

passage of a sixteenth amendment allowing women to vote—to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. STEPHENSON: Resolutions of the Chamber of Commerce of Milwaukee, Wis., recommending the passage of the bill H. R. 4483, entitled "A bill to promote the efficiency of the revenue-marine service"—to the Committee on Commerce.

Also, resolutions of the same body, relative to the coinage of silver dollars—to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. CHARLES STEWART: Petition of R. Moore, proposing to cut the Galveston Bay ship-channel for a certain sum of money—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. STRAIT: Resolutions of the Chamber of Commerce of the city of Saint Paul, Minn., in relation to the free navigation of the Congo River—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. TALBOTT: Paper relating to the claim of Francis I. Wheeler—to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. E. B. TAYLOR: Petition of H. E. Williams and others, praying for the restoration of the wool tariff of 1867—to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. J. D. TAYLOR: Petition of John McCulley and 160 others, asking for the restoration of the duty on wool—to the same committee.

Also, petition of N. R. Morgan and 25 others, asking for the restoration of the duty on wool—to the same committee.

By Mr. THOMAS: Paper relating to the petition of Mrs. Helen A. De Russy, widow of General De Russy, United States Army—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, petition of city of Cairo, Ill., for certain appropriations for the improvement of the Mississippi River—to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

By Mr. VAN ALSTYNE: Papers relating to the claim for pension of Elizabeth Springsteen—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

Also, petition of N. D. Wendell and 150 others, citizens of Albany, N. Y., praying for the repeal of the act authorizing the coinage of the silver dollar or to suspend the coinage thereof—to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

By Mr. J. D. WHITE: Petition for post-route from Manchester to Delaney, Ky.—to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads.

By Mr. WILKINS: Petition of C. A. Hamenstafer, Charles Timmons, C. S. Brady, and 100 others, citizens of Newark, Licking County, Ohio, relating to the Chinese restriction act—to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. WOOD: Publication containing the resolutions of Burnham Post, No. 276, Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Indiana, requesting the passage of bills for the equalization of bounties and granting land-warrants—to the Select Committee on Payment of Pensions, Bounty, and Back Pay.

Also, petition for the passage of an act granting a pension to William Van Blaricorn—to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. WORTHINGTON: Petition of the Misses Harriet and Frances Peabody, praying for a pension—to the same committee.

By Mr. YAPLE: Petition of George H. Smith, Herrick Hodger, and others, citizens of South Haven, Mich., for the passage of a certain bill for the establishment of a Michigan branch of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers—to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Also, petition of similar import of J. G. Peck, C. B. Reese, and others, citizens of Berrien Centre, Mich.—to the same committee.

Also, petition of similar import of J. H. McLaughlin, Charles H. Woolsey, and others, citizens of Kalamazoo County, Michigan—to the same committee.

proper thing in the Senate to have memorials read unless they come from the Legislature of a State, when by courtesy they are read. This paper is evidently several folios long.

Mr. HILL. I notice that within the past few days exceptions have been made and that such papers have been read in the Senate. If this document can be printed in the RECORD I have no objection to letting it take that course.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Colorado asks that this memorial be printed in the RECORD. Is there objection?

Mr. INGALLS. What advantage is gained, I will ask the Senator from Colorado, by having it printed in the RECORD, cumbering up our proceedings and making a vast bulk that is already so unwieldy as to be almost unmanageable? If the Senator thinks that any advantage will be gained, or that the evil will be remedied any sooner by putting this publication in the RECORD, I have no objection; but it seems to me the same object would be attained by having it printed as a document, if he desires it laid on our tables, where it will be accessible.

Mr. HILL. It will not occupy more than about one column of the RECORD. It will encumber it to a slight extent, and I think it is very important that such an able and clear presentation of a subject of paramount importance should be made a part of the permanent record of Congress. I ask to have it printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the printing of this memorial in the RECORD? The Chair hears no objection, and it is so ordered.

The memorial, which was referred to the Committee on Finance, is as follows:

MEMORIAL.

The Denver (Colo.) Chamber of Commerce to the Congress of the United States.

Whereas the Secretary of the Treasury has notified your honorable body of the immediate necessity of an appropriation of \$150,000 to defray the expense of a new issue of one and two dollar Treasury notes; and

Whereas there is now in the Treasury of the United States \$147,000,000 of silver coin: Therefore,

We, the people of Colorado, through the Denver Chamber of Commerce, would earnestly petition your honorable body to enact a law or laws authorizing the Treasurer of the United States to call in and redeem in silver all Treasury notes of the denominations of ones and twos now outstanding, and to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to discontinue any further issue of Treasury notes of a like denomination, and that in the future no paper money of less denomination than \$5 be allowed to be issued or paid out by the Government or any national bank.

And we would further call the attention of Congress to the following reasons (among others) for urging at this time the granting of this our petition:

First. Gold and silver is the constitutional currency of the country.

Second. The United States produces a large quantity of these metals, and for all purposes of business and change (under \$5) gold and silver is as convenient for the people, more satisfactory to them, and much less expensive to maintain than the paper money known as "small bills."

Third. That it is the paramount duty of the Government to do everything in its power to make the money of the nation—gold, silver, and paper—equal, uniform, and invariable.

Fourth. That silver has not been fairly dealt with by the capitalists of the East nor the General Government, and that no sincere effort has been made by the Government to give silver coin (of which there is \$240,000,000 in the United States) its proper place, value, and usefulness with the other money of the country.

Fifth. That in evidence of this fact in 1879 Congress passed an act preventing the national banks from issuing any more one and two dollar bills. At that date there was nearly eight millions outstanding of these small national-bank bills, besides forty millions of the same denomination in Treasury notes; but Congress did not stop the issue of ones and twos by the Government. And what has been the result? The national-bank notes were taken up until there now remain less than one million outstanding, while the Government has issued an additional seventeen millions since 1879, thus really increasing the outstanding ones and twos from about forty-eight millions to fifty-eight millions, the amount then outstanding. Had the Treasury notes, as well as the national-bank notes, been withdrawn at that time and not reissued and silver substituted therefor, it would not only have brought the fifty-eight millions of silver into circulation, but gone far toward placing silver in the same useful, convenient, and valuable position it had occupied during the first eighty years of our Government.

Sixth. That all paper money of a less denomination than \$5 should be withdrawn as speedily as possible and forever and silver substituted therefor. England, the greatest enemy of silver, has no paper money of less amount than \$25; Germany has no bills of less denomination than \$7.50. The bank of France has only about \$1,000,000 of paper of less denomination than \$10 outstanding. All these countries use silver for change. France is the country most like our own in her government and in her position as to silver money and in the amount of reserve held. She now has in her treasury \$395,000,000 coin and bullion, \$203,000,000, or 51 per cent., being in silver, and this besides the large amount in circulation, and its prosperity is only second to our own in all the countries of the world.

Seventh. That there is now in the United States Treasury \$375,000,000 of gold and silver (coin and bullion), 41 per cent. of which (or \$147,000,000) is in silver, and that there is to-day a little less than \$100,000,000 of silver in circulation in the United States, or about \$2 to each inhabitant—a people that do five times the business on the same capital of any people in the world.

Eighth. That there is no sort of justification in the course pursued against silver by the Eastern States of the Union, and they have been and are strongly supported in their war upon it by the present administration.

Ninth. That however unwise (which we do not admit) the large coinage of silver may be it now exists, and the Government is the actual owner of three-fifths of the silver in the United States; that the product of gold is now, and has been, gradually decreasing for the past ten years; that the product of silver is not increasing. It behoves the Government and people to adopt such a course as will restore and maintain the value of silver throughout the world.

Tenth. That the reserves required by law at this time of the national banks of the United States is in round numbers \$235,000,000, and in addition the Government requires the banks to deposit a redemption fund of \$15,000,000, which makes \$250,000,000 of reserve (and this amount will not vary much in the future), and must be held at all times and under all circumstances by the national banks and the Treasurer of the United States for them. Now, if Congress will so amend the national-bank act as to require these national banks to hold 10 per cent. of their legal reserve in silver coin for their redemption fund, this would permanently dispose of, say, \$40,000,000 of the floating silver of the country, and the banks could, without much difficulty, manage their part of it. This amount,

SENATE.

TUESDAY, March 18, 1884.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. E. D. HUNTER, D. D.
The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. CLARK, its Clerk, announced that the House had passed a bill (H. R. 6073) to provide for certain of the most urgent deficiencies in the appropriations for the service of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1884, and for other purposes; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

Mr. HILL. I present the memorial of the Denver Chamber of Commerce on the subject of the retirement of small Treasury notes, and as it is a brief document and an able argument, I ask that it may be read.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from Colorado presents a memorial of the Denver Chamber of Commerce on the subject of the retirement of small Treasury notes, and asks that the memorial be read. Is there objection?

Mr. SHERMAN. I have no objection to the reading except the time that is consumed. I have no objection to an order to print it. I should like very much to hear it, but I do not think it is the custom or the

added to the silver coin necessary to take up the one and two dollar bills, would dispose of, say, \$100,000,000 of silver in a manner that would give stability to this metal, and would relieve the Government, strengthen the banks, and give general satisfaction to the masses throughout the Union.

And your memorialists would ever pray.

The foregoing memorial was reported by the committee on finance, and unanimously adopted by the Denver Chamber of Commerce, Denver, Colo., at a meeting held February 28, 1884, and ordered to be sent to Hon. N. P. HILL, United States Senator from Colorado, for presentation to Congress.

JOHN L. DAILEY, *Secretary.*

Mr. CULLOM presented the memorial and joint resolution of the Eighth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Wyoming, in favor of additional compensation for the members thereof; which was referred to the Committee on Territories.

Mr. CALL. I present the petition of John L. Wilson, president of the Library Association, A. Anderson, secretary, of Saint Augustine, Fla., and various other members of that association, praying for a grant of a lot of land belonging to the United States, known as Governor's Garden, situated within the limits of the city of Saint Augustine, Fla., for the erection of a free public library and reading-room. I move that the petition be referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. CALL. I also present the petition of M. R. Cooper, J. W. Henderson, and a large number of other citizens of Saint Augustine, Fla., visitors and others, praying Congress to grant the petition of the president and officers of the Library Association of the city of Saint Augustine for the donation of a lot of land known as Governor's Garden. I desire to state, Mr. President, that for two hundred years these lots have been open to the use of the city and people of Saint Augustine under the Government of Spain, and that they are not needed by the Government of the United States for any purpose. I move that the petition be referred to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. MCPHERSON. I present a petition of citizens of New Jersey, praying for the passage of a bill providing for the construction of certain bridges across Staten Island Sound. As it appears to be a bridge for railroad purposes, I move that the petition be referred to the Committee on Railroads.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. MITCHELL. I present a memorial of the Vessel-Owners and Captains' Association of Philadelphia, Pa., in favor of the right to sue the Government for damages resulting from collisions at sea with United States ships, and move that it be referred to the Committee on Commerce.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore.* The Chair will suggest to the Senator from Pennsylvania that the Committee on the Judiciary reported yesterday a bill upon that subject.

Mr. MITCHELL. Perhaps the memorial had better lie on the table.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore.* The memorial will be laid upon the table.

Mr. MITCHELL. I present a memorial of the Commercial Exchange of Philadelphia, Pa., remonstrating against the extension of the grain-shovel patents. As that question is before the Senate, I move that the memorial lie upon the table.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. MITCHELL presented a memorial of the Vessel-Owners and Captains' Association of Philadelphia, Pa., in favor of what is known as the Dingley pilotage bill; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

He also presented a petition of H. A. Ross Post, Grand Army of the Republic, of Lebanon, Pa., officially signed, and a petition of Daniel H. Bee and 49 other members of John Pollock Post, Grand Army of the Republic, of Pennsylvania, praying for the equalization of bounty and other relief to ex-Union soldiers; which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a petition of citizens of Lawrence County, Pennsylvania, praying for the repeal of certain laws permitting the use of vapors of alcoholic spirits in manufacturing vinegar; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. SLATER, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the bill (S. 280) granting a pension to Wesley Morford, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. SABIN. I am instructed by the Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred the petition of Dr. P. W. Bradbury, praying for a pension, to report adversely thereon.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore.* If there be no objection the report will be agreed to and the committee discharged from the further consideration of the subject.

Mr. COCKRELL. Has the Senator made a written report?

Mr. SABIN. Yes, sir; a report is filed.

Mr. COCKRELL. All right. There is no bill with that case.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore.* There is no bill reported. There is an adverse report on the petition.

Mr. COCKRELL. Then it can not go on the Calendar under the rule.

Mr. SABIN, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom was referred

the bill (S. 605) granting a pension to Capt. Sanderson H. Rogers, submitted an adverse report thereon, which was agreed to; and the bill was postponed indefinitely.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (S. 531) granting a pension to Caroline M. McDougal, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. CAMDEN from the Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. 512) for the relief of citizens of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana who served in connection with the United States troops in the war with the Nez Percé Indians and for the relief of the heirs of such as were killed in such service, and for other purposes, submitted an adverse report thereon, which was agreed to; and the bill was postponed indefinitely.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (S. 345) for the relief of certain officers in the Medical Department of the United States Army, submitted an adverse report thereon, which was agreed to; and the bill was postponed indefinitely.

Mr. ALDRICH, from the Committee on Finance, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 4779) to change the name of the West Waterville National Bank of Oakland, in the State of Maine, to that of the Messalonskee National Bank, reported it without amendment.

Mr. FRYE. That is a bill to which there can be possibly no opposition, and the bank directors are very anxious that it shall receive early consideration. I shall ask after the morning call is through that it be taken up.

Mr. HAMPTON, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1058) explanatory of an act directing the Second Auditor to settle the pay and bounty account of John Ammahe (or Ammahe), passed June 30, 1876, submitted an adverse report thereon, which was agreed to; and the bill was postponed indefinitely.

Mr. GEORGE. I am directed by the Committee on Claims, to whom was referred the bill (S. 536) for the relief of Nicholas J. Bigley, to submit an adverse report thereon. I call the attention of the Senator from Indiana to this report.

Mr. VOORHEES. I ask that the bill be placed on the Calendar with the adverse report.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore.* The bill will be placed on the Calendar with the adverse report.

Mr. LOGAN. I am directed by the Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1420) to increase the efficiency of the Army of the United States, to report it with amendments. I ask that a letter from the Secretary of War in reference to the bill be accepted as the report of the committee, and that it be printed with the bill.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore.* The Senator from Illinois, from the Committee on Military Affairs, asks that a letter from the Secretary of War to the committee on the subject of this bill be printed for the use of the Senate. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. LOGAN, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1745) for the relief of former occupants of the present military reservation at Point San José, in the city and county of San Francisco, in the State of California, asked to be discharged from its further consideration, and that it be referred to the Committee on Claims; which was agreed to.

PENSION LEGISLATION.

Mr. MITCHELL. I am instructed by the Committee on Pensions to ask the Senate to adopt an order for the printing of the hearing of a committee of the Grand Army of the Republic who lately appeared before the Committee on Pensions and presented their views on the subject of pensions. It is not long and it is a matter of public interest. I therefore present the following order for printing the report of the remarks made on that occasion:

Ordered, That the remarks of the committee of the Grand Army of the Republic before the Committee on Pensions of the Senate on the 8th instant, in relation to proposed legislation on the subject of pensions, be printed for the use of the Senate.

The order was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to.

BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. PALMER introduced a bill (S. 1864) to allow John Winchell arrears of pension; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. SABIN introduced a bill (S. 1865) granting a pension to Mrs. Minna Haebler; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 1866) granting a pension to John T. Rudy; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. VOORHEES introduced a bill (S. 1867) restoring to the pension-roll the name of Samantha Harriman; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. GIBSON introduced a bill (S. 1868) for the relief of Francis Masich, of Louisiana; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. MILLER, of California, introduced a bill (S. 1869) granting a pension to Kate C. McDougal, widow of the late Commander Charles

J. McDougal; which was read twice by its title, and, with the papers on file relating to the case, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. CALL introduced a bill (S. 1870) to amend article 103 of the Rules and Articles of War; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. HAWLEY. I introduce a bill and I beg that it may be read in full, as it is short.

The bill (S. 1871) authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to offer a reward of \$25,000 for rescuing or ascertaining the fate of the Greely expedition was read the first time at length, as follows:

Be it enacted, &c., That the Secretary of the Navy be, and is hereby, authorized and directed to make proclamation immediately, and cause said proclamation to be published and distributed as thoroughly as may be in such foreign ports as are interested in navigation and traffic in the Arctic seas, that the Government of the United States will pay a reward of \$25,000, to be equitably paid or distributed to such ship or ships, person or persons, not in the military or naval service of the United States, as shall discover and rescue or satisfactorily ascertain the fate of the Greely expedition.

The bill was read the second time by its title.

Mr. HAWLEY. This matter has been discussed a great deal among seafaring men and others, and it is known that from many European ports, English, Norwegian, Swedish, and others, there are vessels, strong vessels, manned by hardy and skillful officers and crews, that are prowling through the Arctic seas constantly. I am sure that even a reward of \$25,000 would cause them many times to turn aside a little from their cruise and make a brief exploration of the shore where they might hear news or see signs. It is quite possible that this might result favorably. If it should, nobody would care for the \$25,000. If it should not, there would be no \$25,000 lost. I commend this urgently to the immediate consideration of the Committee on Naval Affairs, to which I move its reference.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. INGALLS (by request) introduced a bill (S. 1872) granting lands in aid of the erection of a monument commemorative of the homestead law; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

AMENDMENT TO A BILL.

Mr. VOORHEES submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill (S. 467) to provide for a settlement with the Indians who were parties to the treaty concluded at Buffalo Creek, in the State of New York, on the 15th day of January, 1838, for the unexecuted stipulation of that treaty; which was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

PAPERS WITHDRAWN AND REFERRED.

On motion of Mr. HARRIS, it was

Ordered, That the petition and papers of Newton C. Perkins, administrator of the estate of J. J. Todd, deceased, be taken from the files of the Senate and referred to the Committee on Claims.

AMENDMENTS TO THE RULES.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair lays before the Senate the original resolution reported yesterday by the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. HARRIS] from the Committee on Rules, which was objected to and went over.

Mr. HARRIS. As the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR] at whose suggestion the resolution went over yesterday morning is absent from the Chamber this morning, I will allow all these resolutions, with the permission of the Senate, to lie over until to-morrow, when that Senator may be present.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The resolutions, if there be no objection, will be placed on the Calendar. They can be moved during the morning hour.

CHANGE OF NAME OF A BANK.

Mr. FRYE. I now ask unanimous consent to proceed to the consideration of the bill reported by the Finance Committee this morning changing the name of a bank, as it is a matter to which there can possibly be no objection.

By unanimous consent, the bill (H. R. 4779) to change the name of the West Waterville National Bank of Oakland, in the State of Maine, to that of the Messalonskee National Bank, was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The bill was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED.

On motion of Mr. ALLISON, the bill (H. R. 6073) to provide for certain of the most urgent deficiencies in the appropriations for the service of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1884, and for other purposes, was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Appropriations.

BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The order of resolutions is now closed. The Chair lays before the Senate the Calendar, beginning at Order of Business No. 142, under Rule VIII, being Senate bill 140.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 140) to establish a bureau of statistics of labor.

Mr. BLAIR. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The question is on the amendment proposed by the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. GARLAND], which will be read.

The CHIEF CLERK. It is proposed to strike out all after the enacting clause of the bill and insert the following:

Add, after section 342, as follows:

"SEC. 343. The Chief of the Bureau of Statistics shall, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, annually collect and report to Congress the statistics relating to marriage and divorce in the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia, and pertinent information relating to all departments of labor and production in the United States, especially touching the pecuniary, industrial, social, educational, and sanitary condition of the laboring classes, and to the permanent prosperity of the productive industry of the whole country; and the salary of the chief of such bureau shall be \$3,500."

Mr. BLAIR. I was about to say that, this being the bill which was reported by direction of the Committee on Education and Labor, and there being in order at 2 o'clock, as the unfinished business, a bill to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools, which is also reported by direction of the same committee, if it would suit the convenience of the Senate I would deem it a personal favor if this order could be laid aside informally, not losing its place on the Calendar, and that I be permitted to proceed with the special order. I have considerable matter that I should like to lay before the Senate and desire to commence earlier in the afternoon than 2 o'clock.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from New Hampshire asks unanimous consent that the bill now under consideration be passed over, retaining its place at the head of the Calendar under Rule VIII. Is there objection?

