatories. The administration of the scheme is difficult and may involve additional expense, but so was the introduction of true vocational education to replace the old system of reproductive factory work.

b. **Problem of Training Teachers.** — The second problem is found in the matter of giving special training for teachers and other officers of these schools. At present each institution practically trains its own staff, and naturally the results are slow and unequal, and the teachers and other officers trained usually lack perspective and any general knowledge of the conditions of their work. These institutions, for example, possess an almost unequalled opportunity for scientific study of delinquent children, yet the number of studies produced has been negligible. Only when the members, or some of them, of the staff come to look at their work in a broad and scientific way, will it be possible to have such studies produced, and scientific training of this sort can only be had at a central institution. The number of teachers and other trained workers which the one hundred institutions of the country require would make a fair demand upon one large central establishment. The formation of a national training school for this purpose seems at present administratively almost impossible. The states are independent, few have more than two such schools, and over this type of administration the national government has no control. Consequently, however the need of such training may be felt, the difficulties in the way of its realization seem great. Under ideal conditions, some large reform school, with extensive plant and favorable conditions, should maintain a training school, so that the students would have abundant opportunity for observation and practical experience, while at the same time they would be studying the scientific side of their field of work.

c. **Application of Pedagogical Principles.** — The third problem that confronts the reform school is found in its failure to apply modern pedagogical principles to the purely teaching side of its work. Even in those schools which reach a high

standard of excellence from the standpoint of industrial training, moral control, and physical education, the pedagogical standards of the class work are very low. Not infrequently inferior teachers are employed, and the work is formal and barren to the last degree. These children are peculiarly in need of vital and concrete teaching, and the surroundings offer abundant opportunities for a rich and varied correlation and application of work. Each school needs a principal of instruction who is in thorough sympathy with the best principles of modern pedagogy, and willing to study experimentally the problem of making the best possible adjustments for the pupils who come to learn under the peculiar conditions of reform school life. But the disposition to select such a leader must wait on the proper appreciation of the entire problem by board and superintendent.

3. PARENTAL SCHOOLS

In its aims and management the parental school is very similar to the reform school, though it is designed to receive habitual truants and incorrigibles, even when they have committed no direct offence. Such schools may, as in Massachusetts, receive their inmates from one or more adjacent counties, or they may simply serve the educational needs of large cities. The child is taken away from his home for either a definite or indefinite period, subjected to a special regimen of nutrition, physical education, and control which is designed to correct bad habits and give a right attitude towards school life, and incidentally to exert a deterrent influence.

Problem of the Parental School. — A dilemma always confronts the reform school which is attached to the public school system, and aims to send its pupils at the earliest moment back into the public schools. The aim of the institution should be constructive, that is, it should feed, clothe, and care for the children as effectively as possible, to the extent of providing medical care, opportunities for sports, and vocational education; but it also should be in some measure a

penal institution in the sense that it must provide motives on the part of the child for remaining in the ordinary school. These two aims are somewhat in opposition, especially since many of the children committed come from unattractive homes and are often neglected or mistreated by their parents. Furthermore, the parental school cannot, as a rule, keep its inmates as long as the reform school; it is not able to work the thoroughgoing reform that is possible to the latter. In practice we find that some children are returned many times to the parental school, and there may exist in the community no very great fear of detention there. The solution of this problem undoubtedly lies in having a careful sifting out of cases before commitment to the parental school becomes necessary. In other words, by means of special classes, day truant schools, and the probation system, children manifesting tendencies towards incorrigibility must be dealt with, always in close coöperation with the home; and parental schools must be reserved for children whose home conditions or control are hopelessly inferior. Then when children are committed to parental schools — which should be essentially reform schools and not distinguishable in management from the latter — the term should be sufficiently long to effect genuine reform, and release should be earned. Likewise, the safeguards for parole should be developed for this class, so that the school control may follow the child after he takes up his vocational work. In view of the probability that nearly all children who have become so unmanageable as to warrant their being sent to a parental school will rarely profit from further attendance at ordinary day schools, the aim of the former should be to keep those committed to it until they are ready to embark in industry of some sort; and the school should, like the reform school, extend considerable aid in the process of making this adjustment. But, fundamentally, institutional treatment should be the last resort.

4. DAY TRUANT SCHOOLS

Day truant schools are not novel in educational history, but they are still in the experimental stage. With the development of compulsory education, it becomes necessary to recognize the existence of a class of children who are badly adjusted to the ordinary school class, who are a perpetual source of trouble to teachers when compelled to attend, and whose attendance is so irregular as to prevent their making any genuine educational progress within the regular classes. To a certain extent the formation of a special school for these children, with special officers in charge to enforce attendance, has helped the situation. In these it is possible to get teachers of more than usual capacity in dealing with recalcitrants, and to make special adjustments of curriculum. Two features of notable interest are the curriculum offered, and the type of control developed.

Curriculum. — It is generally conceded that for children over eleven or twelve who have been selected for the day truant school, it is especially desirable to provide a curriculum rich in appeals to motor activity. There are, of course, other types of unmanageable pupils than those of the strongly motor type; but, with few exceptions, even these seem to be able to profit more from objective and concrete work than from other forms. As a consequence, the tendency is to increase the amount of manual training work for boys, or domestic arts for girls, and to provide for abundance of physical training. There seems every reason to believe that with better and more purposeful development, this tendency will increase; and the work will take on more and more a vocational character as it has done in the institutional schools of correction. In this connection it may be possible to borrow a valuable lesson from the practices of certain English cities which have established a type of school that combines day and residence features in apparently successful fashion.[1]

[1] They are called Day Industrial Schools, and in 1903 were reported to have 3300 pupils. They are located in poor parts of large cities.

In these schools the school day is long, from eight to twelve hours. The child sleeps at home, but in most cases gets all his meals at the school. A large part of the institutional work — preparing and serving food, washing dishes and clothes, sweeping, etc. — is assigned to the children, partly for its educational value, and partly to keep them wholesomely employed. A portion of the day is taken up with ordinary studies; a considerable part, where facilities are available, with manual work; and another important part with games and physical exercise. The boy must leave home as early as his father who is going to work; and he returns late in the evening. During the entire intervening time he is off the streets and in a wholesome environment and profitably employed. The school provides a guard who brings in children that have failed to come themselves. Usually the teachers live in the school, which assumes a domestic character, but is not obliged to provide the expensive accommodations which are necessary where children reside permanently. Since most of these children come from very poor homes, from which, frequently, both parents are absent during the day, the semi-residential character of the school exerts a profound moral influence.

Undoubtedly, since the day truant school must occupy a peculiar field, it will have to develop that which it has not now — individuality and characteristic features. The long control, perhaps extending through all ordinary vacation seasons,[1] is especially important, since no school that does not deliberately do much to counteract the deteriorative factors of street and slum life can hope to permanently affect the truant. It must furthermore attack the problem of manual and vocational work, and it must make its control far-reaching through its direction of not merely the working side of the child's life, but his play and home life as well.

[1] In the English Day Truant Schools provision is made for a visit of at least a fortnight to the country or seashore during the summer season.

5. THE JUVENILE COURT AND PROBATION

A comparatively recent development in penological and educational practice in the matter of dealing with actual or prospective delinquents is found in the juvenile court, and its attendant probational system. Just as the reform school developed to segregate children from the gangrenous influences of jails and prisons containing adult criminals, so the juvenile court is an attempt to develop special processes of court procedure in order to save impressionable children from the crude and often corrupt influences of jails and related processes of dealing with criminals on trial. It presupposes the selection of a judge with strong interests in the education and the welfare of children, and one who is disposed to study the conditions of their treatment from a scientific point of view, both penologically and educationally. It presupposes special quarters or times of session for the court, to the end that contact with mature criminals may be avoided. It presupposes also more personal relations between judge and culprit than are possible under ordinary judicial procedure. When confinement is necessary, it is assumed that it will be under matrons and men capable of giving the right surroundings.

Probation Officers. — The juvenile court also assumes the existence of probation officers in whose charge children convicted of misdemeanors may be released under suspension of sentence and on probation. The probationary force must be composed of women and, possibly, men who can serve as intermediaries between the court and the home and school. The probation officers must keep in touch with children so released, must impose the conditions of behavior which will be acceptable during the probationary period, and must adopt means to enlist the strong coöperation of home and school. It is distinctly a process of child saving, for probation takes place in a critical stage of the child's development, and in the relation of the home to the delinquent. Under an adequate system it is believed that a very large number of children who have, especially in cities, drifted into wayward careers

and have become associated with habitual offenders may be reclaimed with no further help than that offered by the juvenile court and probation system. Not only do these agencies take cognizance of children charged with offences; their usefulness may be further extended to the oversight of children suffering from parental neglect, and who should be committed to appropriate institutions. In cases where responsibility for the wrong-doing of the child devolves largely upon parents, the court may become the agency for the prosecution of the latter.

Tentative Character. — Notwithstanding the enormous usefulness of the juvenile court and probation in preventing at its incipiency the making of criminals, the system has by no means come to be generally established, and provision for the maintenance of probation officers is yet usually philanthropic. There has yet been devised no entirely satisfactory means of selecting the peculiar personality needful in the judge, nor is there any system of training and selecting probation officers. The close relation of juvenile delinquency to truancy suggests that possibly the machinery for its control should be at least partly under the management of the school system, but hardly any movement in this direction has yet begun. Wherever tried, the juvenile court would appear to have brought only good results. The managers of some reform schools claim that since the inauguration of the probation system the characters of children committed to these schools have changed for the worse. This they attribute to the fact that the child who has been released several times on probation, instead of being committed at once to the school, has suffered hardening and deterioration of character. It is probable that this charge is true; but the real worth of the probation system must be judged mainly on the basis of the number of incipient delinquents it permanently saves from penal institutions.

6. SPECIAL OR DISCIPLINARY CLASSES

Within the public school system the most important form of correctional education is to be found in the special classes which have developed in many cities within recent years.

The essential features of special disciplinary classes are: (*a*) the setting apart of a room furnished for pupils of different grades (an "ungraded" room), to contain not to exceed twenty or twenty-five pupils; (*b*) the selection of a teacher, probably at more than the average compensation, of strong personality and considerable experience who is well qualified to deal with boys that can be managed only with difficulty; (*c*) the provision of a special programme of studies, with work largely individualized, including as much manual and objective practice as can be supplied; (*d*) commitment to this room on recommendation of teacher by principal or superintendent. If pupils are to be segregated for disciplinary reasons, the above conditions of their control hardly need elaboration.

The Aims of the Special Class are two: to relieve the regular classroom of the presence of pupils who require a disproportionate share of the time of the teacher for control, and to procure the most favorable conditions for the effective education of the pupils segregated. (*a*) The ordinary classroom contains from forty to fifty pupils. The aim of class organization is to obtain a group that is as homogeneous as possible in the matters of intellectual advancement and control. If such a class contains one or two pupils who, owing to whatever causes, present unusual problems of government, they become a disturbing influence to the teacher and to the remainder of the class. They have the effect of modifying the discipline of the entire room, tending to make it more arbitrary and severe. The presence of these exceptional pupils may become a sore trial to the teacher, a condition which is not improved when custom or regulation prohibits the use of corporal punishment. If it can be shown that the segregation of unusual pupils of the type described above will enable the teacher to make her discipline milder and to distribute her energies more equally among all the pupils, then, apart from other considerations, the removal of such pupils would be justified. It should also be evident that in proportion as compulsory education laws are adequately enforced, the number of children of this type will increase; for,

under conditions of lax enforcement of attendance laws, such pupils tend soon to drop away from the schools. The good of the majority of the children in our public schools requires that pupils who submit to school order with difficulty and with undue sacrifice of the teacher's energy should be gathered into special classes.

b. **The Effect on the Unmanageable Pupil** himself of segregation must also be considered. Ordinarily there exists a strong prejudice against allowing or forcing lawless children into each other's company. But it must be remembered that the special class offers two advantages to offset the harmful influence of bringing bad children together: the one is the control under a rigid but kindly form of discipline by a teacher of exceptional competence in this department; and the second, that under this form of control and with small classes it is possible to have all children working up to their full capacity at all times. The difficult child, in the ordinary schoolroom, escapes notice a considerable part of the time; he is not sufficiently employed, and his objectionable qualities often tend to become aggravated under the kind of control that must of necessity be exercised in the crowded class. In a large proportion of cases the child needing constant disciplinary control does not derive much profit from the regular class work, especially if he be twelve or more years old. Segregation, on the other hand, would give him the maximum of educational advantage, and it would permit the teacher to make special adjustments for the old pupil who has been much retarded in the grades to the end that his last remaining years of school life could fit him as directly as possible for the practical career which he will soon enter.

Legislation regarding Special Classes. — The following extracts from the laws of three states show tendencies of recent legislation: —

New York. — "The school authorities of any city or school district may establish schools, or set apart separate rooms in school buildings, for children between eight and sixteen years of age, who are habitual truants from instruction upon which they are lawfully required to attend, or who are insubordinate or disorderly during their attendance upon such instruction, or irregular in attendance. Such school or room shall be known as

a truant school; but no person convicted of crimes or misdemeanors shall be committed thereto. Such authorities may provide for the confinement, maintenance, and instruction of such children in such schools." The authorities may with consent of parents commit children to such institutions for even two years, but not to exceed sixteen years of age; and if parents will not consent, proceedings against the child as a disorderly person may be begun.

"Every child suspended from attendance upon instruction by the authorities in charge of furnishing such instruction, for more than one week, shall be required to attend truant school during such suspension. . . . Industrial training shall be furnished in every such truant school."

New Jersey. — "The board of education of any special district may establish and maintain a school or schools, or may set apart separate rooms in a public school building for the use, restraint, and instruction of children between the ages of seven and fourteen years who shall be habitual truants from school or who shall be habitually insubordinate or incorrigible or disorderly during their attendance at school. Such school or room shall be known as the parental school. . . .

"Said board of education may compel any such child to attend such parental school and, with the consent in writing of the parents, guardian, or other such person having legal control of such child, may cause such child to be restrained and instructed therein for such period and under such rules and regulations as such board of education may prescribe."

If any such child shall not attend such school, he may be proceeded against as a disorderly person.

If no parental school is found in a district, the Board of Education may make arrangements to send unmanageable children to parental schools elsewhere.

Minnesota. — "[The Board of Education] may maintain ungraded schools for the instruction of children of the following classes, between eight and sixteen years of age: —

"1. Habitual truants.

"2. Those incorrigible, vicious, or immoral in conduct.

"3. Those who habitually wander about the streets or other public places during school hours, without lawful employment.

"All such children shall be deemed disorderly, and the board may compel their attendance at such truant school or any department of the public schools, as the board may determine."

7. COÖRDINATION OF CONSTRUCTIVE FORCES

The history of the development of the science of penology and the history of education show few points of contact. The great body of experience and traditions of the reform

schools grew up with little influence from the field of public education. The schools have not learned what they should from the experience of reformatory education, especially along the lines of vocational training and moral control. More recently the juvenile court and the probation systems have attained considerable dimensions, but with only accidental connection with public education.

Obviously this is wasteful and, in the long run, harmful in every way. All the forces that make for social construction, as those are concerned with children, should be consciously coördinated. In every community should be found a clearing-house which takes account of all children, ignoring none, even if these be defective, incorrigible, or illegally at work. At present too many separate and independent agencies are at work saving children, educating children, and employing children. Philanthropy is in one field, the public service in another. The various departments are doing good work, but it is uncoördinated and wasteful, and too many individual cases are lost to sight of all. The forces should be integrated. There should be registration of every child in the community, and to some central authority, perhaps the public school department, should be assigned final responsibility for accounting to society for every individual. Under this central authority, the various agencies should work in coöperation. The public school should segregate unmanageable or defective children; it should follow up the truant; it should proceed against negligent parents; it should procure the commitment to institutions of those whose homes are no longer sufficient; it should work hand in hand with the juvenile court; it should direct agencies to aid in the employment of children; and it should organize probation and parole. Its registration and other records should show the disposition of every child of the community within the ordinary years of education. When the incorrigible has been dealt with by the educational system up to, say, the age of sixteen, he should if still irreclaimable be turned over to the penal authorities, and his education henceforth should be of the reformatory type. Of our present system of dealing with children of all kinds in

the community, it can only be said that it is well intentioned but highly inefficient; it still retains too much of the principle of *laissez-faire*, which, however valuable for adult society, may not be applied generally to parents and employers in all their relations with children.

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CHAPTER XXV

Administration of Education for Defective and Subnormal Children

Modern civilization has undertaken, on a large scale, the custody and education of the considerable number of children who inherit or acquire defects in physical and mental powers. Among these are many varieties and degrees. The deaf mutes, the blind, and the crippled; the idiotic and the feeble-minded; those handicapped by imperfect sight or hearing, or other partial defect; and those slightly below normal in mental powers, — all these form classes for whose protection and aid private philanthropy and state enterprise are in increasing degree enlisted, actuated by the two motives of justice and charity toward the individual, and protection to society.

Development. — As in the case of educational systems for delinquent children, the institutions for the care and instruction of defectives have had relatively little contact with the public school system in America. They have followed independent lines of development, and only recently are they occupying contiguous territory, owing to their common interest in the large number of less clearly defined cases, and because public education is taking more adequate possession of its field.[1] The development of special classes in the city school systems for backward, subnormal, and crippled children has turned the attention of educators to the institutions which have for decades been dealing with the more extreme cases of these defectives. In a few states, like California, special provision is made for the education of types of defectives, as in the case of required special schools for the deaf,

[1] This is clearly indicated by the formation in the National Educational Association of a Department of Special Education in 1898, dealing with the education of defectives. This was started by instructors of the deaf.

which are established substantially as parts of the general school system.

Two Types of educational effort must be considered in discussing the administration of education for defectives. The first is institutional in character, where the child has not merely teachers, but custodians, nurses, and support. The second assumes a division of labor with the home, and is properly a form of special day school. Ordinarily, schools are classified as schools for the blind, for the deaf, for the feeble-minded, etc. A variety of types, some of experimental character, are found among those of non-institutional character. Day schools for the deaf, for the blind, and for cripples are found; also for mentally retarded children, or children temporarily or permanently ineffective for ordinary school work. It is among schools of the latter type that the greatest variety prevails at the present time, in the attempts of public and private educational effort to secure greater adjustment to the individual.

Education of the Blind. — In 1904–1905 forty institutions for the blind were reported from the various states, exclusive of homes which were not of an educational character. In these schools faculties aggregating 505 teachers cared for and educated 4441 youths at an average annual expense of considerably over $200 per year per student. A part of the education is vocational in character, and each year sees additional attention given to this department of work. All of these institutions are coeducational; ten have fewer than 50 pupils, eighteen from 50 to 150 pupils, and the remaining twelve, 150 or more. The expenditure ranges from $130 to over $400 per capita per annum, being above $300 in four of the twenty institutions reporting, and below $200 in eight. Two of the largest have an annual expenditure of under $200 per capita, but that of two others of the largest size is over $300 per capita. The above were all public institutions, supported and controlled by state authorities.

Education of the Deaf. — In the same year there were reported 56 institutions for the deaf, besides 64 public and 16 private day schools. In the state institutions were 10,321

pupils, with 1202 instructors. These, too, are all coeducational; few have less than 100 pupils or more than 400. The annual cost ranges from $200 to $300 per capita, with a few cases above and a few below these sums. In these institutions special attention is given to forms of industrial education which will fit for vocational usefulness, though naturally the great stress is on the teaching of a language system. Public day schools for the deaf are found in California, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin. They are usually small, having but one or two teachers, and in Wisconsin, California, and Ohio, for example, receive liberal public aid.[1] The new law of Ohio authorizes boards of education to establish schools for the deaf, age not less than three years. For any number of three or more in these schools, the state provides at the rate of $50 each. The law requires that "all persons appointed to teach in any such school shall have had special training for teaching, and also shall have had special training in the teaching of the deaf, including at least one year's experience as a teacher in the school for the deaf. The so-called 'oral method' shall be used. . . ." The State School Commissioner must appoint a special inspector of such schools, who is to visit them twice a year, and submit a written report. Private schools for the deaf are not numerous or large, and generally under religious auspices.

Manual training is found in the curricula of all state institutions for the deaf, since it is recognized as preparatory to trades work. In addition, printing, cooking, sewing, carpentry, painting, garden work, basketry, shoemaking, carving, baking, glazing, forging, harness-making, laundry, horticulture, and tailoring are mentioned as the various trades taught. Much of the manual training seems to take a distinctly trade bent, the time being short in which to equip the handicapped youth to enter the competition of industry.

Schools for the Feeble-minded are distinguished from institutions which care for the insane or mentally "sick" and from

[1] In Wisconsin and California state aid is now extended to any community which contains a small number of deaf children requiring special instruction.

custodial homes for the unteachable defectives. There are twenty-five public or state schools of this type, most of them very large. In these twenty-five schools are a total of 301 teachers, 183 industrial instructors, and 1208 custodians, for 15,530 children. The annual per capita expenditure is not easily determined, as they have a fluctuating population, but it is much less than in schools for the deaf and dumb. The teachers employed are not required to be of equal training, and the equipment used in teaching is not yet at all elaborate. About fifteen small private schools for feeble-minded are also reported by the Commissioner of Education, many of which assume the character of custodial homes for children of feeble intellect whose parents cannot afford to send them to a private home.

In the schools under public support a variety of trades are taught, most of them of a domestic character, as cooking, sewing, household work, lace-making, crocheting, laundering, dressmaking, dairying, and the like for girls, and gardening, shoemaking, masonry, and other trades for the boys.

Institutional Education. — In the administration of education for the various classes of defectives, the following principles have come to be regarded as fairly well established in application to state institutions: —

a. **State Control.** — Under American conditions the proper agency for the administration and support of education and maintenance of defectives is the state, actuated by the combined motives of humanity and a policy of self-protection. Efficiency of state action can be fostered by the provision of organized channels for supervision by philanthropic agencies, and for systematic publicity, and possibly by the development of some form of non-political selection of employees. Under present conditions the non-salaried state boards of charities and corrections seem to provide good corrective supervision. Their efforts require supplementing in the shape of giving them means of providing the expert service which will test matters too intricate for laymen. Expert accountants to devise forms of accounting and reporting which lead to genuine publicity, medical experts to examine physical con-

ditions, educational experts to pass on education offered, etc., are required.[1, 2]

b. **Size and Grouping.** — After certain fundamental classifications have been made as far as practicable, it is administratively and economically desirable that state institutions should be large, and on the cottage or colony type. Only thus can highly paid supervision, division of labor in instruction, and economy of management, be combined. Institutions should permit extensive classification within themselves, but should be managed as a unit. Traditionally, many schools of this type grew up in cities, but, generally speaking, the reasons for their existence therein no longer exist.

c. **Administration.** — As in the best of public school service, the final responsibility for general administration should rest with a board, either for an institution or for a group of similar institutions, which board should directly represent the public. The present practice of having the Governor appoint the members of such board seems the most effective. Of course the board may become political in character, but so may any state agency, and so, in the last analysis, may any organization depending on the state for support. The salaried board of control which has developed in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Kansas, coördinating and directing all institutions, has valuable features, if it can be made to command the same character of service of a disinterested character as the non-salaried boards. The success of this system will depend, in the long run, on the encouragement by the people of the

[1] In some countries like England the early establishment by philanthropy of institutions to care for the unfortunate, which afterward received aid from the state, has resulted in a semi-private form of school which frequently has the advantages of a sympathetic and interested administration that is not found in the state institution, but which may also lack efficiency and progressiveness. Supervision by the state has not always proven easy, partly because of a natural exclusiveness, partly because of a belief, sometimes justified, that state inspection was far from expert and discriminating. In some of the schools under private control, naturally, the most progressive work has been done, owing to their freedom to experiment.

[2] See Brackett, J. R., *Supervision and Education in Charity*, New York, 1903.

state of recognized supervision by non-official or semi-official agencies of philanthropic bodies.

Superintendent. — Under the board or boards there must be over each institution a general superintendent who is a recognized expert in his field. On him devolves the responsibility of nominating employees, recommending dismissals, and attending to the details of administration. The intrusion of politics into the management of benevolent or correctional institutions has often suggested the advisability of having some form of civil service selection of teachers and custodians; but civil service examinations, so far as can be devised, seem only a partial measure of the actual knowledge and skill required in these posts, and quite fail to test the even more important personal qualities which are indispensable in the institutional care of children. Under these circumstances, it has been found that selection and advancement under a responsible head, subject only to the approval of the board, proves most effective.

d. **Educational Aims.** — The fundamental educational aims of all state institutions of a benevolent or correctional character should be directed toward procuring self-support in their wards. In the past this aim has been obscured by others, owing to the public failure to recognize that vocational efficiency is fundamental to cultural and social efficiency, and that these, without the former, are valueless. In a normal environment, the child procures this basal part of his education in the home and early apprenticeship, both of which are largely denied to the institution child, as they are denied to the child of the Indian, the negro, and the factory hand. Therefore the institution must make it up, and must seek to procure that vocational adjustment of the defective and handicapped to the world of work that is made in the careful home. Moral education, including religious training making for social fitness, is next in order of importance, after which the child should be given the cultural opportunities that are possible. In all cases, of course, a working command of the language, spoken and even written, seems fundamental to all of the above purposes, though it may be

that in the past too much effort has been expended on the attainment of these ends, in view of the resulting vocational incapacity of the graduating pupil.

e. **Custodial Care.** — Responsibility for the custody, oversight, and further educational effort cannot be abrogated by the state at any specific age or under uniform conditions. Many defectives and some delinquents must long continue public wards, and social wisdom demands that the results of years of effort shall not be wasted by a subsequent period of neglect. After their school education, for example, the blind and the deaf should be encouraged to stand on their own feet, but the state should provide agencies which will pave the way to employment. In extreme cases, doubtless, the state itself should provide that employment. In the case of feeble-minded girls, it is becoming increasingly evident that the interests of society demand that after their period of education they shall be released only to responsible parties, who shall return them to state custody, if they can no longer exercise protecting oversight, and it is probable that increasing need will be found by the state for the provision of permanent working colonies where these girls may for many years be controlled, protected, and made self-supporting. We have already seen the effectiveness of the parole systems in a few states in preserving to permanent usefulness the graduates of reform schools. Similar forms of oversight and direction in the case of defectives must be even more prolonged, if the fundamental aims of the state in establishing education for those classes are carried to their logical conclusion. This oversight will gradually differentiate the classes which, after their education, may profitably be kept at work and living amidst ordinary conditions, and those whom it will prove more effective and economical to keep as members of state colonies, made as nearly as possible self-supporting.

