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EXPRESSIONS ON EDUCATION

BY AMERICAN STATESMEN AND PUBLICISTS



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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
BUREAU OF EDUCATION,
Washington, D. C., April 4, 1913.

SIR: From the beginning of our Government all our greatest statesmen have understood something of the importance of popular education and of the duty of society and the state to provide the means therefor. They have understood that in our civic, industrial, social, and religious democracy everything waits, and must wait, on education. They have realized that any real democracy is impossible without universal education and intelligence of a high order. Rulers must be intelligent or the people suffer. In a democracy the people are their own rulers. Many of our leaders have seen clearly that education is the highest function of society and the state. Notwithstanding all this, universal education has not yet been attained. The opportunities for education are far short of what they should be. In every State the campaign for better schools and wider opportunities still goes on, and must go on for years to come. Before better schools and wider opportunities can be had the majority of the people and their representatives in legislative bodies must be convinced and persuaded. In all matters of public policy we are accustomed to appeal to the opinion of those whom we have come to regard as our leaders and to respect for their wisdom. In debate we quote their sayings. Many who are engaged in educational campaigns have felt the need for a collection of at least a few of the more important utterances of some of our most prominent statesmen and publicists in regard to education and its importance. To supply this need, at least to some extent, I recommend that the accompanying excerpts, made by Mr. Henry R. Evans of this bureau, be published as a bulletin of the Bureau of Education.

Respectfully submitted,

P. P. CLAXTON,
Commissioner.

The SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

EXPRESSIONS ON EDUCATION BY AMERICAN STATESMEN AND PUBLICISTS.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

(1706-1790. Philosopher, statesman, diplomat, and author.)

The good education of youth has been esteemed by wise men in all ages as the surest foundation of the happiness both of private families and of commonwealths. Almost all governments have therefore made it a principal object of their attention to establish and endow with proper revenues such seminaries of learning as might supply the succeeding age with men qualified to serve the public with honor to themselves and to their country.—*Writings, II, p. 388. Collected and ed. by A. H. Smyth. (Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania. Phila.; printed in the year 1749.)*

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

(1732-1799. First President of the United States. Commander in chief of the Continental forces, 1775-1783.)

Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness. In one in which the measures of government receive their impressions so immediately from the sense of the community as in ours, it is proportionably essential. To the security of a free constitution it contributes in various ways. By convincing those who are intrusted with the public administration that every valuable end of government is best answered by the enlightened confidence of the people, and by teaching the people themselves to know and value their own rights; to discern and provide against invasions of them; to distinguish between oppression and the necessary exercise of lawful authority, between burdens proceeding from a disregard to their convenience and those resulting from the inevitable exigencies of society; to discriminate the spirit of liberty from that of licentiousness, cherishing the first, avoiding the last, and uniting a speedy but temperate vigilance against encroachments with an inviolable respect to law.—*Speech to both Houses of Congress, Jan. 8, 1790. Writings, XII, p. 9-10. Sparks ed. New York, 1848.*

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that

public opinion should be enlightened.—*Farewell Address, Sept. 17, 1796. Writings, XIII, p. 309. Ford ed. New York and London, 1892.*

In a country like this, where equal liberty is enjoyed, where every man may reap his own harvest, which by proper attention will afford him much more than is necessary for his own consumption, and where there is so ample a field for every mercantile and mechanical exertion, if there can not be money found to answer the common purposes of education, not to mention the necessary commercial circulation, it is evident that there is something amiss in the ruling political power, which requires a steady, regulating, and energetic hand to correct and control it.—*Letter to John Armstrong. Mount Vernon, April 25, 1788. Writings, XI, p. 253. New York and London, 1891.*

The first and great object with you at present is to acquire, by industry and application, such knowledge as your situation enables you to obtain as will be useful to you in life. In doing this two other important objects will be gained besides the acquisition of knowledge—namely, a habit of industry and a disrelish of that profusion of money and dissipation of time which are ever dependent upon idleness.—*Letter to George Steptoe Washington. Mount Vernon, Mar. 23, 1789. Writings, XI, p. 370.*

ADVOCATES A NATIONAL UNIVERSITY.

[Regrets having omitted a reference to education in his draft of the Farewell Address. Cites the advantages to be derived from a national university. Not a new idea with him.]

I have regretted that another subject (which in my estimation is of interesting concern to the well-being of this country) was not touched upon also; I mean education generally, as one of the surest means of enlightening and giving just ways of thinking to our citizens, but particularly the establishment of a university where the youth from all parts of the United States might receive the polish of erudition in the arts, sciences, and belles lettres, and where those who were disposed to run a political course might not only be instructed in the theory and principles, but (this seminary being at the seat of the General Government) where the legislatures would be in session half the year, and the interests and politics of the nation, of course, would be discussed, they would lay the surest foundation for the practical part also.

But that which would render it of the highest importance, in my opinion, is that the juvenal period of life, when friendships are formed and habits established that will stick by one; the youth or young men from different parts of the United States would be assembled together, and would by degrees discover that there was not

that cause for those jealousies and prejudices which one part of the Union had imbibed against another part. Of course, sentiments of more liberality in the general policy of the country would result from it. What but the mixing of people from different parts of the United States during the war rubbed off these impressions? A century, in the ordinary intercourse, would not have accomplished what the seven years' association in arms did; but that ceasing, prejudices are beginning to revive again, and never will be eradicated so effectually by any other means as the intimate intercourse of character in early life who, in all probability, will be at the head of the councils of this country in a more advanced stage of it.

To show that this is no new idea of mine, I may appeal to my early communications, to Congress, and to prove how seriously I have reflected on it since and how well disposed I have been, and still am, to contribute my aid toward carrying the measure into effect, I inclose you the extract of a letter from me to the governor of Virginia on this subject and a copy of the resolves of the legislature of that State in consequence thereof:

"I have not the smallest doubt that this donation (when the navigation is in complete operation, which it certainly will be in less than two years) will amount to £1,200 to £1,500 sterling a year, and become a rapidly increasing fund. The proprietors of the Federal city have talked of doing something handsome toward it likewise; and if Congress would appropriate some of the western lands to the same uses, funds sufficient and of the most permanent and increasing sort might be so established as to invite the ablest professors in Europe to conduct it.

"Let me pray you, therefore, to introduce a section in the address expressive of these sentiments and recommendatory of the measure, without any mention however of my proposed personal contribution to the plan."—*Letter to Alexander Hamilton [private]. Philadelphia, Sept. 1, 1796. Writings, XIII, pp. 266-269. Ford ed. 2. New York and London, 1892.*

It is with indescribable regret that I have seen the youth of the United States migrating to foreign countries in order to acquire the higher branches of erudition and to obtain a knowledge of the sciences. Although it would be injustice to many to pronounce the certainty of their imbibing maxims not congenial with republicanism, it must nevertheless be admitted that a serious danger is encountered by sending abroad among other political systems those who have not well learned the value of their own. The time is, therefore, come when a plan of universal education ought to be adopted in the United States. Not only do the exigencies of public and private life demand it, but, if it should ever be apprehended that prejudices

would be entertained in one part of the Union against another, an efficacious remedy will be to assemble the youth of every part under such circumstances as will, by the freedom of intercourse and collusion of sentiment, give to their minds the direction of truth, philanthropy, and mutual conciliation.

It has been represented that a university corresponding with these ideas is contemplated to be built in the Federal city, and that it will receive considerable endowments. This position is so eligible from its centrality, so convenient to Virginia, by whose legislature the shares were granted and in which part of the Federal District stands, and combines so many other conveniences that I have determined to vest the Potomac shares in that university.

Presuming it to be more agreeable to the General Assembly of Virginia that the shares in the James River Co. should be reserved for a similar object in some part of that State, I intend to allot them for a seminary to be erected at such place as they shall deem most proper. I am disposed to believe that a seminary of learning upon an enlarged plan but yet not coming up to the full idea of an university is an institution to be preferred for the position which is to be chosen. The students who wish to pursue the whole range of science may pass with advantage from the seminary to the university, and the former by a due relation may be rendered cooperative with the latter.