Mr. MILLER, of New York. I shall be compelled to object to the order of procedure proposed, for I gave notice several days ago that as soon as the resolution passed yesterday was disposed of I should then move to take up the pleuro-pneumonia bill proper. I shall be compelled to make that motion when the proper time arrives. I do not desire to make it at this time, for I have no desire to antagonize the regular order of business of the Senate, and therefore prefer that the Calendar should go on. I suggest that we proceed with the regular order, the consideration of the bill which has been laid before the Senate, and which the Senator from New Hampshire reported, until 2 o'clock, and then the Senate can decide for itself whether it will take up the other bill which he mentions or the pleuro-pneumonia bill, which I shall move to take up.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Objection is made to the request of the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. BLAIR. I do not understand that the Senator objects, or if he does I will ask that he give me his attention and withdraw his objection so far as proceeding to consider the unfinished business is concerned at present until 2 o'clock, in order that I may proceed with my remarks upon the bill.

Mr. MILLER, of New York. I do not know that I quite understand the question of the Senator. Does he propose to proceed with the consideration of the present bill?

Mr. BLAIR. No; the school bill, until 2 o'clock.

Mr. MILLER, of New York. I do not desire to interpose any objection to prevent the Senator from having the floor to speak upon that bill.

Mr. BLAIR. I desire to proceed until 2 o'clock, if there is no objection, and then the motion which the Senator proposes to make can be interposed.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair understands that the Senator from New Hampshire desires to be heard upon the bill now under consideration.

Mr. BLAIR. No; on the school bill, until 2 o'clock.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from New Hampshire, pending the question on the amendment of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. GARLAND], asks unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the unfinished business, being the bill (S. 398) to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools. Is there objection?

Mr. VEST. I should like to understand what is to be the result of this request of the Senator from New Hampshire. I have no disposition in the world to object to hearing the Senator from New Hampshire; but suppose he discusses the education bill until 2 o'clock and then the Senator from New York wants to take up the pleuro-pneumonia bill?

Mr. MILLER, of New York. The Senator from New Hampshire desires to occupy the time of the Senate on the educational bill, and at 2 o'clock the Senate will decide whether we shall go on with that bill or take up the pleuro-pneumonia bill, which I propose to move to take up at 2 o'clock.

Mr. VEST. The Senator from New Hampshire proposes to occupy the floor until 2 o'clock, and after that we are to take up the pleuro-pneumonia bill and proceed with that; and then does the educational bill come up again?

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Chair is unable to hear the Senator from Missouri.

Mr. VEST. As a matter of course, if the Senator from New Hampshire shall not have concluded his remarks when the hour of 2 o'clock

arrives, according to the usage of the Senate, to which I do not at all object and which I think very proper, he will be allowed to go on and complete his remarks. Then do we take up the pleuro-pneumonia bill, and, if so, when we finish the pleuro-pneumonia bill do we resume the consideration of the educational bill?

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. That depends upon the will of the Senate as expressed by its vote or by unanimous consent. It is in order for the Senator from New Hampshire to move at any time to proceed to the consideration of the educational bill, which is the unfinished business, and if unanimous consent be given him now to speak upon it without its being formally laid before the Senate, that can be done; but when 2 o'clock comes the educational bill will be before the Senate as the unfinished business and can only be displaced by unanimous consent or by a vote of the Senate.

Mr. COCKRELL. I move, then, that the Senator from New Hampshire have unanimous consent to proceed with his remarks upon that bill in the same manner as if it was regularly taken up by the Senate. That will obviate any trouble.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Is there objection to the Senator from New Hampshire proceeding with his remarks on the educational bill, it not being yet before the Senate? The Chair hears no objection.

AID TO COMMON SCHOOLS.

Mr. BLAIR. Mr. President, I suppose the reading of the bill will be first in order.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The bill will be read for information. The Chair did not lay the bill before the Senate on account of unanimous consent being given to the Senator to proceed. The bill will be read for information.

The Chief Clerk proceeded to read the bill (S. 398) to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools.

Mr. BLAIR. I see that the Chief Clerk is reading the original bill.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Senator from New Hampshire asked that the bill be read.

Mr. BLAIR. It is the fault of the Senator from New Hampshire. I desire that the bill as reported by the committee be read.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The amendment recommended by the committee?

Mr. BLAIR. There is a substitute reported by the committee for the entire bill.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The amendment recommended by the committee will then be reported.

The Chief Clerk read the amendment, which was to strike out all after the enacting clause of the bill and to insert the following:

That for ten years after the passage of this act there shall be annually appropriated from the money in the Treasury the following sums, to wit: The first year the sum of \$15,000,000, the second year the sum of \$14,000,000, the third year the sum of \$13,000,000, and thereafter a sum diminished \$1,000,000 yearly from the sum last appropriated until ten annual appropriations shall have been made, when all appropriations under this act shall cease; which several sums shall be expended to secure the benefits of common-school education to all the children of the school age mentioned hereafter living in the United States.

SEC. 2. That such money shall annually be divided among and paid out in the several States and Territories in that proportion which the whole number of persons in each who, being of the age of ten years and over, can not read and write bears to the whole number of such persons in the United States; and until otherwise provided such computation shall be made according to the official returns of the census of 1880.

SEC. 3. That the Secretary of the Interior, at the close of each fiscal year, shall ascertain the total amount of the school fund to which the States and Territories and the District of Columbia are entitled under the provisions of this act, and shall certify the same to the Secretary of the Treasury. That upon the receipt of such certificate the Secretary of the Treasury shall, on or before the 31st day of July of each year, apportion the said total sum so certified among the several States and Territories and the District of Columbia upon the basis of population and illiteracy specified in the second section of this act.

SEC. 4. That the amount so apportioned to each State and Territory and to the District of Columbia shall be paid, upon the warrant of the Commissioner of Education, countersigned by the Secretary of the Interior, out of the Treasury of the United States, to the treasurer of the State, Territory, or District, or to such officer as shall be designated by the laws of such State, Territory, or District to receive, account for, and pay over the same to the several school districts entitled thereto under said apportionment. The term "school district" as used in this section shall include cities, towns, parishes, or such other corporations as by law are clothed with the power of maintaining common schools: *Provided*, That such distribution or payment, after the receipt of said fund by the State, Territory, or District, may be made to any officer designated by the laws of the State, Territory, or District for the disbursement of the school funds to the teachers employed in such schools.

SEC. 5. That the instruction in the common schools wherein these moneys shall be expended shall include the art of reading, writing, and speaking the English language, arithmetic, geography, history of the United States, and such other branches of useful knowledge as may be taught under local laws, and shall include, whenever practicable, instruction in the arts of industry, and the instruction of females in such branches of technical or industrial education as are suited to their sex, which instruction shall be free to all, without distinction of race, color, nativity, or condition in life: *Provided*, That nothing herein shall deprive children of different races, living in the same community but attending separate schools, from receiving the benefits of this act the same as though the attendance therein were without distinction of race.

SEC. 6. The money appropriated and apportioned under the provisions of this act to the use of any Territory shall be applied to the use of common and industrial schools therein by the Secretary of the Interior.

SEC. 7. That the District of Columbia shall be entitled to the privileges of a Territory under the provisions of this act, but its existing laws and school authorities shall not be affected by the operation of this act. The Commissioner of Education shall be charged with the duty of superintending the distribution of its allotment, and shall make full report of his doings to the Secretary of the Interior.

SEC. 8. That the design of this act not being to establish an independent system of schools, but rather to aid for the time being in the development and main-

nance of the school system established by local government, and which must eventually be wholly maintained by the States and Territories wherein they exist, it is hereby provided that no part of the money appropriated under this act shall be paid out in any State or Territory which shall not, during the first five years of the operation of this act, annually expend for the maintenance of common schools at least one-third of the sum which shall be allotted to it under the provisions hereof, and during the second five years of its operation a sum at least equal to the whole amount it shall be entitled to receive under this act.

SEC. 9. That a part of the money apportioned to each State or Territory, not exceeding one-tenth thereof, may yearly be applied to the education of teachers for the common schools therein, which sum may be expended in maintaining institutes or temporary training schools, or in extending opportunities for normal or other instruction to competent and suitable persons, of any color, who are without necessary means to qualify themselves for teaching, and who shall agree in writing to devote themselves exclusively, for at least one year after leaving such training schools, to teach in the common schools, for such compensation as may be paid other teachers therein.

SEC. 10. That no part of the educational fund allotted to any State or Territory or the District of Columbia shall be used for the erection of school-houses or school buildings of any description, nor for rent of the same.

SEC. 11. That the moneys distributed under the provisions of this act shall be used in the school districts of the several States and Territories in such way as to provide, as near as may be, for the equalization of school privileges to all the children of the school age prescribed by the law of the State or Territory wherein the expenditure shall be made, thereby giving to each child an opportunity for common-school and, so far as may be, of industrial education; and to this end existing public schools, not sectarian in character, may be aided, and new ones may be established, as may be deemed best, in the several localities.

SEC. 12. That any State in which the number of persons 10 years of age and upward who can not read and write is not over 5 per cent. of the whole population thereof shall have the right to receive its allotment and to apply the same for the promotion of common-school and industrial education, or the education of teachers therein, in such way as the Legislature of such State shall provide.

SEC. 13. That the Secretary of the Interior shall receive from the governor of each State and Territory a report, to be made by or through such governor on or before the 30th day of June of each year, giving a detailed account of the payments or disbursements made of the school fund apportioned to his State or Territory and received by the State or Territorial treasurer or officer under section 4 of this act, and of the balance in the hands of such treasurer or officer with unclaimed, or for any cause unpaid or unexpended, and also the amount expended in such State or Territory as required by section 8 of this act, and also of the number of public, common, and industrial schools, the number of teachers employed, the total number of children taught during the year and in what branches instructed, the average daily attendance, and the relative number of white and colored children, and the number of months in each year schools have been maintained in each school district, and such other information in relation to the use of the school fund and the condition of common-school education as the Secretary of the Interior may require. And if any State or Territory shall misapply or allow to be misappropriated, or in any manner appropriated or used other than for the purposes herein required, the funds, or any part thereof, received under the provisions of this act, or shall fail to comply with the conditions herein prescribed, or to report as herein provided, through its proper officers, the disposition thereof, such State or Territory shall forfeit its right to any subsequent apportionment by virtue hereof until the full amount so misappropriated, lost, or misappropriated shall have been replaced by such State or Territory and applied as herein required, and until such report shall have been made: *Provided*, That if the public schools in any State admit pupils not within the ages herein specified it shall not be deemed a failure to comply with the conditions herein.

SEC. 14. That on or before the 1st day of September of each year the Secretary of the Interior shall report to the President of the United States whether any State or Territory or the District of Columbia has forfeited its right to receive its apportionment under this act, and how forfeited, and whether he has withheld such allotment on account of such forfeiture; and each State and Territory and the District of Columbia from which such apportionment shall be withheld shall have the right to appeal from such decision of the Secretary of the Interior to Congress; and if the next Congress shall not direct such share to be paid, it shall be added to the general educational fund for distribution among the other States and the Territories and District of Columbia which shall be entitled to the benefit of the provisions of this act.

SEC. 15. That the Secretary of the Interior shall be charged with the practical administration of this act in the Territories and the District of Columbia, through the Commissioner of Education, who shall report annually to Congress its practical operation, and briefly the condition of common and industrial education as affected thereby throughout the country, which report shall be transmitted to Congress by the Secretary of the Interior, accompanying the report of his Department.

Mr. BLAIR. Mr. President, this is, in my judgment, among the most important public measures which have been considered by the Senate since the close of the war. It is, in fact, the logical consequence and true conclusion of the war. Had common schools been universal throughout the country there would have been no civil war; for intelligence among the masses of the people would have abolished the causes which led to it, and the chains of the bondmen would have dissolved like the mists of the morning in their warmth and light, instead of awaiting to be broken by the terrible hammer of Thor. Knowledge and virtue are the indispensable conditions of free government, and virtue without intelligence is of no avail, for while virtue is the natural if not universal fruit of knowledge, yet good intentions without knowledge are by a profound philosophy pronounced to be the very pavement of hell. So the restoration of the Union and the reconstruction of States with governments republican in form will be found to be but a bitter delusion unless the people throughout the whole country shall be made and kept sufficiently intelligent to know and to maintain their rights generation after generation.

As the National Government is republican in form, so its own existence depends upon the same conditions as the existence of the States; consequently in self-defense and in self-perpetuation it must secure directly by its own act or indirectly through other agencies the intelligence of its citizens, who are themselves the Government.

Beyond this, one of the most important constitutional functions of the General Government is its obligation to guarantee a republican form to the States.

If the General Government commits suicide by neglecting the education of the people, how can it fulfill its constitutional guarantee? And how can that guarantee of government republican in form be

made and kept good to the people of a State who are too ignorant to be capable of self-government.

Self-existence and the discharge of its constitutional obligations compel the National Government to educate the people, who are the common citizens of both the nation and the State, whenever the local community fails to discharge this primary duty of a free people.

Mindful of the time of the Senate, and having in the last Congress discussed this subject at some length, and having embodied somewhat of that discussion in the report of the committee on this bill, I shall confine myself on this occasion, unless the course of the debate shall hereafter render it necessary to do otherwise, to a statement of the facts in the existing situation of the country, which, in my opinion, require the appropriation of large sums of money by the nation to the temporary aid of common schools throughout the country, and to the explanation of the provisions of this bill, which undertakes to provide a suitable remedy for the alarming and increasing ignorance existing among the people at the present time.

First, then, of the evil.

The bill proposes to give temporary aid to common schools in all the States and Territories.

Common schools are the means everywhere adopted to educate the masses of the people, and the instruction and discipline obtained in them constitute all the preparatory school training which twenty-four twenty-fifths of the American people receive for the practical duties of public and private life. I say public life with no reference to the incumbency of political office. By the public life of an American citizen I refer to his life as a sovereign; to his constant participation in the active government of his country; to the continual study and decision of political issues which devolve upon him whatever may be his occupation; and to his responsibility for the conduct of national and State affairs as the primary law-making, law-construing, and law-executing power, no matter whether or not he is personally engaged in the public service as policeman or President, as any State official whatever, member of Congress, Chief-Justice of the United States, or a humble justice of the peace. In republics official stations are servitudes. The citizen is king.

But, since knowledge is power, it is obvious that the degree of education which the citizen must acquire is commensurate with the character and dignity of the station which he occupies by the theory of the government of which he is a part. By so much and so far as he is deficient he will fail, and either become a nonentity or a source of danger and misrule. The indispensable standard of education for the people of a republic, then, is far above the mere capacity to read and to write the language in common use in a limited or perfunctory way. The education obtained in the common school and imparted, if necessary, with compulsion by the State should be such as to enable the citizen sovereign to obtain and interchange ideas and knowledge of affairs as well as to transact intelligently and safely all matters of business in the avocations of life. Measured by this not too exacting standard, the degree of disqualification for the duties and opportunities of citizenship actually existing is far greater than is indicated by the common standard, which is considered to be the nominal capacity to read and write. This test is the one resorted to in taking the census as a test to measure the intelligence of the people; and its use for this purpose by the Government and its adoption as the condition of the exercise of the suffrage by some States have served to fix in the public mind a very low standard of education compared with that which should be set up in the common school. I am heartily in favor of universal suffrage, for a partially ignorant people, with a free ballot actually secured to them, will govern themselves better than they will be governed by kings and aristocracies.

But I desire to remind the American people that the more they know the greater will be their personal power and the better will they govern themselves.

If the American people suffer from innumerable and bitter ills which they can never remove until they know how it may be done, their first great step is so far to educate themselves as to obtain the knowledge from which will result the power to remove the evils of their civil, social, and industrial condition. It is therefore at once apparent that tabulated statements, such as we obtain from the census and like statistical processes, fall far short of completeness as indications of the actual educational condition of the people. It is certain that the school facilities which have hitherto existed have been woefully insufficient, since more than one-ninth of the adult citizens of the country are unable even to read and write. What unknown margin of ignorance lies above this indication and yet below the true standard of competency and educational qualification for the duties of citizenship we are left without definite means of judging, but we know that it is very great. This dark belt of indefinite width which, like an unsurveyed desert, lies beyond the well-defined boundaries of ignorance and incompetency should be constantly borne in mind as we proceed with the consideration of the subject.

During the decade from 1870 to 1880 the population of the United States increased from thirty-eight to fifty millions. A like percentage of increase since 1880, a period of four years, would give a present population of about 56,000,000 of people.

By the census of 1880 there were in the United States 36,761,607 persons 10 years of age and upward.

In round numbers now there are 41,000,000. In 1880 there were, over

10 years of age, who could not read, 4,923,451 persons, or 13.4 persons in a hundred, and now there are 5,500,000. In 1880 there were 6,239,958 persons over 10 years of age who could not write, or 17 persons in a hundred. Now there are 7,000,000 who can not write.

In 1880 there were 32,160,400 white persons in the United States, of whom 3,019,080, or 9.4 per cent., could not write. Now there are 3,500,000 white persons in this country who can not write.

In 1880 there were, of colored persons in the United States, 4,601,207 10 years old and upward, of whom 3,220,878, or 70 persons of every hundred, could not write. Now there are 3,600,000 colored persons in the United States over 10 years of age who can not write.

In 1880 there were white persons, over 21 years of age, 21,984,202; persons of whom 2,056,463, or 9.4 of every hundred, could not write. Now there are 2,313,521 white persons in the United States who can not write.

In 1880 there were 11,343,005 white males over 21, of whom 886,659, or 7.8 per cent., could not write. Now there are 1,000,000 white adults who can not write.

In 1880 there were 2,937,235 colored persons in the United States over 21 years of age, of whom 2,147,900 could not write, or 73.1 per cent. of every one hundred. There are now probably 3,500,000, as the colored population increases by births 7 per cent. faster than does the white from births and immigration.

In 1880 there were colored males over 20 years of age, 1,487,344, of whom 1,022,151 could not write, or 68.7 per cent. Now there 1,150,000 or more, all voters.

In 1880 there were white and colored male persons over 21 years of age, 12,830,349; of whom could not write 1,908,810. Now there are males over 21, 14,500,000, of whom 2,150,000 can not write. These include the voting population. Unnaturalized persons over 21 should be deducted. The average of immigration is now, however, as intelligent as our own population. That is a thought not familiar to our national contemplation. One voter in seven can not write. The percentage of illiteracy is something less among males than among the other sex, or there would be one voter in five unable to write. Of those who can write a large number can only, with great painstaking, contrive even to write their names. It is greatly to be doubted whether more than three-fourths of the voting population is capable of reading or writing with such facility as to make those arts a source of intelligent suffrage.

Nearly three-fourths of the illiterate voters of the country are in the sixteen Southern States. The same States contain about one-third the entire population. Iowa has 18,886 voters who can not write in a population of 1,624,615. Georgia has 189,505 voters who can not write, and a total population of 1,542,180—nearly ninefold illiterate suffrage in about the same population. In proportion to population, notwithstanding the great cities within her borders, New York has only one voter who can not write to five in South Carolina.

I take the following from the very able report made in the last Congress by the House Committee on Education and Labor:

The last census shows that there are 6,239,958 people of this country above the age of 10 years who can not write—12.44 per cent., or about one-eighth of our entire population. The census further shows that 4,715,395, or 75.56 per cent. of them, are in the recent slave States, which contain but 36.8 per cent. of the population of the country. In six of those States one-third or more of the population above the age of 10 years are illiterate, while in the Territory of New Mexico nearly one-half can not write. Of the white population of the country only 6.96 per cent. can not write, while 47.7 per cent. of the colored population are in that condition. More than one-fourth of the entire population of those States is illiterate.*

The committee call attention to the illiteracy of the voters in the late slaveholding States. The following table has been furnished the committee by the Superintendent of the Census. It shows the total number of persons of 21 years of age and upward, and also the number of that age and upward who are illiterate:

States.	Total number of males of 21 years of age and upward	Number of males of 21 years of age and upward who can not write.		
		White.	Colored.	Total.
Alabama.....	259,884	24,450	96,408	120,858
Arkansas.....	182,977	21,349	34,300	55,649
Delaware.....	38,298	2,955	3,787	6,742
Florida.....	61,699	4,706	19,110	23,816
Georgia.....	321,438	28,571	116,516	145,087
Kentucky.....	376,221	54,956	43,177	98,133
Louisiana.....	216,787	16,377	86,555	102,932
Maryland.....	232,106	15,152	30,873	46,025
Mississippi.....	238,532	12,473	99,068	111,541
Missouri.....	541,207	40,655	19,028	59,683
North Carolina.....	294,740	44,420	80,282	124,702
South Carolina.....	205,789	13,924	93,010	106,934
Tennessee.....	330,305	46,948	58,601	105,549
Texas.....	380,476	33,085	59,669	92,754
Virginia.....	334,505	31,474	100,210	131,684
West Virginia.....	139,161	19,055	3,830	22,885
Total.....	4,154,125	410,550	944,424	1,354,974

*The ability to write is considered by statisticians the true test of illiteracy, as many persons through shame will not admit they can not read, but are not so likely to claim that they can write. Besides, a person who can read and not write is essentially an illiterate.