Principles of Non-Institutional Education of Defective Children. — Schools of this character are still new, varied, and experimental. They deal with mild and educable cases rather than with the extreme. There is assumed the co-

operation of the home, which greatly affects the possibilities of size, central location, and equipment of schools. These must necessarily be coordinated with public schools of ordinary type in point of management. The following principles are recognizable in present practice at its best: —

a. **Special Classes.** — Each school system should recognize the existence of special classes of children who can be effectively educated and dealt with by segregation in special groups, sometimes temporary, sometimes permanent. The number of special classes of this sort can by no means be fixed at the present time, but these should undoubtedly be recognized: the deaf, the blind, the crippled, possibly the tubercular, and the varieties comprehended under the term "mentally subnormal." The conditions for establishing day classes for these are that there should be enough within practicable distance for transportation to the school to provide the type of school or class necessary. In some cases the day classes may give only the preliminary training, which will later have to be completed in some institution. Since the expense of this education is heavy, and those requiring it not distributed as are the sources of school revenue, it seems not unfair that the state should be asked to contribute a considerable portion, as it now does in several states in the case of day schools for the deaf, and in the case of special grants made in English schools for training defectives.

b. **Aims for Special Classes.** — Special classes of this type will require the displacing of traditional aims and practices in educational procedure, and the development of new aims and methods. For these handicapped children, the desideratum is not merely fitting for the upper grades of the school, or for certain cultural studies. The aims must be far more fundamental and take account of the child's condition and probable future. As in the state institutions, vocational education must be considered in the case of the older children, and, in the case of all, the matter of physical upbuilding as far as is possible will assume first place. As regards general education, these schools should aim only to accomplish the fundamentally necessary conditions of reading, writing, and

number, and beyond this develop only the lines of cultural work in reading, music, and the like, which it is confidently believed will function effectively. For the rest, society has the right to demand that the lives of these children be made as physically, vocationally, and morally effective as possible along simple lines. That system of education which merely attempts, by special devices, to move these children up the ladder of the ordinary elementary school course is wasteful and unprofitable, since this requires an expenditure that is unwarranted in view of its customary results. Ends must be consciously adjusted to the capacity of the child, must be practical, and the means adopted for their realization must be direct.

c. **Educational Adjuncts.** — The administration of special classes requires special provision for nurses, for medical inspection, and medical attention. Examinations of children who are much too old for their grades in elementary schools reveal a surprising number of defects, some irremediable, others capable of yielding to treatment. Children segregated out for special classes on account of dulness show a large percentage of defect, suggesting that a considerable part of the feeble mentality may be traceable to purely organic causes which are capable of remedy. But frequently the homes of these children are negligent, and unresponsive to medical advice. No measure for the relief of these children in large numbers is complete which does not contemplate the establishment of an organized machinery that will embrace educational agencies to assume charge of the child, medical skill to examine him, nurses to follow the case to the home and procure its coöperation, and even compulsory measures providing for the severance of the control of the home, in case the latter fails to perform its duty toward the child. The provision of these agencies is not difficult or expensive when they exist as regular adjuncts of the school system, for it means, then, only a temporary setting apart of some of the time of doctor and nurse to give attention to the special cases which have been segregated from the main body. But it must be emphasized that the satisfactory conduct of special

classes on a truly constructive basis is practically impossible of realization without these adjuncts.[1]

Cost of Special Classes. — A large problem in the custody and education of defectives is that of cost, present and to come. In the case of delinquents and dependent children who are normal, the care of the child for a few years results in a self-supporting and contributing man or woman; but in the case of the defective this stage may not be reached. Nevertheless, from the figures quoted earlier in the chapter it is evident that the education, especially of the deaf and blind, is enormously expensive, as contrasted with the education of the normal child, and the productive capacity of the defectives can never become very great. The maintenance of these very expensive institutions, which even yet do not meet required needs, is only possible through the existence of a strong humane sentiment which imperatively demands care and enlightenment for these peculiar classes of sufferers.

The only solution of this problem lies through giving persistent and special attention to vocational education, discovering the lines along which the blind and deaf and crippled can develop their maximum capacity, and then to provide for those least able to prevail against the competitive conditions of life the location and tools under which they may realize the lives

[1] The systematic organization of special classes has been carried on for over a quarter of a century in Germany, forming the so-called auxiliary schools (Hilfschulen), of which there were, in 1907, 204, having 12,734 pupils, an average of 62 per school, and 18 to each teacher. These accommodate the children who are subnormal or weak-minded (Schwachsinnige) and who will probably not be restored to the grades. (Special classes also exist for those who cannot keep the regular grade pace, but who are not regarded as weak-minded.) The curricula in these auxiliary schools are general in their nature, intended to give the school arts and to supply a wide range of common knowledge and information, and to develop moral and religious ideas. A part of the curriculum is intended to "release" the mind which, by malnutrition or for other causes, has tended to become deadened or arrested. There is no vocational training, but the demand is strongly expressed for special continuation schools which shall take charge of these children in their period of vocational education, and give them the training which they cannot receive in the shops as they now exist. The physician is taken into counsel in fixing on the most suitable vocation for the pupil. — MAENNEL, "Auxiliary Schools of Germany," Bulletin (no. 3 of 1907) of United States Bureau of Education (translator, Dr. Dresslar).

that are best for them. Institutions for defective children must educate as fully and broadly as possible, but in cases of all kinds of defectives it becomes increasingly obvious that, while none except those whose presence is a menace to society are to be confined, opportunities for all in colonies, at productive industries, should be provided under state direction, to the end that their productive capacity may be fully realized and their lives made as secure and comfortable as possible.

Cure and Prevention. — Finally it must be noted that in this field the greatest work of social economy is not the education of defectives, and fitting them for such measure of social harmlessness and usefulness as is possible to their diminished lives, but the far more important one of preventing the multiplication of the class. Many of the causes of defect are removable through application of medical science, where defects are connected with disease, specific disorder of organ, etc. Even certain forms of feeble-mindedness may yet yield to scientific knowledge regarding the skull and certain functional disturbances of waste and nutrition. Others will be removed by attacking social causes. Tuberculosis, venereal diseases, insufficient nutrition, and alcoholism may be remedied on their purely social side.

Some of these and other causes will have to be reached farther back. Many defectives are such before they appear in the world, owing to inheritances, of which science can at present take but imperfect account. Probably early steps in this direction, already realized in some quarters, are the prevention of marriage of tubercular, syphilitic, alcoholic, and epileptic people; the isolation of feeble-minded women; and the prohibition of marriage between congenitally deaf, blind, etc. The causes of congenital defect may in many cases be hard to trace and not scientifically understood; but much exploration in this direction is being done, and it can hardly be doubted that in time, with sufficient knowledge, society will be able to diminish at its sources the stream of defectives which even now begins seriously to tax our institutions.

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CHAPTER XXVI

Administration of Evening and Continuation Schools

Origins. — The movement to extend advantages of education to those who must give a considerable part of their time to labor in their callings is a comparatively new one. Evening schools and various forms of correspondence and extension education had beginnings before the nineteenth century, but usually under commercial or philanthropic auspices. Within the last half century, however, in European countries and in America a variety of forms of education, more or less under public support, have developed, of which the evening school is the most conspicuous.

Continuation Work (embracing the types of education administered by the evening schools, as well as some others) arises in response to the demand that comes from young people who have already entered upon their vocational careers and who desire to still further partake of the advantages of education. Ordinarily it assumes three forms: (*a*) Evening schools for the illiterate or relatively uneducated who are obliged to work, but who either voluntarily or under compulsion of law seek to acquire some proficiency in reading, writing, number, or other elementary school studies. (*b*) For those who, having already a fair education, desire to pursue advanced studies of a cultural nature in their leisure time. For these evening high schools exist, as well as special courses in literature, history, music, art, and other subjects of a cultural nature. (*c*) Evening schools whose dominating aim is vocational. In England and Germany these prevail in great variety. In most cases they devote themselves to the technical studies which underlie various forms of industry, as applied art, applied science, and special forms of

industrial technique, or to the commercial subjects. In a few cases they have industrial training in a very direct and objective fashion. Frequently, especially in Germany, the classes are so arranged that the student may study the technical aspects of the vocation that he is engaged in during the day as an apprentice. In many other cases, of course, these students study the subjects which will lead them into advanced stages of their callings or into others of higher class and better compensation.

Extent. — In 1905–1906 the evening schools of the cities with over 8000 population in the United States were reported as having a total attendance of over 314,000 pupils, almost half as many as were enrolled in the public high schools of the country, and a trifle more than the total enrolment in public high schools of cities of the above size. Twice as many men and boys are enrolled as women and girls, whereas in the public high schools the ratio of girls to boys is as three to two. The number of teachers in the evening schools is reported as 7947, an average of one for each 42 pupils enrolled. The average daily attendance in these evening schools was only 129,000, or but 41 per cent on enrolment.

In the report of the Commissioner of Education for 1903–1904 it is reported that there were 32 cities in which distinctively evening high schools were conducted. These had 59 schools, with 426 teachers and an enrolment of 40,568 pupils. But it is not certain that all of these maintained true high school standards, nor can it be said that their work was mainly cultural. An examination of the curricula of a few of them shows that they incline to give technical work in many cases, doubtless in response to the demand for vocational training. Commercial classes, especially, are found in schools of this type.

Special Types of evening schools have developed in many cities to meet the demands of recent immigrants. Naturally, these give their greatest attention to the teaching of English, in oral and written forms. In 1903–1904 61.3 per cent of the enrolment of the evening schools of Chicago were foreign

born; in New York, 30.2 per cent; in Philadelphia, 28.4 per cent; in Jersey City, 26.8 per cent.[1]

The Ages of the Students in attendance at evening schools is naturally dependent upon the curricula offered by these schools. The Chicago evening schools report that more than a third of their students are over twenty-one, which fact is closely associated with the large foreign element in the evening classes. Usually, however, less than 10 per cent of the pupils are above twenty, the large numbers being fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen years of age. In most cities only a comparatively small percentage of the children of a given age attend evening school. A special study of this subject shows that in some fourteen cities reporting the ages of pupils in attendance, the average enrolment of children of the age of fifteen, was only 6 per cent of all children of that age in these cities; of sixteen, 5 per cent; of seventeen, 3 per cent. But in one or two cities where, owing to a combination of conditions, such as strict enforcement of the law requiring all working children under sixteen who had a deficient education to attend evening school, and also to the fact that much attractive industrial work was presented, the ratio of enrolment to total number of children was very different. In Springfield, for example, of all children aged fifteen, 25 per cent were enrolled in the evening schools; of those aged sixteen, 31 per cent; and of those aged seventeen, 28 per cent; and similarly for the higher ages.

Teaching Force.— Naturally, it has proven impossible to develop a special teaching force for the evening schools. They hold from 60 to 120 sessions per year, and the length of each session rarely exceeds two hours. Therefore, except in some cases for supervision, it has proven impracticable to obtain teachers who could give their entire time and effort to this work. Two types of teachers have been employed. In some cases business men, lawyers with little practice, college students, and others who do not teach during the day; in others certificated teachers have been demanded, most of whom during the day must teach in the public schools. Both plans

[1] Report of Commissioner of Education, 1904: 1306.

involve difficulties in practice; business, professional, and college men frequently do not know much about teaching and the making of special adaptations of subject-matter for their learners; and the regular teachers who have put in a full day in class work are often in poor physical condition for two hours of evening teaching. Another difficulty has been encountered in the fact that the day school teachers, dealing in the evening with more mature pupils, endeavor to teach them by methods adapted to younger children, and so fail to realize their pedagogical opportunities.

The Expense of maintaining evening schools is mainly a matter of teachers' salaries. Public school buildings are used, and some slight additional charges must be met for light, heat, and janitor service. Teachers are usually paid by the night, the compensation ranging from $2 for ordinary work to as much as $5 per night for supervisors and special teachers in high schools. To some extent the per capita cost is a variable factor depending upon the number of full classes that can be maintained, since, given the attempt to keep stated grades and subjects open, the cost is the same for small as for large classes. In Cleveland, for example, the per capita cost for a number of years ranged from $5 to $8; but in 1905, when the character and extent of attendance materially improved, almost doubling, in fact, the per capita cost fell to $2.81. Some other cities report the per capita cost as much greater than the above. New York finds her evening schools for 1906–1907, having an average attendance of 40,424, to cost $15.63 per capita; in Buffalo, the cost in 1905 was $4.14 for each pupil enrolled, and $7.00 for each one in average daily attendance; in Philadelphia, for the same year, $4.16; in Providence, $13.47 on average number belonging. In Cambridge the per capita cost for pupils in the Mechanical Drawing Evening School was (on average attendance) $16.56; in the High School, $12; and in the several elementary schools, ranged from $10 to $14.

In the public American evening schools it is not customary to find fees charged, except in the industrial or technical schools, where a small sum is required for supplies.

Problems. — Evening schools in the United States are still in the experimental stage of development, and naturally they are confronted by many problems. The conviction is widespread that they embody educational opportunities which may not be neglected, that they should contribute to the growth of a desire for advanced education along many lines, and that they should enable the community to realize more fully on the cost of the enormous plants in the shape of buildings, machinery, equipment, and libraries which are available. As the working day shortens, as the demands for vocational efficiency rise, as the appreciation of culture and civic training deepens, as, in the city, the demand for wholesome opportunities for recreation and physical development increase, the evening schools, in many forms, will find themselves the agencies for ministering to these genuine educational demands.

a. **Problem of Teachers.** — The most serious problem which confronts the evening school at present is in the matter of supplying teachers. It has previously been pointed out that in the main the evening schools must depend on the services of those who work during the day, whether it chooses its teaching force from certificated teachers or from well-equipped people from other callings. In either case the evening school may suffer from the fact that its teachers have already exhausted their best energies. It may also suffer because the shortness of the time given by any teacher to this work reduces the disposition to study its technique and to devise improved methods of dealing with it. Even in teaching the ordinary subjects, the day school teacher frequently fails to make the necessary adaptations to the changed ages, experiences, and development of the evening school students. Business and professional men may quite fail to learn the art of teaching their subject, with the result that they are not able to make necessary adaptations.

In rendering efficient the teaching forces of the evening schools, two considerations are important. The evening schools should be so coördinated with the day schools, that a regular teacher should be compensated for his service in both, taken together. That is, if a given teacher has as

part of his work teaching in evening schools for two hours, four days in the week, his days' work should be proportionately reduced until it can be assured that he has for both kinds the requisite energy, and that neither is to suffer. At present, while some of the day school teachers who also engage in evening school work in order to enlarge their incomes are physically and intellectually able to carry both kinds temporarily without harm to themselves or to those whom they teach, it can hardly be contended that, in the long run, this is the most profitable course. The growth of a teacher demands leisure for study and recreation, and for the preparation of teaching materials. Teachers who come into the schools with good equipment may, for a short time, make a very good showing while carrying both day and evening school work, but except in rare cases they must eventually deteriorate or at least cease to grow. On the other hand, if the work of the evening schools were administratively coördinated with that of the day schools, it would be possible to make for each teacher a combination of day and evening school work which would give the maximum of result, and enable the teacher to give needed study to both phases. This is the more possible when it is recalled that the evening schools receive mainly older students, who would naturally be taught by upper grade teachers giving departmental work or by high school teachers or specialists. Within certain limits, the same conditions could be made to apply to teachers employed from among business or professional men or from the industries. It could be made a condition of employment that the teacher so engaged should prove that his work during the daytime should not be so exacting and extensive as to prevent his making adequate preparation for the evening teaching, or from bringing to it a sufficient reserve of energy.

b. **Supervision.** — The second consideration in regard to effective teaching is to be found in the character of the supervision exercised. Owing to its peculiar character, evening school work requires especially careful organization and some personal contact with those who take it, to the end that individual adjustments may be made. Furthermore, owing

to the lack of special preparation, evening school teachers should have more than the average of direction and supervision. The adjustments of courses to the needs of varying classes of students, the desirability of some contact of the school with the working environment, if not with the home, of the pupil, and the necessity of rapidly adapting a multitude of variously prepared teachers to their work,—all these seem to make demands for a type of supervision such as will require the undivided attention and efforts of those who do it. In other words, the effective supervision of evening school work is not to be accomplished by some one who is also engaged in exacting work during the day. For every fifteen or twenty evening school teachers the circumstances demand that there should be one supervisor, director, or principal, who can give practically undivided attention to this work.

c. **Curriculum.**—The third large problem confronting the evening school has to do with the character of the work to be given. In European countries there is a strong demand for vocational or technical work in these schools, especially of the kinds that will supplement the practical pursuits of the student. At present no limits can be set to the possibilities of the development of this kind of work; the industrial demands of the age require technical knowledge of a kind which the average person can acquire only after he has entered industry of some sort. To a considerable extent the evening high schools of the larger cities have taken up this form of education. But in time it can hardly be doubted this will be but one phase demanding consideration. The growth of the demand for higher culture will also, to some extent, have to be met by the evening schools.

In Springfield instruction in the trades at public expense began in 1898.

"Evening classes were organized to meet in the building of the Mechanic Arts High School, the valuable equipment of which could thus be put to double use. There were two classes formed in tool making and one in plumbing. Each class met three times a week, from 7.15 to 9.15, for five months. These classes proved to be very successful. Not only was the instruction admitted to be of very great value to the men who received

it, but it was also admitted to be of value to the trades represented." — *Springfield Report*, 1904: 121.

"During the past three years the growth of this school has been exceedingly encouraging. It will be seen that the work of this school now includes thorough instruction in mechanical drawing, machine shop practice, tool making, plumbing, joinery and wood-turning, pattern making, shop mathematics, and electricity. The enrolment in these classes amounts to about three hundred, and is remarkably constant, showing a much higher percentage of attendance than is common in the evening schools." — *Ibid.*, p. 122.

New York City at present maintains four evening trade schools, two using the equipment of the manual training high schools, and two established especially for negroes. Carpentry and joinery, cabinet making, pattern making, blacksmithing, plumbing, machine-shop work, printing and typesetting, electric wiring and installation, bookbinding, dressmaking, and millinery are the trades taught in these schools.

In the New York evening schools the teaching of foreigners is an important feature. During the year 1906–1907 45,485 non-English-speaking pupils were in the schools.

"The great majority of these pupils, upon entering, were unable to speak a word of English. The progress made during the term by most of them is astonishing. Feeling the necessity of having at least a little knowledge of our language, they are most earnest in their work, and, as far as possible, most regular in their attendance. In a few months they are usually able to read and write English fairly well and to speak it so as to be understood."

The district superintendent in charge of the evening work recommends the establishment of a normal course for those who teach English to foreigners, such normal classes to be offered in two or more of the evening high schools.

d. **Text-books.** — Another yet unsolved problem in connection with evening schools has to do with the text-books. In almost all cases it has been necessary to use the same kind of text-books that are used in the day schools. In some cases, as in the teaching of English to foreigners, this is unsatisfactory and wasteful. But even in the technical subjects, and the special culture subjects, text-books especially adapted to evening school work are very much desired

and are not yet to be found. It is evident that such books should be compendious, should provide an abundance of easily graduated work for students to read and digest by themselves. In the correspondence schools, it is well known, special texts have been devised in all subjects, and these have become, by simplicity of language and copiousness of illustration, of such a character that many students work ahead in them successfully. But the grammars, the arithmetics, the texts in physics, and other phases of applied science used in the evening schools have not yet developed these qualities. It should be recognized, that, just as in the day schools, the best American practice has taught the pupil to rely largely upon himself, and to obtain much of his information from the text-book; so, in the evening schools where there must be relatively much more outside preparation, and shorter recitation periods, and where the students are more mature, the text-books, by their abundance of illustration, easy grading of steps, and clear pedagogical character of presentation, should teach the student more and more to rely upon himself and upon his material aids.

e. **Pedagogic Differentiation.** — A fifth problem which is not peculiar to the evening schools is found in connection with the differentiation, on a pedagogical, as well as content, basis of the kinds of opportunities offered. For example, there can be little doubt that it will eventually become the function of those schools to offer large varieties of lectures, illustrated and otherwise, of music recitals, of recreative exercises, and even of forms of dramatic entertainment. In many English schools, opportunities for swimming, athletics, dancing, and reading are offered. Now the presentation of these involves a pedagogic method essentially different from that required, for example, in the vocational or academic subjects. Examinations cannot be held, nor other tests very well imposed; nevertheless some efforts must be made to have such courses taken only by those who have a permanent interest, and who are not merely trying to make futile play of their opportunities. Even in many of the academic subjects it may well be doubted if a different pedagogic method may not be de-

sirable. Certainly such subjects as history, literature, social science, and art must be presented in ways that are frequently free from formalism and the rigidity that examination tests require. They are supposed, in some measure at least, to stimulate interest, awaken sympathetic response, and arouse sentiment, and cannot be treated as one would treat mechanical drawing, mathematics, and wood working.

In other words, there must be devised fundamental pedagogic differences in method as well as in content, according to the end to be subserved by these studies.

f. **Weekly Programme.** — Experience shows that much evening school work does not presuppose outside study. In other words, all the effort put forth by the student in learning is directly under the teacher. Where schools are kept open, *e.g.*, three evenings in the week, it is claimed that students find little time for outside preparation. It should be evident that for many kinds of school work (not for all) this arrangement is highly uneconomical. As in correspondence work, it should be the virtue of evening classes that they should stimulate and provide the means for outside study and self-help. To fail to do this on the ground that the student has insufficient time is to miss an important end of evening school instruction. If attendance three evenings per week is too much for the student, in connection with suitable outside preparation, better that he should come but one and devote the remaining two to study at home. Thus the teacher could double or triple the number of pupils he could meet in the week. There is no inherent reason why an evening school student should report in the classroom every evening that it is open; better that he belong to a group which utilize the school meeting only for the purpose of supplementing and clearing up study done at home. The value of this arrangement would be found not only in its economy; it should prove helpful in producing the self-reliance and capacity for independent study which are necessary in the person who is to rise either culturally or vocationally.

Irregular Attendance. — The most formidable immediate obstacle with which evening schools have to contend is

irregular attendance. This evil is especially keenly felt in American cities, where tuition is free, for under these circumstances many students are tempted to enroll who have either insufficient preparation or who lack interest to sustain them through a course of careful work. In foreign countries, where fees are charged, the irregular student has, of course, contributed something to the support of the school. In England the experiment has many times been tried of charging a fee at the beginning of the course which should be refunded in the case of all students who might make a certain percentage of attendance. In Germany, of course, attendance up to seventeen or eighteen is compulsory in most states, so this problem is not felt. In England many feel that attendance will not be satisfactory until it shall have been made compulsory. Except in the case of youths below eighteen, of inferior educational standard, it is improbable that America can have compulsory evening school attendance for many years to come.

Practical Curricula. — Within certain limits it is possible to meet the problem of irregular attendance within the schools themselves. (*a*) The work offered must be sufficiently varied and practical as to actually meet the needs of the students who present themselves. In many places the courses in the evening schools are dull, formal, and unattractive, and students taking them for a time grow to feel that the work they are doing is futile, and does not function in their lives. For example, many youths of moderate education grow ambitious in later years to improve themselves in English; but the work offered in the evening schools is formal grammar of a sort which does not actually reënforce the practical English of the students. It is now generally felt that the development of vocational, cultural, and social subjects on a vital and interesting plane can serve to make evening school work much more attractive and profitable for the students.

(*b*) **Classification.** — Having offered in the schools a variety of work adapted as far as practicable to varying capacities and interests, it becomes the business of the schools to make

careful classification of the students to determine their fitness for and interest in the work they propose to take. Under present conditions of administration it is often quite difficult to accomplish this, and it is probable that it can only be effectively done by having special supervisors devote considerable time to the subject. This preliminary testing cannot be based solely, or even mainly, on written examinations. Credentials from former schools, statements from employers, evidences of interests of various sorts should be sought. It is conceivable, for example, that in an evening school system at least the evenings of one week might very profitably be given to these preliminary examinations, to the end that preliminary selection of subjects might be carried on effectively. The waste of energy involved in dealing with classes after school has started, is very considerable. If membership falls below a certain point, the merging or consolidation of classes is quite necessary; but this greatly interferes with those who stay, as many of them must continue their work under a new teacher whose special methods are unfamiliar.

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CHAPTER XXVII

Compulsory Education and Child Labor Legislation

I. COMPULSORY EDUCATION

The need for compulsory education is found in the unwillingness or inability of some parents to procure educational advantages for their children. The power of the state is enlisted to procure to neglected and exploited children their rights to a protected childhood and to suitable training. Traditionally, the right of the parent over his child, which was stronger in ancient than in modern times, has been supposed to include not only the right of determining the kind of education which should be given, but even the power of denying any education at all; and a long struggle has been necessary to establish the superior claim of society. The situation has been complicated by the fact that under traditional forms of industry, the child was enlisted, to some extent, in the productive processes carried on in the home, and hence could, to some extent, combine education and work; while, under most modern forms of labor, the child cannot combine school attendance with wage-earning. The demand for compulsory education legislation has had its source partly in recognition of the fact that if the child is to have an education, his educational rights must be enforced during all the time that schools are in session, a condition which arouses opposition on the part of parents who undervalue education.

Industrial Exploitation, however, is the principal cause of the campaign for child protection through education. The division of labor under the factory system, the use of machinery, and the wage system have made possible the use of children in ways so destructive of their physical, moral,

and intellectual well-being as to demand from society protective measures. This form of exploitation took children from their homes for the entire day, worked them in gangs, deprived them of play, subjected them to the oppression of the monotony of machines, and defeated all the growth processes of childhood. In compulsory attendance at school not merely for the purpose of education, but to preserve a more favorable environment during childhood, humanitarians have found an important measure of social economy.[1]

Examples of Legislation affecting compulsory attendance show much variation among different states. Nearly all the states have at some time placed on the statute books some law, but nearly all of them likewise have found their first efforts in this direction quite without effect. Because this represents a field in which social economy and inherited traditions as well as selfishness clash, progress has been slow and legislation has so far at times outrun public opinion that the laws have remained quite unenforced. But there has been in all civilized countries a more or less steady growth of wise opinion; and the results are found in legislation that is enforceable, and in large measure is actually being carried out. Some digests of the laws of states prominent in this regard will exhibit the progress made up to date.