I can not, however, dissemble my opinion that if all the shares were conferred on an university it would become far more important than when they are divided; and I have been constrained from concentrating them in the same place merely by my anxiety to reconcile a particular attention to Virginia with a great good in which she will abundantly share in common with the rest of the United States.

I must beg the favor of your Excellency to lay this letter before that honorable body at their next session, in order that I may appropriate the James River shares to the place which they may prefer. . . . They will at the same time again accept my acknowledgments for the opportunity with which they have favored me of attempting to supply so important a desideratum in the United States as an university adequate to our necessity, and a preparatory seminary. With great consideration and respect, I am, sir, etc.—*To Roger Brooke, Governor of Virginia. Philadelphia, 16th March, 1795. Writings, XIII, pp. 52-54.*

I had little hesitation in giving the Federal city a preference of all other places for the institution [National University] for the following reasons: First, on account of its being the permanent seat of the Government of this Union, and where the laws and policy of it must be better understood than in any local part thereof; second, because of its centrality; third, because one-half (or near it) of the

District of Columbia is within the Commonwealth of Virginia, and the whole of the State not inconvenient thereto; fourth, because, as a *part* of the endowment, it would be useful, but *alone* would be inadequate to the end; fifth, because many advantages, I conceive, would result from the jurisdiction which the General Government will have over it, which no other spot would possess. And, lastly, as this seminary is contemplated for the completion of education and study of the sciences (not for boys in their rudiments), it will afford the students an opportunity of attending the debates in Congress, and thereby becoming more liberally and better acquainted with the principles of law and government.—*Letter to Thomas Jefferson. Philadelphia, Mar. 15, 1795. Writings, XIII, p. 49.*

A plan for the establishment of an university in the Federal city has frequently been the subject of conversation; but, in what manner it is proposed to commence this important institution, on how extensive a scale, the means by which it is to be effected, how it is to be supported, or what progress is made in it, are matters altogether unknown to me. It has always been a source of serious reflection and sincere regret with me that the youth of the United States should be sent to foreign countries for the purpose of education. Although there are doubtless many, under these circumstances, who escape the danger of contracting principles unfavorable to Republican government, yet we ought to deprecate the hazard attending ardent and susceptible minds from being too strongly and too early prepossessed in favor of other political systems before they are capable of appreciating their own.

For this reason I have greatly wished to see a plan adopted by which the arts, sciences, and belles-lettres could be taught in their *fullest* extent, thereby embracing *all* the advantages of European tuition, with the means of acquiring the liberal knowledge which is necessary to qualify our citizens for the exigencies of public as well as private life; and (which with me is a consideration of great magnitude) by assembling the youth from the different parts of this rising Republic, contributing from their intercourse and interchange of information to the removal of prejudices, which might perhaps sometimes arise from local circumstances.

The Federal city, from its centrality and the advantages which in other respects it must have over any other place in the United States, ought to be preferred as a proper site for such an university. And if a plan can be adopted upon a scale as *extensive* as I have described, and the execution of it should commence under favorable auspices in a reasonable time, with a fair prospect of success, I will grant in perpetuity 50 shares in the navigation of Potomac River toward the endowment of it. . . .—*To the Commissioners of the Federal District. Phila., Jan. 28, 1795. Writings, XIII, pp. 36-38.*

That a National University in *this* country is a thing to be desired has always been my decided opinion, and the appropriation of ground and funds for it in the Federal city have long been contemplated and talked of, but how far matured, or how far the transplanting of an *entire* seminary of *foreigners*, who may not understand our language, can be assimilated therein is more than I am prepared to give an opinion upon—or, indeed, how far funds in either case are attainable.—*To John Adams, Nov. 15, 1794. Writings, XII, p. 490. Ford ed. New York and London, 1891. (On the proposition of transplanting the members, entire, of the University of Geneva to America.)*

JOHN ADAMS.

(1735–1826. Statesman; second President of the United States.)

The instruction of the people in every kind of knowledge that can be of use to them in the practice of their moral duties as men; citizens, and Christians, and of their political and civil duties as members of society and freemen, ought to be the care of the public, and of all who have any share in the conduct of its affairs, in a manner that never yet has been practiced in any age or nation. The education here intended is not merely that of the children of the rich and noble, but of every rank and class of people, down to the lowest and poorest. It is not too much to say that schools for the education of all should be placed at convenient distances and maintained at the public expense. The revenues of the State would be applied infinitely better, more charitably, wisely, usefully, and therefore politically in this way than even in maintaining the poor. This would be the best way of preventing the existence of the poor.—*Works, VI, p. 168. Charles Francis Adams ed. Boston, 1851.*

Laws for the liberal education of youth, especially of the lower classes of people, are so extremely wise and useful that, to a humane and generous mind, no expense for this purpose would be thought extravagant.—*Thoughts on Government. Works, IV, p. 199. Adams ed.*

Wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused generally among the body of the people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties, and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country and among the different orders of the people, it shall be the duty of legislators and magistrates, in all future periods of this Commonwealth, to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them; especially the university at Cambridge, public schools and grammar schools in the towns, etc.—*Ibid., IV, p. 259.*

It grieves me to hear that your people have a prejudice against liberal education. There is a spice of this everywhere. But liberty has no enemy more dangerous than such a prejudice.—*Letter to J. D. Sergeant. Philadelphia, July 21, 1776. Works, IV, p. 425. Adams ed.*

Education is more indispensable, and must be more general, under a free government than any other. In a monarchy, the few who are likely to govern must have some education, but the common people must be kept in ignorance; in an aristocracy, the nobles should be educated, but here it is even more necessary that the common people should be ignorant; but in a free government knowledge must be general, and ought to be universal.—*Works, VI, p. 198. Adams ed.*

Wise and judicious modes of education, patronized and supported by communities, will draw together the sons of the rich and the poor, among whom it makes no distinction; it will cultivate the natural genius, elevate the soul, excite laudable emulation to excel in knowledge, piety, and benevolence; and, finally, it will reward its patrons and benefactors by shedding its benign influence on the public mind.—*Ibid, p. 425.*

Laws for the liberal education of youth, especially of the lower classes of the people, are so extremely wise that to a humane and generous man no expense for this purpose would be thought extravagant.—*Ibid., IV, p. 199.*

[John Adams has the fame of being the first American statesman to incorporate in a State constitution a provision for public education.]

The whole people must take upon themselves the education of the whole people and must be willing to bear the expense of it. There should not be a district of one mile square without a school in it, not founded by a charitable individual, but maintained at the expense of the people themselves.—*Letter to John Jebb. London, Sept. 10, 1785. Works, IV, p. 540. Adams ed.*

JAMES WILSON.

(1742-1798. Justice of the United States Supreme Court, 1789-1798.)

Among the ancients, those who studied and practiced the sciences of jurisprudence and government with the greatest success were convinced, and by their conduct showed their conviction, that the fate of States depends on the education of youth.

History, experience, and philosophy combine in declaring that the best and most happy of countries is that country which is the most enlightened.—*Works, II, p. 102. Andrews ed. Chicago, 1896.*

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

(1743-1826. Third President of the United States. Drafted the Declaration of Independence, 1776.)