The following statement, showing the ratio of illiterate males of 21 years of age and upward to the whole number of males of the same ages in the States named, is derived by the committee from the preceding table. There being but few foreigners in those States, nearly all of those persons are citizens of the United States and voters:

Ratio of illiterate males 21 years of age and upward.	
Alabama	46.7
Arkansas	30.4
Delaware	17.6
Florida	38.6
Georgia	45.1
Kentucky	26.0
Louisiana	47.4
Maryland	19.4
Mississippi	46.7
North Carolina	42.3
South Carolina	51.9
Tennessee	31.9
Virginia	39.3
West Virginia	16.4
Missouri	11.0
Texas	24.3

The average ratio of illiterate males of the ages named in the above States is 32.3.

Of the above illiterates 69.7 per cent. are colored, and 30.3 per cent. are whites.

In ten of the above-named States more than 30 per cent. of the voters are illiterate.

In six of them the illiterates are about 50 per cent.

In South Carolina 52 per cent. are illiterate.

The State of Alabama has 120,858 illiterate voters. Its popular vote in 1880 was 151,507.

The State of Georgia has 145,087 illiterate voters. Its popular vote in 1880 was 155,651.

The State of Mississippi has 111,541 illiterate voters. Its popular vote in 1880 was 117,078.

The State of Louisiana has 102,932 illiterate voters. Its popular vote in 1880 was 97,201.

While it is true that in many of the States not one-half of those entitled to vote actually did so, yet the wonderful nearness of the number of illiterates to the number of those who exercised the right of suffrage is startling.

The truism that no government which rests upon universal suffrage can long continue unless the suffragists are intelligent, in the light of the above facts impresses itself upon our attention with renewed force. The words of James Madison, uttered in 1826, are a present warning: "A popular government without popular information or the means of acquiring it is but a prologue to a farce or tragedy, or both." Nearly half a million of the white and almost a million of the colored voters in the South can not read the ballots which they cast. But thirteen years have elapsed since the latter class was given the ballot. At that time all of them were grossly ignorant not only of letters, but also absolutely devoid of all knowledge of the rights and obligations of citizenship. During the last ten years the number of illiterates in the country has increased about 400,000, though the percentage of illiteracy to the whole population has decreased nearly 2 per cent. It would, however, take forty years to dispel this illiteracy at this rate of diminution.

There are 145,000 illiterate voters in North Carolina, and 117,000 in South Carolina. I clip the following from the National Republican of last winter:

The percentage of illiteracy to the voting population of the Garfield States in 1880 was less than 6; in the Hancock States it was 29.

About five times greater.

It is true that about 69 per cent. of the illiterate voters in the old slave States are Republicans, but it is also true that nearly that per centum of the illiterate vote was suppressed.

Suppressed, it is true; but it could not have been if intelligent.

Alabama has 120,858 illiterate voters; the popular vote of that State in 1880 was 151,507. Georgia has 145,087 illiterate voters; the popular vote there that year was 155,651. Mississippi has 111,541 illiterate voters; her popular vote in 1880 was 117,078. Louisiana has 102,932 illiterate voters, and cast 97,201 votes.

Mr. MORGAN. I suppose the Senator from New Hampshire knows that the great body of the illiterate men in Alabama voted for Garfield, not for Hancock.

Mr. BLAIR. I stated that. The Senator will find as I go on that my remarks are not prepared with any idea or feeling of self-glorification for the section of country that I belong to. I have endeavored to simply state the facts.

By the Census (table 40) Compendium, page 560, it appears that the total number of white males over 21 years of age in the country in 1880 was 11,343,005; native-born, 8,270,518; foreign-born, 3,072,487; colored, including Japanese, Chinese, and Indians, 1,487,344; making a total of 12,830,349.

The question of the suppression of the Republican vote in the South is one that I did not propose to introduce into the debate, and it is one on which there is something perhaps to be said on both sides, if it were before us.

In 1880 there were 105,465 Chinese, 148 Japanese, and 66,407 civilized Indians. I am aware of no means by which the actual number of voters in the United States can be ascertained, but if we add to the total of male population over 21 years of age one-eighth of the total of 1880 we have 1,603,793, and in all at this time 14,434,142. Assuming one-half the foreign-born males of voting age to be naturalized, we have a voting element as follows, making allowance for increase of one-eighth in each element since the census was taken: Native-born white voters, 9,203,332; foreign-born white voters, 1,728,274; colored (excluding Chinese, Japanese, and Indians), 1,479,739; total voting population of the United States in 1884, 12,411,345; or in round numbers there will be 12,500,000 men whose ballots will or may decide the next Presidential election.

The percentage of illiterate white males over 21 years of age by the census of 1880 is 7.8, and of colored the rate is 68.7. There is no perceptible change in this percentage for the better, judging from the fact

that the illiterate population increased, according to a statement of the Commissioner of Education, between the years 1870 and 1880, 581,814 persons. There is some confusion in the data, but I think there was an increase during that period substantially as estimated by the Commissioner. We have then at the present time an illiterate white voting population of 852,665; illiterate colored voters, 1,016,580; total illiterate voters, 1,869,245.

Generally the number is placed at more than 2,000,000. Such estimates can never be more than approximately correct, but they are in my belief practically greatly understated, because the technical qualification of being able to write one's name, however crudely, is very slight evidence of capacity to comprehend political issues or to discriminate intelligently between candidates for public positions.

This observation derives special significance when it is still further considered that the enumeration must of necessity rely generally as to the possession of even this qualification upon the verbal statement of the party concerned, who is not likely to make an unpleasant admission of incapacity against himself.

I do not believe that more than two-thirds, or at the most three-fourths, of the voting population of this country is to-day in possession of a degree of proficiency in the arts of reading and writing that qualifies them, through the use of those arts, to exercise the right of suffrage more intelligently than do total illiterates. The school education of great multitudes is nominal, not real.

I purposely omit further data as to the distribution of the illiterate vote. If it were uniformly dispersed it would be less dangerous. But concentrated as it is in masses at points along the line, while intelligence can never be too strong anywhere, and considering that a majority of one in Florida or in Oregon may decide the most important of national elections and determine the future history of the whole country, I for one find it impossible to sleep in peace over this volcano.

As will be seen by reference to tables in the report of the committee and to the census the school age varies greatly in different States. In some it is from 5 to 15, in others from 4 to 21, and with great diversity between those extremes. In a speech in support of a measure, substantially the same as this, made in the Senate June 15, 1882, after careful consideration, I stated the number of our population who should be in schools as, in my opinion, 18,000,000. I believe it to be now 20,000,000. By the census of 1880 the number within the school ages was 15,303,535. Of this number were then enrolled, that is, their names were on some list of pupils, 9,780,773, leaving 5,522,762 not attending school anywhere. But there were 567,160 enrolled in private schools, making a total of 10,347,933 enrolled in all schools of the country, both public and private, and leaving 4,955,602, or nearly one-third, of the legal school population not attending either public or private places of instruction.

If, now, the total enrolled in public and private schools be increased one-eighth, as in previous calculations, we have a present school population in process of mental training of 11,641,424. If I am substantially correct in assuming a present population of 20,000,000 who should be either in public or private schools, from our total of at least 56,000,000 now living in this country, there will remain 8,358,576 who do not attend schools of any kind whatever, unless it may be of liberal or professional training. Making all allowances which can be reasonably claimed, there must be 8,000,000 of less than 21 years of age who are not enjoying school privileges of any description whatever. But look still further, in order that we may judge of the efficiency of our system in dealing with those actually enrolled. By the census, out of the 9,780,773 on the public school registers, there was an average daily attendance of 5,804,993; so that the real fact is that the net educational result is the same as though the latter number had attended the whole school period yearly, which is perhaps five months of the twelve in the whole country, and 9,499,542 had not received a single hour of school instruction for the year.

If the present average daily attendance in public and private schools be ascertained by adding one-eighth to the aggregate of 1880, to wit, 5,804,993, plus two-thirds the enrollment in private schools (which we may fairly assume to be the average daily attendance, or, to be liberal, 400,000 pupils), we have 6,204,993 increased by 775,623, or a total of 6,980,616, or say 7,000,000 in round numbers. Deducting this number from 20,000,000, and we have the same general result upon the educational status of our school population as though 13,000,000 of the 20,000,000 did not attend school at all.

Of course this calculation is of little value save as it affords a means of comparing our real condition with what it would be if the whole school population should attend constantly five months yearly between the ages of 4 and 21 years. Making every possible allowance for professional and other forms of special training, I do not believe that there is an average daily attendance of 10,000,000, or one-half our population, between the above-named ages twenty weeks of the year. I do not think there are sittings or accommodations of any kind, no matter how primitive and inexpensive, for one-half our school population. We have now less than 300,000 teachers and an average of more than 66 pupils for each. We require at least 200,000 more, and both the professional standard and the pecuniary compensation of the body as a whole should be very much raised.

In table 136, page 1640, part 2 of Compendium, the whole number

of teachers employed at one time is set down at 236,019; the total number who attended school during the year 1880 at 9,946,160, and the average daily attendance 6,276,398. The whole number of public schools, elementary and high, is placed at 225,880; the number of school buildings 164,832, and the whole number of sittings provided 8,968,731. The data I have relied upon in making these calculations have been derived in part from the census and in part from the returns of the Bureau of Education, which are collected with great care.

I propose now to state a few well-authenticated facts in regard to the actual condition of common-school education in different portions of the country.

The Louisiana Educational Society has just memorialized Congress upon the subject of national aid to common schools, praying for an appropriation. Their petition, presented by Senator GIBSON, is printed at length in the RECORD of March 11, 1884. It is such an admirable though distressing statement of the situation that I will ask the Secretary to read it to the Senate.

The Secretary read as follows:

OFFICE OF THE LOUISIANA EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY,
New Orleans, March 4, 1884.

To the honorable the Senate
and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:

We beg leave to lay before you, on behalf of the State of Louisiana, the following statement of facts, and to submit this memorial:

The report of the superintendent of public education of the city of New Orleans for 1881 showed a total school population (6 to 18 years of age) of 61,456; a total enrollment in the public schools of the city of 24,401; and an average daily attendance in December and January (which were the months of largest attendance) of 17,135.

Although the number of educable children has largely increased since then, the superintendent reports for January, 1884, the enrollment to be only 14,482, with an average attendance of 11,070.

With an allowance of 10,000 in private and parochial schools (which is a large estimate), we still have 36,974 children in New Orleans receiving no educational instruction whatever.

The census of 1880 shows an average attendance of 15,190 (which included the months of most meager and the largest attendance). Thus you will see at a glance the large decrease in the number being educated, although the population is steadily increasing.

A corresponding retrogression exists throughout the State, and it may be safely affirmed that of the 273,845 school population of Louisiana (census of 1880) not more than 30 per cent. of them attend either public, private, or parochial schools.

In the fifteen Southern States, including the District of Columbia, the census of 1880 shows that there are 2,702,335 (white and black) of the 5,703,216 school population not enrolled in schools, and notwithstanding the efforts made by the people of these States and the generous contributions from private sources in the North for educational purposes the number of children unenrolled in the schools and the illiterates continue to increase.

The State and city have done much toward public education, but the illiterates are such a large proportion of the population, and poverty is so widespread, that the taxable property can not bear such a burden as must necessarily be imposed to provide for and sustain public schools.

We are aware that, in so far as ignorance is the source of pauperism, crime, and a want of thrift, the State is chiefly interested and the Federal Government indirectly only, but there is a common ground on which Federal and State interests meet and blend. Good government is necessary for both, and it is equally the duty of both to see that the citizen is made capable of performing the duties of citizenship intelligently, fearlessly, honestly. Said one: "Honest enough, brave enough, and keen enough to resist corruption, defy violence, and defeat fraud."

Both are alike interested in making the masses of the people sufficiently intelligent to understand what constitutes the greatest good for the greatest number; and to comprehend also the converse of the proposition, that the good of the greatest number is the highest and best interest of the individual citizen.

We believe that the very life of the Republic and the preservation of the liberty it vouchsafes depend upon the intelligence of its people, the universal education of its citizens; that as their illiteracy increases so do the dangers to our country multiply.

In the words of Senator BLAIR: "Education, physical, intellectual, and moral, is the primal necessity." The fathers and founders of our Government so considered it. They thought that a republic could stand only on the intelligence and virtue of its citizens.

Our danger is imminent and increasing. France in 1870 realized that it was not the needle-gun but educated Germany which so quickly brought her to defeat and submission. She was taught a bitter lesson, by which she is now profiting. Since then she has largely increased her taxation for public schools, made elementary schooling free and attendance compulsory. Let her history teach us to educate our children, be they white or black.

But this can only be done with the liberal aid of the National Government, and unless it comes to our assistance the condition of our educational work must grow steadily worse.

We believe that a very large sum is necessary to meet the great need of the country. A bill before Congress proposes to give \$15,600,000 for the first year and to decrease the appropriation \$1,000,000 each year during a period of ten years, dividing it according to the number of illiterates in each State.

We trust that some such measures may meet your approval. Some such measures are necessary to stay and roll back the tide of illiteracy in this and other States of the South, which now finds no barriers strong enough to resist it. We believe it to be the duty of Congress to make some such appropriation, and on behalf of our State we ask it to do so.

Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, declared the necessity for and the importance of public education. Said the latter in his inaugural address of 1817: "Let us by all wise and constitutional measures promote intelligence among the people, as the best means of preserving our liberties."

Presidents Grant, Hayes, Garfield, and Arthur have severally recommended it, and President Garfield said: "All the constitutional power of the nation and of the States should be summoned to meet the danger by the saving influence of universal education."

With our poverty upon us and dangers before us we appeal to Congress to do all that can constitutionally be done to aid in the education of youth, so that we may reap the fruits of industry, integrity, and intelligence.

LOUIS BUSH, President,
E. T. MERRICK, Vice-President,
I. L. LEUCHT, Secretary,
CARTWRIGHT EUSTIS, Treasurer,
R. H. BROWNE,
J. C. MORRIS,
JAMES MCCONNELL,
R. M. WALMSLEY,
STANFORD E. CHAILLE,
R. H. BROWNE, Chairman,
JAMES MCCONNELL,
S. S. CARLISLE,
SYLVANUS LANDRUM,
B. T. WALSH,
WARREN EASTON,
J. W. NICHOLSON,
Committee on Memorials.

Executive Committee Educational Society of Louisiana.

Mr. BLAIR. On Friday, March 24, 1882, a committee of the National Educational Association appeared before the Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate and House of Representatives, to urge national aid to public school education. This association comprises the superintendents of public instruction of the States and Territories and a large number of the principal educators of the country.

The committee of the association consisted of Hon. G. J. Orr, of Georgia; Hon. M. A. Newell, of Maryland; Hon. J. H. Smart, of Indiana; Hon. Hugh Thompson, of South Carolina; Dr. J. W. Dickinson, and Hon. B. G. Northrop, of Connecticut.

This committee presented at the hearing another memorial already prepared by representatives of the great religious denominations of the land, of the trustees of the Peabody fund, and of missionary and educational institutions, which memorial they indorsed and urged upon the consideration of Congress and the country.

I ask the Secretary to read the memorial.

The Secretary read as follows:

A MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

The undersigned earnestly call the attention of Senators and Representatives to the following facts and suggestions with reference to governmental aid to common schools on the basis of illiteracy.

The following table is based upon the estimates of the Bureau of Education. In the sums raised by the States interest on the invested funds is not included, except in a few States. The table is not exhaustive, but only illustrative:

States.	Total population, 1880.	Total illiterates 10 years and over who can not write, 1870.	Colored illiterates 10 years and over who can not write, 1879.	Total of State and local taxes for common schools, 1879.	What this gives for an average school of 30 pupils per annum.	Total sum that a fund of \$3 per capita for illiterates would give the State.	How much of this because of colored illiteracy.	How much of it to white illiteracy.
Alabama.	1,262,505	433,447	321,680	\$250,000	\$17 00	\$1,300,341	\$965,040	\$335,301
Iowa.	1,621,615	46,609	4,227,300	139,827			139,827	139,827
North Carolina.	1,399,750	463,975	314,719	20 00	1,391,925	815,829	576,096	
Wisconsin.	1,315,097	55,558	2,223,581	166,674			166,674	
Kentucky.	1,648,090	348,392	183,895	947,392	76 00	1,045,176	401,685	643,491
Michigan.	1,636,937	63,723	2,453,831	191,169			191,169	191,169
Arkansas.	802,525	202,015	103,473	189,080	28 00	606,045	310,419	295,626
Connecticut.	622,700	28,424	1,276,667	85,272			85,272	85,272
Louisiana.	919,946	318,380	259,429	450,000	42 00	955,140	778,287	176,853
Kansas.	966,096	39,476	1,276,786	118,428			118,428	148,428
Georgia.	1,542,180	520,416	391,482	471,089	27 00	1,561,248	1,174,446	381,862
Massachusetts.	1,788,085	92,980	4,372,286	278,940			278,940	
South Carolina.	995,577	369,848	300,071	440,110	36 00	1,109,544	930,213	179,331
Minnesota.	780,773	34,546	1,361,526	103,638			103,638	103,638
Maryland.	934,943	134,488	90,172	1,210,977	275 00	403,464	270,519	132,948
Maine.	648,906	22,170	820,860	66,510			66,510	66,510
West Virginia.	618,457	85,373	10,139	703,185	247 00	256,128	30,417	225,711
Nebraska.	452,402	11,528	786,963	34,584			34,584	34,584
Tennessee.	1,742,359	410,722	194,495	698,776	51 00	1,032,166	583,435	648,781
New York.	5,082,871	219,600	9,675,992	658,800			658,800	658,800
Virginia.	1,512,565	430,452	315,660	1,261,975	87 00	1,291,056	941,780	344,076
Ohio.	3,198,062	131,847	6,714,086	395,541			395,541	395,541
Mississippi.	1,131,597	373,201	334,769	26 00	1,119,603	959,529	160,344	
New Jersey.	1,131,116	53,249	1,742,198	159,747			159,747	
Florida.	269,493	80,183	60,420	104,530	39 00	240,549	181,260	59,289
New Hampshire.	346,991	14,802	544,716	42,906			42,906	
Missouri.	2,168,380	208,754	56,244	2,163,830	310 00	626,262	168,732	457,530
Illinois.	3,077,871	145,397	6,735,478	436,191			436,191	

We respectfully suggest:

1. The help should be so given that it will stimulate rather than supersede the necessity of State effort.

2. It should be help for the common schools; temporary aid in the training of teachers perhaps, but chiefly in giving them opportunity to teach. "The safety of the Republic is the supreme law of the land." This is the maxim which not only justifies but demands action on the part of the General Government, and it should also suggest the limitations under which the action should be taken.

3. The help should be immediate and not remote. The fortunes of war and the necessities of legislative action have made citizens of a large mass of ignorant men, whose votes are to shape, for weal or woe, the character of our laws. Education alone can convert this mass of ignorance and element of danger into one of enlightened strength and safety.

Largely more than one-half of a fund for the education of the illiterate would go to the South for negro illiteracy; less than one-fourth because of white illiteracy. If Congress should create a fund which would give \$3 per annum per capita for the education of this class alone, it will require an aggregate annual sum of \$18,719,958. Of this, Mississippi, *e. g.*, would receive \$1,119,603; but of this \$59,529 would be for colored illiterates and \$160,344 for white illiterates.