New York. — The compulsory education law of New York provides that every child from eight to sixteen years of age must attend school, provided he be in fit mental and physical condition; except that from fourteen to sixteen children who are regularly employed and who have met certain educational requirements may be excused. In cities of the first and second class,

[1] "Compulsory education by the state and prohibition of child labor are policies undoubtedly socialistic in character. They assert the supremacy of the state's interest in the child as against any opposing interest of the parent. The American people have never been afraid of socialism to this extent, and within the last ten years it has greatly extended both compulsory education and the prohibition of child labor between ten and fourteen years of age. . . . Not much difficulty has been encountered in the courts. The constitutionality of both compulsory school attendance and of the restriction of child employment in the interest of health, intelligence, morals, and citizenship is everywhere upheld." A special difficulty is encountered in the case of dependent parents. The state should aid these rather than permit them to become public charges during the time their children are being educated. — GIDDINGS, "The Social and Legal Aspect of Compulsory Education and Child Labor, in Proc. N. E. A. 1905: 111.

however, the child from fourteen to sixteen who has not completed a prescribed course of study in the elementary schools shall attend evening school for at least six hours per week for sixteen weeks each year until he is sixteen. In the case of a child under sixteen years of age and not in cities of the classes described above, it is prohibited to employ him unless he present a certificate signed by the Superintendent of Schools showing that during the year preceding the application for the labor certificate he has attended school at least one hundred and thirty days and has the fundamentals of an elementary school education.[1] It is made mandatory upon school boards to appoint attendance officers.

Massachusetts. — The important provisions of the Massachusetts law are: —

a. Attendance at a day school is compulsory for all children between eight and fourteen, and between fourteen and sixteen for all who cannot read and write the English language.

b. Attendance at a private school for an equal length of time will be accepted as equivalent, provided the school committee is satisfied that the quality of work therein is equal to that of the public schools.

c. In case of children mentally or physically disqualified to attend ordinary schools, it is nevertheless compulsory to send them to other institutions if these exist of a character enabling them to deal with the defects.

d. Every city and town is obliged to appoint a truant officer, who also acts as probation officer.

e. By a late revision of the law an attempt is made to define "ability to read and write English," as equalling, for 1906, the amount required for admission to the second grade; for 1907, admission to the third grade; and thereafter, admission to the fourth grade.

Maine. — The law of Maine makes attendance at school for every child between the seventh and fifteenth anniversaries of his birth compulsory as long as such school is in session, or he must attend private school an equivalent time, which private school must be approved by the superintending committee, and "children shall not be credited with attendance at a private school until a certificate showing their names, residences, and attendance at such school signed by the person or persons having such school in charge shall be filed with the school officials of the town in which such children reside." A fine on parents is the penalty for non-compliance with the law. It is made permissive to provide truant officers.

Connecticut. — The Connecticut law has two peculiar features. In the first place, the enforcement of the law is not left to local authorities, but is in charge of a state agent appointed by the State Board of Education, and who enforces the law through local committees and otherwise. In the second place, an attempt is made to pass on the quality of the private schools whose teaching is taken in lieu of the work of the public school. Private schools will not be recognized as equivalent of public schools un-

[1] In New York City this must involve admission to the fifth grade.

less they keep registers at all times open to the agents of the state boards of education and shall make all reports (except as to expenses) required by the state agents.

The Ohio Law provides that all children from eight to fourteen years shall attend school for at least twenty-four weeks; and shall attend from the first week unless excused by the Superintendent; and all children under sixteen shall attend school unless regularly employed. It is forbidden to employ children between fourteen and sixteen, unless schooling certificates are shown, issued by the Superintendent, and showing that the child has completed the ordinary school studies. The law also provides for special truant officers: officers with this function alone in all city districts; and in village and country districts local constables or others must be designated as truant officers. The truant officer is obliged to keep records of his investigations and to report daily to the Superintendent.

Colorado. — The following special features are found in the compulsory education law of Colorado: —

a. Every child between 8 and 16 must attend school the full time that such schools are in session, exceptions being children who have finished the eighth grade, children who are needed for their parents' support, if over fourteen, and some other cases.

b. If the parent is not able, by reason of poverty, to properly clothe any such child, it shall be the duty of the School Board of the proper district, upon the fact being shown to their satisfaction, to furnish the necessary clothing and pay for same out of the funds of the school district.

c. It is made the duty of the school director to prosecute cases of violation of the law, and in case of neglect a penalty may be imposed upon him.

d. In the case of a child unable to attend school because his help is needed at home, the truant officer shall report that fact to the authorities charged with relief of the poor, who shall provide aid; but in this case the child shall not be compelled to attend school more than three hours per day.

e. A second conviction under this law shall involve imprisonment as well as fine as a penalty.

f. In all districts of the first and second class the school authorities must appoint truant officers, who have extensive police powers, and may visit places where children are employed, etc.

Principles. — The history of the development of laws regarding compulsory education is varied, and illustrates the difficulties encountered when legislation, resting on general principles, tends to outrun the progress of public opinion as to its enforcement in particular cases. Every step in the laws represented above, which exhibit the best of legislation on compulsory education, has only been attained as the result of long effort, stimulated by the consciousness of the

failure of the laws that had been in vogue before. Summarized, the above legislation represents acceptance of the following principles, without which compulsory education can hardly be said to exist: —

a. **Age.** — All children should be compelled to attend school until they are fourteen, and, if they have not reached a certain standard, until they are sixteen. This means that all should attend public, private, or state schools (for delinquents or defectives), or be taught under approved private auspices.

b. **State Oversight of Private School Attendance.** — Where private schools are accepted as meeting the needs of attendance, the state should have means of preserving records of attendance, and ultimately of passing on the quality of the work done. Similarly for private or home teaching. The logic underlying all attempts at enforcing compulsory education demands this.

c. **Amount of Attendance.** — Attendance at school must be defined by amount of time. In the early history of legislation in most states it was customary to prescribe a certain number of weeks. But without prescription as to when these weeks should be, the parents were always able to provide excuses and to put off enforcement of the law with promises. The best of the recent laws recognize that only full attendance during the entire time that school is in session can effectively provide for the necessities of the compulsory education. In one case we have noticed the fixing of a fine which progressively increases in proportion to the number of weeks the children are allowed to remain out of school.

d. **Safeguarding Exceptions.** — In all cases the law must provide for exceptions. Children who are not well physically, those who cannot find places in the schools, who have too great a distance to travel, and children who are mentally unfit for the ordinary school, and cannot be accommodated in special institutions, must be considered. In many states with weak legislation it is also customary to provide for exceptions in the case of families that need the aid of the children for self-support, or in case of children who are taught at home. Modern and

progressive legislation refuses to recognize parental need as a factor in the case of children under fourteen. If parents are needy, other means must be found to provide for them, than through depriving the child of its educational heritage. As to the authorities to decide on the validity of exceptions, practice is yet much divided; but the need of a wise and disinterested agency for this is evident.

e. **Special Officers for Enforcement.** — The enforcement of the compulsory education law demands the existence of special truant officers. In cities, these should be special officers attached to the schools, but in rural or village districts, some one should receive special appointment, as the constable. Many authorities believe that this matter of enforcing the law should be centralized, as in Connecticut; but others feel that with proper inspection it can be performed locally. The truant officers must have large police powers of inspecting mills, of arresting children found away from home and school, and of procuring the conviction for disorderly conduct of children found incorrigible.

f. **Standards of Educational Attainment.** — The best laws now provide for the continued attendance at school of children below a certain educational standard, until they reach the age of sixteen. But the enforcement of this law is frequently negatived, owing to the looseness of the standard. By some judges very little educational ability will suffice to meet the test ("ability to read and write English"). On the other hand, we have noticed that the new laws of Massachusetts and New York (as enforced in New York City) make provision for a fairly exact testing in this matter, based on the requirements for admission to given grades. New York and Massachusetts also permit the substitution of certain amounts of evening school work for this compulsory attendance, but the execution of the law is frequently impeded, owing to administrative difficulties, even in the largest cities.

Private School Attendance. — The enforcement of compulsory education laws is greatly complicated by the existence of private schools over which the state exercises no inspection.

In many cities twenty-five per cent or more of the children attend private schools, whose teachers are not certificated by the state, whose courses of study are not examined, and whose work is not inspected. Theoretically, parents have the right in many states to keep their children at schools not public for the prescribed minimum of time, in which schools the children may receive practically no education. Under these circumstances the state is debarred from passing on the quality of education given. So far, in the United States no state is able to enforce educational standards in private schools, being able to make only the same requirement as in the public schools, which is based on length of time attending. It is well known, of course, that in Europe, outside of England, where the rights of individual conscience are very extensively recognized, private schools are inspected and must reach the standards prescribed for public schools. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island have already recognized the importance of public inspection, and have provisions in their laws which enable them in some measure to supervise private schools.

Aid to Parents. — There is presupposed a free education, which has been offered in American schools for many years. But the proponents have found that the logic of the system of state interference, or of having the state stand *in loco parentis*, carries them still further. In several states where free text-books are not supplied, special laws exist, compelling the local board to purchase school-books for needy children. But text-books alone will not take a child to school; he must have clothing and meals; and recently two states — Ohio and Colorado — have undertaken to supply these in the case of needy children.[1] But poverty of parents may press the matter farther back. In not a few cases it happens that a vigorous child of thirteen is the sole support of sick or otherwise dependent parents, and that the child is quite willing to work. Under these conditions the enforcement of the law becomes difficult, and in many cities the organized charities have organized special relief for just this class of cases. This, too, might

[1] Shaw, *Ed. Rev.* 4 : 133.

well become a matter for state action, since the alternative presented to the state is to supply the needful food and support or allow the child to grow up in relative ignorance. Such action must be exercised with extreme caution, otherwise it could become a dangerous menace to independence.

The following problems may be said to be the yet unsolved in regard to compulsory education : —

a. **Vocational Education.** — The curriculum of the elementary school is in many cases not yet sufficiently adapted to the class of childen who either desire or are obliged to go early into industry. The consequence is that parents and children feel that the last couple of years of school life are not profitably spent, and educators themselves must realize that this is largely true, and that the chief advantage which comes to the children from being held from labor until they reach their fourteenth year is physical. It is believed that under better school conditions, and with curricula providing a certain quantity of work which should be frankly recognized as vocational, parents would not be so eager to have their children withdraw from school, and the children themselves would attend with more pleasure. The elementary school is at present always uniform for all children, which prevents a measure of adaptation to the special needs of those who are to go early into employment. In the upper grades courses of study should provide as alternatives for these pupils some studies at least which are eminently practical in their nature. Into these courses the large children, frequently retarded in their grades, should be allowed to go, and the work given as much of a turn as possible to meet their needs. This work need not be exclusively vocational at any time, but should combine vocational and cultural elements, to the end that the utmost possible educational profit, on the level needful to them, should accrue to pupils who will early leave the school for industry. The more abstruse studies of grammar and arithmetic should be put on a purely practical basis, and much more should be made of the study of current events, of local history and civics, and

of practical written and spoken English, to the end that for these pupils the maximum profit may be derived.[1]

b. **Qualification for Entering Employment.** — The qualifications for leaving school must approximate the qualifications for entering on employment. The difficulties in the way of fixing these are several. Commonly, age alone has been taken into account, supplemented later, as we have seen, by educational qualifications, like the completion of the work of a certain grade, ability to read and write, etc., finally reaching the standard of having completed the eighth grade. From the standpoint of those who consider the child's fitness for labor, however, there has recently arisen the question as to whether weak and insufficiently developed children, even if meeting the age and educational requirements, should be allowed to go to work. This new standard will undoubtedly tend to influence the issuance of permits to labor in the future, and suggests the very great need of some sort of standardization of the conditions under which children should be allowed to leave school and enter on different kinds of employment. Many students of this subject believe that a distinct educational test should also be imposed, no matter what age requirement may be met, to the end that these will become an incentive to attain a degree of education. The

[1] "The Wisconsin Committee [on Child Labor] is convinced that child labor laws standing by themselves, even if thorough and modern in form, are too often a mockery of legislation unless they are accompanied by satisfactory and thoroughly enforced education and truancy laws and by ungraded rooms and schools, playgrounds, and park facilities, and in general, unless when employment is denied to children, school and vacation facilities are given and school attendance compelled. Our committee, therefore, seeks not only a child labor law which shall be practical and modern in the best sense, but also to keep fully abreast (and if possible in advance of that standard) the educational system of the state, including compulsory education laws and satisfactory truancy laws. And we believe that the juvenile court should be extended throughout the state. Undesirable as certain forms of child labor are, and much as we may look forward to the time when no child under sixteen shall be employed at gainful occupations, the fact remains that under existing conditions a great number of our children must work for wages, and that it is far worse to have children in idleness on the streets, studying the school of crime, because of lack of proper educational laws and of vacation schools and playgrounds and other proper and normal ways to use the abounding strength of childhood." — National Child Labor, Com. Rep., 1907 : p. 158.

setting of an educational qualification should, however, be expressed in terms of the student's real ability to do the work.

c. **Enforcement.** — In the last analysis, the enforcement of the compulsory education should rest with the educational authorities, working through the juvenile court and probation system in case of necessity. The school system should have its own health authorities, and these should examine every child to whom an employment certificate is issued. The attendance department, through a system of registration, should keep track of all children under sixteen years of age, coöperating with factory inspectors. Under these circumstances, it would be possible to locate in the school system responsibility for the enforcement of the law fixing minimum conditions for labor. The attendance officer, knowing the location and working conditions of all employed children, could easily coöperate with factory inspectors as to night labor and dangerous occupations. Without some such system as this of coördinating the forces of the community concerned with child labor, the progress of legislation of an effective sort regarding both compulsory education and premature child labor will be slow of enforcement and confused in operation.

2. CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION

In European countries and American states the right of the child to an education has been made one of the strong grounds for regulating by law the labor of children below certain ages. The nineteenth century, which saw the rise of universal education, has also witnessed a hardly less extensive movement to relieve children from the consequences of premature labor and industrial exploitation.[1]

[1] The child labor movement really had its beginning in England as early as 1802. Prior to that time the factory system had developed, and the law permitted pauper children to be apprenticed. With the development of machinery which children could manage, the demand for these became very great, and agents scoured the country, practically purchasing small children by thousands from the institutions for slavish work in the mills. The hours were unregulated, the machinery was kept going night and day, and gang succeeded gang in the shops. The death rate was high, and the children melted away. Investigations

National and State Legislation. — Legislation affecting the labor of minors has been usually national in its scope in European countries; hence it presents a certain consistency and effectiveness in operation which is not found in the United States, where each state deals with the matter independently, and where no means of national interference have yet been evolved.[1] In England, for example, after a long compaign, bitterly fought by industrial interests, Parliament has, in successive stages, provided legislation which has proven fairly effective. A few American states like Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Illinois have, after long contests, finally produced satisfactory legislation and means of enforcement; but other states lag far behind, sometimes because of the absence of lines of industry permitting the exploitation of children, sometimes because of an apathetic public opinion, and sometimes because of the resisting powers of vested interests. Within recent years national philanthropic organizations have taken an active interest in promoting legislation and the enforcement of laws. These, and various local bodies, have created a large amount of public interest, and the last few years have witnessed a great advance in legislation. Progress has been handicapped, however, by lack of scientific knowledge. However powerful the sentimental interest opposed to specific forms of child labor, it has not always been true that the opposition has been grounded on facts, either of a physical or social nature. Recently it

of these conditions led to the Bill of 1802, which was the first large legislative step taken, and which limited the hours of children at work to twelve. Abuses continued, however, and in 1848 the great Ten Hour Bill was passed, which limited the time of work for children under thirteen to five hours, and for all women and young persons — boys under eighteen — to ten each day.

[1] **The Beveridge Bill.** — In 1907 an attempt was made to pass through Congress a bill prohibiting interstate commerce in goods that were manufactured by child labor. The measure created wide interest, since it suggested a means of procuring national legislation on this subject, and of thus coercing unwilling states. But it was generally believed to be an unwarranted extension of congressional control of commerce, and it failed of passage. As matters now stand, it is doubtful if the national government has any direct control, except over the District of Columbia, which has received a good law. Indirectly, through conferences of the executives of other states, uniformity may eventually result.

has been proposed that the national government establish a Bureau of Children to investigate all the conditions which affect the well-being of childhood, in so far as such knowledge and experimentation are not now available from existing agencies. Another proposal has been that this should be an added function of the Bureau of Education. In any case, the conviction has arisen that the nation, with its varying legislation and its numerous problems of childhood arising from heterogeneous population, should develop agencies which, in this division of social economy, should do what the Department of Agriculture does in its field. No state and no private agency now possesses the means or can command the men and resources to undertake the work; but the nation could support and forward it and powerfully modify state legislation along socially constructive lines.

Child Labor Laws. — The following represent the essential features of the child labor laws of a few states which have given effective attention to the matter. We have previously noted the educational counterparts of this legislation: —

New Jersey does not allow labor under fourteen; but it does not impose educational tests upon foreigners reaching that age. Both boys and girls over fourteen may be employed at night, to the limit of fifty-five hours per week. It is felt that the glass industry should be characterized as a dangerous trade, but this idea has no legal effect yet. An excellent older law in New Jersey prohibited the employment of women and minors under eighteen by night, except in a few industries; but this law has been repealed.

In Pennsylvania the principle of dangerous trades is recognized, in that boys under sixteen may not work underground. Up to 1905 this state permitted children meeting an educational test to labor, even in all-night work, if they had reached the age of thirteen. The educational test was avowedly farcical, the merest scrawl sufficing for writing. Even by the latest legislation night work is not sufficiently regulated.

New York. — In many respects New York has the best laws, but even these permit late night work in stores, allow boys of ten who have attended school to sell papers on the streets, and permit children of fourteen to work till ten o'clock at night. The good features are: till fourteen all children must be at school; from fourteen to sixteen all must be at work or at school; age must be proved otherwise than by parents' word; before he can get a work certificate a child must show by certificate from the school principal that he has in the preceding year attended school 130 days; the physician of the Board of Health who signs the certificate must state that

the child is of "normal stature for a child of his age, and in good health." The educational standard for the child who gets a working certificate is vague, but fairly advanced: reading, writing, English grammar, geography, and arithmetic "up to, and including fractions." A defect of the New York law is that it does not reach tenement home labor.

Ohio. — In 1908 Ohio passed a law which is regarded by many social workers as superior to anything to be found. It prohibits the employment of children under fourteen, limits to an eight-hour day, girls under eighteen and boys under sixteen, and to forty-eight hours per week, and no work between the hours of six in evening and seven in morning. It includes cigar manufacture as a dangerous trade for youth under sixteen, and requires eight women factory "visitors," so called, because another law required that factory inspectors shall be chosen from among the electors of the state.

The Labor of Children in Great Britain is governed by two general acts recently passed by Parliament. They fix general rules, but local authorities may supplement these. In general, the following conditions prevail: children under twelve may not be employed in factories and workshops, and under eleven in street trades; children from twelve to fourteen may be employed in shops and factories only half time, and must attend a recognized school when not employed; if the child fails to attend school, employment must also cease; in all textile factories children under sixteen may work only between 6 A.M. and 6 P.M. or 7 A.M. and 7 P.M. Out of the time given above, at least two hours must be given for meals; no person under eighteen may be employed in shops longer then seventy-four hours per week including meal times; any person under sixteen seeking work must present a certificate from the "certifying surgeon" procured at the employer's expense, who must approve age and other fitness for the work; and the factory inspector may prevent the employment of any young person under sixteen if he thinks such person unfit. In general, also, the laws impose considerable restrictions in the case of dangerous trades. In 1901, a total of 36,500 children under fourteen were employed in textile factories as half-timers.

In Germany child labor is regulated partly by state laws and partly by federal ordinances. The laws are complicated, and give considerable attention to "related children"; that is, those working with relatives. Children under thirteen or those over thirteen who have not completed the common school course are prohibited from laboring in factories, mines, building operations, and a variety of specified workshops. Related children under thirteen may be employed in a variety of local industries, but the local police may restrict such labor at any time. All children under thirteen must attend school; hence their hours of labor are restricted so as to permit school attendance. Such work must be by day, must not begin until one hour after the afternoon school session, and for non-related children may not exceed three hours per day, except during vacation, when it may be four. Children under fourteen may not be employed in factories more than six hours per day; and from fourteen to sixteen not more than ten

hours. Employers must allow all young people under eighteen to attend schools for adults, which attendance may be made compulsory by local authorities. So far as statistics are available, they show that the part-time employment of children under fourteen is very extensive, being, in 1900, 532,000, or 6.5 per cent of the children of school age; to which must be added about 3500 employed in factories.

In France the laws governing child labor are simple and uniform, except that workshops in which only members of the family are employed under the direction of father or guardian are exempt, as are also agricultural and purely mercantile establishments. The main points of the laws are: before employment in factories, workshops, quarries, mines, etc., children must have completed their thirteenth year and the common school course of education. Males under eighteen and all females may not be employed more than ten hours per day, and in mines all boys from thirteen to eighteen years of age may work only eight hours. Females may not work underground. Work between 9 P.M and 5 A.M. is forbidden to all males under eighteen and to all females. Children under sixteen may be required by executive authority to undergo special physical examination before being employed in certain occupations; and children under eighteen must possess employment certificates showing their age, schooling qualifications, and physical fitness for the work they have to perform. The executive officials are authorized to make certain exemptions.

In Switzerland, for over twenty-five years, the state authorities have made each child who is the sole support of a widowed mother, the holder of a scholarship equivalent to the amount the child should earn, and this is paid on presentation of evidence of regular attendance at school.

The gradual development of legislation protecting children in industry in America and foreign countries shows the approximation of certain standards which may be described as follows: —

a. **Legal Restrictions.** — There must be a minimum age below which it becomes illegal for children to work. This minimum age is affected by the kind of employment, the participation of parents in the employment, and the sex of the worker. The best practice makes thirteen or fourteen the minimum age for factory work, sixteen for mines, and twelve for so-called street trades. Females may not work underground, and for some types of trade and factory work the minimum age for them is higher than for boys. Dangerous or hazardous trades are recognized, and children below a certain age prohibited from working in them.

b. **Educational Standard.** — The educational rights of chil-

dren must take precedence, up to a certain age, of the right to labor. In Germany and France children even of the minimum age must have completed the common school course of study. In American states the standard is frequently low and indefinite, involving ability to read and write. In some American states it is attempted to meet this difficulty by requiring a considerable attendance the year previous to the application for work. The English law seeks to combine schooling with labor, by a carefully guarded system of half-time employment. The Germans make compulsory some form of education, usually up to the seventeenth or eighteenth year, and oblige employers to allow time for this. Hitherto much of this teaching has been given on Sunday, or in evenings; but there are religious objections to the first method, and hygienic objections to the second, and there seems to be a tendency to insist that this continuation school attendance of six or more hours per week will have to be provided for out of the working time of the pupil. For the American states it is highly desirable that a positive educational test be imposed which shall make the issuance of a labor certificate conditional upon having attained a certain educational standard. This would react greatly on the morale of the school, since now many retarded children simply sit passive, waiting for the time when they shall have completed the requisite days of attendance and attained the required age in order to go to work. On the other hand, the adoption of such a standard as this should be accompanied by the development within the schools of greater flexibility of courses, adapted to foreign and to retarded children. To require all to complete the entire work found in the present elementary course of study, with its formal and often unserviceable character, would be too great a hardship.

c. **Physical Condition for Labor.** — Not merely age and educational qualifications are sufficient to assure the child permission to take up work. In France we have seen that a medical authority must pass on the child's fitness for labor; in some states in the United States the Health Department is required to pass on such fitness. Since an important part

of the aims of child labor legislation is to conserve the physical well-being of children, it is manifestly important that physical development and health be taken into consideration. At present, laws to this effect are considerably inoperative, owing to lack of satisfactory standards; but in time standards of physical fitness will be developed, so that the matter of conserving the health of youthful workers will be possible. In fact, it may become necessary to physically examine children who have begun work to discover whether the occupations they are following are tending to develop injurious consequences.[1]

Industrial and civic efficiency demand that to some extent in proportion as the later life of the child is to be mechanical and his labor highly specialized, he should early be allowed opportunities to attain to full development on the natural level. For such a child, even more than the usual amount of time for play expression is necessary, that the æsthetic impulses may have some exercise, and the physical powers be developed.

d. **Conditions of Labor.** — Finally, all progressive child labor legislation is more and more taking account of the length of day and the time of day during which it is desirable to permit children to work. One of the anomalies in economic progress is found in the fact that long after men, in the so-called organized trades, have won the shorter day of labor, women and children have still been found, owing to their inability to act cooperatively, working long days and at unseasonable hours of night. In greater or less degree the best child labor legislation now prohibits night work, especially for girls, and limits the length of day or week which children may be kept at work. German legislation, especially, is also careful in prescribing eating and recreation periods. The importance of limiting to eight hours the working day of a growing boy

[1] "Let us realize before it is too late that in this age of iron, of machine tending, and of subdivided labor, that we need, as never before, the untrammelled and inspired activity of youth. To cut it out from our national life, as we constantly do, in regard to thousands of working children, is a most perilous undertaking, and endangers the very industry to which they have been sacrificed." — JANE ADDAMS.

or girl is found partly in purely physiological reasons connected with the growth of the child, which takes place through leisure for play and rest.