1 If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization it expects what never was and never will be. The functions of every government have propensities to command at will the liberty and property of their constituents. There is no safe deposit for these but with the people themselves; nor can they be safe with them without information.—*Letter to Col. Yancey. Monticello, Jan. 6, 1816. Writings, p. 517. Washington ed.*

2 I have, indeed, two great measures at heart, without which no republic can maintain itself in strength: (1) That of general education, to enable every man to judge for himself what will secure or endanger his freedom; (2) to divide every county into hundreds, of such size that all the children of each will be within reach of a central school in it.—*Letter to Gov. Tyler. Monticello, May 26, 1810. Ibid., V, p. 523-24.*

I do most anxiously wish to see the highest degrees of education given to the higher degrees of genius, and to all degrees of it, so much as may enable them to read and understand what is going on in the world, and to keep their part of it going on right; for nothing can keep it right but their own vigilant and distrustful superintendence.—*Letter to Mann Page. Monticello, Aug. 30, 1795. Ibid., VII, p. 24. Ford ed.*

Above all things, I hope the education of the common people will be attended to; convinced that on this good sense we may rely with the most security for the preservation of a due degree of liberty.—*Letter to James Madison. Paris, Dec. 20, 1787. Ibid., IV, p. 480.*

A system of general instruction which shall reach every description of our citizens from the richest to the poorest, as it was the earliest, so will it be the latest of all the public concerns in which I shall permit myself to take an interest. Nor am I tenacious of the form in which it shall be introduced. Be that what it may, our descendants will be as wise as we are, and will know how to amend, and amend it until it shall suit their circumstances. Give it to us, then, in any shape, and receive for the inestimable boon the thanks of the young and the blessings of the old; who are past all other services but prayers for the prosperity of their country and blessings for those who promote it.—*Letter to Joseph C. Cabell. Monticello, Jan. 14, 1818. Ibid., X, pp. 101-102.*

I am now entirely absorbed in endeavors to effect the establishment of a general system of education in my native State, on the triple basis—(1) of elementary schools which shall give to the children of every citizen, gratis, competent instruction in reading, writing, common arithmetic, and general geography; (2) collegiate institutions for ancient and modern languages, for higher instruction in arithmetic, geography, and history, placing for these purposes a college within a day's ride of every inhabitant of the State, and adding a provision for the full education at the public expense of select subjects from among the children of the poor, who shall have exhibited at the elementary schools the most prominent indications of aptness of judgment and correct disposition; (3) a university in which all the branches of science deemed useful at this day shall be taught in their highest degree.—*Letter to George Ticknor. Poplar Forest, near Lynchburg, Nov. 25, 1817. Writings, X, pp. 95-96. Ford ed.*

In the constitution of Spain, as proposed by the late Cortes, there was a principle entirely new to me, and not noticed in yours, that no person, born after that day, should ever acquire the rights of citizenship until he could read and write. It is impossible sufficiently to estimate the wisdom of this provision. Of all those which have been thought of for securing fidelity in the administration of the Government, constant reliance to the principles of the constitution, and progressive amendments with the progressive advances of the human mind, or changes in human affairs, it is the most effectual. Enlighten the people generally and tyranny and oppressions of body and mind will vanish like evil spirits at the dawn of day. Although I do not, with some enthusiasts, believe that the human condition will ever advance to such a state of perfection as that there shall no longer be pain or vice in the world, yet I believe it susceptible of much improvement, and most of all, in matters of government and religion; and that the diffusion of knowledge among the people is to be the instrument by which it is to be effected.—*Letter to P. S. Dupont de Nemours. Poplar Forest, Apr. 24, 1816. Writings, X, p. 25. Ford ed.*

I think by far the most important bill in our whole code is that for the diffusion of knowledge among the people. No other sure foundation can be devised for the preservation of freedom and happiness. If anybody thinks that kings, nobles, or priests are good conservators of the public happiness, send them here. It is the best school in the universe to cure them of that folly. They will see here with their own eyes that these descriptions of men are an abandoned confederacy against the happiness of the mass of the people. The omnipotence

of their effect can not be better proved than in this country, particularly where notwithstanding the finest soil upon earth, the finest climate under heaven, and a people of the most benevolent, the most gay, and amiable character of which the human form is susceptible, where such a people I say, surrounded by so many blessings from nature, are yet loaded with misery by kings, nobles, and priests, and by them alone. Preach, my dear sir, a crusade against ignorance; establish and improve the law for educating the common people.—*To George Wythe. Paris, August 13, 1786. Writings, IV, pp. 268-269. Ford ed. New York and London, 1894.*

When sobered by experience, I hope our successors will turn their attention to the advantages of education. I mean of education on the broad scale and not that of the petty *academies*, as they call themselves, which are starting up in every neighborhood, and where one or two men, possessing Latin and sometimes Greek, a knowledge of the globes, and the first six books of Euclid, imagine and communicate this as the sum of science. They commit their pupils to the theater of the world with just taste enough of learning to be alienated from industrious pursuits, and not enough to do service in the ranks of science. We have some exceptions, indeed. I presented one to you lately, and we have some others. But the terms I use are general truths. I hope the necessity will, at length, be seen of establishing institutions here, as in Europe, where every branch of science, useful at this day, may be taught in its highest degree. Have you ever turned your thoughts to the plan of such an institution? I mean to a specification of the particular sciences of real use in human affairs, and how they might be so grouped as to require so many professors only as might bring them within the views of a just but enlightened economy.—*Letter to John Adams. Monticello, July 5, 1814. Writings, VI, p. 356. Washington ed.*

JOHN JAY.

(1745-1829. Statesman and jurist; first Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, 1789-1795.)

I consider knowledge to be the soul of a republic, and as the weak and the wicked are generally in alliance, as much care should be taken to diminish the number of the former as of the latter. Education is the way to do this, and nothing should be left undone to afford all ranks of people the means of obtaining a proper degree of it at a cheap and easy rate.—*To Dr. Benj. Rush. Correspondence and Public Papers, III, p. 139. H. P. Johnston ed. New York and London [1891].*

JAMES MADISON.

(1751-1836. Statesman; fourth President of the United States.)

A satisfactory plan for primary schools is certain a vital desideratum in our republics . . .—*Letter to Thomas W. Gilmer. Writings, IX, p. 408. Ed. by Gaillard Hunt. New York, 1910.*

A popular government without popular information of the means of acquiring it is but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy, or, perhaps both. Knowledge will forever govern ignorance; and a people who mean to be their own governors must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives.—*Letter to W. T. Barry. Ibid., p. 104.*

While it is universally admitted that a well-instructed people alone can be permanently a free people, and while it is evident that the means of diffusing and improving useful knowledge from so small a proportion of the expenditures for national purposes, I can not presume it to be unreasonable to invite your attention to the advantages of superadding to the means of education provided by the several States a seminary of learning instituted by the National Legislature within the limits of their exclusive jurisdiction, the expense of which might be defrayed or reimbursed out of the vacant grounds which have accrued to the Nation within those limits.

Such an institution, though local in its legal character, would be universal in its beneficial effects. By enlightening the opinions, by expanding the patriotism, and by assimilating the principles, the sentiments, and the manners of those who might resort to this temple of science, to be redistributed in due time through every part of the community, sources of jealousy and prejudice would be diminished, the features of national character would be multiplied, and greater extent given to social harmony. But above all, a well-constituted seminary, in the center of the Nation, is recommended by the consideration that the additional instruction emanating from it would contribute not less to strengthen the foundations than to adorn the structure of our free and happy system of government.—*Second annual message.*

JAMES MONROE.

(1758-1831. Statesman; fifth President of the United States.)

It is an opinion which I have long entertained, and which every day's experience and observation tends to confirm, that however free our political institutions may be in the commencement, liberty can not long be preserved unless the society in every district, in all its members, possesses that portion of useful knowledge which is neces-

sary to qualify them to discharge with credit and effect those great duties of citizens on which free government rests. The responsibility of public servants, however well provided for by the Constitution, becomes vain and useless if the people in general are not competent judges, in the course of the administration, of all the questions which it involves. If it was wise, manly, and patriotic in us to establish a free Government, it is equally incumbent on us to attend to the necessary means of its preservation.—*To the Governor of Virginia. Writings, IV, p. 109. Ed. by S. M. Hamilton. New York and London, 1900.*

ALBERT GALLATIN.

(1761-1849. Statesman and financier.)

For it appeared to me impossible to preserve our democratic institutions and the right of universal suffrage unless we could raise the standard of general education and the mind of the laboring classes nearer to a level with those born under more favorable circumstances.—*Life of Albert Gallatin. By Henry Adams. Philadelphia, 1879, p. 648.*

DE WITT CLINTON.

(1769-1828. Lawyer and statesman; governor of New York, 1817-1823 and 1823-1828.)