Representing an educational work in the South chiefly for the negro race, in which have been expended about \$10,000,000, and speaking with a wide knowledge of facts, we emphatically assert the impossibility of accomplishing this great work unless the General Government shall come to the assistance of those States in which this illiteracy is chiefly found.

Every dollar we have expended expresses the conscientious and earnest desire of the donor that this work shall be done, and is an emphatic vote for the action for which we ask.

In the name of the millions of Christian citizens whom we represent we earnestly urge Congress to help qualify the ignorant voters who are intrusted largely by Congressional action with the ballot for the duties with which they are charged, believing the power to do this is co-ordinate with the power that enfranchised them.

REV. M. E. STRIEBY, D. D.,
American Missionary Association; Congregational.
REV. J. C. HARTZEL, D. D.,
Secretary Freedmen's Aid Society; Methodist.
REV. H. L. MOREHOUSE, D. D.,
Home Missionary Society; Baptist.
REV. SHELDON JACKSON, D. D.,
Home Missionary Society; Presbyterian.
REV. J. L. M. CURRY, D. D.,
Agent of the Peabody Fund.
PROFESSOR C. C. PAINTER,
Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.
S. C. ARMSTRONG,
Hampton Institute, Virginia.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March, 1882.

MR. BLAIR. I call attention to these signatures, not only on account of the great personal worth of the men themselves, of the superior position which they occupy as individuals in the country, but on account of the representative capacity in which they have signed the memorial. These denominations are also organized into a national educational assembly, which has had two annual meetings, of which Bishop Simpson is the president. It is proper that I should observe here that there is a substantial combination of all the great religious bodies of the country, at least in the Northern States, who have one specific purpose, and that is to urge upon Congress the appropriation of national money in the direction of general education.

The hearing which followed is to be found reported in full in Miscellaneous Document 55 of this session, to which I refer the Senate, but from which I wish now to quote a few of the more important statements made on that occasion. Superintendent Orr, of Georgia, addressed the committees as follows:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the duty assigned me on this occasion is a very simple one. I have been laboring in this work in my State for the last ten years.

I desire to say that Superintendent Orr can speak with larger and more reliable authority probably from the standpoint of an educated, energetic, and patriotic Southern man upon this subject than any other man whatever in the whole country. I consider his statements as of very special significance, and entitled not alone to the attention of the Senate but of the entire country; in fact all that I shall read, much to the weariness, I trust not to the disgust, of any members of the Senate, will be from representative men, who are much better authority on this subject than anything I might state. Mr. Orr said:

I have been the representative of the Department of Education since 1872. I do not propose to detain the committee by any lengthened remarks. I propose to give you, gentlemen, some plain facts showing our condition, showing our necessities, showing the temper and spirit of our people, and I feel that when I do this, when I put before you the condition of the State of Georgia, I shall have given you a type of what prevails throughout the entire South.

In the year 1860, when one of the honored Senators from my State now present was our chief executive, the tax returns, according to the documents in the office of the comptroller-general, summed up \$72,000,000. After I entered the office which I now have the honor of filling I went to the files of that office for the purpose of trying to ascertain the aggregate value of property at the first return made after the war. I found it to be \$170,000,000. The property of the State was thus reduced \$300,000,000 in value. This made a great change in the condition of the State, as you may well know; but this does not represent fully the change. It lacks a great deal of it.

I will put before you, gentlemen, a few other considerations which will show more fully the great change which was wrought. Everything that we had accumulated during the four years of the unhappy struggle in which we engaged was invested in confederate securities, and was held in the shape either of bonds or of confederate currency. Thus what remained of the labor of four years, after the devastation of your army and the support rendered ours, was blotted out in one hour. Hundreds, thousands, and tens of thousands of the best men in the State of Georgia were thus left in a condition in which, under the old postal laws of the United States, when postage was paid at the place of delivery, they could not have taken a letter from the post-office. You will very readily understand, then, how we were situated as to our capacity to commence life again.

Not only this, but the whole labor system of the country was thrown into disorganization. The agriculturists had no means of going to work again, and we are an agricultural people, as you well know. They had no capital to begin

with. They had to borrow. They had to give a lien upon the products of the soil in order to enable them to pay the debts, and those who held the capital exacted exorbitant interest. Our farmers and agriculturists have been paying from 50 to 100 per cent, for advances. Having their noses thus put to the grindstone, they have been kept there up to the present time, for every intelligent man knows very well that farming can not be conducted successfully when the capital used in it costs such a percentage. The lack of resources and the utterly disorganized condition of the labor of the country put us in a very helpless condition.

Let me glance for a few moments at certain other facts. We had in the State of Georgia two kinds of citizens—those who had always been citizens, and a number of persons, very nearly equal, who had been made citizens as a result of the war. The last school enumeration, which was taken four years ago, showed that we had 198,000 colored school children in the State. The entire school population is 433,444. The difference will show you how many are colored; nearly half, you will see.

Let me say a few words about the colored people. They were made free without resources. They had no capital; they had no habits that would lead men when thrown upon their own resources to accumulate capital. They have been gathering capital gradually, until I am very glad to report that the last return of the property of the State showed that there were in the hands of the colored people of that State some \$6,000,000 worth of property. I think the colored people of my State have done nobly; I say it here to their credit. But the point I am now making is the immense burden which was put upon us. I do not give you an idea of that burden by telling you the number of persons who were suddenly made free without resources. That does not give you an idea at all.

There is no means of getting at the number exactly, but I think at least one-half of the white population was in the same condition, utterly wrecked, ruined financially by the results of the unfortunate struggle in which we had engaged. For one, I want to see the last remains of that struggle forever buried so deep that the hand of resurrection will never bring them up again. I think it becomes us of this generation to begin to think about living for the future, to forget the past. We have a great country, and here we must dwell; our people want to dwell with you in unity and harmony. I know what I say; I have visited in the course of the administration of my office almost every county in the State of Georgia. I have made two hundred addresses to the people. I have stated to you the difficulties now. I know the condition; I know the spirit of the people, their present sentiment. I know it from mingling with them in their cottages and in their cabins, for I have visited the colored man as well as the white man. I have mingled with all; I know their feelings.

I want to say to you, gentlemen, that in the State of Georgia, under my administration of ten years, the entire loss of school fund will not foot up more than about \$6,000. In an administration covering ten years there has not been a single dollar misappropriated with that exception that I know of. We try to make it do the greatest possible amount of good. We try to manage it with the greatest economy. We admit to our schools all who want to enter them. We commenced in 1871 with a school attendance of 48,000. We have gone gradually upward. My brethren here will excuse me for using the same illustration which I did before the association when in session. One of the fathers, a man contributed to us by New England, one of our most honored men in the early history of that State—I allude to Abraham Baldwin—in speaking once of central power, illustrated it by that wonderful power known as the screw. He stated that at every revolution it gained a little and it held all it gained. I quote his illustration, not making the same application of it; I make it very different one.

We have gained at every revolution a little in Georgia, and we retain all that we gain. We are moving steadily forward. We commenced with an attendance of 48,000 the first year. The second year we had 83,000, the next year 136,000, the next 156,000. I shall not follow the statistics along. Year before last (my year's work has not been footed up, as the returns are not all in) we went up to a school attendance of 236,000. We have never failed to gain as much as 9,000 in any year. We have gone over that in attendance every year, and the colored people have proceeded *pari passu* with the whites in their attendance. They commenced with 6,000 and went up, according to the last return, to 86,000 colored children in our schools. There is no discrimination made; no man can afford to do it in an office in my State. So strong is the school sentiment in favor of the administration of exact and equal justice that no man can afford to do it. We are struggling to do the very best we can with our limited means.

I have read a good deal on the subject of the school history of this country and of the different States. In addition to that, I have been giving my attention to this great subject of the education of the races for eleven or twelve years. I have been reading whatever fell into my hands, and you will excuse me when I say that considering the circumstances in which we were placed, the great disadvantages under which we labored, the immense difficulties which we had to contend with—considering all these things and considering the work achieved, I do not believe the equal of it has been done in any State of this Union in any time during the past. If it has, it is not within my knowledge. We have wrought a marvelous work, but we are unable to do what ought to be done. We come to you and ask the interposition of the strong arm of the Government, the Government of your fathers and of our fathers, for we are one of the old thirteen. We stood shoulder to shoulder with you in that contest, and I want to say here to-day that if another contest shall arise our people will stand by the people of New England and the people of the Middle States in supporting the power and the authority of the Government of the United States.

Gentlemen, I do not know that I could state anything further that would be of service to you. I wish to add that I was greatly gratified when my brethren here from New England, and from the great Northwest, and from the Middle States, and from the Southern States, met in council, and when we sat down as brethren, and when we agreed almost unanimously upon every point to be submitted to this committee for consideration. We are practically a unit, and on all of these recommendations the men from all portions of the country agree.

Now, gentlemen, begging pardon for taking up so much of your valuable time, and thinking that it is proper for me to yield to others who may have something to say on this occasion, I shall conclude by asking, as I know I shall have, the candid consideration of this great question of the education of the masses, greater than questions of commerce, than questions of currency, than questions of tariff, than questions of constitutional law—greater than any questions that statesmanship will have to contend with and settle, because we make the people, and without the people we can have nothing else. We make the men and women of the country. I shall say nothing further.

Representative Updegraff, now dead, asked this question, to which Mr. Orr responded:

I should like to ask the honorable gentleman whether the average time of continuance at school has increased?

MR. ORR. Our last Legislature succeeded in adding about \$100,000 to the fund. We shall have this year very nearly \$600,000 to operate with. We shall be able to run our schools in many of the counties absolutely free for four months of the present year—that is my estimate—and in all of them paying the entire expense for three months. We are adding just as rapidly as we can.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. HARRIS in the chair). The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the Chair will lay before the Senate the unfinished business, which the Chair believes is the bill to which, by the unanimous consent of the Senate, the Senator from New Hampshire is now addressing himself. It is now before the Senate in its own right

for consideration. The Senator from New Hampshire is entitled to the floor.

Mr. BLAIR. Hon. Hugh Thompson, of South Carolina, was before the committee and made the following statement from his standpoint as a prominent citizen of that State, and as superintendent of public instruction, I think, at that time:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, in presenting the view of South Carolina I shall ask to call the attention of the committee to three points:

First. That the State of South Carolina is now doing all in her power for public education.

Secondly. That it is impossible in her impoverished condition for her to furnish the means of education to the masses of the children; and

Thirdly. That the aid we ask for, if granted at all, should be granted immediately.

I have brought here some figures from the school returns of South Carolina which I wish to read, and as I have no set speech to make to the committee, I shall be glad to answer any question that any member of the committee may wish to ask. An interruption will not interfere at all with the line that I shall take.

I call the attention of the committee, first, to the fact that in 1877, when I took charge of the department of education in South Carolina, the first thing I did was to call for a statement from the different counties of the amount of past indebtedness, known as the school indebtedness. I was aware that it was large, but I was surprised to find when the returns came in that we had upon us a debt of \$210,000 due against the school fund. This debt at that time of \$210,000 was supposed to be the full limit, but upon subsequent investigation it turned out to be much larger. During the period from 1877 until the present time we have been attempting to pay off this debt. In some of the counties the debt has been entirely liquidated, and there are not more than one or two counties now remaining in which there is any considerable debt to be paid. But that debt has hampered us in every move we have made to strengthen and develop our public-school system. In addition to that we have a debt of \$191,800, known as agricultural land scrip. There was not one cent of that money to be found in the treasury; the last dollar of it had been misappropriated. That fund, too, has been restored.

The committee will observe, therefore, that we have paid a debt of over \$400,000, money that ought to have been used for elementary and higher education, and that we have thus been hampered in our attempts to make the school system as strong as it might otherwise have been.

The assessed value of the property of South Carolina to-day is nearly \$138,000,000. We have three sources of revenue from which our school-tax is derived. First, it comes from a constitutional tax of 2 mills on the dollar upon all the taxable property of the State. The amendment to the constitution making this a part of the organic law of the State was adopted in January, 1877. Observe, gentlemen, that this is part of the organic law; it is not subject to changes by different Legislatures. We are glad to state that each year the income from this source grows larger and larger as the assessed value of property is raised.

The second source from which we derive an income is from the poll-tax. There are in the State of South Carolina, on the books, 140,000 polls, and the poll-tax there is \$1 a head. We have never succeeded in collecting more than \$114,000 from this source, owing to the fact that a large number of the voters of the State are entirely without property, and we can not enforce the collection of even the \$1 per head.

The third source from which we derive our revenue is local taxation. This mode of raising taxes is becoming more and more in vogue each year. At each session of the Legislature we find different towns coming forward and asking permission to levy additional taxation.

The misuse of the public money during the first years of the school system, from 1868 to 1877, and especially the abuse of power under the local-tax laws, is one of the great obstacles that the school men of South Carolina have had to contend with, because we are constantly met with the charge that the thousands of dollars that were wrung from the people within the period named were misapplied, were stolen and misappropriated, and that this public-school system is only an engine of taxation, the money for which will not be carried into the channels for which it was intended. I believe, though, that this spirit is rapidly passing away. As I said the other night before the association of superintendents, I am convinced that if to-day the question of maintaining the public-school system of South Carolina were submitted to a vote of white citizens alone, by a very large majority they would be in favor of maintaining it and strengthening it and of developing it so far as may be in their power.

I should like to call the attention of the committee, in order to show what the State is doing in this respect, to a brief comparison of the taxes collected for the different purposes in South Carolina. The whole of the State tax, in round numbers, is \$629,000. The proceeds of the county taxes are about \$800,000, making a total of nearly \$1,500,000. The proceeds of the school and poll taxes, according to the last return of the comptroller-general, were \$465,000. In other words, the school tax of South Carolina is about one-third of all the other taxes that are collected in the State. The assessed school tax was \$465,000. Of course the actual amount collected was a little less than that, being about \$425,000, because there were a good many delinquent taxes.

In addition to this the State now makes an appropriation of \$24,000 for the University of South Carolina. That university has two branches, the old South Carolina College at Columbia, for the whites, and the Clafin College at Orangeburg, for the colored. The Clafin College is partly supported from benefactions by benevolent persons at the North; but these two institutions for the higher education of white and colored are maintained by the State at an annual cost of about \$24,000. In both these institutions instruction is free; no charge whatever is made for tuition. In the Clafin school at Orangeburg we have a normal department for teachers, which is each year turning out successive bodies of skilled and trained teachers, who are doing estimable work for the colored. In addition to this the State has recently made provision for the re-establishment of its military academy, appropriating \$15,000 this year for that purpose. In this military academy there will be supported now, as before the war, two cadets from each county, who pay nothing whatever. They are supported in full by the State, and they are required to teach two years in the public schools of the State after their graduation. There will be another class of young men in the institution known as pay cadets, who will pay moderate tuition for themselves, and will not be required to render any service. They will pay their way through the institution. Besides that we have the normal institute, supported by the State, this year an appropriation of \$1,500 having been made for that purpose.

You will observe, therefore, gentlemen, that we are appropriating now about \$465,000 for elementary education in South Carolina and a little over \$40,000 for higher education, making a total of more than half a million dollars which South Carolina is devoting to this purpose, with an assessed valuation of property of but \$138,000,000.

I should like to call the attention of the committee to another comparison. The whole expense of the State government of South Carolina for the last year, inclusive of interest on the public debt, was \$238,575. The expenses for the maintenance of the charitable institutions, there being but two, an asylum for the insane and one for the deaf and dumb, were \$116,164. Therefore the expense of public schools and of charitable institutions was \$351,164. For these purposes South Carolina appropriates two and a half times as much as she does for the whole expenses of her State government. For public schools alone she appropriates twice as much as she does for all the expenses of the State government.

I mention these facts in support of the position which I take that the State is doing all that she can do for the maintenance of her public schools.

I now desire to call the attention of the committee to the second point I make, which is that the State of South Carolina is unable because of her impoverished condition to give proper instruction to all classes of her people. The scholastic population of the State—children between 10 and 16 years of age—as made by the returns of the county school commissioners in 1875 (I have been unable to get the returns of the census, which are more accurate, and I doubt not will show even larger figures than these) was, whites 85,678, colored 152,293, making a total of 237,971 children. The school attendance in South Carolina for the year 1880-'81 was, whites 61,339, colored 12,119, making a total of 73,458 at the public schools. The expenditure per capita of school population is \$1.95, the expenditure per capita of school attendance \$3.50. I call the attention of the committee to the fact that while these schools are free and open to all and no distinction is made on account of race or color, according to these returns (which are inaccurate, because I believe they are below the truth), we have 100,000 children in the State of South Carolina whom we are unable to educate for the want of larger means. The number of public schools in the State last year was 3,057, the number of white teachers 2,026, the number of colored teachers 1,223, making the total number of teachers 3,249.

Taking the illiteracy of South Carolina shown by the return of the last census, which I had an opportunity of observing last night, the ratio of white illiterates to the whole population is 7.77 per cent; the ratio of colored illiteracy to the whole population is 33.09. I maintain that as far as controlling the white illiteracy in the State is concerned, South Carolina is able, ready, and willing to control it; and that she is equally ready and willing to control the colored illiteracy, but that it is beyond her power to do so. It is from this class of our citizens, a class to whom I claim that the State government of South Carolina in all its departments has done full and ample justice, that the trouble comes. I believe I speak the sentiment of the majority of the people of the State when I say that we in South Carolina feel that the safety and prosperity of the State depend upon the education of that class of our citizens. I need not speak to you, gentlemen of the committee, of the limited opportunities that the colored people have had heretofore for education, but you know that the absolute need for it now is such, that if the United States Government does not hold out a helping hand to us at this time we shall continue to send forth each year illiterate voters by thousands.

Bear in mind, gentlemen, that one generation of these people has grown up without the opportunities of education. This generation has got now the fathers and mothers of another generation coming along. It is a well-established fact, a principle recognized by all, that to appreciate education is a consequence of education itself. It is necessary, therefore, for the State and for the General Government to come to the front at this time, and to make South Carolina and other Southern States what I believe the people of those States desire that they shall be, thoroughly educated.

I will call the attention of the committee to the fact that there are now in the Southern States about 5,000,000 children ready and needing the opportunities of education. The expenditures of the Southern States under this head are about \$7,000,000; but little more than a dollar a head. It would take at the lowest calculation \$30,000,000 to furnish the opportunities of education to our children in the South. Gentlemen, I say, as one knowing the spirit of the people and knowing their limited resources, that we have not the means to furnish this education.

I do not propose to detain the committee with any argument as to the right of the General Government to furnish the means for which we ask. I desire to say for my State, and I am sure that I speak the sentiment of other States, that we do not come here as mendicants in this matter. We do not come here asking for charity. We have put our own shoulders to the wheel; we are using all the efforts in our power, and we simply ask of this great Government that it will come to our aid now in the time of our great necessity, because if this aid is withheld now, if it is not granted now, as I have shown, there are thousands of children whom we are unable to educate, and who need this assistance at this very moment, who will not be educated.

I was told this morning, since I entered this room, by a gentleman to whom I was introduced, that South Carolina always liked to be in the front. As of old, South Carolina wants to be in the front in the matter of public education. It is for that reason we have come here, because we have not the means, as I have stated, to furnish this education ourselves. I believe it is but a few moments ago when some gentlemen from this side were called before a committee of the House of Representatives of Congress with regard to the deepening of the harbor at Charleston and the improvement of that harbor. That great work is now going on under the charge of a distinguished engineer, a distinguished soldier, whose duty it was during the war to leave more imperishable marks upon the city of Charleston. He is there now in the quiet pursuits of peace, deepening that harbor, and giving to South Carolina an outlet for her trade and her commerce which she has so long needed; but, gentlemen, there is a need that South Carolina has not second even to the deepening of the harbor of her great metropolis. Great as are her resources, wonderful as her power is when fully developed, the true source of her strength and of her power is in the brains of her people. It is for that purpose we are here to ask the Government to give her the means of developing the brains of her people, and we do ask that we may have an opportunity of coming to the front and staying there, as one of the States of the Union, contributing our share to the civilization and the progress of this great country, and making South Carolina as one of the States of the Union, contribute her quota to make the people of this whole country once more free, prosperous, happy, and united.