The Weak Points in American child labor legislation are found under the following conditions: —

a. The textile mills of the Southern states are employing a very considerable number of children who have neither the education nor the physical development for that work. Except in Tennessee and Kentucky, the so-called twelve-hour standard holds in the South. In South Carolina, in Georgia, and in Alabama it is yet possible for a ten-year-old child by permission of the law to work twelve hours a day. In North Carolina twelve-year-old children may work twelve night hours. In these states, poor as the laws are, there is no machinery for their enforcement, and the agent of the *National Child Labor Committee says their violation is* a matter of common notoriety. Except in Kentucky and Maryland there are no compulsory education laws in the South, and "that has been made the plea for sentencing thousands of little children to hard labor for no other crime than the supposed poverty of their parents." Agent McKelway believes "that there are over 60,000 children under 14 at work in Southern cotton mills."[1]

b. Certain special types of industry in New Jersey, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Indiana offer great temptations to the early employment of boys. The coal mines, glass factories, and tobacco factories have specialized forms of labor which children can perform effectively, but which are all deleterious physically, and often harmful morally. The coal work costs the lives and limbs of many children. The glass factory work involves night work with attendant fatigue and bad moral consequences.

c. Even in states like New York, where legislation and the machinery for enforcement are above the average, no successful means have yet been devised for correcting the evil in tenements and at homes.

Registration. — Many of the difficulties which arise with

[1] 1906.

reference to the enforcement of child labor legislation and compulsory attendance at school could be obviated in cities at least by the maintenance of an effective system of registration or a "live census" which would be kept continuous. This will be discussed more fully in a subsequent chapter (p. 538), but here it may be noted that when cases of violation of the law are suspected, or when children fail to appear at school, the lack of a system of registration makes it difficult and expensive to trace them. But a continuous census kept up by the attendance department of the schools, keeping record year after year of the child's age, health conditions, scholastic attainments, and the like would provide almost instantly the data on which an employment certificate might be issued when the proper time for that had arrived. The attendance departments of the schools should take account, also, of all new arrivals into a city or district, where children under sixteen were involved, and thus supply the information to the authorities concerned with the issuance of the labor certificate at any time.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

School Discipline and Government

The last half-century has seen a significant change in the discipline of children, both in the home and in the school. One would hesitate to say that this change is entirely for the better, but that the relationships between parents and teachers and the children under their charge have been greatly modified, no one can deny. It is easy to say that this is one element in educational progress, — no doubt it is true. The ethical aims of the modern school require a different atmosphere and a higher degree of cooperation than were to be seen in the older schools. But this is not a sufficient explanation of the radical difference between the school government of to-day and that of fifty years ago.

The Growth of the Democratic Spirit.— It may be that there has been an overstimulation of the democratic spirit in our country, partly the result of a reaction from the more military and rigid civic relations found in European countries whence so many of our people have emigrated. The stars and stripes are a synonym for freedom, and American youth grasping this idea are inclined to get away from parental authority at an early age. No longer are children restrained and governed in the homes with that care and sense of responsibility which was true in the homes of our fathers. This being the case, parents object to severity and force in the school. In many cities and towns, corporal punishment is forbidden, and teachers are required to use only moral means in their control.

Influence of Individualism.—And yet there are other causes of this change. Those principles of human responsibility and conduct which are expressed in theology and in the social

code have been greatly modified. The human element has been brought into prominence. The responsibility which one owes to God and to man has been somewhat overshadowed by the idea of responsibility to one's self. This kind of individualism is not likely to be a small factor in a country where every man works for himself and his own. However much the social spirit may be fostered, the individual is writ large and must always be reckoned with.

More Humane Methods. — The world has grown more humane. Laws protecting children are rapidly finding their way into our statute books. Societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals would seem quite out of place in a community where children are not amply guarded and protected. In short, milder methods of discipline are merely a part of a general movement toward altruism. It is becoming atmospheric and habitual. The tradition of hostility between teacher and child is a thing of the past. Fewer truant officers are needed, because, as a rule, children love school and naturally and easily conform to its requirements.

Effect upon Public Order. — The charge that there is a growing spirit of lawlessness in the country, due to lax methods of discipline, is probably not well grounded. On the other hand, considering that the United States are receiving more than a million foreigners yearly whose children enter our schools, causing in many instances great congestion and making serious demands upon the municipal exchequer, it is remarkable that the moral tone of the community is so high.

The Aim of School Discipline. — The question now arises, What is the true aim of modern school discipline and what does it undertake to accomplish? The answer is found in the necessity that young people passing from our schools to the freer life of the college, the business house, and the street, should be well trained in the practice of self-control and self-direction. They not only should be able to withstand temptation and prove faithful to every trust, but should take pride in doing so, and should be strong in their principles of rectitude and in habitual well-doing.

The Value of Experience. — This would seem to require a

large opportunity for the "practice of choice," during the whole school life. Children must have experience in doing right day by day and week by week. They must learn to coöperate, to be loyal to every good interest in the home and the school. They should enjoy the satisfaction which comes from the approval of both their elders and their equals, — in fact, they should be respected citizens in the school community. The modern school controls and guides its pupils, but does not undertake force. It places self-respect above fear, and the consciousness of doing right above the sense of conformity to rules through compulsion.

Comparison with European Schools. — In this respect our schools differ from those in most European countries. In the states of Germany, where we look for some of our best educational models, we find a rigidness and even severity in the management of pupils, which is consistent with the traditions and methods of the civic order. This is not saying that German teachers are usually harsh or unsympathetic or that the pupils are unhappy in the school. The difference is due more to temperament, habit, and environment than to any lack of sympathy or appreciation. It is said that a change is working in English schools whereby more humane and kindlier methods are taking the place of those which are formal and antiquated.

The New Humanitarianism. — In an age when nations insist upon supporting great armies and navies, not for the sake of making war, but with the avowed purpose of preserving peace, when all people are being drawn together in relations of friendliness and mutual regard, we may expect to see not only universal arbitration of difficulties and the reign of justice between nations, but also less arbitrary measures of control, in the home, the school, and the community.

Pupil Government. — One method of utilizing the opportunities for training in self-government and civic responsibility has been to throw upon the students in school or college the responsibility of maintaining good order and the proper respect for authority and law. In many instances this plan has worked successfully. With the advice and oversight of

wise teachers, the pupils have made rules and have taken steps to have them obeyed. With the common consent of the student body and good judgment on the part of those selected to act as council or managing committee, questions of discipline are promptly disposed of and public opinion is invoked to support those who have been appointed or elected to perform executive functions. Where this method has been attempted as a remedy for the effect of poor discipline or unwise management, it has usually failed. If the restraints of rigid control are too suddenly removed, and a school is thrown back upon itself, the strain is apt to be too great, and disaster ensues. As in the reformatory, every effort is now made to gradually develop the self-respect and ambition of the inmates, so that by an increasing degree of freedom of action and the exercise of choice they may be prepared to go forth and resume their place in the world; so in the school, the transition from rigid control by the teacher to pupil government must be so gradual and so wisely directed as to prevent any tendency to license or anarchy.

Growth in Self-government. — The general proposition that both in our schools and colleges self-government should have a large place and be regarded both as a means and an end, has received general acceptation. Even where no radical change has been made in the plans or scheme of management, the students have been given a larger opportunity to participate in all affairs affecting the order and government of the institution. It is not usual now for heads of schools and colleges to say, "We have no discipline; the pupils govern themselves." If there have been some failures growing out of the attempt to throw a large part of the responsibility upon the students, it is usually traceable either to the lack of character and good judgment personified in the head of the institution or to loose and unwise methods of administering discipline. The theory of self-government is sound wherever it can be wisely applied. It favors growth in civic and social strength, promotes ambition, enthusiasm, and loyalty; it makes an institution self-respecting and strong; it promotes more agreeable relations between instructors and

students, and calls into play those ethical qualities which belong to true education.

The School City. — The principle of self-government in public schools has found expression in the "school city," which has perhaps attracted more attention than any other method of discipline. It is a little difficult to treat this matter and be sure that one is doing full justice to what it has or has not accomplished. Mr. Wilson L. Gill, its author, and many others who have utilized this plan, are ardent believers in it, and claim that unusual results have been accomplished. On the other hand, it is said that the majority of those who have tried the experiment have given it up. It is even stated that of thirty or more school cities organized in the public schools of Philadelphia, all but one or two have been discontinued. At the same time, there are several schools where the system is said to be working successfully, and those whose judgment cannot be questioned say that it not only has given distinction and value to their ethical work, but, in many individual cases, has reached pupils who, under ordinary conditions, would have belonged to the truant or vagrant class.

The author of this system is said to have achieved considerable success in applying it in the public schools of Cuba. It has been strongly indorsed by prominent educators and philanthropists. Perhaps the idea originally came from the George Junior Republic, which is so well known and so favorably regarded. A modest beginning made in connection with the vacation schools in New York in 1897 attracted the attention of Mr. Roosevelt, then president of the police board and other municipal officers. From that time, sporadic applications of the same method have been made east, west, and south, and, as before stated, there have been both successes and failures in its operation.

The Aims of the School City. — There seem to be two objects which are sought by the advocates of this device: first, experience in self-government; and second, an acquaintance with civic forms and practice. Some lay more emphasis upon the one and some upon the other. Those who have

endeavored to explain the frequent failures of the plan say that it was introduced where self-government did not exist, where pupils had not been trained to self-control and self-direction, and that the organization of the school into a miniature city, with mayor, board of aldermen, police courts, board of health, etc., does not in itself insure growth in that inner spirit and vital purpose which are the necessary prerequisites to self-government. The mechanical form of the plan is striking and interesting. It affords pupils some acquaintance, although in a very artificial way, with the methods and practices of civil government. Even here there must needs be the greatest care and the most judicious oversight in order that such serious mistakes are not made as to prejudice the whole scheme and bring it into disrepute. Of the several books written on the subject, the last one, while intended as a defence of the general theory of the system, is, in a sense, an explanation of its measurable insufficiency, for it shows that in the successful work which the author has accomplished in several schools, he had been careful to make sure that the pupils had imbibed the spirit of self-government before entering upon the new plan.[1]

Conditions of Success. — It is safe to say that the school city in its mechanical workings has not the ethical basis for securing true self-government, and when introduced for that purpose is likely to fail. It is like putting new wine into old bottles, — the strain is too great. Those schoolmasters who belong to the ancient régime, and cling to the rod as the ultimate means of enforcing authority, are not likely to make a happy transition to a system of pupil government. They must first establish the right relations between the pupils and themselves; they must give the students large opportunity to practise those virtues which belong to self-governing and self-respecting citizens. They can then introduce the school city or any other mechanical agency with some hope of success.

Practical Suggestion. — While it is quite unlikely that the school city will become universal or even widely extended, it

[1] Cromson, *Pupil Government.*

will have served a noble purpose if it helps to bring into bold relief the two purposes which it is intended to promote; namely, self-government and good citizenship. These are two cardinal factors in the life of a republic. The content of the two terms is immense. They are inclusive of much that modern education seeks to accomplish. The lack of success which the school city has encountered has revealed to many principals and teachers their own weakness and inefficiency. The theory is excellent and should not be discarded or thrust aside. The concrete examples of its successful installation in many schools are reminders to all easy-going and unprogressive schoolmasters that there are new and better paths than those which they have followed. Such experiments are valuable in bringing into the schools those elements of naturalness and practical cooperation which are so desirable both in the home and the community. They indicate the trend in modern education and life; they are a protest against cliques and class distinctions; they point to a time when our civic affairs will be managed more directly by the people and less by the bosses; when, as a democracy, we are free from the rule of the oligarchy. School men are naturally conservative and jealous of those who advocate new ideas, whether they are in the ranks or are outside. This is unfortunate, for we need many experiments and much painstaking effort in freeing the schools and colleges from artificiality and in bringing them both in form and spirit into relation with the life of the community.

Rewards, Prizes, and Punishments. — One of the authors of this chapter, in another volume, has discussed this topic at considerable length.[1] It is only necessary here to note how this changed attitude toward the sources and aims of moral upbuilding has affected the use of those extraordinary incentives which formerly played so important a part in school management. In the older countries where examinations are given such prominence in school and college, we find a multiplicity of prizes and honors to reward students for their achievements. There is something to be said for their use

[1] Dutton, *School Management*.

under certain conditions, but as examinations play a poor part in the real educative process, so prizes, whether given for good conduct or studiousness, have doubtless done more harm than good. Even if they have served a purpose in the past, they seem to be more or less out of harmony with modern ideals. It is often a student who is at the foot of his class who really deserves the prize, and the pupil who lapses in his conduct may have within himself obstacles to overcome which give his efforts a peculiar value and worth.

Special Care Needed. — Educational administration in the future is to busy itself more in seeking out the weak, the defective and the unfortunate and in trying to give them the needed nourishment and guidance, while the normal and well-favored pupils take care of themselves. To overstimulate precocity either in the field of learning or morals is almost a crime. One sees by the wayside many wrecks of humanity, the results of parental unwisdom and the forcing process of the schools. A sane and healthy school management will do something to curb inordinate selfishness and greed in its incipient forms, and will seek to make citizens who, to some extent, find pleasure in serving others and using their powers for the common good.

Treatment of the Insubordinate. — The recent discussion in New York City over the movement for the restoration of corporal punishment in the schools has brought to the surface certain facts which cannot be ignored by school boards. It was asserted over and over again by principals that an individual pupil was often so vicious, so insolent, and so insubordinate as to menace the authority of the teacher and to disturb the peace and welfare of the schoolroom. Without doubt, the same thing is true in other towns and cities. In some cases the principal will have such supreme power of control as to be able to reach even these worst offenders. But it does not reflect seriously upon principals and teachers to be obliged to confess that they find some cases beyond their power to diagnose or to treat successfully. What is the solution of this problem? Manifestly it is to separate these difficult cases, put them under a special teacher who,

having few pupils and being strong physically and morally, can treat each one wisely and effectively.

Value of Segregation. — In some cities, notably Baltimore, one room is chosen in each large school building for this purpose. Pupils thus segregated for purposes of discipline are withdrawn only for such a period as may be necessary to arouse in them the proper determination and attitude. This certainly is a sensible arrangement. It saves the teacher that annoyance and nervous strain which an insubordinate pupil may cause, and permits him to devote himself freely to the legitimate work of his class. Moreover, it brings the insubordinate and bad-tempered pupils under the influence of a régime which is reformatory and uplifting, and often results in their salvation.

The Parental School. — Confirmed truants and those who are evidently beyond the help of ordinary means of redemption must be put in a special truant or parental school for a period of time long enough to work a change that is fundamental and organic. As before suggested, modern pedagogy cannot blind itself to the pathological and therapeutic factors which are present in questions of discipline and control. Large wisdom and a larger sympathy are necessary. Machine methods are not adequate. The physician and the psychologist must work together, just as in the modern practice of psycho-therapeutics the clergyman and the physician are joining hands and are saving adults who are utterly discouraged and perhaps on the brink of self-destruction.

Discipline a Problem of Administration. — This subject has been discussed in its general bearings in the full consciousness that what is said may not fall under the eye of the average teacher. It is distinctly a problem for the superintendent. He himself cannot regulate the details of school government and meet the varying conditions which arise in city schools, but he can so present the matter to his principals, and make such an appeal to their intelligence and judgment, as to win their consent to the ideal which he wishes to encourage. Where school affairs have been in a static condition, and where many of the teachers gained their experience

under an old régime, it is necessary to attack this problem of discipline with great energy and earnestness in order to reach the desired end. It is well for the principals to have frequent reports from their teachers concerning evidences of growth in moral feeling and mutual helpfulness on the part of pupils, and the principals, in turn, should report to the superintendent in a similar way. If once the true notion of self-government is active in every schoolroom, all other problems will become easy.

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CHAPTER XXIX

Educational Statistics; Finance

The Economics of School Administration has two large aspects: (*a*) The first embraces the field of school finance. There is required here effective measures or quantitative statements of income and outgo so expressed as to show the relations between the two, and between income and the results to be accomplished. (*b*) The second involves quantitative description of the work of education itself, apart from its financial aspects, in terms of children to be educated, teachers and materials utilized, and results accomplished.

Financial Accounting in Public Education is of importance, because, like other phases of public accounting, it still represents low stages of development in the science of accountancy, and because it is concerned with a large part of the public outlay of money, which ranges from twenty-five to fifty per cent of all public expenditure in cities, and is about forty per cent of all state and local expenditure. Corruption has probably not played so large a part in school finance as in other departments of public administration, but waste and maladministration are not less common there than elsewhere, owing to the difficulty of discovering the relation of causes and effects in education.

The Purposes of Accounting in public education are threefold: (*a*) the making of records of income and expenditure so as to accurately and fully describe transactions — the aims of ordinary effective bookkeeping; (*b*) the organization and interpretation of all information of a financial nature so that it may become a means of administrative control — that is, shall enable the authorities to make their work more efficient on the one hand, and more economical on the other; and (*c*) such organization, interpretation, and publication as will

make for extensive and full publicity.[1] These three purposes cannot be always pursued in the same way, and of the three, remembering that American education depends for its development on the confidence and coöperation of the body of citizens, the last is the most important, although it can only be realized by having the first two ends fully met. The first of these objects (bookkeeping) needs no extended discussion here, as the science of accounts is to-day sufficiently well developed to enable any board of education to obtain from specialists proper guidance.

Administrative control as an aim of educational accounting depends upon such alignment of the facts of finance and their interpretation as will enable the authorities, *e.g.*, to locate divisions which are absorbing too much money, or receiving an insufficient amount; or to correctly apportion money to various divisions according to need and productiveness. In a school system this may be accomplished by a careful classification of items of expenditure followed by a reduction of these to some unit basis. School supplies and text-books, for example, may have their cost for each school expressed in terms of the unit of average daily attendance. Under some circumstances, for exact comparison, it might be desirable to have these also indicated by grades, in order to discover unusual variations in particular classes. Fuel, as distributed to various schools, should have its value reduced to some unit — number of pupils in the school, number of rooms to be heated, or perhaps better, number of cubic feet or yards of space to be kept heated. Striking variations among buildings would stimulate inquiry, which would show whether peculation, wasteful firing, imperfect apparatus, or other causes were responsible.[2] Again, for purposes of detecting variations, it is highly desirable that totals of expendi-

[1] "All governmental accounts ought to be controlled, organized, and handled with a view to efficiency of financial administration. They should enable any intelligent party in interest to follow the flow of money from the time it leaves the pockets of the taxpayers to the time it enters the pockets of those for whose services and supplies it is paid out." — HASKELL, *Business Education and Accountancy*.

[2] See p. 198 for illustration.

ture, as well as unit statements, should be shown side by side over a series of years, since this will disclose fluctuations that point the way for special investigation. Many striking variations will always have legitimate causes, as where, for example, the per capita cost of a school is raised by the large amount of absence caused through sickness, but the desirable thing is that all variations should be explained, and legitimate causes dissociated from illegitimate ones.

Within a single school system the following form of classification used in the published report of a city is serviceable. For the sake of a more effective published report, the classification might be improved if these details and a few others (like bonds, payments for buildings, interest charges, etc.) were themselves classified under such main heads as Tuition, Maintenance, Fixed Charges, Permanent Improvements, and Miscellaneous (Table I).

The Department of Superintendence of the National Educational Association in 1899 received the report of a special committee on Uniform Financial Reports recommending the following summary statement. The chief objection to this classification is its grouping of current expenses, where, for purposes of administrative control, it is highly desirable that there should be segregation, which might induce comparison of school with school and year with year. It is true that the accounts of the school system might present these in segregated form; but in practice the tendency is always to arrange accounts chiefly with a view to the final form of report (Table II).

TABLE I

GENERAL SUMMARY OF SCHOOL EXPENDITURES

	High Schools	Grammar and Primary	Kindergartens	Manual Training and Domestic Arts	General Expenses	Totals for Day Schools	Evening Schools
Salaries { Teachers							
Salaries { Janitors							
Total Salaries							
Text and Reference Books							
Paper and Blank Books							
Drawing Materials							
Laboratory Supplies							
Janitors' Supplies							
Miscellaneous Supplies							
Supplies — Manual Training							
Supplies — Domestic Arts							
Tools — Manual Training							
Power — Manual Training							
Furniture and Fixtures							
Heating — Fuel							
Heating — Repairs Heating Apparatus							
Interior Repairs							
Expenses, Supt. and Clerk							
Transportation							
Lighting							
Truants — Expense and Support							
Incidental Expenses							
Total Expenses (excepting Salaries)							
Total Ordinary Expense							
Total Cost of Maintenance							

TABLE II

REPORT OF SCHOOL RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEAR

(Scheme adopted by City Superintendents' Convention, 1899)

1. Estimated actual value of all property in the city (or school district or corporation) . . . . . .
2. Assessed valuation of all property in city (or school district or corporation) . . . . . .
3. Rate of school tax levied on each dollar of assessed valuation of city (or school district or corporation) . .

RECEIPTS

4. Received from state apportionment of taxes . . . .
5. Received from county apportionment of taxes . . . .
6. Received from city (or school district or corporation) taxes . . . . . .
7. Received from fines, licenses, penalties, etc. . . . .
8. Received from all other sources, except loans and bond sales (specify different sources) . . . . . .
9. Received from loans . . . . . .
10. Received from bond sales . . . . . .
11. Total receipts, all sources . . . . . .

EXPENDITURES

12. Paid for salaries of teachers and supervisors . . . .
13. Paid for current expenses (excluding interest, but including salaries of officers, janitors, fuel and lights, text-books, including drawing and writing books, stationery, and other supplies for schools, ordinary repairs to buildings, and all other current expenses) .

13½. For Library and Library Building Expenses . . . .

14. Paid for sites . . . . . .
15. Paid for additions and new buildings . . . . . .
16. Paid for permanent furnishings and furniture . . . .
17. Paid for permanent equipment for manual training, science, and laboratories, etc. . . . . .
18. Paid for reference and library books . . . . . .
19. Paid for all other permanent improvements, such as grading, paving, etc. (specify different expenditures). Paving, ——; grading, ——; sewers, ——; con-

demnations, ——; curbing, ——; sidewalks, ——; trees, ——; total . . . . . .

20. Paid for interest . . . . . .
21. Paid for principal of loans . . . . . .
22. Paid for principal of bonded debt . . . . . .
23. Total paid out, all purposes . . . . . .
24. Cash on hand at beginning of year (net) . . . . .
25. Cash on hand at beginning of year in fund for sites and buildings (included in 24) . . . . . .
26. Cash on hand at beginning of year and sinking fund (included in 24) . . . . . .
27. Warrants outstanding, beginning of year . . . . .
28. Cash on hand at end of year (net) . . . . . .
29. Cash on hand at end of year in fund for sites and buildings (included in 28) . . . . . .
30. Cash on hand at end of year in sinking fund (included in 28) . . . . . .
31. Warrants outstanding at end of year . . . . . .
32. Paid current expenses, evening schools (included in 12 and 13) . . . . . .
33. Paid current expenses, teachers' training-schools (included in 12 and 13) . . . . . .
34. Paid current expenses, schools for defective or other special schools (included in 12 and 13. Specify different schools) . . . . . .
35. Bond school debt of city for school district or corporation at end of year . . . . . .
36. Population of city (or school district or corporation) .
37. Persons of school age, 6 to 20 years, inclusive, in city (or school district or corporation) . . . . . .
38. Number of pupils enrolled, all schools . . . . . .
39. Average number in daily membership, all schools . .
40. Average number in daily attendance, all schools . . .
41. Average number in daily attendance, night schools (included in 40) . . . . . .
42. Average number in daily attendance, teachers' training-schools (included in 40) . . . . . .
43. Average number in daily attendance, schools for defective or other special schools (included in 40. Specify different schools) . . . . . .
44. Annual cost of education per pupil (sum of Nos. 12 and 13 divided by 40) on the total enrolment, ——, and on the average daily attendance, ——.

Distribution of Items of Expenditure by schools is important for the purpose of disclosing variations. The following table shows such classification of items, coupled with a statement of average membership, and total expense per capita. But for purposes of showing variations it would be an advantage to have per capita statements follow each main item of maintenance, with possibly some modified unit to express cost of fuel per classroom, or 1000 cubic feet to be heated (Table III).

TABLE III

COST OF CONDUCTING THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS FOR THE YEAR ENDING JANUARY 31, 1906

(Compiled from the books of the Accounting Department)

HIGH SCHOOL

School	Salaries		Heating		Text-Books, Supplies, and Incidentals						
	Teachers	Janitor	Fuel	Repairs of Heating Apparatus	Text and Reference Books	Paper and Blank Books	Drawing Materials	Laboratory Supplies	Miscellaneous Supplies	Janitors' Supplies	Incidental Expenses
High . . .											
GRAMMAR AND PRIMARY SCHOOLS											
No. 1 . . .											
No. 2 . . .											
No. 3 . . .											

HIGH SCHOOL

School	Interior Repairs, Ordinary	Furniture and Fixtures, Ordinary	Total Ordinary Expenditures	Average Membership	Cost per Pupil	Extraordinary Expenditures	Total Cost
High . . .							
GRAMMAR AND PRIMARY SCHOOLS							
No. 1 . . .							
No. 2 . . .							
No. 3 . . .							

Units are indispensable in all forms of comparison of expenditure, since other factors are seldom uniform. Especially for purposes of publicity where it is expected that the citizen, of average intelligence and ability in understanding complicated statistics, will comprehend situations, totals of expenditure become meaningless, or worse, for their magnitude may quite fail to convey any notion of the amount of work actually done. What the units shall be is often a matter of uncertainty. Most commonly the average daily attendance of children at the school or in the system (total number of single attendances for the year divided by the actual number of days taught) is used, and this, for many purposes, is satisfactory. But in some systems attendance fluctuates, so that it is also well to use other units. A table copied from one of the annual reports of the Buffalo schools shows use of three types *of unit, combined with valuable forms of classification:*—

TABLE IV

COST OF TUITION

Cost per Pupil	Registration		Annual Attendance
	Annual	Average Term	
Office salaries	$ 0.27	$ 0.29	$ 0.36
Teachers' salaries	15.11	16.67	20.34
Janitors' salaries and supplies	1.39	1.54	1.88
Free text-books, including rebinding	0.51	0.56	0.69
Free material	0.27	0.30	0.37
Apparatus, library, printing, and stationery	0.39	0.42	0.52
Superintendent's total expenditures	18 52	20 43	24.92
Board of Public Works expenditures	8 55	9.44	11.51
Bond payments, amount retired and interest	3.44	3.80	4.63
Total school expenditures, including bond payments	30.51	33 67	41.06

It is highly probable, however, that some other unit of attendance might be more serviceable to indicate facts. The simplest of these complex forms is to take the three given above and to assign to each a proper "weight" and combine or average the three. Or the attendance given by months

(average for each month) might be employed, the most common measure of attendance by months taken. Some schools distribute attendance for individual pupils showing the number by varying degrees of attendance, as 181–200 days, 161–180 days, etc., and a satisfactory unit of educational work might be found by taking, *e.g.*, the number who make more than 100 days' attendance. But before involved units of this character are sought, there should be a consensus of opinion and agreement to follow uniform plans of reporting.