The spring which was given to the human mind; the improvement which seminaries of education produced; and the general, extensive, and augmented popularity of intellectual illumination paved the way for those political discussions which ushered in the American Revolution and finally dismembered the British Empire.—*An introductory discourse delivered before the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York, May 4, 1814. New York, 1815, p. 19.*

The first duty of government, and the surest evidence of good government, is the encouragement of education. A general diffusion of knowledge is the precursor and protector of republican institutions. and in it we must confide as the conservative power that will watch over our liberties and guard them against fraud, intrigue, corruption, and violence. I consider the system of our common schools as the palladium of our freedom, for no reasonable apprehension can be entertained of its subversion as long as the great body of the people are enlightened by education.—*Message as Governor.*

In casting a view over the civilized world, we find an universal accordance in opinion on the benefits of education; but the practical exposition of this opinion exhibits a deplorable contrast. While

magnificent colleges and universities are erected and endowed and dedicated to literature, we behold few liberal appropriations for diffusing the blessings of knowledge among all descriptions of people. The fundamental error of Europe has been to confine the light of knowledge to the wealthy and the great, while the humble and the depressed have been as seditiously excluded from its participation.

More just and rational views have been entertained on this subject in the United States. Here no privileged orders, no factitious distinctions in society, no hereditary nobility, no established religion, no royal prerogatives exist to interpose barriers between the people and to create distinct classifications in society. All men being considered as enjoying an equality of rights, the propriety and necessity of dispensing, without distinction, the blessings of education followed, of course.—*Address on Education before the Public School Society of the City of New York, Dec. 11, 1809. In History of the Public School Society of the City of New York. By W. O. Bourne. New York, 1870, p. 15.*

ARCHIBALD DE BOW MURPHEY.

(1777-1832. Jurist and statesman; sometimes called the father of the North Carolina common schools.)

A republic is bottomed upon the virtue and intelligence of her citizens; and that virtue consists in the faithful discharge of moral and social duties and in obedience to the laws. But it is knowledge only that lights up the path of duty, unfolds the reasons of obedience, and points out to man the purposes of his existence. In a government, therefore, which rests upon the public virtue, no efforts should be spared to diffuse public instruction. . . . To effect this benevolent purpose, a judicious system of public education must be established.—*Report on Education. North Carolina Legislature. Senate Journals, 1816, pp. 36-37.*

In a government . . . which rests upon the public virtue, no efforts should be spared to diffuse public instruction; and the government which makes those efforts finds a pillar of support in the heart of every citizen.—*The Beginnings of Public Education in North Carolina. By C. L. Coon. p. 106.*

JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN.

(1782-1850. Statesman and lawyer; Vice President of the United States, 1825-1832.)

To perfect society it is necessary to develop the faculties, intellectual and moral, with which man is endowed.—*Works, I, p. 52.*

DANIEL WEBSTER.

(1782-1852. Statesman, orator, and lawyer.)

Education, to accomplish the ends of good government, should be universally diffused. Open the doors of the schoolhouse to all the children in the land. Let no man have the excuse of poverty for not educating his own offspring. Place the means of education within his reach, and if they remain in ignorance, be it his own reproach. . . . On the diffusion of education among the people rest the preservation and perpetuation of our free institutions.—*Speech delivered at Madison, Ind., June, 1837. Writings and Speeches, II, p. 253. Boston, 1903.*

JAMES BUCHANAN.

(1791-1868. Statesman; fifteenth President of the United States.)

My present purpose is to advocate that system of common education which, like the light of heaven, extends its advantages to all; and which will tend to make every citizen of this vast Republic wiser and better, more sensible of the blessings of civil and religious liberty which he enjoys, and more firm and determined in defending them against every attack.—*Address on the Establishment of Common Schools, June, 1828. Works, I, p. 371. Moore ed. Philadelphia and London, 1908.*

Education lies at the very root of all our institutions; it is the foundation upon which alone they can repose in safety. Shall the people be educated? is a question not of mere policy, but it is a question of life and death, upon which the existence of our present form of government depends. . . . It is scarcely necessary to observe, before this enlightened audience, that it would be at war with the vital principle of our Republic to confine education to any particular class. Where there is universal suffrage, there ought to be universal education. These are the main pillars upon which our temple of liberty rests. . . . The next question which demands our consideration is, Ought common schools to be established by law, for the education [of] the people? To answer this question will be but an easy task. The history of the world has established the truth of the position that there is no other effectual method of imparting education to all but by means of public schools.—*Works, I, pp. 373-374.*

THADDEUS STEVENS.

(1793-1868. Statesman and lawyer.)

If an elective Republic is to endure for any great length of time, every elector must have sufficient information not only to accumulate

wealth and take care of his pecuniary concerns but to direct wisely the legislature, the ambassadors, and the Executive of the Nation—for some part of all these things, some agency in approving or disapproving of them, falls to every freeman. If, then, the permanency of our Government depends upon such knowledge, it is the duty of Government to see that the means of information be diffused to every citizen. This is a sufficient answer to those who deem education a private and not a public duty—who argue that they are willing to educate their own children but not their neighbors' children.—*A Plea for Public Schools.* (Excerpt from "A Speech against the Repeal of the School Law," delivered in the Pennsylvania Legislature April, 1835.) See Thaddeus Stevens. By S. W. McCall. Boston, 1899. Reprinted in U. S. Bureau of Education. Annual Report of the Commissioner for the year 1898-99, vol. 1, pp. 518-524.

EDWARD EVERETT.

(1794-1865. Statesman, orator, and author.)

When the time for education has gone by, the man must, in ordinary cases, be launched upon the world a benighted being, scarcely elevated above the beasts that perish; and all that he could have been and done, for society and for himself, is wholly lost.—*Superior and Popular Education. Orations and Speeches, II, p. 225.* Boston, 1850.

GEORGE PEABODY.

(1795-1869. Philanthropist.)

I see our country, united and prosperous, emerging from the clouds which still surround her, taking a higher rank among the nations, and becoming richer and more powerful than ever before.

But to make her prosperity more than superficial, her moral and intellectual development should keep pace with her material growth.—*Letter to Hon. Robt. C. Winthrop and others. In Three Letters of Mr. George Peabody . . . Cambridge, University press, 1910, p. 10.*

HORACE MANN.

(1796-1859. Statesman and educator.)

Our common schools are a system of unsurpassable grandeur and efficiency. Their influences reach, with more or less directness and intensity, all the children belonging to the State—children who are soon to be the State. They act upon these children at the most impressive period of their existence—imparting qualities of mind and

heart which will be magnified by diffusion and deepened by time, until they will be involved into national character, into weal or woe, into renown or ignorance; and, at last, will stamp their ineffaceable seal upon our history.—*Annual Reports on Education, vol. 3, p. 420. Boston, 1868. (Report for 1845.)*

I believe in the existence of a great, immortal, immutable principle of natural law, or natural ethics—a principle antecedent to all human institutions, and incapable of being abrogated by any ordinance of man; a principle of divine origin, clearly legible in the ways of Providence as those ways are manifested in the order of nature and in the history of the race, which proves the *absolute right* to an education of every human being that comes into the world; and which, of course, proves the correlative duty of every government to see that the means of that education are provided for all.—*Ibid., p. 533. (Report for 1846.)*

Education must be universal. It is well when the wise and the learned discover new truths, but how much better to diffuse the truths already discovered amongst the multitude! Every addition to true knowledge is an addition to human power; and while a philosopher is discovering one new truth, millions may be propagated amongst the people. Diffusion, then, rather than discovery, is the duty of the government.—*Means and Objects of Common-School Education. Lectures and Annual Reports on Education. Cambridge, 1867, p. 83.*

It is related of a certain king, that, when embarked on a voyage, attended by some of his courtiers, and carrying with him some of his treasures, a storm arose, which made it necessary to lighten the ship; whereupon, he commanded his courtiers to be thrown overboard, but saved his money. How is it with parents who are embarked with fortune and family on this voyage of life; when they need a better schoolhouse to save their children from ill health, or a better teacher to rescue them from immorality and ignorance; or even a slate or a shilling's worth of paper to save them from idleness: have we any parents amongst us, or have we not, who, under such circumstances, will fling the child overboard and save the shilling?—*An Historical View of Education; Showing its Dignity and its Degradation. Lecture V. In Lectures and Reports on Education. vol. 2, p. 243. Cambridge, 1867.*

The common school is the greatest discovery ever made by man. It is supereminent in its universality and in the timeliness of the aid it proffers. . . . The common school can train up children in the elements of all good knowledge and of virtue.—*Essay in the Common School Journal, 1841.*

MIRABEAU B. LAMAR.