I call the attention of the Senate to these particulars because they demonstrate that on the part of the State of South Carolina there is really being a very earnest and energetic effort made to educate the children of the State so far as can be done with the available revenues. I call special attention to the following statement made by Hon. J. H. Smart, then and for many years superintendent of public instruction of the State of Indiana, as that of one of the most distinguished educators of the country, and a Northern man whose associations have been such as to make him a conservative and reliable observer. I am proud to claim him as a son of New Hampshire.

ADDRESS OF J. H. SMART.

Dr. DICKINSON. I now present a gentleman eminent as an educator, a friend of education, who is here to represent the North. I refer to Hon. J. H. Smart, of Indiana, and I will say before he commences that Mr. Smart presided two years ago at the meeting of the National Teachers' Association which met at Atlanta, and he knows well the spirit of the people of that country.

MR. SMART. Mr. Chairman and gentleman of the committee, I shall detain you just long enough to state a fact and to express an opinion, a fact in reference to the need of the South, and an opinion in reference to their willingness to do what they can.

It has been my fortune to be able to make several visits to a number of the Southern States, and on one of these, taken last summer, I was driven from one of the popular summer resorts in the State of Georgia to the railway station, a distance of about 18 miles—a road frequently traveled, because this summer resort was largely visited by Southern people—by a negro who owned his own team, letting it to the hotel proprietors and his own services during the summer months. He in-

formed me that he owned a little house and a small amount of land; that he rented fifty acres, and I found that he knew a good deal about the condition of things in his locality. I have talked with several hundred negroes in the South as occasion offered, and I want to tell you some of the answers this driver gave to some of my questions on this ride.

This man was thirty-two years of age, and he told me that he had tried to learn; that there was a school within a reasonable distance, and that he had attended that school; but he confessed that he had not been able to learn very much. He was a man of more than ordinary intelligence for one in his condition. I asked him if he knew the name of the President of the United States, and he said that he did not. I asked him if he knew the name of the governor of his State; he said that he did not. I asked him if he had voted for the President of the United States at the recent election; he said that he did vote. "Can you tell me for whom you voted?" "No, sir; I cannot; I don't recollect." "Do you know anything about England?" "Yes, sir; I have heard something about England." "Is it in the United States?" "I do not know." "Is France in the United States?" "I can't tell you; I think it is." "Did you ever hear of Governor Colquitt?" "Oh, yes; I think I voted for him. Is he the man you spoke of a moment ago?" "No, he is not the President of the United States." "Did you ever hear of Garfield?" "Oh, yes; he was hurt, wasn't he; he was shot, wasn't he?" "Is not that the man you voted for?" "Yes," he thought it was.

Now, this man, unable to read his ballot, is not a subject whose duty it is to obey, the sum of whose political duties is found in the word obedience, but he is a sovereign, and the ballot is put into his hands. It has been put there by the national Congress. That man makes the law that governs me. Forty per cent, as I am informed by Dr. Orr, of the voting population of this State are illiterates; there being 80,000 of them.

I related this incident to a number of Southern superintendents a while ago, and I was told that it was a typical case, much to my astonishment, and that what I found here with this negro was to be found in thousands of cases in the other States. I believe that the State of Georgia is in danger, and not only the State of Georgia, but the State of Indiana, from this state of affairs—in more danger than if one hundred thousand men were to land on the coast of Georgia to day fully armed and equipped for war, and that the State of Indiana will suffer from this condition of affairs.

Now, I want to express the opinion that the Southern people are willing to do all they can to cure this great evil and remove this great wrong, and, so far as I have observed, the work that has been done, under existing circumstances, has been a marvelous work. The Southern people have made a heroic effort, certainly in three or four States that I have visited, to do the best that could be done for these colored people. I want to say that throughout the length and breadth of the Southern States, without one exception, the colored people are given the same advantages that the white people are given. No distinction whatever is made; and, so far as I was able to find out, there is an almost unanimous, certainly an overwhelming, sentiment in favor of educating the colored children equally with the white children. And I believe, from what I saw, that we are able to trust the existing State organizations represented by these gentlemen; we are able to trust them with whatever means we can appropriate, and I speak after some investigation and after deliberation.

There is a pressing need, and these gentlemen have told you about it; there is no necessity for me to talk about it, but I want to express the feeling that I think exists in my own section of the country; that this appropriation ought to be made—not only for the protection of the people of the South, but for the protection of the people of the North; that while we do not need it for our own illiterates, for we ought to be able to take care of them ourselves, we need it because we suffer from an ignorant ballot, and we see danger in it, so that we join our brethren from the South in asking Congress to make an adequate and speedy appropriation in order that this great evil may be rooted out.

Mr. M. A. Newell, then superintendent of public instruction for the State of Maryland, a very able gentleman, spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I am not here to-day to make any special plea in behalf of Maryland. We think that in a small way and in the course of time we shall be able to take care of our own people in the way of education. I am here to show that, so far as Maryland is concerned, we are in absolute accord with the gentlemen who have already addressed you. We look upon ignorance not as a local but as a national question, and we consider it as much or nearly as much of an evil to have ignorance in Florida or Georgia as it would be to have it in Maryland or in Pennsylvania. Yet I think, Mr. Chairman, though you and the gentlemen of the committee have studied this question long and deeply, you are hardly aware even now of the immense mass of ignorance that is pressing upon us not only in the South but in the Middle States and in the North. I can hardly bring this more pointedly to your notice than by stating a few simple facts with regard to my own State.

I have been at the head of the educational department of Maryland for fourteen years successively, and therefore I know all that I am going to say of my personal knowledge. We spend every year a million and a half dollars for common school education. We keep our schools open in most of our counties ten months in the year, in none of them less than seven months and a half, and an average of nine months of every year. Our teachers are reasonably well paid; they are properly selected, and are doing their work as well as can be expected under the circumstances. All our surroundings are in favor of education. The people believe in it for themselves, and they believe in it for their neighbors. And yet, Mr. Chairman, after sixteen years of a uniform State system, well supported, tolerably well endowed, the last census reports 134,000 illiterates in the little State of Maryland.

Now, sir, the argument is, *a fortiori*, if, after sixteen years of hard and honest work, we have not been able to wash out this black stain of ignorance, what chance have our friends in South Carolina and in Georgia and in Florida to deal with theirs?

Mr. Chairman, I am old-fashioned enough to think still that the State ought to do nothing that the private individual can do as well, and I am willing to carry it further, and to say that the National Government should do nothing that the State Government can do as well; but all history and all experience prove to us that the individual is not able to educate his children; he has never done it in the history of the world; the State must come in and aid him in the work; and I think we have proved abundantly that in our Southern States, at all events, the State is not able to do the work of education. Therefore, I say it is the duty and the privilege of the National Government to come in and help the States to do that which they are willing but are not able to do.

The above statement from the efficient superintendent of Maryland demonstrates not only the necessities of his own and other States, but the further fact that even with the prolonged school year an immense outlay is required to increase the accommodations that the surplus school population now not reached at all may be brought in.

Hon. D. F. De Wolf, superintendent for Ohio, spoke thus for Ohio and the central Western States:

Mr. De WOLF. Gentlemen, there is one point that I should like to speak of for the State of Ohio, and I think for the central and Western States. I have mingled with these people for forty years; was with them during the great struggle that resulted in the reconstruction, so called, of the Southern States. Those States were a party to the doctrines that were embodied in that reconstruction when they united in imposing on the Southern States a large body of voters.

They took the responsibility of imposing upon that section of the country and upon the United States a large body of voters. I do not know but that they did wisely and I do not know but that they think they did wisely, but they think they assumed very great responsibilities, and I think they are ready now to consider those responsibilities, and to take what action may be necessary to meet those responsibilities.

Rev. Dr. A. D. Mayo, of Massachusetts, who is as well informed upon this subject as any man living, next addressed the committee. Dr. Mayo is well known throughout the country. His views have been expressed on many occasions, and they are those probably of the largest and perhaps the most accurate observer in the Northern States upon this matter of the school condition of the people of the South.

Rev. Dr. Mayo. Gentlemen of the committee: I suppose my brethren have asked me to say a word to you because for the last two years I have spent my whole time during the school year in visiting the schools of twelve of the Southern States, from Virginia to Texas, inclusive. During this time I have had the most ample opportunities afforded me by the State authorities, by teachers, by citizens, by pupils, by people of every class, to ascertain the condition of educational affairs in that portion of the country, and I feel that I am in a condition to form intelligent opinions in regard to the several matters that will come before you in this consultation. Of course time will not permit me to give the data or the reasons for conclusions which I may express to you, but ever since I began this work—and I would say that previous to that I had no personal knowledge of affairs in the South, and never went through the South until two years ago—several conclusions have forced themselves constantly upon my attention.

In the first place, I am fully prepared to indorse that emphatic declaration of Dr. Curry, who perhaps better than any Southern man understands the educational condition of the South, when he says that the illiteracy of the Southern States is absolutely appalling. By this I do not wish to say that the leading classes of the Southern States are an ignorant people. I find them there a very cultivated people; I find a people equal to any people in the world; I find as a class the white people of the South are fully up to the people of any State in the Union in natural capacity and force; but the condition of illiteracy which exists seems to me absolutely appalling. And one little point I wish to call your attention to here: Not only is this illiteracy confined to the colored people and the poor white people, but there is great danger, unless something can be done soon, that great numbers of the children of the better classes of white people in the South will be plunged into illiteracy.

No class in the South suffered so much from the effects of the war as the respectable leading class of white people in the South, and to-day there are hundreds of thousands of boys and girls growing up through all the Southern States, the sons and daughters of the leading people of those States, who, unless something can be done very soon, will be doomed to grow up in ignorance. Perhaps the most pitiful thing that can happen to any State is that it should lose what it has gained. While the blacks and the poorer whites are really better off in educational affairs than ever before, the children of the better classes of people are absolutely worse off than they ever were before.

Now, to meet this condition of illiteracy, it seems to me utterly idle to speak of anything but a system of thorough elementary education afforded by the State. No church system of schools, no private system of schools can meet the exigency. There must be a system of elementary education, which includes the training of teachers, proper school-houses, and everything of this kind, in order to meet this great want.

Another matter has forced itself very constantly on my attention, which has been alluded to before, which is this: I am pretty well acquainted with the condition of education in our country and in other countries, and I have no hesitation in announcing to you, gentlemen, my conviction that never within ten years in the history of the world has an effort so great, so persistent, and so absolutely heroic been made by any people for the education of the children as by the leading class of the people in our Southern States.

Practically, within ten years every one of these Southern States has put on its statute-book a system of public schools; practically, within this time every district of country in the South has received something that can be called a school. This school public, as we may call it, consisting of State officials, of school officers, of superior teachers, of thoughtful people all over the South, is to my mind the most forcible, the most persistent, the most devoted school public now in any part of the world. There is no body of superior teachers doing so much work for so little pay and under such great disadvantages as in the South to-day. There is no minority of people working so hard to overcome this terrible calamity of illiteracy anywhere in the world to-day as in the South. I give this as the deliberate result of two years of observation in twelve States.

Once more, gentlemen, it seems to me that in building up this system of elementary education our Southern people have come almost to a halt. For the last ten years the school public has been working in every conceivable way to bring the attention of the people to this matter, and I believe to-day that the practicable limit of taxation is about reached. We may say ideally and abstractly that the Southern people can give more than they do for education; but practically, looking at them as we look at every people in the world, I believe that the limit is reached. And what is the condition in which we find things there to-day? Perhaps \$10,000,000 is expended through these States of the South for elementary education, and there seems to be just about money enough to put on the ground a system of schools which, while it is an improvement to the negro and to the poor white man, is profoundly unsatisfactory and insufficient for the leading class of the white population of the South; in other words, the introduction of the public-school system has broken down the old-fashioned system of education by which the white people obtained their help, and has introduced an inefficient system, so that a multitude of these people really have no good place to educate their children.

Let me illustrate the state of things: Here is a town or a district that has a thousand dollars, all told, for school purposes; with that thousand dollars that district can establish an insufficient school for three or four months in the year, with an inexperienced teacher, in an insufficient school-house; a school which is not satisfactory to the best people, which cannot do the work that should be done. That is the course of things all over the Southern States, in cities, in country towns, and in the country districts, and the crying want through all that country is that what these people now have shall be supplemented by enough to put a good school system at once on the ground.

We must remember, gentlemen, that nine men out of ten in the South never saw what we call a good public elementary school. The thing that is necessary is to put for one year, for two years, for three years, in every district through that country a school that will be a fair representative of a public school, that the people can see it; and once having seen it and enjoyed its benefits they never will give it up again. Now, it is utterly impossible for the average school authority to get the money to put such a school on the ground. Give to that man another \$500, another \$1,000, and at once, without wearing himself out with importunity, he can put on the ground the school that the people need; a school that, instead of being a school that satisfies nobody, is a school that satisfies everybody; and once having seen that school for one year, for two years, for five years, for ten years, that people will be stimulated to great exertions and will never give it up.

Let me illustrate this by one spectacle which I saw which will put you in full possession of this point. The little city of Goldsborough, N. C., has about four thousand people. Up to a year ago that city had no school in it which was satisfactory to any portion of the white inhabitants of the city; it had a poor public colored

school under the county authorities. Six months ago a few of the enterprising citizens of that city were able to put into operation a thorough white graded school. By the aid of the Peabody fund they were able to secure an expert for a teacher, so that school took all the children in the town. Four hundred children were put into a good school-house, graded and organized; over them was put an expert teacher, and at once it was shown to everybody in that town what could be done with a good graded school. I visited that town one day, and it was like going to a town that was under the effect of a religious revival; everybody was in a state of delightful excitement; everybody was asking me to see the school; people were coming from all parts of the country to see it, and just because the agent of the Peabody fund could come in with his thousand dollars and give to that school the expert which made it what it was. The battle was won, the thing was done, everybody was satisfied, and the whole region around about was being instructed and brought up to that work.

Such schools in county towns mean good schools in the country districts. What we ask you, gentlemen, is to give to these school authorities everywhere through the South money enough to supplement what they are now doing; so instead of an insufficient school, as they have now, they can put on the ground at once a good school, which will satisfy the people, which will confirm them in their desire to sustain education, and which will give them a fair understanding of the benefits of the institution.

Now, gentlemen, just one word more and I am done. I fully concur from my observation in all that has been said on several points. First, the South needs this money at once. It is an urgent case. Are you aware, gentlemen, that the average school life, reckoned by months, of the average boy east of the Alleghanies is four years; the average school life of the Western boy, reckoned by months, is three years; the average school life of the white and colored school boy in the South is less than two years; the average school life of the average Southern boy is not one year?

This is a turnpike gate through which these children are streaming, and while you are debating and consulting on the feasibility of different methods, generation after generation, you may say, are streaming through.

What is to be done should be done at once to meet the great demand of the present.

In the next place, money enough ought to be given to do the work at once. If the roof of your house is on fire and you are obliged to put it out by carrying water in buckets it does no sort of good to have a ladder that reaches to the second-story window. You are just as badly off as if you had no ladder. What you want is a ladder that reaches to the roof, that will take you up where the danger is. The school system of the South to-day does not reach the full magnitude of the difficulty. Give enough at once to enable the school authorities to put a good school on the ground everywhere, and the difficulty is met.

One thing more, gentlemen. I am acquainted with the State superintendent of instruction, I believe, in every Southern State. I am acquainted with the State school board, I think, of every Southern State but two or three. I have studied with great care in the records of all those offices their methods of distribution of money. I believe there is no set of men in this country who are handling a moderate amount of money with greater economy, with greater fidelity than these gentlemen. It seems to me it would be a great mistake in distributing such funds as you give to put into each of these States a dual administration. If that should be done, I believe that at once \$100,000 or \$200,000 of money would be thrown away, virtually, for supervision. I believe if there is any set of men in this country that can be trusted to administer a fund of \$10,000,000 or \$15,000,000 in thirteen or fourteen States with fidelity it is the school authorities of those States, and therefore it seems to me that this money should go directly to the children through the accustomed channels, of course being guarded by all proper safeguards in the central power.

Among the cities of the South, no city has done so much as the city of Charleston. I know all those cities. No city has done so much with so little help as the city of Charleston. We have to-day two representative men with us. We have the mayor of Charleston, who represents what has been done in that city. We have, in another citizen of Charleston, a young gentleman who is a fine representative of the kind of young school men that we must rely on to do this work throughout the country. If your time and patience will permit, it will give me great pleasure to introduce to you the mayor of Charleston, Mr. William A. Courtenay.

Mayor Courtenay spoke as follows:

Mr. COURTENAY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, having in view the great pressure upon your time, I can best show my appreciation of the honor you have done my city by limiting what I have to say to a very brief statement of facts.

I will say that about twenty-five years ago we commenced in Charleston the system of public schools which was then being spread over the country. There were in 1860 four large, substantial brick school buildings of modern construction, calculated to seat comfortably eight hundred pupils each, which in the then condition of our affairs was ample for the children that were then being educated. One of these buildings was destroyed by the fire of 1861, so that when we resumed our school work in 1865 or 1866 we had three school buildings with an average capacity of eight hundred seats, and we took the Shaw Memorial School into our public school system, which had been erected in 1863, making the same number of school houses and about the same number of comfortable sittings. We have made an equal division of those school-houses—two are for white children and two are for colored children—and there are in the Morris street school (which is the largest colored school we have) eighteen hundred children packed into accommodations intended for eight hundred.

That is our school situation to-day. We have been for five years levying a small tax, and a new school building will be completed this year which will somewhat relieve the pressure, but we need really two or three more commodious buildings for school purposes, which we shall build in time when we can raise the money.

Now, gentlemen, in addition to the tax which is common all over the State of South Carolina, a constitutional tax of two mills, Charleston has paid during these last fifteen years an additional tax of from one to one and a half mills for the purpose of giving accommodations such as we have to give in these very crowded school-houses to a portion of the children of the city. I need not tell you that what was intended to accommodate 3,000 children will not accommodate 6,000, and that although there are over 4,000 children crowded into the schools, there are children who can not get a place inside the school-house to stand or sit, and are, therefore, not being educated. We have a very large city debt, and we have a large amount of charities to distribute every year, orphan houses and hospitals; the expenses of the city government are very nearly as much as those of the State; we have reached the limit of taxation; and we look naturally to the United States Government to come to the assistance of the city, the State, the South, and the country generally in illiteracy, and make some provision by which this great trouble can be cured.

I made a rough calculation hastily this morning without the data to make it accurate; but I assert here that the city of Charleston has paid for education over and above the State taxation since the close of the war somewhere between four and five hundred thousand dollars, and we will continue to do the best we can under any circumstances. But in view of the great burdens which are pressing upon us in many ways, because of the want of improvements in our city, and our great charities, which take from fifty to seventy thousand dollars a year—nearly 10 per cent. of the whole income—we feel that we can with some confidence come here and express our opinion in common with all other sections of the country for material and important aid.

If the gentlemen of the committee will be kind enough, I should like my friend Mr. Bryan to occupy the remainder of my time.

Mr. Bryan is a young, cultivated, and highly intellectual man, and

seemed to be the embodiment of the better time which is to be. His remarks profoundly impressed the committee. He was an eloquent, vigorous young man, I suppose a truly representative man of the rising life of the Southern portion of our country. No man ever made a stronger, more vigorous, and more pathetic appeal for aid or for assistance of any description than did this young gentleman of great ability from Charleston, S. C. Any Senator who will read that and vote against this bill is less of a Senator than I think.

Mr. ORR. Mr. J. P. Kennedy Bryan is the young gentleman who has been referred to, the son of the United States district judge for South Carolina.

The CHAIRMAN. We shall be happy to hear Mr. Bryan.

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. Chairman, I would hardly deem it in this presence, with so much gathered wisdom and experience, proper for me to be heard here, were it not that the subject-matter which the committee is now considering is one that appeals and has appealed to me for years, young as I am, and one that is, I think, the first in the mind and the heart of the youth of the South. The burden of this question, the shoulders upon whom it is to fall, are those of the youth of that Southern country, who now wish to control its destinies, and who now, for weal or for woe, await the decision here at this Capitol.