Comparison of School with School or of Year with Year is the chief aim of statistical comparisons based on some unit. The first has already been illustrated. The following table from the Chicago Report illustrates both an interesting form of classification, and shows comparisons for two years. A complete exhibit should, of course, show the units over a series of years, thus causing variations to stand out in relief.

TABLE V

STATEMENT OF PER CAPITA COST

PER CAPITA COST FOR ALL DEPARTMENTS

TUITION —	1902–3	1903–4
Upon number enrolled	$18.36	$18.93
Upon average daily membership	22.20	22.41
Upon average daily attendance	23.93	23.98

(Based on total expenditures for salaries, $5,284,664.12 — not including evening and vacation schools.)

PUBLIC SCHOOLS

GENERAL EXPENSES (AS GIVEN IN DETAIL ABOVE) —	1902–3	1903–4
Upon number enrolled	$5.44	$6.87
(Based on total expenditures for all educational purposes, except salaries and evening and vacation schools.)		
Per capita cost based on total expenditures for educational purposes, less evening and vacation schools —		
Upon number enrolled	23.80	$25.81

PUBLIC SCHOOLS — CONTINUED

PER CAPITA COST OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

BASED UPON TOTAL COST OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS —	1902–3	1903–4
Upon total number enrolled	$20.78	$23.67

PER CAPITA TOTAL COST OF MAINTAINING SPECIAL DEPARTMENTS AND SCHOOLS

	1902–3	1903–4
Normal School	$184.53	$323.37
High Schools	53.79	57.21
John Worthy School — Parental School	25.89	30.75
R. T. Crane Manual Training School	77.00	105.01
Parental	211.38	187.31
Schools for the Deaf	99.58	95.04
Schools for the Blind	179.53	147.69
Kindergartens	8.60	9.08
Manual Training Centres	1.55	3.09
Household Arts —		
Upon membership enrolled	1.03	1.55
Cost of material	—	.66
Drawing —		
Upon average daily membership	.09	.067
Music —		
Upon average daily membership	.042	.047
Physical Culture —		
Upon average daily membership	.047	.073
Evening Schools —		
Cost per pupil, per evening	.154	.144

Another form of unit statement that is sometimes used with advantage is based on property valuation of the city or state. Total expenditure, or expenditure classified, may be divided by the number of thousands of dollars of property or assessed valuation, giving a unit which expresses the burden of the school system or its parts. The table would read, *e.g.*, School expenditure of the city of M per one thousand dollars of valuation for (*a*) office salaries, (*b*) teachers' salaries, (*c*)

free text-books, (*d*) manual training high school, etc. For purposes of effective exhibit, this could then be compared with like expenditures in other cities, or with expenditures for other departments within the same city.

In European countries it is not uncommon to use the total population, or the number of children liable to school attendance as a basis for finding units of measurement. Each has its advantages and weak points. Unquestionably it is desirable that each American community should make a count of all children eligible and required to attend school, and that some reference should be made to this in planning for or accounting for school expenditure. Using these units, however, should not serve to withhold any statement tending to express the work actually done by the schools, whether in total number of children enrolled, average number educated, or number held to a reasonable degree of persistent attendance in the school system.

A Fairly Complete Exhibit, then, of school expenditure can be made in six tables, showing the following facts by means of double classifications (horizontal and vertical) or distributions: —

I. Expenditure (totals) by classified items and by schools.
II. Expenditure by items (totals), and by years.
III. Expenditure by years and by schools (totals).
IV. Expenditure by items and by schools (per capita).
V. Expenditure by items and by years (per capita).
VI. Expenditure by years and by schools (per capita).

In a small school system all the above facts can be shown in three separate tables, the per capita statements following items in special columns.

Other forms of statement occasionally prove useful. For example, of the total annual expenditure for education in a state, county, or city, what percentages fall under different heads, like teachers' salaries, buildings, maintenance, etc.? Over a series of years, or among different classes of schools, or among individual schools, the statement may prove of value as showing unsuspected variations, channels of excessive outgo, etc. The following is a useful form: —

TABLE VI

Report of Year	Teachers' Wages	Per Cent	Fuel and Incidentals	Per Cent	New Buildings	Per Cent	Repairs	Per Cent	Other Objects	Per Cent

For administrative purposes it is, of course, necessary to have a schedule showing salaries paid to individual teachers, but for publication this may be too long. But for the sake of informing the public, it is highly desirable to have some form showing salaries paid. The following, from the Erie Report, has the advantage of compactness, and enables two sets of facts to be shown on the same page: —

TABLE VII

TEACHERS — 1901–1902

Years' Experience	Total	No. educated wholly in Erie	No. graduated from Erie High School	No Erie Training Class	No. holding State Normal, College, or University Cert.	No. having taught previous to Erie	Certificate		
							Prov.	Prof.	Perm.
Less than 1 year	8	8	8	8	. .	. .	8	. . .	. . .
One	22	15	18	17	. . .	. . .	22	. . .	. . .
Two	20	19	20	19	. . .	. . .	5	15	. . .
Three	20	17	19	15	2	2	3	14	1

Years' Experience	German Teachers		Principals		Number receiving per Month									
	As English	As German	As Teacher only	As Principal	$20 to $25	$26 to $30	$31 to $35	$36 to $40	$106 to $110	$121 to $125	$136 to $140	$156 to $160	$181 to $185	$211 to $215
Less than 1 year	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. .	6	2	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
One	2	5	. . .	. . .	1	7	10	2	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Two	. . .	1	. . .	. . .	. .	1	3	16	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Three	2	. . .	1	. . .	. .	1	1	15	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .

Publicity. — In the last analysis the support, financial and moral, of public education must come from the masses of people who, in a democracy, constitute the powers of control. To procure the coöperation of intelligent citizens who generally create the public opinion which others follow, it is essential that those standing in expert relations to the public school systems should court publicity. Legislators, members of boards of education, and other interested citizens are not able to follow the intricacies of obscure statistical presentation, either from lack of time or lack of ability. It is necessary, if they are to be kept informed, that quantitative statements of all sorts should be exhibited in the plainest possible form, reduced to easily comprehended units, and interpreted by graphs or language where necessary.

For this purpose the various devices mentioned before — classification of items, double distributions of items and schools, items and years, schools and years, and each reduced to a per capita basis — can be used. Similar showings on the basis of entire revenue of the community or its assessed valuation, comparing the expenditure of the schools with the expenditure of other departments of local government, are desirable, always coupled, as far as may be, with a showing as to the accomplishments of the schools. It is also of importance to compare one community with another, one state with another, or one type of school in one city with similar types elsewhere.

The Published Report. — American cities and states have for many years published extensive annual or biennial reports. Most of these had their beginnings in the first half of the nineteenth century, and grew up in response to the demand for some form of public accounting for money spent. These reports have become the chief instruments of publicity, and in the making of them it is possible to conceal or to reveal much concerning the actual conditions of the work of public education. In smaller communities where the limited circulation would not justify the printing of a separate pamphlet, it has become customary in many places, and legally required in some, that financial statements should be published in

papers of local circulation. The value of the published report depends (*a*) upon its truthfulness, (*b*) upon its explicitness in clear classification and easily understood statement, and (*c*) upon the amount of interpretation and comparison which is provided. In the very small system, an itemized statement of income and expenditures may suffice, since any interested citizen can follow the list through and gain some notion of channels of expenditure. But in the large system true publicity can be attained in no such way; no citizen can follow through many pages of accounts and be expected to interpret them in the interests of education. Here publicity can only be attained by carefully digested tables, showing classified totals and per capita reductions as previously explained. Reports of this kind assume peculiar significance when used comparatively, when city is placed against city, and state against state.

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CHAPTER XXX

Educational Statistics: School Records and Reports

School Economics. — The fundamental object of school administration is to accomplish a maximum of educational work with a minimum outlay of energy, as expressed in terms of money, time, and wear and tear of personal powers. The art and science of measuring these factors and so utilizing the measurements as to elicit better results may be called the economics of school administration. In the previous chapter the means of accounting for financial outlay have been discussed. In this some attempt will be made to indicate the main features of the far more difficult subject of accounting for the children with whom education deals, and expressing the results of their training in tangible terms.

Objections to School Economics are held by many well-meaning educators and others who fear that to apply statistical methods to those school matters in which children are concerned will tend to increase the mechanizing tendencies already prevalent in education. To such persons the highly desirable thing is that teachers and administrators shall be induced to look upon the child as individual in every case, with a special personality demanding attention. They fear that the attempt to provide extensive statistical methods will have the effect of making the educational administrators see the child merely as a unit in a vast system, subject to various kinds of measurement and mechanical process. An influential demand at present is that the school shall be socialized, that mechanical grading shall be rendered more flexible, and that children shall be individually studied with reference to temperament, physical condition, fitness for promotion, and the like. These are matters, so it is often felt, which do not render themselves subject to counting processes and quanti-

tative interpretations. More dealing with children as individuals and less regimentation in the schools is sought.

The Reasons for School Economics are found, however, in the fact that education must deal with children by classes and by groups, and that for the sake of economy and efficiency the schools must constitute a system, and cannot be subject at all stages to individual adjustment. The purposes of educational statistics are to aid in describing the field in which education works and to exhibit, as far as may be, the results of such work; and this can only be done by some such form of educational bookkeeping as will show classified totals, ratios, relations, and effects. An illustration will show this: The truant is peculiarly a child who must be dealt with individually. He is reported as a unit by the teacher or the principal, is sought individually by the truant officer, his home surroundings investigated, and his parents informed with respect to their responsibility. In the treatment of the truant, ungraded classes are formed, special teachers provided, and possibly he may be taken away from parental control. But, partly because the case is so individualized, it often happens that in a city system little attention is given to truancy as a social and educational phenomenon. Truants vary much among themselves, but by assembling in statistical fashion the facts regarding them, common features may be disclosed which may become valuable aids in the control and guidance of educational practice.

Questions like the following can only be answered statistically: (*a*) How prevalent is truancy, *i.e.* what percentage of pupils are truant? (*b*) What are the kinds of truancy, *e.g.* intermittent and occasional, or persistent, with or without connivance of parents? (*c*) What are the characteristics of the truant children as regards, *e.g.*, age, sex, grade, quality of school work, regularity of attendance, health, social interests in school? (*d*) What are the concomitants of truancy, *e.g.*, in the economic condition of the home, distance child lives away from school, nationality of parents, failure of promotion? (*e*) What are the results of treatment, *e.g.*, of the truants who are sent back to classes, what percentage do a

given grade of school work, how many or what proportion simply "mark time," what proportion of those sent to parental school succeed better, etc.? What is desired here is to find common characteristics which will at least point the way to some form of administrative treatment. If, for example, it is found that in one class of truants, ill health is a common characteristic, then remedies along this line are worth examination. If truancy usually seems an accompaniment of failure of promotion, then investigation of the conditions of promotion and the making of special provision for non-promoted children are in order.

Defects in Existing Records. — School economics suffer at the present time from the weaknesses that have been common to other fields of science in the earlier stages of their development. School records are especially defective in their failure to provide information that extends over a series of years regarding any child, so that the history of one or more children may be gathered. As a rule, records are made for the year only, and after one or two seasons it is impossible, except at great labor, to gather information over a series of years about a considerable number of children. A second conspicuous defect is in the undeveloped character of units of measure, except those used in counting children. Standards of scholarship, *e.g.*, are very bad; while standards of moral or physical condition are so imperfect as to be usually quite unserviceable. A third defect found in existing records is that they waste much energy in the making, names and other data being too often duplicated. They lack compactness and organization. Various kinds of records are separated from each other so that effective correlation becomes impossible. A fourth defect in records is in the lack of uniformity of standards as used in different cities and states. Owing to this, comparisons are impossible, or can be instituted only with great difficulty.

Defects of Existing Reports in School Economics find their origin largely in defective primary records, for if these are variable and fugitive, reports that cover a considerable time cannot be worth much. It is from collected records that we

expect to derive information which will show general facts in the statistical sense. But these require similar classifications, use of uniform units and standards, and compactness in the original record, so as to render the assembling of a report an easy matter. Teachers now keep too many poor records and make too many unserviceable reports; progress consists in getting a much more valuable return for the expenditure of less energy on the part of teachers and others engaged in the making of reports.

The Field of School Economics embraces, among other phases, descriptions of (*a*) children to be educated, (*b*) children under the educative process, (*c*) results of education, and (*d*) relations between various sets of the above facts. In each case the primary record is individual and should be preserved as far as possible so as to make available a complete account of each pupil. In most cases, the records may be assembled under proper classifications to exhibit general facts that are of importance. Again, two or more sets of facts with regard to a given individual may be taken off in such a way as to preserve their relationship; and many of these relationship records may be assembled for the purpose of discovering prevailing or general relationships.

Enumeration and Description of Children to be Educated. — The common practice in American education is to present to the parent the open school and to allow him to send his child, if he wishes. In recent times compulsory education begins to play some part, but the law is left to be enforced by some citizen, member of the Board of Education, or special officer, who accidentally learns of cases of non-attendance and who brings pressure to bear upon the delinquent parent. As a rule, it has not been thought necessary to have made a complete enumeration of all children liable to school attendance and a subsequent checking up of attendance to discover whether the law is being complied with. In many of the states where a portion of the money for the use of the schools is distributed on the basis of the enumeration of pupils of school age, a complete census is taken, in most cases annually; but that it serves no purpose other than that

of a counting is shown by the fact that commonly only classified totals are turned into the official records, no means being taken to preserve the individual records. Hence this school census becomes valueless as a description of children liable to attend school; it is only an enumeration.

In large cities where local public opinion plays little part in compelling attendance, and where the hit-and-miss method prevails of having attendance officers browse around in search of children not attending, the need of some adequate description of all children is keenly felt. The enforcement of child labor laws, the provision of special means of education for defective children, and the oversight of children being educated under private auspices is at present rendered difficult or impossible, owing to the lack of information regarding those who are not in the public schools. Facts of age, state of health, place of employment, condition as regards educational attainments, and others of similar nature, which are very important from the standpoint of social economy, are obtainable only with extreme difficulty.

Permanent Registration.— Undoubtedly urban communities, especially, will sooner or later adopt the plan of having permanent registration of all children of school age, records being preserved in such a way as to show amount of school attendance made each year, whether in public or private school, amount of time employed, whether physically defective, amount of attendance and absence from school, with reasons for absence, etc. For purposes of business administration this registration would take the form of a card catalogue, so arranged that each card could receive the record of a given child for at least ten years. Each area surrounding a given school or group of schools would have its card catalogue of all children resident in the area. During the weeks preceding the opening of school each year, the attendance officers would be busy making out the cards of new families who had moved into the district. Shortly after the opening of school, the attendance officers would sort the cards temporarily, so as to segregate the cards of children not yet registered in the school. These cards could then be separated into groups, according to

the probability that the children not yet enrolled were illegally absent, and the homes of these could be immediately visited.

Special Features of Registration. — The ordinary school census, taken usually by incompetent and indifferent people, can be made to contain only meagre information. But if taken by attendance officers who give themselves regularly to this business, these could soon learn to get information of a much more important character. Some children, for example, must be kept out of school because of ill health. When so reported to the census officer, he can, if regularly employed in attendance work, take note of the matter and later procure the necessary physician's certificate. Again, the school census as taken can make only the statement that pupils are at private or public school, but it is not practicable to obtain any evidence as to actual amount of attendance made. It is well known that in the case of parochial schools much irregularity occurs. But if permanent registration were in the hands of attendance officers, it would be their business to procure records of attendance from parochial schools which would be entered each year on the registration cards. On the cards would be recorded at the close of the year the character of the attendance of each pupil, with brief information regarding other facts which should be known of children under obligation to attend school. If the child be transferred from one school to another, his registration could be sent by mail if that seemed desirable; otherwise the fact of his transfer could be simply noted on it.

The Service of this System of Registration for social economy would be very great. The weight of modern social reform is centering about the child, for it is more and more evident that society can be best reformed by giving attention to children of the community so as to preserve their health, their moral character, and their intelligence. The most effective social work is that which seeks to save children from premature labor, which insures them their full educational rights, and which aims to detect and prevent in early stages both moral and physical deterioration. But the labor of the various agencies engaged in these matters is rendered difficult and, to

some extent, ineffective by lack of suitable information regarding the children of the community.[1] The public school is the one agency sufficiently authoritative to obtain and preserve the necessary information; and it should be able to do it with little increase in the forces now available, provided these worked under competent direction.

Attendance Officers are now found in every city system of schools. The number varies from one to each two thousand school children to one for each ten thousand. At present they have had no special training, they act with little system and under insufficient oversight, and their work is exceedingly fragmentary and without permanent result. There is no inherent reason why, in large cities, they should not be carefully supervised, given the mechanical means of performing their work effectively, and brought into close contact with probation officers, factory inspectors, and other special workers with children. Each officer should know his own area well, and it would be no difficult matter for such a person to keep a constant registration of a district containing five thousand children of school age, and to perform all other duties attaching to his office. Imperfect examples of registration of this form are now found in a few cities, where it has developed through utilization of the results of the ordinary school census. In continental European countries there exists a variety of forms of police registration of all people, so that information regarding children is easily obtainable. But in America complete registration would prove very unpopular, doubtless, and would be far more complicated than anything needed for the above defined purposes.

Census Reports and Statistics. — It can easily be seen that if we once possessed some form of complete registration such as that outlined above, it would be a simple clerical task to compile a variety of forms of statistical presentation in order to obtain general facts regarding potential school population. Tables showing numbers of children distributed by sex, age,

[1] The issuance of labor certificates is now a complicated matter because of the lack of satisfactory records; a registration system would largely settle the age question, because few parents misstate the ages of children when they are young.

nationality, place of residence, could be easily made, as they now are in school censuses. But to these could be added many other valuable reports: tables showing numbers of children distributed according to school attendance, both in public and in private schools; the number of children physically or mentally incapacitated from attending public schools and the disposition made of them; the number of children from fourteen to sixteen or eighteen employed, and the kind of work followed; the character of non-attendance or imperfect attendance as distributed among such causes as sickness, truancy, etc.; and many others.

POPULATION

Population of city, 1900 (United States census)	62,059
Population of the city, 1903 (estimated)	66,446

SCHOOL CENSUS

Number of children in Springfield between five and fifteen years of age, Sept. 1, 1903 11,490

Distributed as follows:

	5 yr	6 yr.	7 yr.	12 yr.	13 yr.	14 yr.	Totals
Ward 1							
Ward 2							
In public schools							
In parochial schools							
In private schools							
Number not attending school .							
Totals							
Totals for 1902							
Totals for 1901							

School Census Returns. — The school census as now taken is usually reported in the form of classified totals, and brief recapitulations of these are published in some city reports. From the examples given here of some of the best, it is evident that they can convey to the interested citizen comparatively little information. Even these, however, if they were compactly

united with tables showing school attendance, would be more illuminating. The preceding form used in a public school report of Springfield, Massachusetts, is unusually good.

Another form used in the Milwaukee schools shows the additional fact of amount of school attendance made. It is obvious that any statement of children merely enrolled in the public schools is inadequate, in view of the very large number who enrol and stay but a short time.

ANNUAL ENUMERATION OF PERSONS OF SCHOOL AGE RESIDING IN THE CITY OF MILWAUKEE, JUNE 30, 1905

Ward	Boys	Girls	Total	Attended Public Schools 32 Weeks or more	Attended Private Schools 32 Weeks or more	Children between 7 and 14 who did not attend 32 Weeks or more
First . . .						
Second . . .						
Third . . .						
Totals . .						

Ward	Number of each Age								
	4	5	6	7	15	16	17	18	19
First									
Second									
Third									
Totals									

The published census report of Philadelphia classifies children by race, and also shows totals by race and sex of those from thirteen to sixteen attending school, while another table shows those from thirteen to sixteen working, and the kind of employment followed. Unfortunately no comparative tables are presented with these showing the number of children from thirteen to sixteen attending school.

The Work of the Schools can be, to some extent, quantitatively described by showing such facts as (*a*) school attend-

ance (classified by ages, grades, scholarship, persistence of attendance, nationality, different types of schools, deportment, health conditions, etc.); (*b*) withdrawals (similarly classified, at least occasionally as a matter for administrative study); (*c*) promotions and non-promotions (also classified according to various probable influencing conditions); and (*d*) scholarship and amount of work accomplished in regular or special classes.

Attendance Records and Reports. — These form the universal measure of the work of the school, since they show the number of children sent and the extent of their demands upon the school. Commonly, the record of attendance or absence is made in a register which lists all the names in a given class, and which register may also contain records of other facts, like age, name of parent, grade, and sometimes scholarship. At the end of the month or year attendance, absence, and tardiness may be summarized. Almost universally a new register is used for each year, so that it becomes a difficult matter to trace back the attendance record of any individual pupil. Hardly ever is a form of record used which will give the pupil's attendance over a series of years in one compact statement.

General Measures of Attendance are widely used in school reports as a means of indicating the extent of the work of the school. There is some lack of uniformity among different states and cities, but the following are most common: (*a*) total enrolment, the entire number of names appearing on all the registers, and including frequently a certain number of duplications where children have moved from one school to another; (*b*) net enrolment, where duplications are excluded — frequently a difficult process where statistical representations are being made for an entire state; (*c*) average enrolment, or average register, which is a most variable form; and (*d*) average daily attendance, which is most commonly found by dividing the total number of days' attendance by the total number of days taught; and (*e*) average number belonging, or number belonging (sometimes same as net register). Any one of these measures may be

used to indicate the scope of the work of the school, but it is most customary to use (*d*) (average daily attendance). To indicate the relative amount of absence, it is necessary to distinguish between pupils who are temporarily absent from the school, and those who have withdrawn. Usually three or five days is allowed to an absent pupil, during which time he retains his right to his seat; but if his absence continues longer, he is assumed to have left school, in which case he is not technically absent. The character of attendance, then, is shown by comparing the number of days' attendance with the total number of days during which all pupils were on register, *i.e.* were not "withdrawn," and the attendance stated in terms of per cent. Much as this measure is used, it can easily be shown that it is quite valueless as a true measure of persistency of attendance.

TABLE VIII

SHOWING CHARACTER OF ATTENDANCE OF PUPILS IN EACH SCHOOL OR GRADE FOR THE YEAR

Names of Schools or Grade	Pupils Attending — Days											Total Attending	Not Absent	Not Tardy	No. of Cases of Tardiness	Readmitted	Transferred to Other Schools	Total Enrolled
	200	180–199½	160–179½	140–159½	120–139½	100–119½	80–99½	60–79½	40–59½	20–39½	1–19½							
First Grade or School No. 1																		
Second Grade or School No. 2																		

A Distribution Table of Attendance is for most purposes of statistical presentation a much more satisfactory measure, and requires a little more labor in its making. For each school a sheet of paper is provided, ruled horizontally for grades, perhaps divided as to boys and girls, and ruled vertically so that the first space will contain the checks and totals for all those who have made 200 days' attendance, the second space for all who have made from 180 to 199½ days' attendance, the third for those with 160 to 179½ days, etc. As the teacher making the report reads down the final column

of her register (containing term or year totals) she will make for each pupil a check in its appropriate space, after which totals can be readily indicated. The preceding form shows how such a report should appear, as it would be summarized for an entire system, and classified either by schools or by grades.

Another form of table for showing the same facts has opposite each number its percentage of the whole, which facilitates comparison: —

TABLE IX

SHOWING TIME OF PUPILS' CONTINUANCE IN SCHOOL

Schools	Boys and Girls												
	The Entire Year	Per Cent of Whole No Registered	Eight Months and less than Ten	Per Cent of Whole No. Registered	Six and less than Eight	Per Cent of Whole No. Registered	Four and less than Six	Per Cent of Whole No. Registered	Two and less than Four	Per Cent of Whole No. Registered	Less than Two	Per Cent of Whole No. Registered	Total Number Registered
No. 1													
No. 2													
No. 3													

An example of another form is that which shows the character of attendance as to its regularity: —

TABLE X

SHOWING THE DEGREE OF REGULARITY OF ATTENDANCE IN THE SEVERAL SCHOOLS

Schools	Never absent	Per Cent of Whole No Registered	Absent less than One Half Day Per Week	Per Cent of Whole No. Registered	Absent One Half and less than One Day Per Week	Per Cent of Whole No. Registered	Absent One and less than Two Days Per Week	Per Cent of Whole No Registered	Absent Two and less than Three Days Per Week	Per Cent of Whole No. Registered	Absent more than Three Days Per Week	Per Cent of Whole No. Registered	Total No. Registered
No. 1													
No. 2													
No. 3													

The Uses of Distribution Tables are not so varied as those of the more compact average, especially for purposes of making per capita statements, although even here it is entirely possible that the use of the midmost measure (the median) in a distribution series would be more serviceable and accurate than the average. But as a means of indicating most fully and yet in compact form the range of attendance, these tables are desirable. Even more than in describing elementary school attendance should they be used with reference to evening schools, vacation classes, and playgrounds, where attendance is much more fluctuating and where the average is an altogether insufficient statement.

Other Statements of attendance are sometimes found in use. The actual enrolment on a series of days selected at random and averaged is deemed in some cities a better measure than the yearly average. Sometimes the total enrolment for each month is taken and these averaged for the year.

Grade and Age of pupils usually appear in registers, but the summarizing of these facts so as to preserve the relationship for statistical purposes has seldom been accomplished in reports. From the standpoint of the work of the school it is of importance to know how, in general, the age of pupils runs for the various grades. Much attention has been given recently to retardation in the elementary school, and to the large amount of withdrawal in the intermediate grades. Until the facts of the relation of age and grade were ascertained, it was difficult to do more than guess at the extent and real causes of the failure of considerable numbers of pupils to finish the grades. The making of reports, however, to show the main facts is a simple matter, if the data already appear in the register. A sheet ruled into horizontal spaces for each grade, divided as to sex, and vertically for the various ages, can be used, and teachers can simply check off records for each individual pupil from the registers. It may be noted that in many cases where this is now done, the results are vitiated by lack of definiteness regarding age records. The

report should always give the exact date at which the compilation takes place, and state explicitly (if the report is made about promotion time) whether the grades reported are those in which the pupils have been for the past term or the grades to which they are just going. Again, the age column should be explicit as to what ages are included. The following form is one that has been found acceptable in Boston, modified in a few respects: —

TABLE XI

DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS IN RESPECT TO AGE AND GRADE, JUNE 30

(The grade is that in which pupils have been for last half-year.)