(1798-1859. Statesman and soldier; President of the Republic of Texas, 1838-1841.)

If we desire to establish a republican government upon a broad and permanent basis, it will become our duty to adopt a comprehensive and well-regulated system of moral and mental culture. Education is a subject in which every citizen, and especially every parent, feels a deep and lively concern. It is one in which no jarring interests are involved, and no acrimonious political feelings excited, for its benefits are so universal that all parties can cordially unite in advancing it. It is admitted by all that cultivated mind is the guardian genius of democracy, and, while guided and controlled by virtue, is the noblest attribute of man. It is the only dictator that freemen acknowledge, and the only security that freemen desire.—*Message to the Congress of the Republic of Texas, Dec. 20, 1838. House Journal of Third Congress, p. 169.*

WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD.

(1801-1872. Statesman and lawyer.)

The colleges, academies, and common schools constitute our system of public instruction. The pervading intelligence, the diminution of crime, the augmented comforts and enjoyments of society, and its progressive refinement, public order, and the supremacy of the laws, testify that the system has been by no means unsuccessful.—*Works, II, p. 206. Ed. by G. E. Baker. New York, 1853.*

To me the most interesting of all our republican institutions is the common school. I seek not to disturb in any manner its peaceful and assiduous exercises, and least of all with contentions about faith or forms. I desire the education of all the children in the Commonwealth in morality and virtue, leaving matters of conscience where, according to the principles of civil and religious liberty established by our Constitution and laws, they rightfully belong.—*Ibid., p. 280.*

ROBERT EDWARD LEE.

(1807-1870. General in the Confederate Army, 1861-1865; president of Washington College, Va., 1865-1870.)

So greatly have those interests [educational] been disturbed at the South, and so much does its future condition depend upon the rising generation, that I consider the proper education of its youth one of the most important objects now to be attained, and one from which the greatest benefits may be expected. Nothing will compensate us

for the depression of the standard of our moral and intellectual culture, and each State should take the most energetic measures to revive the schools and colleges, and, if possible, to increase the facilities for instruction and to elevate the standard of learning.—*Letter to Rev. G. W. Leyburn, 1866. Recollections and Letters of General Robert E. Lee. By his son, Capt. Robert E. Lee. New York, 1904, p. 210.*

The thorough education of all classes of the people is the most efficacious means, in my opinion, of promoting the prosperity of the South. The material interests of its citizens, as well as their moral and intellectual culture, depend upon its accomplishment. The textbooks of our schools, therefore, should not only be clear, systematic, and scientific, but they should be acceptable to parents and pupils in order to enlist the minds of all in the subjects.—*Letters to Gen. John B. Gordon, December, 1867. Recollections and Letters, etc., p. 211.*

In its broad and comprehensive sense education embraces the physical, moral, and intellectual instruction of a child from infancy to manhood. Any system is imperfect which does not combine them all: and that is best which, while it thoroughly develops them, abases the coarse animal emotions of human nature and exalts the higher faculties and feelings. . . . An essential part of the education of youth is to teach them to serve themselves and to impress upon them the fact that nothing good can be acquired in this world without labor, and that the very necessities and comforts of life must be procured by earnest and regular exertion.—*An unpublished letter to Prof. J. B. Minor. Lexington, Va., Jan. 17, 1867. Quoted in North Carolina Journal of Education, vol. 1, p. 13, January 1898.*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

(1809-1865. Lawyer and statesman; sixteenth President of the United States.)

Upon the subject of education, not presuming to dictate any plan or system respecting it, I can only say that I view it as the most important subject which we as a people can be engaged in. That every man may receive at least a moderate education, and thereby be enabled to read the histories of his own and other countries, by which he may duly appreciate the value of our free institutions, appears to be an object of vital importance, even on this account alone, to say nothing of the advantages and satisfaction to be derived from all being able to read the Scriptures and other works, both of a religious and moral nature, for themselves.

For my part I desire to see the time when education—and by its means morality, sobriety, enterprise, and industry—shall become much more general than at present, and should be gratified to have

it in my power to contribute something to the advancement of any measures which might have a tendency to accelerate that happy period.—*Address to the People of Sangamon County, Mar. 9, 1832. Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln, 1, p. 7. Ed. by J. G. Nicolay and John Hay. New York [c1894].*

The old general rule was that educated people did not perform manual labor. They managed to eat their bread, leaving the toil of producing it to the uneducated. This was not an insupportable evil to the working bees, so long as the class of drones remained very small. But now, especially in these free States, nearly all are educated—quite too nearly all to have the labor of the uneducated in any wise adequate to the support of the whole. It follows from this that henceforth educated people must labor. Otherwise education itself would become a positive and intolerable evil. No country can sustain in idleness more than a small percentage of its numbers. The great majority must labor at something productive. From these premises the problem springs, "How can labor and education be the most satisfactorily combined?"

By the "mud-sill" theory it is assumed that labor and education are incompatible, and any practical combination of them impossible. . . .

But free labor says, "No." Free labor argues that as the Author of man makes every individual with one head and one pair of hands, it was probably intended that heads and hands should cooperate as friends, and that that particular head should direct and control that pair of hands. As each man has one mouth to be fed, and one pair of hands to furnish food, it was probably intended that that particular pair of hands should feed that particular mouth—that each head is the natural guardian, director, and protector of the hands and mouth inseparably connected with it; and that being so, every head should be cultivated and improved by whatever will add to its capacity for performing its charge. In one word, free labor insists on universal education.—*Annual Address before the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society, Milwaukee, Wis., Sept. 30, 1859. In Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln (Speeches, Letters, and State Papers), 1, p. 588. Ed. by J. G. Nicolay and John Hay.*

CHARLES SUMNER.

(1811-1874. Statesman and lawyer.)

In a republic, education is indispensable. A republic without education is like the creature of imagination, a human being without a soul, living and moving blindly, with no just sense of the present or the future.—*Works, XIV, p. 336. Boston, 1900.*

CALVIN HENDERSON WILEY.

(1819-1887. Lawyer, statesman, and educator.)

The common schools of the State [North Carolina] make little show in the world. The houses are generally plain, the teachers modest and unpretending, and the vast majority of the officers are the hard-working and simple-minded yeomanry of the country. . . . But, like every great cause, this one is striking its roots into the hearts and minds of the masses of the common people, and the philosopher can easily see that here is the nursery of power and dominion.—*Report as Superintendent of Common Schools, North Carolina, 1858.*

To the lasting honor of North Carolina, her public schools survived the terrible shock of cruel war. . . . The common schools lived and discharged their useful mission through all the gloom and trials of the conflict, and when the last gun was fired, and veteran armies once hostile were meeting and embracing in peace upon our soil, the doors were still open, and they numbered their pupils by the scores of thousands. . . . The feeling universal among the people is that the schools must not go down.—*Ibid., 1866. (Forms pp. 23-36, Document 47, session of Legislature of 1865-66.)*

ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT.

(1822-1885. American general; eighteenth President of the United States.)

The subjects of education and agriculture are of great interest to the success of our republican institutions, happiness, and grandeur as a nation. . . .

The evidently increasing interest in the cause of education is a most encouraging feature in the general progress and prosperity of the country, and the Bureau of Education is earnest in its efforts to give proper direction to the new appliances and increased facilities which are being offered to aid the educators of the country in their great work.—*Second annual message to Congress. Ex. Mansion, Dec. 5, 1870, and 5th annual message. Ex. Mansion, Dec. 1, 1873. In the Misc. Docs. of the House of Representatives, for the 2d sess. of the 53d Cong., 1893-94. Washington, Gov't printing office, 1895, pp. 112, 253.*

RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES.

(1822-1893. Nineteenth President of the United States.)

The ultimate settlement of all questions of the future, whether of administration or finance or of true nationality of sentiment, depends upon the virtue and intelligence of the people. It is vain to hope for the success of a free government without the means of insuring the intelligence of those who are the source of power.—*First annual*

message to Congress. Dec. 3, 1877. In Misc. Docs. of the House of Representatives for the 2d sess. of the 55d Cong., 1893-94. Washington, Gov't printing office, 1895, p. 479.

BENJAMIN HARVEY HILL.

(1823-1882. Lawyer and statesman.)