After what has been said by my friend Dr. Mayo, after what has been said by gentlemen from Massachusetts and from Indiana, after what has been said with regard to the State at large by my friend Colonel Thompson, I need hardly speak; and I would not speak but that I think by giving you a pictorial image of the city of Charleston in facts and figures, that concrete thing, I can show you that even municipal aid added to State aid, with all the agencies of private education, in an old community and aid coming from the city that doubles the State aid, still we stand appalled before a tide that we cannot meet nor control. It is only because the city of Charleston is a representative community of the South and expresses the conditions of all those States, and in a more favorable way than the country districts, that I will give you the facts and the figures relating to that community, because those facts and figures will bring home the question in its reality and show really what is our necessity and our danger.

That city is more favored because it has in it the seeds of a cultured society; it has in it men of mighty powers from the past, and those men are there, and they think, and they feel, and they see what is upon us. It has in it not only that, but men who have a sense of duty and men who have conscientiously risen to all the burdens of this occasion.

Why, gentlemen, in 1860 the city of Charleston had an educational plan greater than any Southern city. It had a system of public schools in which there were four thousand white children, besides large private schools, which fully met all the demands of that city. To-day it has that same educational plan, and in those schools are four thousand children, two thousand white and two thousand colored. There is an equal division of the school facilities. To do that, the city of Charleston has to add to what the State revenue is for schools just as much again. It pays this year \$72,000 in a city of fifty thousand, in which there are twenty-three thousand whites and twenty-seven thousand colored, the colored paying 3 per cent. of the tax. After we have raised the local tax, double what the State gives, we find that we only have four thousand children in the schools; that is, we only have in schools what we had in 1860 of whites. More cannot enter the schools; they are packed.

Gentlemen, the tax of a citizen of the city of Charleston to-day is 3.5 per cent. on every dollar of real and personal property. The city debt of the city of Charleston requires the levy of ten mills. Repudiation we cannot go to. There is 1 per cent. levied in that city for the debt of the municipality. Then there is the State debt. With these heavy burdens, by the census and by the report of the superintendent of schools of the city of Boston, we pay on a ratio one-third more than the city of Boston pays for its whole system of education, primary and classical. We pay to-day one-third more than the city of Boston does in the face of a debt of five millions upon the city of Charleston.

Gentlemen, when his honor the mayor came to the control of that city, in the same spirit of zeal and in the same interest that he overlooked all the departments, we got at the facts and the figures, and he said it is the duty of the city, simply as a representative city of the South, and on behalf of all, to reveal to the country this terrible and appalling condition to say to them, here is a national calamity; it is common in its origin to the people of this country; it is equally common in its evils and in its effects. We thought, and the city of Charleston and all the men there think to-day, that the National Government alone can help us—not to do for us, but simply help us in that which we cannot do. If the tax goes above 3.5 per cent. it is a dismemberment of society. We simply ask you to hold up our hands; we simply ask you to roll back that tide. Where it will sweep we know not, and I, in all deference, do not think that all the wisdom here can tell us where it will sweep. We ask you do not let it overwhelm us and you. We thought and were led to believe that that Government, which, under the power of the Constitution, has the right to provide for the public defense, referring to the time of war, and for the general welfare referring to the time of peace (for surely that was in the mind of the framers of the instrument), would come to our assistance in this time of calamity.

We were led to believe that that Government which, when the 1860 came from the Mississippi Valley under the most awful deluge of the last five decades, sent immediately and within a day aid to those people asking for bread. We were led to believe that that same Government, acting on the same principle, would send to a more hungry people, who if unfed the worse will be the disaster, that bread of national life which they ask. We were led to believe that that Government which, when pestilence struck this country, in one day raised the means and sent broadcast over the land succor where small-pox or yellow fever struck, would send some relief to a more awful pestilence that is working in the body-politic. We were led to believe that that Government which, in its beneficence, looking to the general welfare of the agricultural interests of this land, sends from this national center good seeds in order that the labor of the husbandman may prosper and that he may gather fruit and an abundant harvest—that that same Government, on that same principle of general welfare, would give us not only good seed but some good seed to plant in this waste.

Gentlemen, it is only because the city of Charleston furnishes you such an example, it is only because I think we feel it as an old community, and we know what this thing means and what is threatened all the time; it is only because it is a representative city in that regard of all our Southern communities that I have spoken.

I think, I feel, in fact I know, that it is in the mind and the heart of the assembled representatives here from this land to help. I am sure we have not come and told our simple story in vain. We look for aid, and we expect it, and we trust that from that seed of national aid shall come great and abundant harvests that will overflow here in good government, in peace and prosperity years and years to come.

Hon. B. G. Northrop, secretary of the Board of Education for Connecticut, so well known for his life-long and very important services in the cause of education in placing certain valuable statements before the committee, urged an immediate appropriation. I read his remarks because he is a New England man, and a representative man, as truly a representative of the opinions and feelings of educators in that portion of the country as any man can be.

Dr. DICKINSON. Mr. Chairman, I now present Hon. B. G. Northrop, secretary of the Board of Education of the State of Connecticut.

Mr. NORTHRUP. I desire to lay on your table, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, a paper containing extracts from the speech made at Atlanta by ex-Governor Brown on the eve of his election to the Senate, an extract from the speech of Robert C. Winthrop at the Yorktown celebration, and, in full a speech of Rev. Dr. Curry, bearing all entirely on this subject. And while I am up may I say that this is not a new measure, but when friends of the measure have pressed it before members of Congress in former years, the objection has been "you cannot force schools on any community; schools must answer to local public sentiment, and that public sentiment does not exist." That was the former argument. Now I say in addition to the proofs presented by gentlemen from the South as to the interest you have in that paper, I think a most remarkable demonstration of the interest taken, by the fact that ex-Governor Brown should make such a speech on the eve of his election, and it is a more remarkable fact that on the basis of that speech advocating this measure, advocating free public schools for all classes, he should be elected to the Senate of the United States by so large a majority. It demonstrates the new era in the South. I think that if the plan of giving \$15,000,000 for this object is carried out, now it will be worth more than \$20,000,000 will be twenty years hence. The case is urgent; the need is immediate.

I must say that this measure, I am confident, will suit the North as well as the South. I have in this paper I have handed you printed the sentiment expressed by the Connecticut State Board of Education most heartily, and also other expressions of Northern sentiment; and may I mention in the briefest form one other fact showing the great change that has occurred within the past year? This subject was advocated ably before our association at its meeting in New York, one year ago, by ex-Senator Patterson, now the superintendent of education in New Hampshire. He advocated then that the money should be distributed by a large number of Federal officers in all the States. That met but one dissent at that meeting a year ago; that is to say, a majority of this association seemed to favor his plan, but one objecting. At this meeting every member of the association has expressed his views in favor of the plan of distributing the money through existing local officers. We are a unit on that point.

The resolution of the Connecticut State Board of Education referred to is as follows:

Resolved, That in view of the necessity of education to the perpetuity of free institutions, and of the great and disproportionate burden which adequate provision for universal education would impose on some of the Southern States, this association expresses its conviction that it is the imperative duty of the National Government to extend to those States in which the burden and the danger of illiteracy are greatest such pecuniary aid as shall enable them to provide that all the children and youth within their borders shall receive at least an elementary education.

The State Board of Education has formally expressed "its hearty approval of the sentiments of the above resolution, and its earnest hope that the influence of Connecticut in the national Congress and elsewhere may be exerted in favor of the adoption of some equitable and efficient means for the accomplishment of the end proposed."

The following letter is in reply to one addressed to Colonel Rogers, superintendent of public schools of New Orleans, by myself, in which, mentioning the fact that Dr. Bicknell, one of the most able, active, and earnest advocates of national aid to public schools, had understood him to say that he should not know what to do with a large sum if he had it, and that it might be lost or stolen, I requested him to present his views in full for publication. I ask the Secretary to read his answer. He has given his life to this work in Louisiana.

The Secretary read as follows:

NEW ORLEANS, March 6, 1884.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of 3d instant is just to hand, and I hasten to reply.

My friend Colonel Bicknell has evidently mistaken my views in regard to national aid for education. Our conversation upon the subject was fragmentary and of a personal character. So far as I can recall the words used by me had no reference to the main issue, but were incidental to a feature of the subject, designed to show the necessity of cautious, well-regulated, systematic, expenditure of a large sum of money in a large city where school attendance was voluntary, and where the object was to bring in the large class of children who are now beyond school influences. I certainly never intended to intimate, directly or indirectly, that if any part of this national aid was to be expended in Louisiana by our State and city authorities it would, by reason of such form of disbursement or indeed for any cause, "be wasted or stolen."

Officially I can only speak for New Orleans. In twenty-five years past connected with educational work in this city I cannot be entirely ignorant of the condition of affairs in other parts of the State.

For several years I have had a growing conviction that if we are to give public education to all classes of our educable population we must have outside aid from some source. I believe that this is the opinion of the great majority of persons who are familiar with the situation. With those who are engaged in educational work I know of no difference of conclusion as to the necessity of aid. You are furnished with the statistics of illiteracy. It is not necessary to repeat them here. They are not mythical. Those who are engaged in the work of education know that illiteracy is a present factor, and that statistics simply reveal how much is done or not done, and how insufficient are the means at our command.

Our school population in New Orleans between six and eighteen years of age was 61,456 by census of 1880. For the year closing December 31, 1881, the whole number of pupils enrolled in our public schools was 24,401; average daily attendance, 14,566; average roll, 17,027. Our school population has increased, while school attendance has diminished. For the current year our total enrollment will not exceed 17,000, and our average attendance will fall short of 13,000 pupils. Estimating the number of children in private and parochial schools in this city at 10,000, and the number over twelve years of age who are engaged in some industrial pursuit at 10,000—a large estimate—and there are about 36,000 children and young persons of educable years who are not in any school, of whom about 26,000 cannot be accounted for as either attending school or industriously employed. We are confronted with the fact that instead of overtaking ignorance, as it exists among the young persons in our midst, we are losing ground, and that to an alarming extent, since not only do we not keep pace with the increase in our population, but our school attendance has steadily declined.

The chief cause of this decreased attendance arises from the insufficiency of our school revenues. For the proper care and instruction of an average roll of 17,000 children, including cost of supervision, instruction, buildings, supplies, &c., we need an annual expenditure of \$270,000. This implies a session of nine or ten months, necessary in a city system, yearly salaries of employees, &c. Our entire revenue, from all sources, falls short of \$220,000. A constant pressure of financial restriction and curtailment naturally tends to contract the usefulness of the schools. Last year, 1883, our session was reduced from ten to seven months, all teachers having been discharged from service and the schools closed during three important school months. For several years past, the teachers have not been paid for two or three months of the year, and have held our school system together by their unrequited labors during that period.

Mr. BLAIR. Mr. President, I challenge the history of the world to produce a fact more honorable to humanity than the noble self-devotion of this body of instructors of youth or more disgraceful to a great people than the neglect of both State and nation which rendered their self-sacrifice necessary.

The Secretary read as follows:

Notwithstanding the fact that the city of New Orleans has entered upon a prosperous era, those who control its finances maintain that they are giving as much to education as can be spared from the general revenues. I do not propose to question the correctness of their statement or the wisdom of their policy. I only know that we do not get enough, and that those who make the appropriations say they cannot give us more. I know also that it follows from this want of money that our schools are not doing all the work which they might otherwise do, and that more and more children are growing up in ignorance and idleness, with stronger inducements to immorality and vice.

We have between three thousand and four thousand colored children in our public schools. They share equally with the white children in the privileges of education. They are instructed by competent teachers, have good buildings, and their condition is as favorable to their progress as any other class of pupils. The city government has not been able, since the war, to increase the amount appropriated in former years to one race only, and as the colored people pay but a small part of the cost of education, it follows that the colored pupils in the schools are mainly instructed at the expense of the whites, and that the children of the whites have been put on short allowance to make provision for the other class.

I know of no feeling antagonistic to the education of the negro. On the contrary, there is a growing opinion, so far as I can judge, in favor of extending to that class of our people the fullest and fairest opportunities. The kindly spirit which characterizes the relation of the two races in this city and State extends to their respective schools. There are no contentions or animosities. Teachers of equal grade are sent sometimes to the schools for colored pupils, or, again, to the whites, and I know of no hardship to which the colored pupils are exposed, by means of insufficient funds, in which the whites do not equally share.

We certainly do need aid for public education in the city of New Orleans, and if we had the money we could make good use of it. I believe if its distribution was intrusted to our State and city authorities it would be wisely expended for the equal benefit of all classes and conditions of our school population.

The present system could be strengthened and enlarged. Additional schools could be opened in portions of the city where they are much needed. The city school board has had before it for some time past applications from remote sections of the city asking for school privileges where none exist for either white or black children. Nothing but the want of funds has prevented the board from complying with these requests. Even under our purely voluntary school attendance, I believe that several thousand pupils could be at once, within three months, added to our school attendance if means could be provided for their efficient support, and I think it would follow therefrom that the usefulness and influence of the schools would steadily increase, so that we would be able to reduce the bulk of illiteracy by permanent progress in the intelligence and virtue of all classes of society.

So far as the condition of public education in Louisiana, outside of New Orleans, is concerned, it seems to me of even greater importance that we should have outside assistance if we propose to make any advance in overtaking illiteracy. The total school population of the State is 273,845. From the last published report of State Superintendent E. H. Fay, the attendance in all the public schools of the State, including the parish and city of Orleans, in 1882, was: whites, 31,642; colored, 22,670; total, 54,312, or less than 20 per cent. of the school population. Outside of New Orleans, in 57 parishes, there were 819 schools, with 16,326 white children and 17,075 colored children. The average salary of teachers was \$25.62 per month. Six parishes reported, "No schools for want of funds." Nineteen parish boards report a session of 3 months or less. The aggregate of all months reported from all the parishes was 144!

For 1881 there was an increase in the whites and a decrease in the number of colored pupils. The last Legislature, 1882 (we have biennial sessions), appropriated one mill on the dollar for public education. Upon an assessed valuation of the property of the State of \$200,000,000, this would give, if all collected, \$200,000. Under the State constitution and legislative enactments this school fund is charged with certain specific appropriations, aggregating about \$90,000, all of which must be paid before any sum can be given to free public schools. After these deductions, and allowing for the non-collection of taxes, we estimate the amount allowed for free public education at about 31 cents per capita on school population. The amount is too small, and we are looking to the next session of the legislature, May next, for a more liberal policy.

Nevertheless, we are not confident of any very great increase in our school appropriations. A constitutional amendment, to be voted by the people, may be necessary before there can be an efficient school system for the State. The power to impose a local tax for education must be conferred upon parish authorities. At best the relief must be partial. The relations of the capital and population of the two races are such that a system of public instruction which is intended to meet the wants of the entire educable population, and which shall be sustained by a revenue derived from the property of the State, is beyond all present possibilities. Such a tax could never be imposed with the consent of the people. It could not be collected, if authorized, without breaking down every industry, and virtually confiscating the property of every planter and merchant in the State. To give six months' instruction to 200,000 young persons in the primary branches of a common-school education would require 5,000 teachers and an expenditure of a million dollars.

The friends of education do not contemplate a scheme so impracticable. We know that time and patient effort are needed to build up any great enterprise. We think that it is possible to strengthen and enlarge our present system of public instruction, so that it may be put in the way of ultimately accomplishing the great objects which it contemplates.

What would national aid do for Louisiana?

It would enable parish school boards to open schools where there are none now for want of funds. It would prolong the sessions of schools which are now kept open for one, two, or three months only. It would draw large numbers of children from idleness and ignorance to the school buildings, and it would enable school boards and other authorities to employ trained, competent teachers, who should be paid reasonable salaries with a regularity and promptness which secures cheerful and skillful service.

The rural parishes the services of young persons over 12 years of age are useful to the planter during several months of the year. From four to six months may be devoted to systematic school work, and if this should be continued only four or five years the seeds of a better life would be planted, and important results would follow to the individual, to society, and to the country. In a well-conducted school there may be acquired, by the average child, white or colored, during the period named, ability to read and write; to understand and perform the ordinary examples of arithmetic as needed in common business transactions; to know something of the geography and history of the country; to acquire habits of order and industry; to distinguish between right and wrong in the duties of life, with such moral lessons as grow out of every well-regulated school-room.

When opportunities for securing these results are within the reach of all classes—the poorest and lowest, as well as of the children of the more favored classes—we may reasonably expect a useful, honorable, and an intelligent citizenship.

Without education, we have unskilled labor, a discontented class of society,

thriftless, heedless, with brutal passions and degrading vices, ready, when roused by fanaticism or demagogism, to hurl against the peace of society or the best interests of the country compact and powerful voting minority which already holds the balance of power between the two great political parties of the country.

At no period in the history of Louisiana has there been manifested a greater interest in the subject of education than at the present time. This, I believe, is generally conceded by the leading public men of the State. The subject enters largely into the present political canvass. An educational society has been formed in New Orleans, which already has a large membership of leading merchants and representatives of all trades and professions. Branch organizations have been established throughout the State. The fundamental principle of the society is free public education to all classes of children without distinction of race. We hope, by means of aroused public sentiment, to secure for public schools their full share of the resources of the State, but I imagine that the most sanguine friend of public education cannot hope to materially change the figures of illiteracy, now resting upon the good name and well-being of the State, without the use of more abundant means than can be now drawn from the Government, or the people of Louisiana in the present condition of public and private affairs.

Asking to be excused for the length of this communication, I remain, dear sir,

Yours, respectfully,

WILLIAM O. ROGERS,

Superintendent Public Schools New Orleans.

Hon. H. W. BLAIR, United States Senate.

Mr. BLAIR. On Saturday, February, 16, 1884, a joint session of the Senate and House committees having in charge the subject of national aid to schools was held in the room of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor.

Dr. Orr and a committee of the superintendents of public instruction of the States, Dr. Thomas W. Bicknell, president of the National Educational Association, Professor Painter, and others, composing a committee of the department of superintendence of the National Educational Association, were present and addressed the committee for four hours.

The proceedings are published in Senate Miscellaneous Document No. 55, Forty-eighth Congress.

I respectfully refer the Senate to these addresses voicing the universal sentiment of all parts of the country, and coming from some of our ablest, best-informed, unselfish, and patriotic men, whose express business it is to know whereof they speak, deplored this all-pervading national evil of popular ignorance, demonstrating the necessity of national aid, and beseeching, not to say demanding, as our first duty, its bestowal as the only adequate source of relief. It is impossible to attempt even a synopsis here of what they said.

Permit me here to add the memorial of the American Social Science Association, than which the opinion of no body of men whatever is more entitled to respect by the American Congress or the American people.

AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION,
Boston, December 28, 1882.

To the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled:

The American Social Science Association, impressed with the danger involved in the existence of a large number of illiterate voters in the population of this country, as revealed in the last census, for the proper enlightenment of which class of voters many of the States are unable to make adequate provision, and believing that a Government resting on the suffrage of the majority of the people cannot preserve itself from corrupt influence nor secure a high degree of civil freedom unless education is generally diffused among all classes of voters; and further believing it to be within the constitutional power of Congress to provide in this manner for the safety of the Republic, and that the enfranchisement of the freedmen imposes an especial obligation upon the Government to qualify them for a safe discharge of the new duties devolved upon them, would earnestly pray that your honorable body will take prompt and efficient measures to avert these dangers; that money raised from such sources as your honorable body may in its wisdom deem best shall be distributed, for a limited period, to the common schools of the States and Territories, on the basis of illiteracy, and in such manner as shall not supersede nor interfere with local efforts, but rather stimulate the same and render them more efficient; said money to be distributed under such guarantees as shall secure their application to the object herein named, with equal justice to all classes of citizens.

Prepared by order of the American Social Science Association by the council of the association.

FRANCIS WAYLAND, President.

Attest:

F. B. SANBORN, Secretary.

These petitions are not gotten up in the way that petitions are gotten up for a new highway. They are signed by men whose signatures are meant to indicate responsibility.

Rev. Dr. Curry, the general agent of the trustees of the Peabody fund, whose services to the country in the discharge of a great trust have already fixed his rank high among its benefactors, has addressed a memorial to the Congress, which I take this means of placing more conspicuously before the Senate and the public. I am at a loss to comprehend the motives which can refuse the necessary assistance to educate the classes for whom Dr. Curry, in his representative and personal capacity, makes this argument and appeal. I ask the Secretary to read it.