	Grades		Exact Age at Above Date		
			Under 4½ Years	4½ Years and less than 5½	5½ and less than 6½
High Schools	4th Year Class	Boys			
		Girls			
	3d Year Class	Boys			
		Girls			
	2d Year Class	Boys			
		Girls			
	1st Year Class	Boys			
		Girls			
Elementary Schools	8th Grade	Boys			
		Girls			
	7th Grade	Boys			
		Girls			

For purposes of administrative control it would frequently be very desirable to have teachers compile special reports for certain classes of pupils: (*a*) showing, *e.g.*, age and grade of non-promoted pupils; (*b*) of pupils who have made only seventy per cent of attendance; (*c*) of pupils in special classes; (*d*) evening school pupils, or those coming to vaca-

tion schools, etc. Any one of the above double distribution tables, either as a whole or for separate classes or schools, can easily be reduced to diagrammatic form and have its effectiveness for purposes of publicity greatly increased.[1]

Nationality and Occupation of parents is sometimes made a matter of school record and reports compiled. Usually the totals presented are quite valueless, because no relationships can be arrived at. For example, it may be shown that a total of 1000 children of foreign parents have attended school, or have been irregular in attendance, etc.; but until we know the total number of children of foreign parents, in order to get a basis of comparison, the figures avail little. Within limits it is of course significant that children of bricklayers in a considerable number attend high school, and that a given number of pupils graduating are Jews. But the real significance of these facts for administrative purposes comes out when relationships are shown, and under present forms of record these can rarely be developed.

Other Facts Descriptive of pupils attending school might be recorded and reports compiled, if their value could be shown. For example, records of deportment are usually preserved, and sometimes facts of health condition. But seldom are these assembled in statistical form. The lack of adequate classification, the inability of teachers to make satisfactory records, and the prevalent belief that statistics on these and related subjects are quite worthless, have all served as reasons for their lack of development. It is evident that in school administration little progress has yet been made in describing in any adequate and comprehensive way the children with whom the schools have to deal.

Results of School Work. — Naturally after a description of the number, age, grade, and character of children with whom the schools deal, interest must centre in the results of such school work. The criticisms made in the last paragraph apply here with even more force. Beyond enumeration of promotions and occasionally the totals of non-promotions, teachers are required to report little that is of significance. Scholar-

[1] See Snedden and Allen, *School Reports and School Efficiency*, pp. 61 ff.

ship records for individual pupils are always preserved, but statistical assembling and reporting of such records is rarely attempted. Even statements of promotions and non-promotions are usually made in terms of pupils attending during the last month, and take no account of those who have dropped out during the year. In upper grades and high school there is a constant falling away of pupils, but the real relations of this withdrawal to the efficiency or lack of efficiency of the school is almost never shown in any quantitative way. It is to be hoped that we are at the beginning of an era of study of school efficiency, but such studies will at first have to depend upon data gathered by special workers, since existing school records and reports yet provide very little information.

Improvement of School Records and Reports. — It is evident that so far no systematic study has been made of the matter of scientific record and report of the facts of school population and school work. Records of pupils extending over a series of years have been made in but few cases; means of classifying any but the simplest facts of attendance have not yet been devised; and means of showing relationship between different sets of related facts have almost never been used. Under present conditions many teachers are already overburdened with the making of records and reports, most of which have no value. The use of semi-automatic devices in this field has received little attention. The kinds of blanks employed demand, for example, the constant rewriting of the names of pupils. It is small wonder that teachers look askance at the making of additional reports, in view of the futility of those now made. No attempt can be made here to anticipate what should be the work of a well-qualified committee designated especially to introduce adequate methods in school economics. But from the practice of individual school systems the following suggestions are derived and somewhat expanded: —

a. **The Daily Register.** — This should be constructed with inset leaves so that it will take on one or two pages the entire enrolment of a class for a term or a year, the names requiring

to be written but once. Inset pages should be designated for all facts which it is desirable to record during the year, including monthly or, preferably, quarterly scholarship summarizations. Exact records of age, grade, address, name of parent, etc., should appear on appropriate pages. Further matters of record should be made under as close classification as may be devised. Such facts as: nationality of father, of mother; economic status of family (in terms of rent paid, wage, etc.); outside labor of the child; distance lived away from school; deportment; condition of health; special outside interests (as athletics, etc.) — might also be made matters of record if it seemed that such data could be readily obtained and classified (not by any means an impossible feat), and if it could be demonstrated that its collection would be worth while from the standpoint of social economy, of which school administration must increasingly be regarded as a phase. This data need not all be collected and recorded at once, but might be gathered in the course of the year. The register might also be made to show, in addition to the fact of the withdrawal of certain pupils, the alleged causes of such withdrawal, as far as such are obtainable. It can be easily demonstrated that any scheme of administration making its adjustments on a scientific basis would require to know these facts, and others like them. In addition, of course, the register will show in detail attendance, absence, tardiness, etc. In various degrees of completeness this form of register is now used in progressive school systems.

b. **The Continuous Card Record.** — But in present practice no sufficient attempt to preserve a practicable history of the individual pupil is made. All the records over a series of years are in the registers; but practically these are unavailable for purposes of report or statistical inquiry. There is greatly needed some form of permanent record of the main facts regarding each individual pupil. From this point of view, the register may be regarded as a sort of day-book or journal; but there should be in addition a means of establishing what may by analogy be called ledger accounts. Probably the most satisfactory form for this is a large card,

five by eight, or eight by twelve inches, designed to receive the annual or semiannual records for at least ten years (the elementary school period, making allowance for two non-promotions) or for twenty semiannual reports. Certain facts (*e.g.* name, sex, name of parents, nationality of parents, date of birth of child, etc.) would be recorded but once, hence should have spaces at the top of the card; whilst others (*e.g.* school attended, grade, home address, age, attendance, absence, tardiness, deportment, health condition, economic condition of family, summarized scholarship records, etc.) would have to be provided for in vertical columns, cutting across the horizontal spaces for each year or term. Such a card as this, once filled with name, date of birth, etc., should follow the pupil from class to class, or from school to school, never, however, being given to the pupil himself. Annually or semiannually the records from the register should be transferred (*i.e.* posted) to this card, which then becomes a complete history of the pupil. The back of the card might be utilized to record exceptional facts like truancy, illness, cause of leaving school, etc.

It will be noted that the recording of certain facts is advised above, about which there is much dispute as to their value or practicability. For example, on such a card as that suggested it would be impossible to present a detailed record as to deportment or health condition, or, *e.g.*, regarding the economic condition of the home. The problem involved is really one of classification. Is it practicable to have the teacher, who knows the children well, and who has the aid of the medical examiner, make a simple classification of the health condition of the children? If four grades of health were reported, say under the terms "excellent," "fair," "below average," and "very poor," would it be possible for the teacher, with such advice as she could obtain, to classify all of the children under the above heads? If it be agreed that such classification is useless or impracticable, then no space should be provided for it. If, on the other hand, it be decided that such classification, incomplete and imperfect though it should be, might be of great value in disclosing

relationships, as, for example, with poor scholarship, then some effort should be devoted to making it. The same statement applies to records of deportment, economic condition of family, and other matters, concerning which statistical ends would require uniform classification. But the writers believe that recent developments in statistical method and in social economy point the way to the possible evolution of simple and yet useful classifications in many of the branches of description given above, which can be made available for permanent records.

The card here discussed is, of course, to be made and kept primarily by the teacher; others in contact with the children might, and probably would, make cards for their own work; the attendance officer for all children in the district, with a special card for truants; the physician and nurse for medical examinations; etc. The cards should be kept in cases in the office of the principal, though the collection for any one class might go to the classroom for part of the time.

c. **Reports based on Card Records.** — The continuous card record is designed primarily as a permanent history of the individual pupil, but its use for reports is also very great, in that it not only supplies individual data for classified reports, but it also provides the material for the investigation of relationships. A very simple process of checking off results from the cards would give the distributions of attendance and absence shown on p. 555. On a prepared sheet, combined distributions of age and grade could be made in a few minutes. But other relationships could be easily disclosed. For example, on a sheet ruled vertically for age distributions, and horizontally for two divisions for "promoted" and "non-promoted" (or subdivided as to boys and girls), it would be possible to show for any one grade the significant relationships between non-promotion and age. On other sheets it would be easy to assemble the data which would disclose any relationship that might exist between non-promotion and such facts as nationality, regularity of attendance, economic condition of family, or physical condition of pupil.

It certainly cannot be denied that the discovery of relationships in these fields is an important matter for control and direction of school administration. But these relationships cannot be discovered from the data now at hand, since any two facts regarding the same pupil are not taken from the records in such a way as to preserve the connection. From some present reports, for example, we may find that twenty per cent of the pupils in a given group are "over-age," *i.e.* retarded; and elsewhere we may learn that twenty per cent fail of promotion. But there is no means of ascertaining whether any or many of the over-age pupils were among those failing of promotion — an important fact, certainly, to know. But when two facts regarding a given pupil are simultaneously transferred to the proper form, the relationship is made a matter of record; and an assemblage of facts of relationship is the basis of statistical inquiry into cause and effect.

Emphasis should be given to the point that under the method of record and report here indicated the work of the teacher should be diminished rather than increased. By the provision of carefully prepared blanks so that names and other facts may be written but once, and so that matters of reporting can be largely accomplished by means of check marks, the teacher should be spared a large amount of writing. It is not assumed that all of the inquiries above indicated should be made every year; in fact, with the keeping of adequate records through the years it would be desirable from the administrative point of view to make these investigations only occasionally as tests of the system of administration. When it was desired to discover from the records particular relationships, as, for example, age and grade in the system, either the teacher could transcribe the necessary data into reports, or this could be done by a clerk; but there should be no inherent reason why this particular relationship should be investigated oftener than once in five years. Similarly with the relationships undoubtedly existing between "dropping out" or school "mortality," and age, failure of promotion, health, irregular attendance, nationality, economic

condition of the family, etc. These might be made the object of special inquiry once in five or ten years, provided the data for one inquiry were sufficient to establish the fact of a certain relationship or absence of such relationship.

TABLE XII

ILLUSTRATIVE OF POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN AGE AND SCHOLARSHIP IN A GIVEN GRADE

(Numbers arbitrary)

Grade 5. Age records compiled Dec. 20, before promotion.

SCHOLARSHIP AVERAGE	8½ and less than 9½	9½ to 10½	10½ to 11½	11½ to 12½	12½ to 13½	13½ to 14½	
Excellent	5 *5%*	20 *20%*	40 *40%*	20 *20%*	10 *10%*	5 *5%*	100 *100%*
Good	10 *3%*	50 *12%*	120 *30%*	150 *37%*	50 *12%*	20 *5%*	400 *100%*
Fair	5 *2%*	50 *17%*	80 *26%*	70 *23%*	80 *26%*	25 *8%*	310 *100%*
Poor, not promoted	1 *2%*	5 *10%*	10 *20%*	15 *30%*	21 *22%*	8 *16%*	50 *100%*
Totals	21 *2%*	125 *15%*	250 *29%*	255 *30%*	151 *18%*	58 *6%*	860 *100%*

Examples. — If the following facts appear on the cards, it would be possible to utilize them to answer questions of administration: age, grade, nationality of father, nationality of mother, economic condition of family, attendance, deportment, scholarship, promotion, health, distance lived from school, etc. The massing of this data by statistical methods would tend to show whether there were relationships between: (*a*) grade and retardation; (*b*) retardation and persistency of attendance; (*c*) retardation and health; (*d*) economic condition of home, and scholarship; (*e*) nationality and scholarship; (*f*) nationality of parents and health condition of pupil; (*g*) nationality of parents and scholarship; (*h*) per-

sistency of attendance and scholarship; (*i*) attendance and distance lived away from school; (*j*) deportment and scholarship, or health, or nationality, or economic condition; (*k*) age and deportment or scholarship, or regularity of attendance; (*l*) premature "dropping out" and age, grade, health, economic condition, promotion, scholarship, etc. With increase in accurate data preserved, and development of workable schemes of classifications of facts, more and more close analyses could be made of the vital relationships involved in educational practice.

The table on page 555 shows how such material could be organized for purposes of interpretation.

Notice that a partial relationship between degree of retardation and scholarship is shown by the assumed figures.

Publication of Reports on school population and school work should have as its primary end publicity, by which is meant the giving of such information as will enable the interested citizen of average intelligence to understand the important features of the school system, and particularly to obtain accurate information with regard to the need and results of new or advocated policies. Incidentally, the information contained in reports should be such as will aid the student of education and the investigator in the fields of social economy. The aim of publicity will require: (*a*) statistical presentations, in considerable detail and with abundant opportunity for easy comparison of various sets of facts with each other, including tables showing important relationships; (*b*) such interpretations of these facts by means of graphical presentations and discussion as will enable the reader readily to arrive at conclusions, which may be verified by careful examination of the data themselves; and (*c*) the publication annually, not of all varieties of statistical information, but rather the detailed study of some one field for each year; this being carried on so that in five to ten years all phases of the school system capable of statistical presentation may be covered. Each annual report should present a classified reference list of statistical tables and discussions that have appeared in previous published reports, and in pre-

senting a subject for exhibition statistically should summarize the statistics of the time intervening since the last report on this subject was treated. Practically, in present reports much valuable effort is wasted in presenting types of tables that could as well appear once in five years, provided the data for intervening years are all summarized in such quinquennial reports. No objection can be had to the school report published annually; this should be required, even in small communities; but it should not be thought desirable to try to present annually all the main facts of the school. Better that a given report should indicate in its references that two or three years previously certain topics had been treated exhaustively, and refer investigators to those reports; and a promise should also appear of full reports again at some date in the future.

Answers to questions like the following should be made the basis of requests for increased facilities: (*a*) How many children of school age (census classification) are there in the community in comparison with the number in attendance at schools, and these compared with the number of sittings offered by the schools, each set of facts classified as far as practicable by schools or districts and by age of pupils? (*b*) Of the children attending school or at least enrolled, how many are making only a nominal attendance, *i.e.* are so irregular or so far behind grade as to make their class work almost valueless, and how many, owing to the disciplinary difficulties they present, are a serious handicap to the teacher of large classes? (*c*) What are the educational results in the case of boys of ten to fourteen who are disposed to be truants when the attendance department forces them into the regular classroom? etc.

The success of public education in a democratic community rests on popular appreciation and support; these can be procured, under the complex conditions of modern social activities, only by studying the art and science of presenting the maximum of right information with a minimum of effort. Advertising, in the best sense of that word, *i.e.* publicity, has its social usefulness.

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CHAPTER XXXI

The Widening Sphere of Public Education

In our previous discussion it has been seen how extensive and many-sided is the field of educational administration. The most important phases of the subject have been treated as fully as the proper limits of this volume would permit. Little has been said, however, about the attitude of modern society toward education or the rapid social changes which are now taking place and which are not only suggesting new fields for educational effort, but are making prophecy of still larger undertakings for the future.

Nature of Social Progress. — *This tendency toward a widening* and enlargement of the educational field is something which school officers cannot overlook or ignore. The new demands are not usually the whims of individual agitators who have nothing to do but seek out the weak places in our social equipment, but they are due rather to the progressive working of those laws which govern social progress. It is evident that there is the education of society as well as the education of the individual. While the social group is made up of individuals and receives its accretions of intelligence, enterprise, and thrift from individual acquisition and accomplishment, yet the same group has means of developing itself and of growing in self-consciousness and directive intelligence which are analogous to the same processes in the life of the individual. While the teachings of Herbert Spencer upon the analogies existing between social life and growth and those of an organism have been much criticised, the main contention which he made is generally accepted, and he may properly be credited with having made a contribution to education, for the manner in which the social group or community develops in its attitudes, its appreciations, and its desires is of supreme importance to those who

are administering great educational interests. It is evident that there are two ways in which social progress is attained :—

Social Change by Evolution. — First, by means of natural influences or through a process of evolution. This natural or genetic progress is often so slow as to be hardly appreciated. One must go back for years or perhaps decades to see what changes affecting the life, conduct, and sentiments of a people have been accomplished. The influences that operate are many and often minute, but progress, while slow, is very sure, for each community or neighborhood profits by the advances made by other communities or neighborhoods upon which it reacts. The factors that cause these changes, whether physical or social, are constant in their operation. The tendency of a people in a village or town to overcome the deleterious influences of unfavorable climate, soil, or location, is educative in that it calls forth a certain amount of thought and energy directed to a definite purpose. In the same way it is natural for one community to emulate another, and even to endeavor to excel in the perfection of its public and social life. This evolutionary process, steady and faithful in its influence, leads to higher and higher conceptions of what human life in its social aspects should be, and stimulates to new endeavor. As progress goes on, the ideal seems to recede so that the end is never reached.

The Method of Education. — Second: There is the evolution which is pushed forward by more artificial methods. This is really analogous to what is called education. Viewed in this aspect, society does not wait for the slower processes of nature, but deliberately sets itself to work to improve certain phases of its life. Just as the individual resolves upon self-improvement and upon the mastery of his environment, so the community sets itself to work in numberless ways to improve the conditions under which it lives, to increase its intelligence, to train its members for more efficient vocational life, to secure to all the people the blessings of health, enjoyment, and culture.

Democracy favors Progress. — It is obvious that in a democracy like the United States, both the natural and edu-

cational forces of evolution have a freer play, and thus accomplish more rapid changes in society than are possible where the machinery of education is largely controlled by one or a few persons, and where the people have only a limited voice in controlling their social life. Education is thus seen to be closely allied to social economy, the aim of which is to apply such methods of production as will increase human wealth, to promote tolerance and human sympathy, and thus arouse a sense of social solidarity, to increase intelligence, both for the pleasure to be derived and for a better control of material and social conditions. Social economy also seeks the conservation of childhood and such control of the influences which affect human reproduction as will tend to enlist consciously the forces of heredity and biological selection in the advancement of the race. As education is the work of self-conscious society toward general improvement by utilizing all available knowledge and ideas, it is compelled to widen its field of operation according as new methods and ways of human improvement are discovered. While primarily education has ever been concerned with children and youth, it tends more and more at the present time to consider the needs and interests of adults, and, in fact, to take under its fostering care society as a whole. In undertaking to enumerate some of the newer phases of human uplift which have been undertaken by social economy and education, we may well keep in mind the principles stated governing the two great methods of social progress. We cannot always see whether this or that new feature is a result of natural growth or of a purposeful initiative on the part of some person or group of persons. The two forces usually work together, and often when some educational proposition is made as though it were a new discovery or a prophecy, it will be found upon examination that the fulness of time has arrived for that particular thing and that the mills of the gods have been quietly grinding it out.

The Duty of the School System. — Thus it appears that educational officials are ever facing the possibility of new discoveries, new demands, and new requirements, which they are

bound to treat with care and consideration. They cannot merely provide what is necessary to-day, but must think of to-morrow and the next day, and even the next year. They must not turn a deaf ear to those prophets of change and reform whose declarations point to new adjustments and still wider circles of school endeavor. The school superintendent may comfort himself with the assurance that the social economist is really blazing the way for his own work, and that, according to the laws of social progress, many influences are working day and night toward human betterment and social advance. The complaint that the schools are asked to assume a too parental attitude, and to enter upon undertakings which belong to the home, is not valid. The real question is, — Can the schools perform the desired service for the community better than any other agency and at the same time not go outside of the true province of education?

With these words of preface let us proceed to consider some of the activities which are being undertaken by boards of education, so that we may get a better idea of what the immediate future of the schools is to be.

The Schools and Public Health. — If we go back a few years to the days of close, unventilated schoolrooms, worn-out furnaces emitting coal gas, dusty floors, ceilings covered with grime and dirt, and uncivilized and wretched appointments for sanitation, and compare that situation so prevalent forty years ago, with what may be seen to-day in more progressive communities we find a tremendous advance. No doubt, some school boards and guardians of the public treasury are felicitating themselves that in these particulars the schools have reached the limit of expansion and increased expenditure and may feel no further anxiety, but in reality only a beginning has been made. There are relatively few schools in the United States where the air is changed with sufficient frequency to prevent the danger of impaired health, especially where the children have any tendency either to receive or to communicate the germs of disease. The same thing is probably true in respect to cleanliness as applied to the removal of dust and the disinfection of rooms because of

the presence of a contagious disease. Besides, the relation which these matters bear to the home life cannot be overlooked.

Necessity for Medical Care. — The examination of school children for the determination of defects of eyes, ears, and throat has only just begun, and it is only with the greatest difficulty that one can find authoritative records of the results of such examination. It has come to be well understood that much of the backwardness and indisposition on the part of pupils in respect to attention, application, and conduct is attributable to physical deficiency or disease, but in comparatively few school systems have definite steps been taken to segregate and provide special treatment for those unfortunate cases.

Physical Education Required. — Again, physical training in the form of gymnastics and play has long commended itself to educators, and a few of the newer schoolhouses are equipped with a gymnasium and apparatus, or possibly with a playground, which for a good part of the year is still better. But the corrective and therapeutic aspects of physical education have received comparatively little attention except by experts. Gymnastics are often given in schoolrooms where the air is vitiated or too warm, and where the arrangement of furniture and so forth is such that the freer and more valuable features of exercise are impossible.

Bathing in School. — There is similar backwardness in respect to provision for bathing in the schools. However antagonistic the thrifty tax-payer is toward providing such appointments of civilized life in the schools, there are good arguments for doing so, and it may be predicted that the schools will gradually be equipped in this direction. The movement for tenement house reform and better homes and the efforts made through charitable organizations and churches to instruct people in the necessity of cleanliness and other things incidental to healthful life, will tend to mitigate the urgency of this demand. But it will soon be decided that children who enter the school in uncleanly condition must first receive prompt attention.

The Prevention of Disease. — This leads to the final and

most pressing necessity now felt by thoughtful educators, and that is provision for adequate medical examination and inspection, supplemented by the service of competent nurses, so that in regard to the matters mentioned above and many other related points, there may be efficient and adequate provision.

No more startling and suggestive[1] statement has been made than that of Dr. John H. Lowman of Cleveland, touching tuberculosis and the schools. Concerning the oft-repeated statement that the mortality of the young has increased, especially during school age, he says:—

"This apparently new fact may not be due to an increase of the disease, but to a discovery. The technique of diagnosis has improved, the mind of man is more alert to the whole question, ideas of the pathology of the disease, especially as far as the lymphatic system is concerned, have changed, and consequently the disease is detected with much greater precision. All this, true though it may be, does, nevertheless, not invalidate entirely the position that the danger of contracting tuberculosis increases with the age of the child and constitutes a peculiar and extraordinary menace during the school age."

Treatment of Tuberculosis. — Attention is called to the unfavorable condition of schoolrooms and the strain which children undergo in being transplanted from the fresh air, even of the city, to poorly ventilated schools. In one school district in Cleveland 67 cases of tuberculosis were found in 572 families. In the 57 houses where these families lived, there were found 151 children. From the present knowledge of the infectious character of the disease, this fact points to a condition which has only recently been appreciated. The only logical solution of the difficulty is the segregation in rooms by themselves of all infected children. This is only an extension of the idea of special classes for those who for physical or moral reasons cannot safely be permitted to associate with others. The idea of special tuberculosis classes in our city schools, while anything but agreeable, cannot be easily dismissed, and great care would have to be taken in regard to earlier or later admission and dismissal and frequent

[1] Dr. John H. Lowman, "Tuberculosis and the Schools," *Charities and the Commons XVIII*: 657.

disinfection of rooms, in order to make it proper to have such classes in session under the same roof with healthy children.

Sanatorium Schools.— Then follows that additional provision which has already been worked out in Milan; namely, sanatorium classes in the suburbs with buildings specially constructed so that pupils may live much in the open air, with generous provision for forest schools, school gardens, and other forms of out-of-door education. This new and pressing duty of school boards suggests a widening of the function of the public school that can hardly be estimated. Let us hope that those who believe that tuberculosis may in a reasonable time be eradicated, have ground for their faith, for if they have, schools may expect, some time in the future, to be relieved of this burden. The matter is of such urgency that it seems proper to add to what has been said a summary which Dr. Lowman has made of the proper steps to be taken to control tuberculosis and overcome the difficulties which it presents:—

1. To discover through the records of the municipality and public institutions the children who are infected and those who live in infected houses.
2. To examine and classify the individuals thus found and place the contagious cases in sanatoria and the others in separate schools.
3. To develop the hygienic surroundings of these separate schools to the highest pitch of excellence.
4. To specialize these children even during the vacations by referring them to the special consideration of outing societies.
5. To provide physicians who will, at stated intervals, examine the children and report to the supervisors the conditions found.
6. To use the utmost precautions for the protection of the teachers.
7. To introduce systematic courses on hygiene and tuberculosis into the curriculum of the schools.
8. To provide sanatoria for children.

The difficulties to be overcome are:—

1. The examination of thousands of children in order to detect and classify those affected with tuberculosis.
2. Provision for the contagious cases in sanatoria for children.
3. Teachers for the classes of children with latent non-contagious tuberculosis.
4. Vigilant medical supervision of the tuberculosis classes.

The Feeding of Children.— This broad consideration of the

importance of the physical side in education and in life brings us face to face with another condition which must be treated here in order to make our study complete; that is, the unnourished condition in which many children come to school, owing to poverty or neglect in the home. It requires no demonstration to show that young children who are sent to school without a breakfast are unfit to do good mental work during the morning, and if they receive only a scanty luncheon, are in not much better condition in the afternoon. When this state of things continues day by day, children who should be rugged, healthy, and full of joy are discouraged, anæmic, and are in such a condition that they are the easy prey for any form of disease which may happen to lie in their path. Childhood is thwarted, health is undermined, intellectual growth is prevented, the benefits of the school are nullified, and there are thrown back upon society a class of people who both physically, intellectually, and morally become driftwood and tend to clog the wheels of social uplift. The pressing importance of this matter has long been understood in Europe, and in practically all the large cities some means have been provided to alleviate these evils. Mr. John Spargo[1] not long since made a careful study of this matter, and has published its results.