In the present, far more than in any preceding age, ideas govern mankind. . . . Moving by nations, by races, and by systems, this irresistible rule—educated thought—is setting aside old and setting up new civilizations at will. . . .

In the first place, it must be conceded that the most striking manifestations of progress in modern civilization are found in the extensions of educational facilities to the masses of the people; in the elevation and advancement of strictly industrial pursuits; in the establishment of scientific, physical, mechanical, and all polytechnic schools, and in the discoveries made and results wrought by educated and enlightened industries. . . .

Modern progress is chiefly, if not entirely, found not in the advancement of what are called the learned professions but in the education and elevation of the masses; in the discoveries and appliances of the physical sciences; in the establishment of schools of science; and in the promotion, enlargement, and results of all departments of industries. . . .

Education is the one subject for which no people ever yet paid too much. Indeed, the more they pay, the richer they become. Nothing is so costly as ignorance, and nothing so cheap as knowledge. Even under old civilizations the States and people who provided the greatest educational dissemination and advantages were always the most wealthy, the most powerful, the most feared and respected by others, and the most secure in every right of person and property among themselves. And this truth will be tenfold more manifest in the future than it has been in the past. The very right arm of all future national power will rest in the education of the people.—*Speech delivered before the Alumni Society of the University of Georgia, at Athens, Ga., July 31, 1871. In Senator Benjamin H. Hill, of Georgia: his Life, Speeches, and Writings. Written and Compiled by his Son, Benjamin H. Hill, jr. Atlanta, 1893, pp. 336, 337, 338, 346.*

WILLIAM HENRY RUFFNER.

(1824-1908. Educator and scientist.)

When society feels the sting of depravity there is no stopping to listen to theories of government and individualism. Society takes vengeance. But public education aims to prevent crime and worth-

lessness by gathering the young people in schools and forming their characters, so that in after life they shall not be a public nuisance, but will ennoble the community.—*Virginia School Report, 1872. (Second Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction.) Richmond, 1872, p. 2.*

A disparagement of the higher education is sometimes founded on the fact that men who never received liberal education rise to high positions and accomplish great results. To the credit of our race, and especially of our age and country, such examples do frequently occur, and such men are worthy of double honor. But they are the exceptions. As a rule, the higher work is done by cultured men. And many of those who are called "self-made men" have been laborious students at home, as was true of Charlemagne, and to a considerable extent of Patrick Henry, of Henry Clay, and of Samuel Houston; and whatever may be said by others, men of this rank are rarely, if ever, found disparaging education. They never forget how much harder they have had to struggle and how they suffer all their lives because they did not enjoy liberal advantages in early life.—*Ibid., p. 92.*

JABEZ LAMAR MONROE CURRY.

(1825-1903. Soldier, statesman, and educator.)

It is the prime business and duty of each generation to educate the next. No legislation in the United States is more important than that which pertains to the universal education of our citizens. . . . The education of the children of a State is properly a burden on property and is the cheapest defense of the property and the lives of citizens.—*Speech at Louisville, Ky., 1883. In J. L. M. Curry, a Biography. By E. A. Alderman and A. C. Gordon. New York, 1911, pp. 412-413.*

The lowest considerations of self-interest demand the competent support of universal education. Free government is the outcome of diffused intelligence and broad patriotism. An ignorant rabble is food for riots and the tool of demagogues.—*Address delivered in 1888 to Legislature of Georgia. Ibid., p. 416.*

ZEBULON BAIRD VANCE.

(1830-1894. Lawyer and statesman.)

Our friends in the valley of the Mississippi object to it [Blair bill], many of them. It is lawful, they say, to give money to the Mississippi Valley on any and every occasion and pretext. The Mississippi must have money when its waters are too low. It must have

money when its waters are too high. . . . It is a lawful stream; it must always have money. But while you must protect the farmer's cotton plantation along the bank of the Mississippi, it would make the bones of Thomas Jefferson and Chief Justice Marshall turn over in their graves if there is any proposition to educate the child who lives in the swamp that is to be reclaimed in order to fit him for citizenship.—*Speech on the Blair bill. Life of Zebulon B. Vance. By Clement Dowd. Charlotte, N. C., 1897, pp. 414-415.*

It is impossible to have an effective public-school system without providing for the training of teachers. . . . The schools in which this training is conducted, called normal colleges or normal schools, have been found by experience to be the most efficacious agents in raising up a body of teachers who infuse new life and vigor into the public schools. There is urgent need for one, at least, in North Carolina. . . . A school of similar character should be established for the education of colored teachers, the want of which is more deeply felt by the black race even than [by] the white. In addition to the fact that it is our plain duty to make no discrimination in the matter of public education, I can not too strongly urge upon you the importance of the consideration that whatever of education we may be able to give the children of the State, should be imparted under our own auspices, and with a thorough North Carolina spirit. Many philosophical reasons can be given in support of this proposition. . . . This desire for education is an extremely creditable one and should be gratified as far as our means will permit. In short, I regard it as an unmistakable policy to imbue these black people with a hearty North Carolina feeling and make them cease to look abroad for the aids to their progress and civilization and the protection of their rights as they have been taught to do, and teach them to look to their own State instead; to teach them that their welfare is indissolubly linked with ours.—*Message to the General Assembly of North Carolina, 1877. Quoted in North Carolina Journal of Education, vol. 1, p. 1, May, 1898.*

JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD.

(1831)-1881. Soldier and statesman; twentieth President of the United States.)

The doctrine of "demand and supply" does not apply to educational wants. Even the most extreme advocates of the principle of *laissez faire* as a sound maxim of political philosophy admit that governments must interfere in aid of education. We must not wait for the *wants* of the rising generation to be expressed in a *demand* for means of education. We must ourselves discover and supply their *needs* before the time for supplying them has forever passed.—*Speech in the House of Representatives, June 8, 1866.*

CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT.

(1834-. Educator.)

Men have always revered prodigious inborn gifts and always will. Indeed, barbarous men always say of the possessors of such gifts: These are not men, they are gods. But we teachers, who carry on a system of popular education which is by far the most complex and valuable invention of the nineteenth century, know that we have to do, not with the highly gifted units, but with the millions who are more or less capable of being cultivated by the long, patient, artificial training called "education." For us and our system the genius is no standard, but the cultivated man is. To his stature we and many of our pupils may in time attain.—*The New Definition of the Cultivated Man. In National Education Association. Journal of Proceedings and Addresses, 1903, pp. 46-47.*

It is but natural . . . that universities should be always and everywhere patriotic. They seek ideals, and our country in the modern sense is one of the noblest of ideals, being no longer represented by an idealized person, as the king or queen, but being rather a personified ideal, free, strong, and beautiful.—*The Aims of the Higher Education. In Educational Reform. New York, 1898, p. 249.*

I believe that the American people accept, as one just definition of democracy, Napoleon's phrase, "Every career open to talent;" and I believe that this saying will fairly characterize the grammar school of the future.—*The Grammar School of the Future. Ibid., p. 311.*

(STEPHEN) GROVER CLEVELAND.

(1837-1908. Statesman; twenty-second President of the United States.)

The theory of the State in furnishing more and better schools for the children is that it tends to fit them to perform better their duties as citizens, and that an educated man or woman is apt to be more useful as a member of the community. . . . A moment's reflection ought to convince all of you that when you have once entered upon the stern, uncompromising, and unrelenting duties of mature life there will be no time for study. You will have a contest then forced upon you which will strain every nerve and engross every faculty. A good education, if you have it, will aid you, but if you are without it you can not stop to acquire it. When you leave the school you are well equipped for the van in the army of life, or you are doomed to be a laggard, aimlessly and listlessly following in the rear.—*Writings and Speeches, selected and ed. . . . by G. F. Parker. New York [1892], pp. 218-219.*

HENRY WOODFIN GRADY.

(1850-1889. Journalist and publicist.)

Let us educate him [the negro] that he may be a better, a broader, and more enlightened man. Let us lead him in steadfast ways of citizenship, that he may no longer be the sport of the thoughtless and the prey of the unscrupulous. Let us inspire him to follow the example of the worthy and upright of his race, who may be found in every community, and who increase steadily in numbers and influence.—*Speech at exposition held at Augusta, Ga., November, 1888. Life and Labors of Henry W. Grady . . . Atlanta, 1890, pp. 304-305.*

WALTER HINES PAGE.