The Secretary read as follows:

To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives
of the United States in Congress assembled:

Your petitioner, the general agent of the Peabody education fund, would respectfully represent:

That in March, 1880, the trustees of the Peabody education fund submitted a memorial to Congress on "the vital necessity of national aid for the education of the colored population of the Southern States, and especially of the great masses of colored children, who are growing up to be voters under the Constitution of the United States." They accompanied their memorial by a report which had been prepared by a committee of their body, consisting of Hon. Alexander H. H. Stuart, of Virginia, Chief-Judge Morrison R. Waite, of Ohio, and Hon. William M. Evarts, of New York. The attention of Congress is invited anew to that very able and conclusive paper. Since the presentation of that memorial the subject of national aid has assumed larger proportions in the public mind and in the public conscience. The census of 1880 exposes a fearful amount of illiteracy in the United States.

As might have been expected, for an obvious reason, that illiteracy exists largely, disproportionately, in the lately slaveholding States. In *ante bellum* days the negroes were not educated. Since the abolition of slavery—a fact which no sane man would undo—the South, although making patriotic and self-sacrificing efforts in that direction, has failed, as all familiar with her pecuniary condition could have foreseen, to provide universal education for her people. The history of our country, prolific in instances of exalted patriotism and ready adaptation to local and national exigencies, furnishes no exhibition of these virtues superior to the attempt of the Southern States to meet the unfamiliar and difficult, but cheerfully assumed, obligation of giving rudimentary instruction to all classes, irrespective of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The history of public schools in those States is a chapter of peculiar interest in the general history of our institutions and civilization. The credit due to an impoverished people, bravely struggling to do their part in the new and strange environments, is shared by religious bodies and individual citizens of the North, who, comprehending the needs of the young, have generously and munificently contributed money to supply them with the means of education. Hard experience has demonstrated the inability of the Southern States, unaided, to sustain the heavy burden of universal education. If illiteracy is to be removed, or prevented in the future, the States must receive liberal and prompt aid from the General Government.

This aid should be rendered in co-operation with the school systems of the States. Those systems, varying in details, but generally copied from the systems which exist in the Northern States, are the outgrowth of the convictions of the people. Year by year they are being adapted to the wants and peculiarities of communities and States. Constitutions command free schools; statutes establish and provide for them; State and local officers administer; State revenues are increasingly supplemented by local taxation. No organized opposition to public schools can be found; political parties are zealous to declare their purpose to sustain and perfect; press associations approve and newspapers give their valuable support; legislatures invite educators and advocates of free schools to address them; the people are willing and eager to be informed and to adopt improved methods of instruction and school management. With probably the most extensive acquaintance with school officers in the South possessed by any man in the Union, acquired by personal intercourse with them, I make bold to affirm that no departments of government have better qualified, more patriotic, more trustworthy, more enlightened administrators. What is needed for success in making education universal is not severe Federal supervision, subordination of State schools to central authority, but a well-guarded and adequate appropriation of public money.

Of the extent of the illiteracy your honorable bodies, having ready access to the latest census returns and to careful compilations of school statistics, need not to be informed. On the dangers of this illiteracy it would be superfluous to enlarge. The basis of our free governments is intelligence and integrity. Free government presupposes intelligent self-government. The mere possession of power by the people is no assurance or guarantee of good government. Civil government can dispense with arbitrary restraints and with physical power; can allow the possession and enjoyment of personal liberty just in so far as the citizens impose, voluntarily and intelligently, restraints upon themselves. Free governments, governments of the people and by the people, allowing and securing the largest measure of individual freedom, are compatible only with popular education. It is idle to hope for free government or republican institutions apart from free schools.

From the act of the Continental Congress on the 20th of May, 1785, for the disposition of the lands ceded by Virginia and the other States to the present time, the United States is committed to the principle that "popular education is the only safe and stable basis for popular liberty" and to the policy of using Government property in aid of public schools. What was a privilege and duty in the past has now become an imperative obligation. The general argument for Congressional intervention to remove or prevent illiteracy becomes stronger when applied to the negroes. As is stated in the report to which attention has been called, the production of the pen of an honored and venerable statesman of Virginia, they are an "exceptional class of our population," and as such have peculiar claims on the justice and bounty of the Federal Government.

Their ancestors did not come voluntarily to this country seeking to better their condition, as come the immigrants who by thousands are now flocking to our shores. They were brought forcibly as slaves and were held as such prior to the Revolution by the connivance and direct action of the mother country and under the authority of the laws of all the States. When the war for independence closed slavery existed in all the Colonies. The Federal Constitution sanctioned the institution. In the exercise of its discretion the Federal Government emancipated the slaves, elevated them to the dignity of American citizens, and invested them with the right of suffrage. "Slavery is but half abolished, emancipation is but half completed, while millions of freemen with votes in their hands are left without education." The new citizens need to be made to comprehend the duties of citizenship, to be taught the nature and benefits of the political rights they enjoy. From manumission and enfranchisement there is on the part of the Government a resulting obligation to secure to those suddenly exalted to citizenship and suffrage that amount of education which is necessary to enable them to discharge intelligently the new duties devolved.

Inter arma leges silent is recognized in times of extreme peril as a legal maxim. When the national life is endangered the Constitution yields to a liberal interpretation. The latitude is not because of war, but because of the crisis which war sometimes creates. If the necessity be as great, the peril as imminent in time of peace as in time of war, then with equal reason may be invoked the principle, *salus reipublicae est suprema lex*. That masses of ignorant voters constitute a national peril, justifying a resort to the "extreme medicine of the Constitution," it would be an insult to your honorable bodies to argue.

The evils of ignorant voting cannot be exaggerated. Four Presidents in succession, with increasing emphasis, have invited the attention of Congress to legislation on the subject. State Legislatures, educational conventions, religious assemblies, public press, and private citizens swell the demand for immediate and effective measures of relief.

It seems that each generation must pass through its own trials, as each person must be disciplined for his own improvement and growth. We reap the fruits of the sacrifices and achievements of our ancestors, but for ourselves we must endure trials and meet responsibilities. Our Republic is a holy trust. Much as our fathers did, none the less are we required to do. Free institutions are still an experiment. They are on trial before the world. No peril is greater, more insidious, more pervasive, arouses more the apprehension of the patriot, than the illiteracy of citizens. Fortunately the evil is remediable, and the remedy is in your hands.

Your petitioner earnestly invokes your intelligent and continuous attention to the dangers which come from so much illiteracy, and trusts that action, prompt and adequate to meet the emergency, will be had before your adjournment.

J. L. M. CURRY.

RICHMOND, VA., May 17, 1882.

Mr. BLAIR. I may add as a recent expression from Dr. Curry, the agent of the Peabody fund, what he says in a letter:

A letter before me from one of the best scholars and most active school men in the South says: "The argument is unanswerable. Here we stand face to face with the necessity. All over this State the taxes of the white people cannot be made to suffice for the education of both white and colored; with the utmost good-will, the resources are deficient. Nothing but national aid can solve the problem, and without it there is great danger that the effort may be abandoned in despair."

That last sentence is unspeakably important. If this Congress adjourns with

out the aid, I shall almost surrender hope in reference to the future of our country. May God save our land.

The Union League Club of New York City comprises over sixteen hundred of the leading citizens of the United States, residing in all parts of the country. Probably no body of men, unless it were the several loyal, sovereign States, did so much as the Union League Club of New York to preserve the Union in time of war, or since the war has done so much to make it worth again, preserving by their wise and patriotic endeavors to reconstruct the Government upon principles which are indispensable to its prosperity. I therefore introduce the following from their memorial to Congress, presented to us by Senator MILLER:

THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB,
New York, February 10, 1882.

DEAR SIR: The following report was accepted and the appended resolution unanimously adopted at a regular meeting of the Union League Club, held on the 9th of February, 1882.

We request you to present them to Congress, as being the respectful petition of this club.

Very few subjects equal in importance that of elevating the illiterate voters in the United States to the condition required for the proper enjoyment and protection of universal suffrage.

It appears from the census of 1880 that of the total colored population, over 47 per cent. are unable to write. Of the total white population, nearly 7 per cent. are unable to write. These percentages are much higher in the South. Those unable to write in Alabama are, whites, nearly 17 per cent.; colored, over 53. In Georgia, whites, nearly 16 per cent.; colored, over 54. In North Carolina, whites, over 22 per cent.; colored, over 51. In New Mexico, whites, 49.5 per cent.; colored, 69.5. In many of the States the means for instruction are confessedly insufficient to cope with this great evil.

The want of education and of consequent ability to use the suffrage so as to protect the voter from fraud, violence, and misdirection, and our free institutions from peril, have caused the introduction into the Senate of the United States of a bill entitled "A bill to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools.

The Secretary of the Interior, through the Bureau of Education, is charged with the administration of the act, aided by a commissioner in each State, to be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The commissioner thus appointed is to act in co-operation with the State authorities in which he is located. In Territories this commissioner is charged with the general supervision and control of public education.

All payments under the act are to be made by Treasury warrants directly to the person in each State or Territory who renders service, on vouchers to be approved by the local authorities, the commissioner, and the Secretary of the Interior.

It will be seen, therefore, that the amount payable in any State or Territory can neither be diverted nor squandered, but that careful provision is made for the application of it directly to the purposes of education. The bill is comprehensive as well as guarded, and is to continue only for the length of time supposed to be required for stimulating the most sluggish of the States into the requisite activity.

The condition of the Treasury, with a large annual surplus, tempting to useless schemes of extravagance, would seem to be a favorable time for the adoption of a measure to secure the enlightenment of the uneducated and the safety of our republican form of government.

The Constitution, in express terms, provides, section 4, article 4, that "The United States shall guarantee to each State in this Union a republican form of government." The powers necessary to carry out this guarantee are implied and are therefore complete. By the act of the National Government a large body of illiterate men have been suddenly raised from the condition of chattels into that of freemen and voters, without any preparation for the high duty which admission to the suffrage involves. The extraordinary measures resorted to in States where the danger from this source is most conspicuous, often leading to bloodshed and anarchy, would seem to impose on the General Government the immediate duty of seeing that the republican form thus threatened by the two evils of illiteracy and violence shall be preserved. The necessary and proper means for this consists in such a wide diffusion of the benefits and blessings of education as will secure the requisite intelligence and patriotism.

The committee of political reform recommend the adoption of the following resolution.

GEO. B. BUTLER, *Chairman.*
S. M. BLATCHFORD, *Secretary.*

Resolved, That the Union League Club heartily approves of the scope and object of the bill introduced into the Senate of the United States by the Hon. HENRY W. BLAIR, of the State of New Hampshire, entitled "A bill to aid in the establishment and temporary support of common schools," and that the president and secretary of the club be directed to affix their names to this report and resolution as being the respectful petition of the club to the Congress of the United States in favor of the passage of the bill.

We have the honor to be, very respectfully,

WM. M. EVARTS, *President.*
DAVID MILLIKEN, JR., *Secretary.*

To the Hon. WARNER MILLER.

I wish to say, as bearing upon the expression of popular feeling and opinion on this subject, that I have here a large number of data of memorials which themselves are so large that, if all printed, I suppose the world would not contain the books they would make, as was said on another occasion. It seems almost trifling with the time of the Senate to accumulate this mass of evidence of popular feeling to be inserted in the RECORD. It is here, and it is ready to be produced if anybody should ever conceive the thought that there is no expression of the general popular, and that the best popular, sentiment on this subject.

The following is an imperfect list of the petitions and memorials praying for aid for the common schools on the basis of illiteracy:

Citizens of Romney, West Virginia.
One hundred citizens of Circleville, West Virginia.
Citizens of Jackson County, West Virginia.
Citizens of Nicholas County, West Virginia.
Citizens of Webster County, West Virginia.
Resolution of the Legislature of Rhode Island.
Citizens of Ottawa, Kansas.
Citizens of Spring Hill, Kansas.
Citizens of Mound Valley, Kansas.
Citizens of Jefferson County, West Virginia.
Citizens of Lewis County, West Virginia.
Citizens of Wayne County, West Virginia.

Citizens of Monongalia County, West Virginia.
Citizens of Jackson County, West Virginia.
Citizens of Upshur County, West Virginia.
Citizens of Mason County, West Virginia.
Citizens of Morgan County, West Virginia.
Telegram from the Saratoga Educational Convention.
Citizens of Blount County, Alabama.
Citizens of Tuscaloosa County, Alabama.
Citizens of Baldwin County, Alabama.
Citizens of Colbert County, Alabama.
Citizens of Fayette County, Alabama.
President of the Board of Education and many prominent citizens of Nashua, N. H.
Memorial of the National Educational Association.
Memorial of the State officers and nearly every prominent citizen in the State of South Carolina.
Petitions of citizens of Louisiana.
Petition of citizens of Wilkinson County, Mississippi.
State board of visitors of the State Agricultural College, New Jersey.
State board of visitors of Rutgers College, New Jersey.
Citizens of Edgewcombe County, North Carolina.
Citizens of Drew County, Arkansas.
Citizens of Wythe County, Virginia.
Citizens of Gilmer County, Georgia.
Citizens of Franklin County, Ohio.
Citizens of Keyser, W. Va.
Faculty of Hiram College, Ohio.
Citizens of Medina County, Ohio.
Governor and all the State officials of Ohio.
Mayor and city officials of Portsmouth, N. H.
Citizens of Grafton County, New Hampshire.
Citizens of New London, N. H.
Prominent citizens of Rockingham County, New Hampshire, three petitions.
Petition of President of Johns Hopkins University *et al.*
Memorial of the American Social Science Association.
Citizens of Merrimack County, New Hampshire.
Petition of the faculty of Straight University, of Louisiana.
Petition of the citizens of Iowa.
Resolutions of the Louisiana Legislature.
Memorial of the Union League Club, New York.
Petition of citizens of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania.
Petition of citizens of Saint Louis, Mo.
Petition of citizens of Monroe City, Ill.
Resolutions of Teachers' Institute of South Carolina.

I have collected citations from high authorities, and historical illustrations, bearing upon the necessity of education, especially in a republic. They are from authors of other nations as well as our own. Many of them are of high literary merit. They are good reading. I will read a few of them. Before proceeding to do so, I wish to make one statement as bearing on the interest of education in our Southern States by reason of the liberation of the colored people. The historical example nearest our shores, that of the liberation of the blacks in the British West India colonies, might well be adduced, and should be instructive to us. There the British Government, more considerate, perhaps, than our own, gave pecuniary compensation to the extent of about \$100,000,000, if I remember correctly, to the owners of the emancipated slaves. No provision, however, was made for the education and the elevation of the colored people. They have had freedom so far as it could exist under the British constitution, and they have had degeneracy and demoralization accompanying it. Without wasting time to depict the causes of the social condition and industrial condition of those people, I will state one fact which is significant of almost everything else that could be said, that such is the social degradation of that people that most social ties are disregarded, poverty is universal, and over 60 per cent. of the annual increase of the population is illegitimate. Let me quote from the American Cyclopaedia, volume 15, page 17:

The government measure was brought forward April 23, 1833. It proposed an apprenticeship of twelve years for the slaves, and to pay out of their earnings to the masters the sum of £15,000,000. The friends of emancipation remonstrated against these features of the plan, and it was finally modified by a reduction of the term of apprenticeship to six years, and a provision to pay the masters £20,000,000 out of the national treasury. The bill passed the house of commons August 7, the house of lords August 20, and received the royal assent August 28, 1833. The day fixed for emancipation was August 1, 1834, and it was left optional with the local legislatures respectively to adopt or reject the system of apprenticeship. Antigua and Bermuda rejected, while the other islands adopted, the system. The apprenticeship system did not work well.

It ought to be known and is known that like causes produce like effects. It is well known to those who have taken pains to be informed by evidence coming to them, though they may never have been in the Southern States themselves, and I have some personal observation that has instructed me, so that I am convinced of the fact that the general condition of the colored population in very much the larger geographic proportion of the South is growing worse rather than better. The colored population when disciplined by their former legal status were much more industriously inclined than the youthful colored population that is now growing up. The colored youths now are not so quiet and good-natured and easily managed and tractable a race of men as the Northern people are inclined to think. I believe that they are rapidly becoming demoralized, an idle, thriftless population, with a tendency to violence, and likely to become a source of as much danger to the United States as a population like this described in Jamaica can be. They increase much more rapidly from natural causes than does the white population. By the last census it is shown that they increase 7 per cent. more rapidly than does the white population of the whole country from

immigration and births combined. While increasing in numbers, in my belief they are not improving in condition. In twenty-five years from now this Southern colored population, unless something is done to restrain, improve, and elevate them, are quite likely to be a source of violence and of turmoil in this country. Those who think otherwise, I imagine, will find themselves profoundly mistaken, and it is well enough to be instructed by historical examples when they exist.

I cannot take the time of the Senate a great length in reading the citations from eminent men which I have made; but I will read a few in regard to national education. Macaulay in his speech on education uses this language:

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

This, then, is my argument. It is the duty of government to protect our persons and property from danger. The gross ignorance of the common people is a principal cause of danger to our persons and property. Therefore it is the duty of the government to take care that the common people shall not be grossly ignorant.—*Macaulay's Speech on Education*.

The education of the people is not only a means, but the best means, of obtaining that which all allow to be a chief end of government.—*Ibid.*

Another great authority says:

When we see government measures, which are excellent in themselves, fail from the opposition of an ignorant people, we at first feel irritated against the senseless multitude; but when we come to reflect, when we observe that this opposition might have been easily foreseen, and that the government, in proud exercise of authority, has taken no steps to prepare the minds of the people, to dissipate their prejudices, to conciliate their confidence—our indignation is transferred from the ignorant and deceived people to its disdaining leaders.—*Jeremy Bentham's Works*, volume I, page 508.

Let me give further citations:

Ignorance causes poverty.

By diminishing productive capacity, and therefore wealth.

Intelligence is a most powerful factor in industrial efficiency. The intelligent is more useful than the unintelligent laborer: (a) Because he requires a far shorter apprenticeship * * *. (b) Because he can do his work with little or no superintendence * * *. (c) Because he is less wasteful of materials * * *. (d) Because he readily learns to use machinery, however delicate or intricate.—*Walker's Political Economy*, pages 52, 53.

By hindering improvement.

In some parts of the country the ignorance of the people of almost everything beyond their huts and potatoes and pigs, their entire lack of practical sense and judgment, and of that energetic and progressive spirit which advancement in education is apt to bring, has hitherto been one of the greatest hindrances to the progress of the country. With this ignorance there has often been coupled superstition, and a tendency to indolence, increasing poverty, distress and discontent. —*The Irish Question*, by King, pages 283, 284.

II. Ignorance causes poverty.

Illustration from Scotland and Ireland in 1800-10:

I am persuaded that the extreme profligacy, improvidence, and misery which are so prevalent among the laboring classes in many countries are chiefly to be ascribed to the want of education. In proof of this we need only cast our eyes on the condition of the Irish, compared with that of the peasantry in Scotland. Among the former you behold nothing but beggary, wretchedness, and sloth; in Scotland, on the contrary, under the disadvantages of a worse climate and more unproductive soil, a degree of decency and comfort, the fruit of sobriety and industry, are conspicuous among the lower classes. And to what is this disparity in their situation to be ascribed, except to the influence of education? In Ireland the education of the poor is miserably neglected; very few of them can read, and they grow up in a total ignorance of what it most befits a rational creature to understand; while in Scotland the establishment of free schools in every parish, an essential branch of the ecclesiastical constitution of the country, brings the means of instruction within the reach of the poorest, who are there inured to decency, industry, and order.—*Robert Hall's Works*, I, 201, 202. (1810.)

II. Ignorance causes demoralization.

Illustration from Rome:

But we must look beyond the political institutions of Rome, and seek in her social condition the primary causes of the fall of the republic. * * * There was no union of the different classes of society in common interests and sympathies, nor any adequate gradation of classes to balance their relative forces. Without a middle class, industrious, orderly, progressive, and contented, society was broadly into the rich and the poor. And in the later days of the republic both were corrupted. The rich became more covetous and grasping. * * *

The poorer classes were no less demoralized as citizens and depositaries of political power. Pauperized by bounties of grain; corrupted by bribery; debased by baronial and brutal entertainments; tainted with the vices of slavery; without regulated industry; disunited by the confusion of many nationalities; and unsettled by incessant wars and revolutions, they were wanting in all the elements of a sound democracy.—*May's Democracy in Europe*, I, pages 225, 226, 227.