Practice in Europe. — Thirty years ago a proposal to feed hungry children in the public schools was derided in England. To-day it is supported by political and social leaders. The Royal Commission and other local committees found serious conditions in Birmingham, Glasgow, Dundee, and Aberdeen. In London it is estimated that over 100,000 children are regularly underfed. Charitable organizations are doing much, and the Liberal Government is committed to some favorable action. In Berlin and several other German cities, children who are able, pay a small fee, while others are fed free of charge. The same plan is followed in several of the cities of Italy. In several cities of Norway a midday meal is provided by taxation for those children who desire it, thus preventing the classification of any as paupers. The writer saw some years

[1] Spargo, John, *Charities and the Commons*, May, 1906.

ago in Gothenberg, Sweden, very ample provision for a mid-day meal, the work of preparing which was performed largely by the older girls in the school. In Belgium and Switzerland, the plan of feeding unnourished children is in operation, but is made a benevolence only for those unable to pay.

In France, since the time of the second republic, considerable attention has been given to providing the necessities of life for children. Public opinion was educated through various benevolent bodies until, in 1882, a law was passed compelling the establishment of school funds, the application of which was left to the discretion of the authorities. These special school funds are applied to the following purposes: first, free meals, or meals provided at cost; second, provision of shoes and clothing where necessary; third, free medical attendance; fourth, sending weak, debilitated, and sick children to the seaside or the country. In Paris the preparation of meals has been so systematized that the entire cost of a bowl of soup, plate of meat, two kinds of vegetables, and bread is fifteen centimes or three cents. Meal tickets are issued, but children are not required to pay for them unless the parents are known to be able to do so.

Conditions in the United States. — With these European examples, it is not strange that the matter of feeding children has received attention in the poorer sections of some of our American cities. At an examination made in New York of more than 12,000 children, it was found that 7 per cent had come to school without breakfast; 15 per cent had only bread with tea or coffee. Another investigation made in the public schools revealed the fact that 14 per cent had come to school without food, and that 82 per cent were underfed. In examinations made in Buffalo, Philadelphia, and Chicago, the results were equally startling. Mr. Spargo summarizes this matter as follows: —

"It has been shown over and over again that the children of the poor are behind better favored children in physical development in every way, often as much as two or three years. They are shorter in stature, lighter in weight, narrower of chest, and feebler of grip. Moreover, the evils do not end with school life; for the constitution is so enfeebled that in after

years the results are extremely severe. The victims of poverty in childhood fall an easy prey to disease; they are soon exhausted and become unfitted early in life for the work of the world. Much of our pauperism and crime may be traced back to this evil of underfeeding in childhood."

It is unthinkable that in a land where the welfare of the nation is wrapped up in the fullest development of its people, large numbers of children will be permitted to suffer and perish from the lack of private and public beneficence. The richest nation on earth cannot afford to permit such human sacrifice.

Public Playgrounds. — A more agreeable topic is the improvement of public health through the multiplication of playgrounds in our large cities. The organization of the Playground Association of America, with a staff of competent officers and with facilities for propaganda, is worthy of notice. Such an association will be able to initiate several local associations, so that its influence will be widespread and beneficial. At present, however, and for a long time to come, boards of education may justly be expected to deal with this question, and superintendents of schools cannot shirk the responsibility, for they are expected to be alive to this as to all other educational needs of our American communities. Play, recreation, and rest in the open air, where nature has a chance to assert herself, are essential factors in the life of young or old. School officers cannot afford to wait for municipal commissions or civic organizations to take the lead. The whole subject of athletics, games, play, and recreation must be included in a modern educational scheme, and here, particularly, school boards should lead and not follow.

Work of the National Association. — The National Association to which reference has been made will undertake to induce large cities to inventory all sites available for playgrounds, including waste places, that may be filled in, abandoned cemeteries, and vacant squares. The attempt will also be made to prepare specifications and estimates for a standard equipment for playgrounds suitable for the home, the school, and the municipality. The movement is also on foot to secure legislation in as many states as possible, which shall favor this

form of education. The organization of the library and the museum has been begun, where will be collected pictures, models, and records of all playground work and play activities in various parts of the country.

Movement in Washington. — Mr. Henry S. Curtis, Secretary of the National Association, has made a careful study of the city of Washington to ascertain what sites are properly available for playgrounds. His investigations included four kinds of locations: first, public places belonging to the District of Columbia; second, reclaimable areas consisting of ponds or marshes to be filled in; third, abandoned cemeteries; fourth, vacant squares which are purchasable. The time spent in making the study was two weeks, and the results were quite remarkable along the lines indicated above. Mr. Curtis estimates that between $300,000 and $400,000 worth of sites may become permanent playgrounds as a result of the study.[1]

Commission in Cleveland. — The city of Cleveland has set a good example, where the Mayor has appointed a Playground Commission. Its purpose is to make a careful study of the possibilities within the city limits, and to consider how the needs of various classes of children and adults may be met by different types of playgrounds. There is a prospect for adequate provision through the work of this Commission of school playgrounds, neighborhood play centres and recreation centres.

The School and the City. — Following the example set by Colonel Waring some years ago in New York, the aid of school children has sometimes been enlisted in the matter of keeping the streets, yards, and alleys clean and free from rubbish and other unsightly material. One of the most effective instances of this kind of work is reported by Mr. Jacob Riis as having taken place in Helena, Montana. In that city the Superintendent, Mr. Condon, inaugurated a civic Easter, when every school child, teacher, and janitor should plant some tree, shrub, vine, flower, or seed as a step toward a more beautiful city. With this was coupled the idea of making the whole city as

[1] "Washington finding Playgrounds," by Henry S. Curtis, in *Charities and the Commons*, March, 1908.

clean and attractive as possible. One item of this work consisted in collecting and sending to the smelter sixteen and one-half tons of flattened tin cans, for which novel consignment $100 was received and expended for gymnastic apparatus. Such an effort as this can never be made successful unless those at the head of the school system go into it heart and soul and feel the ethical value of such civic coöperation. If done in a perfunctory way or if half done, the results will be anything but satisfactory.

Education for the Home.—Closely allied to the health problem as seen in the schools is that kind of training which is intended to improve the home life in respect to food, clothing, economy, beauty, and good taste. Domestic science is now believed to have a legitimate place in the curriculum. No such thing was thought of twenty years ago, and in twenty years to come, without doubt, the school which does not provide this branch will be counted as out of date.

The Scope of Domestic Science. — What a wide field is covered by the term "domestic science" is only to be appreciated by examining the courses given by such institutions as the Pratt Institute and the Teachers College. Here we see that cooking is only a small item in the list; housework, with its processes of cleaning, the care of rooms, use of materials and labor-saving apparatus, the application of varnishes and paints and their care, the principles and processes of laundry work and the apparatus which goes with them are included; then we find courses dealing with the preparation of food materials based upon the knowledge of their composition and the chemical changes effected by heat and moisture; the adaptation of established recipes, domestic and foreign, to new-process food materials; the study of the psychological and physiological effect of pleasing flavors, with questions affecting labor and expense, cost of food and marketing; then there are courses covering the study of all the food elements, their uses and values; the structure and use of various kinds of tableware and the effect of alkalis and organic acids.

Of equally practical value is the study of the manifold problems entering into the construction of a home, its site,

distribution of space and various uses: materials used in preserving and decorating; appliances for heating, ventilating, refrigerating, and lighting; disposal of waste by private and public systems; electrical contrivances; repairs of all kinds; selection and use of antiseptics for cleansing purposes; rents, taxation, etc. — these and many others are provided for those who are being trained as teachers in the public schools of the country. The object in quoting from these curricula is to suggest the wide horizon of opportunity and necessity for improving the health and economic conditions in the home life, and thus elevating the standard of comfort and happiness.

Domestic Art. — Almost equally extensive and illuminating are the courses now given in similar institutions where teachers are prepared for work in domestic art. Eighteen separate courses are provided in the Teachers College, which show great differentiation in the whole field of needlework, house equipment, and decoration, the selection and use of textiles in dress and furniture, having in view health, appropriateness, and beauty; the practical study of millinery, and the methods employed. Moreover, in connection with these courses, much attention is given to the historic development of household art, the methods and results in other countries, and the correlation of the subject with other courses in anthropology, sociology, and economics.

Economy and Good Taste. — School systems are beginning to feel responsible for the home life in respect to intelligent expenditure of earnings and the health of families, as determined by proper food, clothing, cleanliness, and ventilation, and are inclined to go one step further and try to instill ideals of good taste and beauty in the adornments of the home and in personal dress. In this field the departments of domestic science and art naturally combine with those of art and manual training, so that a very practical influence is brought to bear upon everything affecting the appearance of the home in regard to furniture, coverings for floors and walls, the use of ornaments and pictures, and in dress.

New Measures of School Efficiency. — It is safe to predict

that the time is coming when the effect of a school upon a neighborhood will be estimated not merely by the results of examinations in the school, or the personal appearance of the children, but rather by the status of the homes and the extent to which the schools have accomplished the ends enumerated above. In a great city like New York, where the population is continually shifting on account of the flood of immigrants which enters the port and gradually is distributed to other parts of the country, it could hardly be expected that the desired results could be accomplished; but in more normal and stable communities it is not too much to expect that in the near future the schools will be able to point to results of their work as seen in well-ordered, thrifty, tasteful homes, where health, economy, and courtesy are visible. A moment's reflection will show how sensible and valuable educational work may become by assuming such functions and by directing the work of the schools, not merely to scholastic achievements, but to the improvement of personality and the uplift of human life throughout the community. Here, again, the schools are following the lead of the social economist who is working for better homes, better sanitation, purer milk, pure foods, better conditions for the distribution of meats and other food products, open-air spaces, recreation centres, fresh-air homes for children, the segregation of those threatened with contagious diseases, cleaner streets, the overthrow of schools of vice of every sort, the restriction of the liquor traffic, the elimination of dishonesty from the police force, — in short, all those things which make human life, both in its public and private relations, more decent and respectable.

The Schools and the Public Library. — In this field, also, we find a rapid movement toward a new order of things, the significance of which can hardly be estimated by a lay mind. Probably no educational movement of modern times has progressed more rapidly, or has become weighted with more benefits to the people, thinking of their intellectual and moral welfare, than the development of great library systems, whose purpose it is to bring books to the people, or, in other words, to make it as easy as possible for all to have

the best reading. A few names could be mentioned of men and women, most of them still living, who, in our great cities, have developed library science in its popular phases, to a point of marvellous efficiency and adaptation.

Leadership of New York State. — Perhaps the work of the State Library of New York, under the inspired leadership of Dr. Melville Dewey, when viewed from the point of view of popular influence, has set the pace for the whole country. From small beginnings, when there were comparatively few public libraries in the state, there has been a rapid increase of local libraries. In one of the reports of the State Department, the different undertakings of the library department are summarized as follows: —

1. Establishment of free libraries where none exist.
2. Encouragement and aid of small libraries already in existence.
3. Conversion of subscription libraries into free libraries.
4. Introduction of state travelling libraries, especially in farming districts and in study clubs.
5. Introduction of travelling pictures in schools, libraries, and study clubs.
6. Raising the standard of books in our Sunday-school and public school libraries.
7. Sale of a better class of books at railway stations and on trains. It has even been suggested that free libraries, such as are now found on the great limited expresses, should be available on all trains.
8. Coöperation with the state library in preparing reading lists on special subjects and general lists for special classes.

Training for Library Work. — A report prepared by Miss Elizabeth G. Baldwin, Librarian of Teachers College, for the N.E.A. on "Instruction in Library Administration in Normal Schools," is full of prophetic suggestions touching the close relation which is sure to exist between libraries and schools in the near future. If the normal schools of the country promptly take up the work of training school librarians to act as intermediaries and experts in every branch of reading for the young, we may expect to see a change which will be little short of a revolution. It is obvious that where public libraries do not exist, each large school should have a library of its own, and this suggests that all teachers trained in our normal schools should have some knowledge of library work and

children's literature. One room should be set apart for the school library where should be collected the most desirable reference books, and in addition such carefully selected works as are adapted to different grades of pupils. There should also be the best magazines, collections of pictures and photographs, and other illustrative material. But where public libraries exist under proper management which should usually be separate from that of the schools, there is no need of the so-called "school library."

Classroom Libraries. — Work in the schools may best be managed from the public library as a centre. One or more school librarians will study the conditions in the schools and see how the needs may best be met. They will help to organize "classroom libraries," which should consist of small collections of books suited to supplement the work in the various subjects, and should be as far as possible of the highest order, well illustrated, and interesting. For instance, the schoolroom library in a higher grammar grade should not merely contain additional text-books in American history, which are usually as dry as dust and made up of second-hand material compiled for commercial purposes, but should have some of the best historical fiction, poetry, oratory, and photographs, thus giving color and atmosphere, which make history study interesting.

Circulating Libraries. — In New York City, each of the thirty-eight branch libraries now in operation has a school librarian and much is done not only in classroom work mentioned above but in preparing and sending out to the schools circulating libraries for special purposes. Much is being done also to make teachers acquainted with what the library contains, and to bring quickly and freely to their use any books which will aid them in teaching or in preparing for the higher examinations which so many are desirous of taking in order to gain professional advancement. It is most gratifying to see how the New York Public Library has grasped the problem of aiding both youth and adults along the lines of their vocation by issuing bulletins announcing that books for mechanics, machinists, electricians, housesmiths, and automobile builders

may be obtained at any of the branch libraries, and that a complete catalogue of these works may be consulted.

New Phases of Library Work. — Among other special undertakings are the provisions made for teachers who are pursuing special studies. Cards are issued upon which they may borrow more than the usual number of books, and retain them for a period greater than the usual length of time. There is distributed each month to every teacher in the city a printed document containing various information concerning the location and facilities of the libraries, and a list of all books added during the month, classified under appropriate heads. There is issued from time to time a bulletin containing titles of new books bearing upon education and teaching. A circular has been issued notifying schools, clubs, library societies, and classes that a travelling library will, upon request, be furnished, containing from ten to one thousand volumes, as may seem desirable. Special provision is made also for teachers who contemplate work in the summer schools. They only need to file at the nearest branch library a list of the books which they require. The books and magazines for the blind, as well as music published in embossed type, are sent by mail free upon request to the nearest branch post-office. The library also furnishes a teacher without charge for blind residents. Music of all kinds is loaned from the branch libraries as well as books on the theory of music. One of the most useful features is a series of cards, one for every grade in the grammar schools, announcing the special topics chosen from the curriculum of that grade, for which collections of books have been specially prepared for the use of teachers or pupils. The same card gives information upon collections at the American Museum of Natural History and the Van Cortlandt manor house, which are useful in the study of the same topics.

Library Work for Children. — Many of the great public libraries of to-day are thronged with children out of school hours and unusual pains are taken to help them to become acquainted with the best books. Some libraries have separate rooms for, respectively, young children, those of grammar school age, and adults, including high school

or college students. Such an arrangement has been for several years in vogue in Brookline, Massachusetts, where a school librarian was employed more than ten years ago and worked under the joint management of the library board and the school committee in securing a close coördination between the library and the school. Did space permit it would be worth while to record how rapidly the ideas originated by Mr. Dewey have been disseminated throughout the country so that travelling libraries, study clubs, and children's museums are to be found here and there as germinal influences which are likely to have a large place in the educational system of the near future. The bibliography of this subject is now large and discriminating. Many states have made appropriations with a special view to make libraries the co-partners with the schools.

Public Support of this Work. — At least thirty-five states have provided through legislation for the support in whole or in part of library work in connection with public education. A few instances may be given as typical of the whole list: Colorado grants an annual tax of one-tenth of a mill for the support of school libraries; Delaware pays $100 annually to the chairman of the committee on travelling libraries for circulation in public schools; Idaho imposes a tax not exceeding one mill on the dollar for libraries in connection with public schools; Indiana permits a tax of one mill on the dollar; Iowa grants from the district-school fund not less than five cents or more than fifteen cents for each person of school age; Kansas grants a tax not exceeding two mills on the dollar; Maryland grants $10 to each school district, provided the people in that district raise the same amount; New Jersey grants $20 to any district which raises by tax or in any other way a like amount; New York grants to each school district an amount equal to that raised from taxation or other sources for library purposes; Oklahoma grants from the district-school fund for the use of public libraries from $5 to $100, according to the number of teachers employed.

It is evident that the small appropriations made by many states will play no very important part in the library work of

a community with public libraries fully equipped and strongly possessed with the educational possibilities lying before them. But as before intimated, the idea of library extension is so consistent with all educational progress that we may expect to see in both town and country rapid growth along the lines we have indicated.

School Gardens. — Several years since, the national government made use of its consular service to gather information concerning the progress of the school-garden movement in Europe. It was found that in most countries the school garden had become a definite feature of the school and later reports have confirmed that statement. The Bureau of Education has recently published a document on nature study and school gardens which shows that rapid progress has been made not only in Europe but in this country in the adoption by educational and civic authorities of the school garden as a proper and vital feature of educational work. The first school garden in America is credited to the George Putnam School in Roxbury, Massachusetts. The idea expressed in that small beginning has, like all other worthy educational undertakings, gradually reached nearly every section of the country.

School Gardens in Europe. — Referring to European examples, it should be said that Berlin has large grounds for gardening in which every child who desires may have a garden of his own. Moreover, there are sent daily to the elementary schools of the city wagon-loads of leaves, flowers, and plants from a central botanical garden for use in nature study, drawing, and elementary science. Switzerland has school gardens in connection with all the normal schools and they are now well established in the elementary schools of the republic. For many years Belgium has made definite requirements of every school in this direction, and the training thus given is thought to have imparted a considerable impetus to vegetable gardening. The French government reports about 30,000 elementary schools with gardens. One authority declares that this number is far inside of the facts. In the Netherlands the movement is well advanced, and in Italy it has just begun. More progress has been made in English

colonies than in England. The establishment of such normal schools as the Macdonald College near Montreal, is likely to put the province well in advance of the United States in respect to garden work in schools.

Results in Typical Places. — In St. Louis, Chicago, Washington, Omaha, Worcester, Cleveland, Brookline, New York City, Rochester, Yonkers, Philadelphia, Hampton, Virginia, and other places, school gardens are well established, and their growth is likely to be rapid in the immediate future. The normal school at Hyannis, Massachusetts, has not only illustrated the value of the school garden, but has developed to the highest degree its economic, educational, and moral aspects, so that the teachers trained in that school will be especially well fitted to initiate similar work wherever they may be called to teach. The extension work done in the De Witt Clinton Park in New York City is significant because of the large numbers of children who work there in the summer with a minimum of oversight and with comparatively little need of restraint or compulsion.

Grounds of Public Support. — School officials cannot justly regard the school garden as a fad, considering what it means to the urban child in fresh air, sunlight, industrial experience, close and instructive contact with nature, familiarity with the processes whereby plants germinate, grow, and mature, the lessons of social coöperation which they learn, the withdrawal of the children for the time being from the street and other contaminating influences, the pleasant occupation afforded during hours out of school and possibly in vacation, for all these things tend to give a high educational and ethical significance to this form of education.

Perhaps the organization of school gardens has been attended with as many difficulties in New York City as anywhere, but it is interesting to know that upon vacant lots, the use of which was donated by wealthy owners, 472 individual gardens were planted during the past summer. Then there are other gardens, several hundred in number, in different parts of the city. Many bushels of vegetables were thus produced at very small expense, and the

children are reported to have found great pleasure in carrying home the fruits of their labors.

Vacation Schools. — The rapid growth of summer vacation schools for children who are obliged to spend the heated term in the city has been a noble feature of school extension during the past few years. There has been wide differentiation in the working out of this problem, and the reports which come from different cities, now quite voluminous, are full of interest. In Greater New York, during the summer of 1907, 31 such schools were conducted. The average attendance in 469 classes was upwards of 16,000. The subjects taught were elementary and advanced sewing, dressmaking, millinery, knitting and crocheting, embroidery, domestic science, basketry, chair caning, elementary wood work, bench work, Venetian iron work, leather and burnt wood, nature, art, kindergarten, and connecting classes, classes in English to foreigners, and city history. Here, as in all such schools, manual training was an important feature, and the great variety of projects undertaken suggests how closely this branch of instruction is made to contribute to the needs of the home and the personal wishes of the pupils. This, of course, is especially true in the work in dressmaking, millinery, embroidery, etc., as well as in the cooking classes, where great emphasis was laid upon plain cooking such as would be most useful. Other features of the New York work are vacation playgrounds, 88 in number, roof playgrounds, of which there are 11, 31 recreation centres open every night except Sunday from October 15 to June 15, clubs of a literary and social nature, classes in gymnastics, interclub tournaments, and games.

The City responsible for Child Saving. — The purpose now rapidly growing to place at the service of the children and youth of a city the best possible facilities for social and industrial growth, as well as for recreation, thus making the vacation periods of great educational value, has the approval not only of sociologists, but of educators. It remains for school officials to develop these lines of work in such a way as not to be too great a burden upon the taxpayers and at the same time to provide these saving and uplifting influences

which are especially needed when the schools are not regularly in session.

Beautifying the City. — The movement for civic improvement and beauty now active in many towns and cities is worthy of attention in the schools. What has been done in many communities by village improvement and tree-planting societies, park commissions, and societies for the promotion of municipal art may well be taken up by the schools, especially in the departments of art and in connection with work in school gardens. There is no branch of æsthetic training which gives more substantial and permanent values than the beautifying of the landscape, whether it be in the vicinity of simple homes of wage-earners, the more ambitious residences, or the walks, drives, and vacant spaces of the city. The development of more beautiful architecture needs to be accompanied by increased care and taste on the part of the people at large in making their environment more attractive and in thus giving a practical turn to the art instruction of the schools.

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CHAPTER XXXII

The School and Society

The Effect of Urban Growth. — In considering as a whole the various topics of the preceding chapter, it should be remembered that many of the activities outlined as belonging to modern school work are not really new or unusual. They are intended to supply the great loss which has overtaken the rising generation in the ascendency of urban growth as compared with life under rural conditions. The schools of earlier days, which seem so meagre and narrow, were attended by children who enjoyed the benefits of an exceedingly diversified industrial life. The boys and girls of fifty or seventy-five years ago, either in the village or on the farm, received in their ordinary experiences much and more than the modern city child can possibly derive from vacation schools, school gardens, and clubs. Increasing congestion in our cities makes it imperative to supply these somewhat artificial means of affording children healthy occupation of an industrial sort, and recreations which are at the same time educative. When we contemplate the zeal and open-handedness with which the field of educational endeavor has been extended in ever widening circles, we find great ground for faith in the people in view of the cheerfulness with which these additional features are supported and the evident appreciation with which they are utilized.

The Home and the School. — We find in this generous provision for the newer humanities in school training one cause for the improved relation, now existing throughout the country between the home and the schools. This growth in mutual respect and confidence has been so gradual as to be almost unnoticed, but it is little short of a revolution. Among the many causes for it may be mentioned —

First, the more dignified place which schools hold in the community as expressed in noble and attractive buildings and grounds and the amplitude of equipment for all kinds of school work.

Second, the increasing disposition on the part of schools to open their doors so that parents, not only on special occasions, but at other times, may be welcome to come and gain first-hand knowledge of what the schools are doing for their children.

Third, a change amounting almost to a revolution has been made in American schools during the last half-century in respect to the purposes and methods of discipline and in the relations maintained between pupils and teachers. It is remarkable how quietly and universally this change has been brought about. As a rule, children enjoy the school and highly esteem their teachers. Not infrequently there is a sort of comradeship and friendliness leading to bonds of attachment which become lasting, and our American youth in future will have something to say of their teachers more than to recall the instances when they incurred punishment.

Fourth, the studies have been broadened and deepened and made vastly more interesting; text-books have improved in quality, and although often much too full and discursive, are used in such a supplementary way as not to prove a detriment to mental progress.

Fifth, while there is still much instability in the teaching force, an increasingly large number of teachers are permanent, and the sense of professional pride and ambition has increased. These and many other influences have lifted the schools in popular appreciation. As a rule, where private schools flourish, it is not because parents believe them to be more efficient than public schools, but because the traditions of the family or convenience or the peculiar needs of the children make it expedient to send them to private institutions.

Homes have Improved. — While schools have been improving, homes have improved also. Great prosperity throughout the country has largely removed the need of poverty, and in town and city, wage-earners are able to surround themselves

with comforts and even luxuries. Civic institutions provide means of intellectual and moral nourishment, and the general home life of the American people in its material aspects, at least, is of a high order. It is astonishing how quickly the immigrant class, employing methods of thrift and economy which were enforced upon them by hard conditions of living in the old country, are able to surround themselves with comfort and often to make headway in gaining a higher social position. Probably no class of persons is more outspoken in its gratitude to the public schools than those who have come from other lands in recent years and have been able to see their children educated under conditions often more advantageous than those which they left behind.

Personal Influence of Teacher. — As a final word upon the relations of the school and home, it is evident that under the better conditions we have described the relations of teacher and pupil, as well as those of teacher and parent, become more ideally human. The schools are open to the people, and the homes of the people are open to welcome the teachers. Teachers often gain an influence over children which parents do not possess and are able to guide them into paths of truth, earnestness, and success. Let it never be forgotten that the home, of all human institutions, stands first. Other things may be changed or pass away, but the home and the family are rooted in the deep shadows of an unknown past, and their significance in the upward progress of mankind has steadily increased.