(1855-. Publicist and diplomat.)

The old aristocratic system had a leaning toward charity as the ecclesiastical system has; and the view of education as a charity has always been one of the greatest weaknesses of both systems. Education pays the State. The more persons educated, the better education pays the State.—*In The Rebuilding of Old Commonwealths. New York, 1905, p. 42.*

I believe in the free public training of both the hands and the mind of every child born of woman.

I believe that by the right training of men we add to the wealth of the world. All wealth is the creation of man, and he creates it only in proportion to the trained uses of the community; and the more men we train the more wealth everyone may create.—*Ibid., p. 102.*

The far-reaching quality of the work that the energetic educators in the South are doing lifts them out of the ranks of mere schoolmasters and puts them on the level of constructive statesmen. They are the servants of democracy in a sense that no other public servants now are, for they are the rebuilders of these old commonwealths.—*Ibid., pp. 150-151.*

To talk about education in a democratic country, as meaning anything else than free public education for every child is a mockery. To call anything else education at all is to go back toward the Middle Ages, when it was regarded as a privilege of gentlemen or as a duty of the church, and not as a necessity for the people.—*Ibid., pp. 87-88.*

CHARLES W. DABNEY.

(1855-. Scientist and educator.)

The first right of the man in the democracy, then, is to have a school. Education is the preparation of the fully developed free man

for service in his environment. It first builds the all-round man, strong in all parts of his nature—mind, affections, and will; it then adjusts him to his physical, intellectual, emotional, and volitional environment. It is the duty of the democracy to train its citizens to vote intelligently and to work honestly, and therefore the modern State or city must provide public schools for its children.

Man has, indeed, the right to govern himself, but without education, he has not the capacity. Suffrage is not a natural right, but a privilege assigned to those who qualify themselves for its proper exercise in accordance with a standard fixed by the State. All men, except abnormals, possess the capacity for education; and when educated have the power to govern themselves and the right to take part in the government of others. Democracy means self-government; self-government necessitates universal education, and universal education can only be accomplished by free public schools under the control of all the people.

Free public schools are not institutions of socialism. The city or the State does not establish schools as it does orphan asylums, for children who have no parents. Who are the voters and taxpayers but the fathers, uncles, and brothers of the children? The school district or the city is merely their organization for educating their own children. The State requires them to do it and provides the machinery, but the people direct the schools and pay the bills. Local self-government of schools is one of the most important functions of the democracy.

Let us also cast out of our minds all half-hearted arguments for the free education of all the people. It is true that it pays a community to educate all its youth, but the public school is not a charity institution. Schoolhouses and schoolmasters are cheaper than jails and soldiers, but we do not build public schools for that reason. Such arguments for free schools are little less than an insult to a free people. Democracy is something nobler than a policeman guarding and protecting our property and our rights. The democracy establishes its public schools to train new citizens and to fit them for self-government, and when it shall have done its full duty in this respect, there will be little need of policemen and soldiers. A democracy spending hundreds of millions for warships and forts, for armies and navies, is enough to give devils joy. If we spent one-fourth of this treasure in schools and missions, the whole world would soon be ours in bonds of love and there would be no need of these engines of death and destruction.—*From inaugural address as president of the University of Cincinnati, Nov. 16, 1904.*

Our common schools have made such progress that we may confidently look forward to the time when every child in the country will have the opportunity for an elementary education. High schools

are also being rapidly erected in all our cities, and through them the secondary and vocational education are within the reach of all the fit. But what of equality of opportunity for the higher and professional education? Shall we limit it to the children of the rich, or of professional men, or even of the moderately well to do? Shall not the higher education, also, be put within the reach of all the fit? The small colleges, normal schools, agricultural colleges, and State universities have done much to open the way for the young people of the rural districts to obtain the higher education. But have the opportunities for this education been made as easily available for the sons of the middle and poorer classes of the cities? Statistics show that these classes have not availed themselves of the facilities for higher education to the same extent as have the sons and daughters of the farmers. Everywhere the urban population is now increasing ahead of the rural. Therefore, if we are to carry out our doctrine of equal opportunity for all in education, we must have municipal universities to put the higher and professional education within the reach of city youth. Day and night high schools, continuation schools, and industrial schools must be provided to train those who must go to work, but we dare not stop with them. The opportunity for the highest training must be afforded the poorest youth of the city, provided only he is fit.—*A Study of the Student Body of the University of Cincinnati.* Published, March, 1913.

HOKE SMITH.

(1855—. Lawyer, journalist, and statesman.)

The chief object of government should be to prevent special privileges and to give to all equal rights and opportunities. To this the men and women of Georgia are entitled, and you are preparing legislation which insures it to them.

The relation of the State to the children goes much further. It is the duty of the State to see that the children are given an opportunity for all preparation which their probable life work requires.

Education from books alone is not always of much value. It should be accompanied with practical training, having in view the future of the child.—*Inaugural address as Governor delivered before the General Assembly of Georgia, Atlanta, June 29, 1907.*

We must recognize and protect the rights of property, and at all times be guided by "wisdom, justice, and moderation," but we must never cease to strive for the betterment of the great masses of our people.

The State should claim its place in the Union not measured by its accumulated wealth, but by the mental and moral strength of its men.—*Speech at Sparta, Ga., September 7, 1907.*

WOODROW WILSON.

(1856. Educator and statesman; twenty-eighth President of the United States.)

What we seek in education is full liberation of the faculties, and the man who has not some surplus of thought and energy to expend outside the narrow circle of his own task and interest is a dwarfed, uneducated man. We judge the range and excellence of every man's abilities by their play outside the task by which he earns his livelihood. Does he merely work, or does he also look abroad and plan?—*Princeton for the Nation's Service. Princeton, printed not published, 1903, pp. 32-33.* (Address delivered on the occasion of his inauguration as president of Princeton University, Oct. 25, 1902.)

Moral efficiency is, in the last analysis, the fundamental argument for liberal culture. A merely literary education, got out of books and old literature, is a poor thing enough if the teacher stick at grammatical and syntactical drill; but if it be indeed an introduction into the thoughtful labors of men of all generations it may be made a prologue to the mind's emancipation; its emancipation from narrowness—from narrowness of sympathy, of perception, of motive, of purpose, and of hope.—*Ibid., p. 38.*

We seek in our general education not universal knowledge, but the opening up of the mind to a catholic appreciation of the best achievements of men and the best processes of thought since days of thought set in.—*Ibid., p. 21.*

Popular education is necessary for the preservation of those conditions of freedom, political and social, which are indispensable to free individual development. And, in the second place, no instrumentality less universal in its power and authority than government can secure popular education. . . . Without popular education, moreover, no government which rests upon popular action can long endure. The people must be schooled in the knowledge, and if possible in the virtues, upon which the maintenance and success of free institutions depend. No free government can last in health if it lose hold of the traditions of its history, and in the public schools these traditions may be and should be sedulously preserved, carefully replanted in the thought and consciousness of each successive generation.—*The State, etc., rev. ed. Boston [etc.] [c. 1893], pp. 638-639.*

JAMES B. FRAZIER.

(1856. Lawyer and statesman.)

In this age of civilization and intelligence and of close and sharp competition in every line of human endeavor, it is impossible to overestimate the subject of public education to the people of Ten-

nessee . . . Universal education is the only safeguard for universal suffrage. It is the very bedrock of our civilization, as well as of our prosperity; it raises the standard of citizenship, while it decreases crime and cheapens government; it increases the productive energy of the people and it augments the wealth of the State; it encourages healthful immigration and adds desirable citizens to the Commonwealth.—*Message as Governor to the 53d General Assembly of Tennessee, Jan. 23, 1903. In Appendix to Legislative Journals. Senate and House, 1903, p. 5.*

The foundation of republican institutions rests upon the intelligence and virtue of the people. An ignorant electorate is fatal to free government. An uneducated people makes a poor State. An educated man makes a productive citizen. It is cheaper to educate a boy than to convict a criminal and guard a convict.—*Message as Governor to the 54th General Assembly of Tennessee. In Appendix to Legislative Journals. Senate and House, 1905, p. 2.*

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT.