The School and the Church. — The formal separation of church and state, while permitting the freer and more effective development of public institutions, including education, has nevertheless favored a certain amount of separateness and lack of coördination which is inconsistent in an age which boasts itself that bigotry and narrowness have been largely put aside. One supreme fact simply stated is, the church needs the school more than ever, and the school needs the church more than ever. The church is employed in the work of saving and uplifting men and women and instructing them in the highest ideals of service, sacrifice, and faith. The

school also finds its truest mission in seeking moral development, and training mind and heart for the higher forms of service. But the church, being somewhat restrained and impeded by the restriction of ancient forms, has been slow in allying itself with state education, on the ground that it has gone far afield from the doctrines of the fathers and is neglecting to train the conscience toward the dictates of religion. The school, on the other hand, while manned and served by the devotees of religion, goes on doing its work of moral reform, yet wondering why the church is so unappreciative of its work. The difficulty is much more than skin deep. The tenets of a particular faith are esteemed as of more consequence than those great ideals, which are world-wide and universal, and which should, and no doubt will, in the not-distant future, unite the followers of various creeds as well as workers for human redemption. Dr. W. T. Harris, the late Commissioner of Education, in closing a paper read before the International Congress at St. Louis, said:—

"Social culture in the form of the church and the school as independent institutions becomes possible only on the basis of the religious world view of Christianity; and the perennial continuance of the world view of Christianity through the special form of social culture which belongs to the church, is a necessary condition presupposed by the forms of social culture intrusted to the school."

School and Church in Alliance. — There are many and strong indications that this imaginary gulf between the so-called "sacred" and "secular" aims of teaching will eventually be bridged over. One is that here and there churches are being transformed into institutions carrying on almost every form of educational work, where the methods of modern education are applied. The second evidence is that preachers generally are adopting a more pedagogic method. The simple and direct appeal made in the pulpits to-day for the upright life, for honesty, purity, and fidelity in all relations, public and private, brings the church more nearly into alliance with the school, and reveals the real oneness of purpose which dominates them both. School officers and the clergy owe a duty to the community they serve in striving to establish good working relations so that education in

literary, musical, graphic art, dance, and other material giving social meaning to these and affording resources for leisure and entertainment. The early beginnings connect with the best that is found in the kindergarten and elementary school, and point to one means of giving a richer content to the grammar school years. Original communications in word, music, gesture by individuals, lead to group productions in later years, in which there is opportunity to learn the possibilities of coöperative production and to profit by discussion and criticism. The occasions that arise to meet novel situations are also of value, as is the training that comes through the possibility of pupils of various ages providing entertainment for those who are older and younger than themselves. A most significant outcome is the effect upon the use of language. This has been especially noticeable in the children's theatres in connection with settlements. Some of the most serious dialect difficulties have yielded to this influence more than to any other. The question has arisen here as to the relation of these developments to the cases of "stage struck" children. The director of a most conspicuous movement states that of several hundred children who have taken part in plays in a slum district not one has gone on to the professional stage, and that many who were inclined that way have found this experience satisfying without going farther.

There has been sufficient accomplished in schools and elsewhere to show that this work can, on the one hand, tax the most efficient corps of experts and, on the other, it affords a valuable aid to the work of the teacher of narrower horizon and limited resources.

The simple dramatizations of fable, fairy tale, anecdote, and ballad give a dynamic element in both English and modern language work with younger children. The nodal points of the year, — Thanksgiving, Christmas, Patriot's Day, May Day, and others — furnish opportunity for productions in which pupils can put the best results of the material of their course of study. Occasions like the great world exhibitions at St. Louis can mean a dramatization of the French movement in America; the Lewis and Clark celebration, the centenary of

Franklin's death, etc., make it possible to render significant in a vital way great periods and great achievements.

The test of any work is the satisfaction it gives to those concerned and the way it prepares for further situations. It is interesting to note that this work as observed in schools which have made use of it for a number of years, shows a tendency at the beginning of the secondary period to turn more and more to the employment of the productions of others. This would seem desirable, for the interests and habits which students have developed in their own productions along the line of better understanding of the problems involved, are carried over into more classic materials at a time when they are intellectually and emotionally ready to appreciate them.

The summer camp has made progress in this matter, and in a number of directions there is advance. One can see, however, that wise workers, by a study of the field, will find in the religious festivals of more primitive people — the marionette play, the pageant, local celebrations, as May morning at Magdalene — suggestions of educational value. Much less artistic, but of great importance, are those aspects of this phase of life which one finds in the church and Sunday-school entertainments. Even the five-cent theatre, with all its defects, is found by social workers to have a positive value. With the schools and settlements leading the way, we may hope that the social forces of the community may develop this festival function, so that in time, with more stable population, we may have an institution corresponding to that of the old days in its representation of local tastes and interests with the possibilities these offer of artistic communication, but with an added educational significance that comes from conscious initiation and adaptation.

High School Extension. — The high school staff usually includes persons of superior training and culture, who have much to give which would be of value to men and women in the community. In some instances courses of public lectures have been given by high school teachers, accompanied by syllabi and references which have been highly appreciated. Such

lectures are especially helpful when they are related to the studies of pupils in history, geography, literature, and science. Parents becoming informed in those fields of knowledge which their children are pursuing are able to talk with them about these subjects, and thus introduce into the family life worthy topics of conversation. Another advantage of such work is that teachers become better known and more highly respected, and the high school becomes more truly, as it should be, a centre of intellectual life.

Social Centres. — The recent refusal on the part of the School Board of Baltimore to open the schoolhouses to the people, and the reversal of that decision under pressure from the press and the public, is somewhat typical of the changing attitude to be seen throughout the country. In former times a schoolhouse, like the public library, was to be kept locked, except for the narrow purposes which were officially approved. But all this has changed. The library and the school are for the people; their doors are to be kept open during those hours when it is convenient for people to come and make use of these facilities for education and social improvement. It is recognized that this question has an aspect which is at once moral and economic. The same state and municipal authorities which support schools are also engaged in preventing crime and protecting society from its ravages. The opening of schools as civic centres for classes, lecture courses, clubs, games, entertainments, and other forms of education and recreation, tend to draw both young and old from the street and from activities of questionable influence. Anything which saves people from themselves and introduces hope, ambition, and good cheer certainly justifies the effort which it costs.

Associations of Parents and Citizens. — The school may greatly increase its influence and strengthen its contribution to society by taking parents into its confidence, and organizing such associations as may be most useful. The stream of life which flows through the schools should reach the homes, not only through the children, but by direct contact with the parents. It is most important that teachers should not only

understand and thoroughly believe in what they are doing, but that parents should have the same understanding and belief, or, to put it in another way, that the home and the school, being complementary, should each respect and have faith in the other.

Teacher may Instruct Parents. — There are some definite things about which parents may wisely be informed by the teachers: —

First, they should be often reminded that the school and the home can only develop such powers as the Creator has given the child. Not a single brain cell can be added, neither can any special endowment be imparted. This is necessary, because parents, often the most intelligent, are apt to think that all their children should be equal in ability. This causes much pain, misunderstanding, and sadness in the home, and often does great harm to the individual child.

Second, the parents should be instructed as to the relative place of the "three *R*'s" and the more cultural subjects in the curriculum.

Third, the strongest possible appeal should be made concerning everything respecting health and the importance of food, dress, sleep, fresh air, exercise, and recreation.

Fourth, parents should realize that efficiency and moral strength come through self-activity and self-direction, and that the change which has taken place in the school should also appear in the home, so that parents and children may cultivate sweetness, courtesy, mutual regard, and helpfulness as well as the more sterling virtues of obedience and honesty.

Methods of Instructing Parents. — Among the means which may be employed by teachers to communicate these ideas to parents may be mentioned: —

First, parents' meeting, in which there is free and frank interchange of ideas.

Second, through written or printed circulars, containing outlines of work being attempted in schools, with lists of books suggested for home reading.

Third, by visits of teachers to the homes and of parents to

the school for better acquaintance and for discussion of any matters which may arise.

Fourth, by having pupils carry home their written work in order that their parents may examine it, and by having pupils write letters to their parents about their studies.

Fifth, by seeing that pupils carry to the home as few misunderstandings or unpleasant impressions respecting their teachers as possible.

Educational Work of Women. — In the previous chapter we have spoken in favor of appointing women as members of school committees. The same reasons which make that desirable favor meetings of mothers of the younger children in order that teachers may consider with them in detail the many questions so fundamental in that stage of school life.

Perhaps no one factor has done more to give popular education a place in the thought of the community than the activity of women's clubs. These organizations, so numerous and so earnest, have both in their meetings at home and in their great federated gatherings always made education in its various forms their chiefest topic. In many instances these clubs have initiated the beautifying of school grounds, have adorned schools with works of art, have organized vacation schools, school gardens, playgrounds, and other beneficent enterprises. Many a school superintendent has needed only to follow the leadership of wise women who, better than he, could bring to bear the force of public opinion upon the school board and thus secure needed reforms.

Societies for Educational Work. — There have been many societies organized for the special purpose of coöperating with the schools. The Public Education Societies of New York and Philadelphia are conspicuous instances of such volunteer associations. It is well known that the results accomplished in these cities in the way of improved administration and enlarged facilities owe a great deal to these societies. Nothing is more encouraging to the educator than to find that people of standing and intelligence are quite ready to meet and discuss the broad educational movements of the day. The Round Table of New York, during its whole six

years of existence, has had an average attendance of from two to three hundred people, showing that its members greatly enjoy its advantages.

Social Machines. — The bulletin of the Chicago Teachers' Federation publishes a list of what it calls "social machines," all of which touch the public school at some point. This list includes "school children's aid society, day nurseries, free kindergarten associations, social settlements, religious education associations, municipal voters' league, consumers' league, neighborhood improvement associations, parents' and teachers' clubs, visiting nurse associations, vacation school and playground committees, home-finding associations, public school art societies, municipal lodging-house associations, societies for the protection of women and children, the juvenile court, the parental school, the school fellowship committee." Such an array of forces marshalled in alliance with our public school systems should give courage to every school officer. No one to-day works alone. He simply goes forward, keeping step with a great army of other workers, all pursuing the same social and educational ideal.

New Moral Standards. — More and more this ideal is to be sought along the pathway of the new humanitarianism, which is now seen at its dawn, but is soon to illumine the whole earth. This ideal is at once altruistic and practical. It seeks equal opportunities for all; it stands for human brotherhood; it believes that man is made to create and not to destroy; it sees that the age of militarism with its wastefulness and destruction has nearly passed; it recognizes the fact that when one member of society suffers, all suffer, and that when one nation is afflicted or injured, other nations must feel the evil effects; it seeks to level up, to increase efficiency, security, and happiness. Says Jane Addams [1] in her introduction to a recent remarkable book: —

"It is no easy task to detect and to follow the tiny paths of progress which the unencumbered proletarian, with nothing but his life and capacity for labor, is pointing out for us. These paths lead to a type of government founded upon peace and fellowship as contrasted with restraint and de-

[1] Addams, Jane, *Newer Ideals of Peace.*

fence. They can never be discovered with the eye of the doctrinaire. From the nature of the case, he who would walk these paths must walk with the poor and oppressed, and can only approach them through affection and understanding."

Public education must take note of all those yearnings of men and women to serve each other better, to gain higher levels of social and intellectual life; and administrative officers will surely recognize the validity of the humanitarian movement, world-wide in its scope, which promises to soften all asperities, enrich every human relation, and set the seal of arbitration and conciliation upon the nations of the world. The tendency to introduce lessons upon peace and international good-will into public and private schools may be regarded as a climax to all the socializing tendencies which we have recorded. This appeal to a larger patriotism is at once an interpretation of history and a revelation of human progress. Some are saying, "Why should the schools be asked to add another study?" But such persons will soon fall into line, and public education will be lifted accordingly. Lord Bacon was truly sagacious when he said, "Men, till a matter be done, wonder that it can be done, and as soon as it is done, wonder again that it was not sooner done."

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INDEX

Accounting in educational administration, 521.
Addams, Jane, quoted, 507, 593.
Administration, Efficiency of, 100.
Ages of commitment to reform schools, 450.
Ages of pupils, Tables showing, 548.
Agricultural education, 405.
Alabama, District system of, 91.
Appointment of school officers, 98.
Apprenticeship system, Breakdown of, 406.
Areas of administration, Problems of, 113, 115; present tendencies in, 114
Assembly hall, 183.
Associations of parents, 590, of teachers, 271.
Attendance, Measures of, 544.
Attendance officers, 541.

Basement and attic, 183.
Batavia system, 247.
Baths, School, 433, 563.
Beveridge Bill, 502.
Blackboards, 183.
Blind, Education of, 469.
Boards, Administrative, of reform schools, 449.
Boards of education, City, 138; size of, 98, 138; *term of*, 140, *functions of*, 142; methods of selection, 139.
Boards of education, County, 77.
Bosanquet, quoted, 48.
Boston, School administration of, 133.
Bureau, National, of Education, 442.
Bureaucracy in school administration, 102, 104.

Cambridge plan of promotion, 345
California, County board of, 78, State board of, 65.
Card record, Continuous, 551.
Census, School, 538; reports, 541; forms of, 542.
Census basis of distributing funds, 158.
Centralization of administration, 71, 76, 97, 98, 332.
Centralization, Forms of, 100; results of, 104; proper adjustments in, 106; reasons favoring, 99; reasons against, 103.
Centralization, in city school administration, 130; in municipal government, 123, 125; in normal schools, 400.
Certification of teachers, 245.
Charter provisions in city governments, 124, 127.
Child labor legislation, 501; laws, 503; weak points in, 508.
Child study, 311.
City school administration, 118; relation to state, 122; charter provisions, 123; centralization in, 123; examples of, 124; special functions in, 126.
Classes, Number of sections in, 352.
Classification of members of reform schools, 453.
Cleveland, City administration of, 134.
Clubs, Teachers', 298.
Coeducation, 369.
Colorado, Compulsory education law of, 495.
Committee of Ten, Report of, 336, 358.
Commercial education, 405.
Compulsory education, 47, 236, 492; need of, 492; examples of legislation for, 493; principles of, 495; vocational *education as affecting, 489*; enforcement of, 501.
Connecticut, Compulsory education in, 494; town system of, 89; constitution of, 57.
Consolidation of schools, 94.
Constitutional conventions, 60.
Constitution of the United States, 55, 61.
Constitutions, State, 55, 57.
Continuation classes, 480.
Coöperation of faculties and students in high schools, 381.
Coördination of forces affecting delinquents, 466.
Corporal punishment, 518.
Correctional education, 445.
Correlation of studies, 319, 330, 335; of vocational and liberal education, 419.

Corridors of school buildings, 182.
Cottage system in reform schools, 450.
County area, 73, 74; management, 79; school board of, 77.
County superintendent of schools, 80.
Course of study, Elementary, 314; principles governing, 326; differentiation in, 337; congestion of, 318; correlation in, 319; form of, 320; uniformity in, 321; flexibility in, 327; use of environment in, 328; integration of studies in, 330; sources of, 332.
Course of study, State, 323.
Culture education, 452.
Culture, General, as aim of high school, 362.
Custodial care of defectives, 474.

Deaf, Education of, 469.
Decentralization, 99.
Defectiveness, Prevention of, 478.
Defectives, Administration of education of, 468.
Democracy and education, 42, 85, 560.
Democracy in school government, 511.
Departments, Coördination of, in high schools, 373.
Discipline, School, 511.
Disciplinary classes, 462.
Disinfection of appliances, 205.
Districts, Consolidation of, 94.
Districts, School, 73, 86, 87.
Domestic art, 571.
Domestic education, 405.
Domestic science in education, 570.
Draper, A. S., quoted, 55.
Drinking fountains, 206.

Economic power in graduates of reform schools, 455.
Economics of school administration, 521.
Education, Anti-social, 44; cost of, 43; free, 43; fourfold in juvenile reform schools, 448, 451; for social welfare, 44; and projected efficiency, 45.
Education associations, Public, 592.
Educational values, Problem of, 364.
Elective system, 365, 367.
Elementary school curricula, 315.
England, Distribution of school funds in, 169.
English local administration, 113.
English parliamentary grants, 46.
Enumeration of children, 538.
Environment of children, Educational use of, 498.
Erie Report, Table from, 532.
Evening schools, Special types, 481; ages of students in, 482; teaching force in, 482; problems of, 484; curricula of, 485; text-books for, 487; weekly programmes of, 489; practical work in, 490.
Expert service in education, 101; problem of, 115.
Expenditure for education, 144, 146; per capita, 148.

Feeble-minded, Schools for, 470.
Feeding of school children, 565.
Festival, The, as an educational agency, 587.
Finances of public education, 143; amount and increase, 144; sources, 145, 147; state legislation affecting, 150, distribution of, 155; problems of, 165.
Finances of vocational education, 416.
Flexibility in secondary school curricula, 366.
Flexible grading, 353.
Florida district system, 92.
France, Child labor legislation in, 505.
Free education, 43.
Free-lecture system, 586.
Free text-books, Effects of, 218; objections to, 221.
Funds, Permanent state, 147; distribution of, 156; state, for secondary schools, 164; for special schools, 163.

Games, 433; pathology of, 434.
Gardens, School, 577; in Europe, 577; public support of, 578.
George, Jr., Republic, 455, 515.
Georgia, District system in, 92; child labor legislation in, 504; state board of, 65.
Germany, Child labor legislation in, 504.
Giddings, F H, quoted, 102.
Grade, Tables of, 547.
Grading and promotion, 340.
Grading, Flexible, 346; Cambridge plan of, 345; Batavia system, 346; individual system, 348.
Grading systems, Merits of, 343.
Great Britain, Child labor legislation in, 504.
Gymnastics, 436.

Haskell, quoted, 522.
High schools, Administration of, 356; variability in size of, 357; city, 357; specialized teaching in, 357; four years' course, 359; influence of college on, 361; theory of mental discipline in, 362.
High school departments, Coördination of, 373.
High school discipline, 381.
High school extension, 589.
High school organizations, 378.
History of education, 387.
Home and school, 581.
Home environment, 431.
Home study, 307.
Home work in high schools, 377.
Homes, Improvement of, 584.
Howison, G. H., quoted, 47.
Hygiene, Instruction in, 435.
Hygiene, Social, 437.

Indiana, Town and district systems, 90.
Indiana Reading Circle, 286.
Industrial specialization, 414.
Industry, Problem of women in, 417.
Institutes, Teachers', 277.
International industrial competition, 43, 406.
Iowa, Town and district system, 90.

James, W., quoted, 310.
Jenks, J., quoted, 228.
Juvenile court, 461.

Kidd, B., 45.
Kindergarten, 301.

Laymen as school officials, Problem of, 116.
Leave of absence for teachers, 294.
Lecture system of New York, 587.
Legislation, State, 61; permissive, 61; mandatory, 62; preliminaries to, 63; permissive for taxation, 150; mandatory for taxation, 151.
Leipziger, H. M., 587.
Libraries, Circulating, 573.
Library, Public, and the public school, 572.
Library work, Training for, 573; for children, 575.
Lighting for schools, 181.
Local administration, 73.
Local areas of administration, 85, 95.

McKechnie, quoted, 45.
McMurry, C., quoted, 316.
Maine, Compulsory education in, 494.
Marshall, Florence M., quoted, 417.
Maryland, County board of, 77.
Maryland Pension Law, 269.
Massachusetts, Compulsory education in, 494; state board of, 66; town system of, 89.
Medical inspection in schools, 296, 304, 439, 476.
Mental discipline, Theory of, 362; problems of, 363.
Michigan, State board of, 64.

Nation, as factor in education, 54.
National Educational Association, 271.
National government's share in education, 54.
Nationality of school children, 549.
New Haven, School administration of, 131.
New Jersey, Constitution of, 57; state board of, 66; pension law of, 268.
New York, Child labor law of, 503; compulsory education in, 493; law of, concerning school buildings, 175; laws of, on special classes, 464; state board of, 67; types of school districts in, 88.
New York City, Free lecture system of, 587; school buildings in, 185; special charter of, 128.
Non-institutional schools for defectives, 474
Normal school, The industrial, 389.
Normal schools, Summer, 285.
Normal schools, administration of, 386; types of, 388; functions of, 391; aims of, 392; control of, 396; maintenance of, 397; curricula of, 398.
North Dakota, Superintendent of, quoted, 79.
Northwest Territory, 56.
Nurse, The school, 441.

Ohio, Child labor law of, 504; compulsory education law of, 495; constitution of, 58; town and district system of, 91; state reading circle of, 286.

Parental schools, 457.
Parent and school, 519.
Parents and teachers, 591.
Parole in reform school, 454.
Payne, B., quoted, 317.

Pedagogical principles in reform schools, 456.
Pennsylvania, Constitution of, 56, 59; law regarding school buildings in, 176.
Pensions for teachers, 267.
Per capita cost, Tables showing, 528.
Physical education, 563; administration, of, 426; definitions of, 426; coördination of, 427; machinery of, 438; department of, 438; directors of, 439; regular teachers in, 440.
Physical education in reform schools, 451.
Physical education, Records and reports for, 441.
Physical culture in high schools, 377.
Physical efficiency, Ideals of, 436.
Playground Association of America, 568.
Playgrounds, 428, 433, 568.
Practice teaching in normal schools, 399, 400.
Principals of high schools, Functions of, 371, 372.
Prizes and rewards, 517.
Probation officers, 461.
Programmes, Elementary school, 335; secondary school, 336.
Programmes of high school pupils, 376.
Professional education, 405.
Promotion of teachers, 291, 294
Promotions or reclassification, 343.
Promotion, Tests for, 349; examinations for, 350; by teacher, 350.
Publication of reports, 556.
Public health and education, 567.
Publicity in school administration, 533.
Pupil government, 513.
Pupils in high school, Adjustment of, 373.
Pupils, Segregation of, 354; variability of, 344.

Reading circles, Teachers', 286; organization of, 290; progressive work in, 288; texts for, 289.
Recitation, The, 307.
Records, school, Defects in existing, 537; improvement of, 550.
Reform schools, Juvenile, 447.
Reformatories, 446.
Register, The daily, 550.
Registration, 508, 539.
Reports, School, 533; defects of, 537; improvement of, 550; based on records, 553; to parents, 308.
Revenue, School, 166. See also Finances.
Rochester, School administration of, 132.
Rural areas, 73.
Rural schools, 389.

Sabbatical term, 294.
St. Louis, School administration of, 134.
Salaries, "Equal," for men and women, 266.
Salaries, Teachers', 260; in cities, 262; of women, 263.
Salary laws, *Minimum*, 264.
Salary schedules, 265.
Sanitaries, 184.
Sanatorium schools, 565.
School and church, 584.
School and culture forces, 586.
School and society, 582.
School as physical environment, 429.
School board, city, 127; county, 76.
School buildings, Heating and ventilation of, 187.
School city, The, 515.
School desks, 198; adjustable, 200; types of, 200; management of, 203.
School economics, 535; objections to, 535; reasons for, 536.
School life, Physical effects of, 432.
School sites, 178.
Schoolhouse architect, Selection of, 179.
Schoolhouse architecture, 172.
Schoolhouses, Cleaning of, 205; rural, 174, state laws concerning, 175; varieties of type, 177.
Schoolroom, 184; temperature of, 187.
Science, Application of, 406.
Secondary education, Aims of, 360; administration of, 356.
Secondary school teachers, Professional training for, 402.
Segregation, 519.
Self activity, 364.
Self-government in high schools, 381, 382.
Social activities in high schools, 374, 378.
Social centres, 590.
Social education in reform schools, 452.
Social expediency, Basis of state action, 40.
Social machinery, 592.
Social progress and education, 559.
Social security, as aim of state education, 42.
Social wealth, basis of taxing power, 51.
Spargo, John, quoted, 567.

Special classes, 462, 463; laws regarding, 464; for defectives, 475.
Specialization in industry, 414.
State and education, 41.
State and local administration, Problems of, 95.
State Board of Education, 62.
State control of education, 45; limits of, 49; for defectives, 471.
State direction of education, 47.
State imposition of education, 48.
State legislation favoring centralization, 98.
State participation in education, Motives for, 41.
State school funds, Distribution of, 167.
State superintendent of public instruction, 68.
State support of education, 46.
Studies, Essential, 353; integration of, 330; prescribed in high schools, 367
Study, Art of, 305; periods, 307.
Summaries, financial, 524, N. E. A. Model, 525.
Summer normals, 285.
Superintendent, Appointment and tenure, 238, and his council, 235, 238; powers of, 230, 233; relation to principal, 238
Superintendent, County, 79, state, 69, city, 330; for rural schools, 112, of schools for defectives, 173
Supervision, Pedagogical, 376, problems of, 107; scientific, 304; of kindergarten and elementary schools, 300.
Switzerland, Child labor legislation in, 505.

Taxation, Equalization of, for schools, 166; minimum and maximum, 152, local, 148; state, 48, 147
Teachers, Appointment of, 249, 254, competitive selection of, 251; dismissal of, 256, 259; examination and certification of, 245; improvement of, 276; influence of, 284; length of service of, 243; principles governing certification of, 246; professional training of, 242; physical well-being of, 294, 303; promotion of, 290; sex of, 241, 244; specialization of, 247; supervision of, 244, tenure of office of, 255, 257.
Teachers, as physical environment of children, 430; for reform schools, 456; for vocational education, 423.
Teachers' associations, 271.
Teachers' institutes, 277.
Teachers' pensions, 267.
Teachers' protective unions, 272.
Teachers' reading circles, 285.
Teachers' salaries, 260.
Tenure of office of teachers, 297.
Texas, "Community District" of, 93.
Text-books, 207; authorities to select, 213; compulsory uniformity of, 211; cost of free, 222; free, 216; functions of, 209; objections to uniformity, 225; selection by experts, 226; supplementary, 224; uniformity of, 211, 221, 224
Texts, Use of alternate, 220.
Thorndike, E. L., quoted, 312, 357.
Town or township, 89
Trades-unions and industrial education, 423.
Truant schools, Day, 459.
Tuberculosis in schools, 464.

Unification of administration, 100.
Ungraded classes, 349.
Urban areas, 73.
Urban growth, Effects of, 582.
Utah, Constitution of, 58.

Vacation schools, 578.
Vacations, Teachers', 297.
Ventilation, Principles of, 189; economics of, 197.
Virginia, Constitution of, 60; state board of, 64.
Visiting, School, by teachers, 295.
Vocational education, Adaptation of, 410; definition of, 404; correlation with cultural education, 419; of defectives, 473; in reform schools, 451; and public school administration, 407; types of, 405.

Washington, State board of, 66.
West Virginia, State board of, 64.
Wheelock, Miss Lucy, quoted, 302.
Wheelwright, E. M., quoted, 177.
Women, Educational work of, 592.
Women in industry, Problems of, 417.

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