(1857-. Jurist and statesman; twenty-seventh President of the United States.)

I think the most important education that we have is the education which now I am glad to say is being accepted as the proper one, the one which ought to be most widely diffused, that industrial, vocational education which puts young men and young women in a position from which they can by their own efforts work themselves to independence.—*Address to the Students of the State Institute and College, at Columbus, Miss., Nov. 2, 1909. Presidential Addresses and State Papers of William Howard Taft, 1. New York, 1910, p. 369.*

There was presented to Gen. Armstrong, the founder of this institution, the question of what we should do for the negro and the Indian races in their almost helpless condition as we found them after the war. The necessity for helping their condition led him to undertake this system of education, that of manual dexterity, united with the teaching of life as it was to be. It has now developed not alone for negroes and Indians, but for the white people throughout the land.—*Remarks at the Meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va. Ibid., p. 445.*

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

(1858-. Soldier, statesman, and author; twenty-sixth President of the United States.)

Although we talk a good deal about what the widespread education of this country means, I question if many of us deeply consider its meaning. From the lowest grade of the public school to the

highest form of university training education in this country is at the disposal of every man, every woman, who chooses to work for and obtain it. . . . Each one of us, then, who has an education, school or college, has obtained something from the community at large for which he or she has not paid, and no self-respecting man or woman is content to rest permanently under such an obligation. Where the State has bestowed education the man who accepts it must be content to accept it merely as a charity unless he returns it to the State in full in the shape of good citizenship.—*Addresses and Presidential Messages of Theodore Roosevelt, 1902-1904. New York and London, 1904, p. 200.*

No boy can afford to neglect his work, and with a boy work, as a rule, means study. . . . I am no advocate of senseless and excessive cramming in studies, but a boy should work, and should work hard, at his lessons—in the first place for the sake of what he will learn, and in the next place for the sake of the effect upon his own character of resolutely settling down to learn it. Shiftlessness, slackness, indifference in studying are almost certain to mean inability to get on in other walks of life.—*The Strenuous Life: Essays and Addresses. Philadelphia, 1903, p. 153.*

LIBERTY HYDE BAILEY.

(1858—Scientist and educator.)

Education—the development of mental power, the opening of the eyes and the mind, the civilizing of the individual. . . . Its central purpose is to make the individual happy, for happiness is nothing more nor less than pleasant and efficient thinking. It is often said that the ignorant man may be as happy as the educated man. Relatively, this is true; absolutely, it is not. A 10-foot well is not so deep as a 20-foot well; and although the 10-foot well may be full to the brim, it holds only half as much water as the other.

The happiness of the ignorant man is largely the thoughts born of physical pleasures; that of the educated man is the thoughts born of intellectual pleasures. One may find comradeship in a groggery, the other may find it in a dandelion; and inasmuch as there are more dandelions than groggeries (in most communities), the educated man has the greater chance of happiness.—*The Nature-Study Idea. New York, 1905, p. 29.*

The time can not be very far distant when we shall have systems of common schools that are built upon the fundamental idea of serving the people in the very lives that the people are to lead.—*Ibid, p. 83.*

The real solution of the agricultural problem—which is at the same time the national problem—is to give the countryman a vital,

intellectual, sympathetic, optimistic interest in his daily life. For myself, if I have any gifts, I mean to use them for the spiritualizing of agriculture.—*Ibid.*, p. 86.

CHARLES BRANTLEY AYCOCK.

(1859-1912. Lawyer. Governor of North Carolina, 1901-1905.)

I believe with Thomas Jefferson that intelligence should ever preach against ignorance as the enemy of liberty and of moral and material progress.

Believing this, pledged to it by the platform upon which I ran, committed to it from my early boyhood, I have spent the greater part of my time since I have been governor in proclaiming this doctrine and urging upon the people the importance of universal education.—*In defense of his policies and his administration. From address before the Democratic State Convention at Greensboro, N. C., June 23, 1904. The Life and Speeches of Charles Brantley Aycock. By R. D. W. Connor and Clarence Poe. New York, 1912, pp. 254-255.*

I believe in universal education; I believe in educating everybody. . . . Did God Almighty endow any man or woman in this audience with that subtle knowledge that would enable you to go in a schoolroom of children and put your hand on the head of this 6-year-old boy and say that God appoints him to greatness and distinction and honor; to put your hand on the head of this other 6-year-old boy and say that God Almighty intended him for the ditch or to split rails? No. God hasn't conferred that power upon any of us; but He has said to us all, Open wide the schoolhouses and give to every child the opportunity to develop all there is in him. If God didn't put anything there, you and I can't bring it out; but if you and I suffer the light of such a one to be hidden under a bushel, may the sin and shame of it abide on us forevermore. . . . I canvassed the State for four years in behalf of the education of the children of the State, right straight along. Sometimes on Sundays they would ask me down to the churches to talk, and I always talked about education— [At this juncture the speaker fell dead.]—*Universal Education: Unfinished Speech at Birmingham, Ala., April 4, 1912. Ibid., pp. 317, 321, 322.*

CHARLES DUNCAN M'IVER.

(1860-1906. Educator.)

We can not forget that when Pestalozzi, the great Swiss teacher, sought the influence of Napoleon for educational reforms, the latter replied, in effect, that he had no time for such small business. It is encouraging, too, to remember that in less than a century the

power of Napoleon had passed away, and that through the work of the teaching profession and of educational statesmen like Thomas Jefferson the doctrines of Pestalozzi have asserted themselves throughout the civilized world.—*Address of Welcome. National Education Association. Journal of Proceedings and Addresses, 1904, pp. 60-61.*

Our theory is that we no longer educate men merely for leadership, but for greater productiveness and better citizenship. The money invested in the training of a man returns an increased productiveness as a laborer. In other words, the dividend on the investment is material. The investment in the education of a woman, on the other hand, pays its dividend in kind, and results in the education of her own children and the children of others.—*Ibid., 1898, pp. 266-267.*

Thomas Jefferson stood alone among the fathers of this Republic in his advocacy of absolute democracy and universal education. . . . It was while advocating his favorite doctrine of universal education that Aaron Burr exclaimed querulously at him: "What do you want to educate them for? They are hard enough to manage now."

And there are men to-day who, driven from Aaron Burr's position by the omnipotence of truth and time, are retreating as slowly as possible, and, under the guise of generosity and patronizing friendship, are saying: "I am willing to give them the three R's," or, "I am willing to give them a 4-months' school term," or so many years of school work, etc.

In this Republic, who gives the people anything? Are they not the Government themselves? God speed the day when the public school shall have done its work and the people shall have come into their own inheritance.—*Ibid., p. 265.*

EDWIN ANDERSON ALDERMAN.

(1861— Educator.)

Jefferson perceived the meaning of education as an influence upon national as distinct from individual development, and for 40 years his mind played constantly around three lines of institutional reform in Virginia—elementary instruction for every child, in order to guarantee citizenship, to elevate economic desire, and to increase industrial capacity; secondary education, or more education for those fit for it; university education, or training for leadership.—*Inaugural Address as President of the University of Virginia, April 13, 1805. The University of Virginia in the Life of the Nation. [Charlottesville, Va., 1905?] p. 100.*

Humanism produced the man of culture and his peril was self-sufficiency and a conception of culture as ornament. Applied science

and the imperious demands of commerce have produced the man of efficiency, and his peril is personal barrenness and instinctive greed. Our country needs the idealism of the one and the lordship over things of the other, and such a blend will be the great citizen whose advent an industrial democracy has so long foreshadowed. . . . Fashioned by the sweep of genius through experience, great citizens may come who have never seen a university, but universities are the organized efforts of monarchies and democracies to produce such types, and our duty is to perfect the organism and to work and hope.—*Ibid.*, p. 91-92.

The higher education is the dynamic element in the life of the community, invigorating the schools of the people, bravely struggling to elevate the common standard of living, supplying the State with its teachers in the schoolroom, the press, the pulpit, the family.—*Higher Education in the South. National Education Association. Journal of Addresses and Proceedings, 1895, p. 982-983.*