Illustration from France:

The peasants, suffering from want and resenting the oppression of the feudal lords, rose in great numbers in different parts of France (in 1830); they burned many castles, murdered the owners, and committed the most frightful outrages upon women and children, * * * and in later times the like passions were to be revealed in excess no less monstrous and unnatural.—*May's Democracy in Europe*, II, pages 91, 92. See, also, *Taine's Ancient Régime*, pages 374-380.

II. 4. Poverty causes demoralization.

Illustration from Rome.

The mind itself can scarcely comprehend the wide range of the mischief—how constant poverty and insult long endured, as the natural portion of a degraded caste, bear with them to the sufferers something yet worse than pain, whether of the body or the feelings; how they dull the understanding and poison the morals; how ignorance and ill-treatment combined are the parents of universal suspicion; how from oppression is produced habitual cowardice, breaking out when occasion offers into merciless cruelty; how slaves become naturally liars; how they, whose condition denies them all noble enjoyments, and to whom looking forward is only despair, plunge themselves, with a brute's recklessness, into the lowest sensual pleasures; how the domestic circle itself, the last sanctuary of human virtue, becomes at length corrupted, and in the place of natural affection and parental care, there is to be seen only selfishness and unkindness, and no other anxiety on the part of parents for their children than that they may, by fraud or by violence, prey in their turn upon that society which they have found their bitterest enemy.

Evils like these long working in the heart of a nation render their own cure impossible; a revolution may execute judgment on one generation, and that perhaps the very one which was beginning to see and to repent of its inherited sins; but it cannot restore life to the morally dead; and its ill success, as if in this line of evils no curse should be wanting, is pleaded by other oppressors as a defense of their own iniquity and a reason for perpetuating it forever.—*Arnold's Rome*, volume II, page 19.

Illustration from the No-Popery Riots of 1780:

I do not know that I could find in all history a stronger proof [than the No-Popery Riots of 1780] of the proposition that the ignorance of the common people makes the property, the limbs, the lives of all classes insecure. Without the shadow of a grievance, at the summons of a madman, a hundred thousand people rise in insurrection. During a whole week there is anarchy in the greatest and wealthiest of European cities, &c.

The cause was the ignorance of a population which had been suffered, in the neighborhood of palaces, theatres, temples, to grow up as rude and stupid as any tribe of tattooed cannibals in New Zealand—I might say as any drove of beasts in Smithfield market.—*Macaulay's Speech on Education*.

II c. A discouraged person is useless and may become desperate. His industrial power is small.

A fifth reason for the higher efficiency of the laborers of one class or nation than of another is found in greater cheerfulness and hopefulness, growing out of higher self-respect and social ambition and a more direct and certain interest in the product of industry.—*Walker's Political Economy*, page 54.

Fear is far less potent than hope in evoking the energies of mind or body, while efforts made under the influence of the former passion are far more exhausting than those made under the influence of the latter.—*Ibid.*

Discouragement may result in desperation [French revolution].

The feeling of hatred [in the French peasant at the time of the revolution, 1791] was become too strong to be appeased, because here too it was mixed with intense suspicion, the result inevitably of suffering and ignorance, and nothing but the overthrow of those against whom it was directed could have satisfied it.—*Arnold's Lectures on Modern History*, page 390.

III. Ignorance causes immorality.

Because its opposite, knowledge, elevates.

But to return to the moral good which results from the acquisition of knowledge; it is chiefly this, that by multiplying the mental resources it has a tendency to exalt the character, and in some measure to correct and subdue the taste for gross sensuality.—*Hall's Works*, I, 200.

Results of ignorance.

Where education has been entirely neglected, or improperly managed, we see the worst passions ruling with uncontrollable and incessant sway. Good sense degenerates into craft, and anger rankles into malignity. Restraint, which is thought most salutary, comes too late, and the most judicious admonitions are urged in vain.—*Dr. S. Parr*.

III. Ignorance causes immorality.

Ignorance vs. Education in Switzerland.

Neither in Switzerland nor in other countries do we find ignorance and poverty united with high moral qualities. In some of the cantons, however, where education is diffused, and industry and commerce have become sources of wealth, the people are contented and happy.—*Dean's History of Civilization*, VI, 108, 109.

Injuries from ignorance.

The laboring class, for instance, will have no mobility [if uneducated], will be in the power of the employer, will have no hope of bettering its condition of life by change of place, will be given to low pleasures. Crime and ignorance go together, and the prospect for the children of such a class is dark indeed. For the industry, morals, loyalty, and quiet of this class, for the safety of all classes, some kind of education is necessary.—*Woolsey's Political Science*, I, page 227.

III. 2. Immorality causes degeneration. National degeneration comes from loss of character.

But this political ruin [of the Roman Empire] was an effect of a moral ruin, not a first cause; and a nation that has lost its character must decay politically until some new condition of the world quickens it again into life.—*Woolsey's Political Science*, II, page 601.

Fruits of long-continued moral advance.

There are certain moral fruits so conspicuous in the history of civilization that no pessimist can dispute them. That the long, slow movements in society which have been tending with steady purpose and sure result to establish order and the reign of equal laws; to extinguish slavery; to break oppression of every form; to mitigate the barbarities of war, and to put restraints upon it; to diminish human suffering; to help the unfortunate, and to lift the debased; to cultivate the cosmopolitan sentiment and the spirit of co-operation among men—that the movements which bear this ripening fruitage are moral movements, it is impossible to deny.—*J. N. Larned in Popular Science Monthly*, XI, 549.

I. V Ignorance causes error in judgment and conduct.

By opening the people to evil influences.

Nothing in reality renders legitimate governments so insecure as extreme ignorance in the people. It is this which yields them an easy prey to seduction, makes them the victims of prejudices and false alarms, and so ferocious withal that their interference in a time of public commotion is more to be dreaded than the eruption of a volcano.—*Robert Hall's Works*, volume I, page 203.

By deceiving him as to his interest in his neighbor.

The less instructed a man is the more he is led to separate his interests from those of his fellows. The more enlightened he is the more distinctly will he perceive the union of his personal with the general interest.—*Jeremy Bentham's Works*, volume I, page 537.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF BENEFITS FROM EDUCATION.

Athenian intelligence.

Mitford was right enough when he assumed that an English county meeting reached the very height of political ignorance, only he should not have thence leaped to a similar conclusion as to the assembled people of Athens. * * * We suspect that the average Athenian citizen was, in political intelligence, above the average English member of Parliament. It was this concentration of all power in an aggregate of which every citizen formed a part which is the distinguishing characteristic of true Greek democracy.—*Freeman's Athenian Democracy*, pages 146, 147.

The education of a lower class in Turkey.

In the vigorous age of the Ottoman Government the Turks were themselves excluded from all civil and military honors, and a servile class, an artificial people,

was raised by the discipline of education to obey, to conquer, and to command.—*Gibbon's Rome*, chapter LXV.

Scotland vs. Ireland.

We have two nations closely connected, inhabiting the same island, sprung from the same blood, speaking the same language, governed by the same sovereign and the same legislature, holding essentially the same religious faith, having the same allies, and the same enemies. Of these two nations one was, a hundred and fifty years ago, as respects opulence and civilization, in the highest rank among European communities; the other in the lowest rank. The opulent and highly civilized nation leaves the education of the people to free competition. In the poor and half barbarous nation the education of the people is undertaken by the State. The result is that the first are last and the last first. The common people of Scotland—it is vain to disguise the truth—have passed the common people of England. Free competition tried with every advantage, has produced effects of which, as the Congregational Union tells us, we ought to be ashamed, and which must lower us in the opinion of every intelligent foreigner. State education, tried under every disadvantage, has produced an improvement to which it would be difficult to find a parallel in any age or country.—*Macaulay's Speech on Education*.

WASHINGTON'S VIEWS.

Some views of education entertained by Washington are indicated by provisions inserted in his last will; e. g., he provided that the slaves who had not attained their majority at the time when they were to receive their freedom in accordance with his direction should be taught to read and write and be brought up to some useful occupation. He bequeathed \$4,000 for the education of orphans and the children of the poor in the academy at Alexandria. He gave property for the endowment of a university which should draw to it the youth of all sections, thus preventing their being sent abroad to their injury, and reconciling local prejudices and antagonisms through friendly association.

What I have read from Robert Hall was written at the beginning of the present century in reference to a status then existing in Ireland; but it is proper to say that of late years the educational privileges of Ireland have been very greatly improved, as in fact they have been in every European country, until to-day the truth is that many of them are passing our own country in the vigilance and intensity of the effort which they are making to educate their own people. Indeed there is great danger that they will pass us, and pass us before a great while, in the matter of industrial skill, because of the greater attention they are giving to the matter, perhaps growing out of the fact that they have recently discovered the great need of the education which they want, and are making correspondingly vigorous efforts to overcome the prevailing ignorance. They also find that American production paying higher wages is nevertheless competing with them in their own markets, and likely to do so more extensively hereafter in all the markets of the world, and unless their people become educated they will soon be without employment or that form of employment giving productions for exportation to the other and increasing markets of the world. In other words, the skilled labor of Europe, based upon general education, is coming more and more in competition with the skilled labor of America, and our superior intelligence will not much longer tell to our advantage in this direction.

I close my citations from the writings of eminent men and illustrations drawn from the history of the race by quotations from two remarkable addresses delivered before the National Education Assembly, held at Ocean Grove last August, from the 9th to the 12th, four days, inclusive.

Over sixty addresses were delivered on that occasion by American educators and some others interested in the subject. Thousands of people were in attendance, and all religious denominations nearly were represented.

Rev. J. C. Hartzell, D. D., who was the active organizer of the great work, has published the proceedings in a volume, which I hesitate not to say is of greater practical value than any other work upon the subject of education, and its cognate problems as they exist and require to be dealt with to-day than any, and I had almost said all, other sources of information accessible of which I have knowledge. The book is an encyclopedia in one volume, carefully indexed, and treats exhaustively of the following topics: Education and man's improvement; Illiteracy in the United States; National aid to common schools; The negro in America; Illiteracy, wealth, pauperism, and crimes; the American Indian problem; the American Mormon problem; Education in the South since the war; Christ in American education; Tables: Illiterate and educational status United States 1880.

On that occasion, among the sixty, the Hon. John Eaton, Commissioner of Education, delivered an address, which was full of meat, and of good meat, too. I wish to read a little from it, not his comments and philosophy, but statements of fact. I read from page 49:

But we must not pause here; we must look at the reverse side. New England to-day has but one college student, male and female, to every one hundred and sixty-seven families; whereas at the end of the first twenty-three years of New England history, or when there were 20,000 souls in the settlements, there was one university graduate to every forty families. May we not say that hence came such wisdom in laying the foundation of those States? When will the educated classes anywhere attain the same relation to the whole body of the people?

But against this attendance upon the public schools there is the non-attendance of 5,754,759. Allowing that these odd hundred thousands are in private schools that are not reported, there remain 5,000,000 of children of school age untaught. To furnish these sittings in buildings, at the usual average of \$20 per sitting, would cost a hundred millions in money; to furnish them teachers would require an increase of 30,000 to the teaching corps, and a single year's preparation of these teachers at the average rate in New York would cost \$10,000,000.

The pay of these 30,000 additional teachers for one year of ten months, at the rate of \$32 a month, which is about the average throughout the country, would amount to \$9,600,000. Add to this the items for preparation and school-house sittings necessary for these non-attending school children, and you have the grand total required for the first year of \$12,000,000.

There has been an attempt to raise a laugh at the proposition of the Hon. Senator Logan to appropriate \$60,000,000 in aid of education, but I give you here figures which cannot be invalidated, showing that his proposition falls \$60,000,000 short of the sum which would be required to furnish for a single year all our school children now without school sittings and teachers.

Referring to myself he says:

Mr. Senator BLAIR, in his examination of this point in his recent speech, considering that Texas has a school period of only six years, states that, if the school life were properly lengthened in that and other States, the number reported without school accommodations and without teachers would be increased by three millions.

In our cities we are accustomed to expect the best teachers, best school-houses, best methods, and best supervision; but laws making attendance obligatory are wanting in more than half of the States, and, on an average, two-fifths of the children are not enrolled in the schools. Here are forced upon us the terrible problems encountered in older civilizations and more dense populations.

* * * * *

The fifteen States and the District of Columbia, where slavery prevailed, having a legal white school population of 3,899,961, had 2,215,674 enrolled in schools, and with a colored school population of 1,803,257, had 784,709 enrolled, and expended \$12,475,044. This money, it should be remembered, is divided pro rata, without distinction of color, in all States excepting Kentucky and Delaware. In the former State the colored people have had for educational purposes the benefit only of the income of the tax upon their own property and polls and specified fines and forfeitures. By an act of the last legislature, however, provision was made for submitting to the people the question of adding a two-mills tax upon property for educational purposes, uniting this and the amount from the previous provisions for education, and distributing the whole pro rata per capita. In Delaware, \$2,500 are now appropriated for the colored schools. What has thus been accomplished in these States for education may be taken as a pledge of what they will do.

* * * * *

To which great agency can you assign the additional burden of educating these illiterates? To the family? How many families of the most cultured and best conditioned are unable to educate their children as in former times or as they desire; and among those colored people the least supplied with schools, how widely is the family a minus quantity as a factor in promoting the improvement of the young? Shall we then look to the Church for the light to overcome this darkness? How inadequate are the resources of the Church in the South to supply sittings and preachers for the special function of declaring the gospel? How generally are they in debt? What appeals are they compelled to make to their friends in other quarters? Shall we turn, then, thirdly, to the States, already impoverished and loaded with taxes and embarrassed by questions of repudiation? In reply, let me invite attention to the fact that the taxable real and personal property reported for assessment in those States is given in round numbers as \$3,379,000,000, while the real and personal property in New York and New Jersey alone is worth nearly an equal amount, or \$3,292,000,000.

What would the people of these two States say to an additional assessment on their property sufficient to erect all the additional school-houses and supply all the teachers for the instruction of the millions of illiterates in the South? All are familiar with the sensitiveness in the several Northern States to the assessment of any additional tax for education or any other purpose, and there the total wealth as assessed is reported as \$13,065,000,000, or nearly ten billions more than in the South.

It should be remembered, in addition to the short period in which schools are already taught in the South, that there are 2,702,835 children of age not enrolled for instruction. Take another comparison: Charleston, S. C., now levies a tax of three mills on a dollar; but to furnish the children of that State a fair approach to the instruction given those in Massachusetts would require a tax on the property of the State of nearly three cents on the dollar. This the friends of education in Massachusetts or any other State would hesitate to propose in their own case.

* * * * *

I must not pause to elaborate these points, but supposing (1) that the labor of an illiterate is increased in value 25 per cent. by teaching him to read and write, 50 per cent. by fairly educating him, and 75 per cent. by giving him a thorough training; and (2) that the average value of the labor of literates is the same as the average wages paid employees in manufactories, then the following computations give sound conclusions.

By the census of 1880, the number of persons of 21 years and upward in the Southern States who were unable to write was 2,984,387. If 75 per cent. of them should be taught to read and write, it would increase the value of the labor of 2,238,290 persons 25 per cent. The present value of their labor is, approximately, \$248 a year each. The increase of value would be \$62 a year per capita, a total of \$138,773,980. If 15 per cent. of the illiterates should be fairly educated, it would increase the value of the labor of 447,658 persons 50 per cent. or from \$248 to \$372 a year each. The total of this annual increase would be \$55,509,592. If the remaining 10 per cent. of illiterates should have the value of their labor increased 75 per cent. by being thoroughly trained, the industrial value of 298,433 persons would be raised from \$248 to \$434 a year each, a total of \$55,509,654. By adding the three totals just given, it is seen that the increase which would come to the industrial value of illiterates in the Southern States would be, were they educated as indicated, \$241,727,220 a year.

A regular computation may be made for the entire country. The average annual wages paid by manufacturers is \$345. The number of persons 21 and over unable to write is 4,204,263. By teaching 75 per cent. of these to read and write, the labor of 3,153,272 individuals is increased in value from \$345 to \$431 a year, a total gain of \$271,181,392 each year. The gain which would come from educating 15 per cent. (630,654) of the illiterates so that their labor would be increased 50 per cent. in value, would be \$108,787,815. The same amount would be gained by so training the remaining 10 per cent. of illiterates that their labor would be 75 per cent. more value; and the total annual profit to the country by the conversion of illiterate into educated labor would be, according to the premises assumed as a basis of computation, \$488,757,022 a year.

Need I go further to indicate that education is a most profitable investment for both labor and capital? * * *

Omitting any reference to the influence of illiteracy during minority, or any bearing of the illiteracy of the female adults, the late census shows us that there is a great army of 1,870,216 adult males or voters who cannot write, an army nearly double that ever in the field during the late deplorable civil war. You will certainly excuse me from any delineation of the horrors of the devastation that might follow their united and concentrated efforts against the peace and order of society.

I simply call your attention to what may be the injurious effect of their silent action at the polls. The members of our respective political parties believe in the rightness of their principles and seek to make their appeal to the reason and consciences of the people; but the figures disclose the alarming fact that in eleven States these illiterate voters outnumbered the votes cast in the last Presidential election by either of the political parties. Thus, should they unite under any strong,

impassioned, successful leader, they would have absolute control of legislation and offices in those States and of the election of twenty-two members of the United States Senate.

I turn now to the address of Col. Dexter A. Hawkins, of New York city, who is a prominent lawyer and publicist, as undoubtedly members of the Senate are aware. His address was upon the relations of education to wealth and morality, pauperism and crime. I read only the most pertinent extracts, and would refer any one interested to the entire address.

In 1870 the Commissioner of Education at Washington sent out a series of carefully drawn, comprehensive, and searching questions to the great centers of labor in all parts of the United States. These centers were so selected as to represent every kind of labor, from the rudest and simplest up to the most skilled. The object of the questions was to determine the relative productiveness of literate and illiterate labor. I have tabulated, reduced, and generalized the answers so as to get at what seems to me to be the average result over the whole country. This investigation—one of the most interesting ever made—brought clearly to light the following facts:

1. That an average free common-school education, such as is provided in all the States where the free common school has become a permanent institution, adds 50 per cent. to the productive power of the laborer considered as a mere productive machine.

2. That the average academical education adds 100 per cent.

3. That the average collegiate or university education adds from 200 to 300 per cent. to his average annual productive capacity, to say nothing of the vast increase to his manliness—to his godlikeness.

By the census of 1880 we had in the United States 4,204,362 illiterate adults—white and colored.

I read his computation in order to show that independent and most intelligent observers and thinkers arrive at substantially the same conclusion:

Now, putting their labor at the minimum annual value of \$100 each (which is far below the average even for farm labor, while the wages of manufacturing operatives, including 15 per cent. of women and children, as shown by the census of 1880, average in the whole country \$345 each per year), and the annual loss to these persons from the lack of at least a common-school education would be \$50 each. This, for the whole number of 4,240,362, is \$210,000,000 per year—a sum twice as large as the entire annual expenditure for public education in the whole country. This sum—\$210,000,000—is a clear annual loss, not only to these illiterates, but to the community, by reason of their illiteracy.

The late slave States complain of their inability to pay the expenses of free common schools, and they raised for public education in 1880 only \$10,883,104. The amount of the annual loss in these same States, from their labor being illiterate, is at least \$150,000,000. The extra productiveness of their laborers over what it is now would—had they been educated, as in Maine and New Hampshire—establish and support free common schools nine months in the year for every child of the school age within their borders, and leave a surplus sufficient to support a free academy in every county and a free college in every State.

A sufficient examination of that kind is very well, but it must be remembered that an existing state of things, where it is the status of human beings, cannot be changed but by long and expensive processes, and that to change the actual condition in these Southern States to the degree of literacy which exists in the ones referred to must necessarily be the work of ten or fifteen or twenty years.

A careful examination of the census of England, Scotland, Ireland, and of the several countries on the continent of Europe indicates that, other things being equal, pauperism is in the inverse ratio of the education of the mass of the people; that is, as education increases pauperism decreases, and as education decreases pauperism increases.

In the Grand Duchy of Baden they put into operation in 1854 a rigorous system of universal compulsory education in the elementary branches. The effect in seven years upon pauperism was to reduce it 25 per cent. It has been calculated by statists and students of social science that 96 per cent. of pauperism could be exterminated by universal compulsory education in the elementary branches of knowledge and industry.

In Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, three great central States, where self-support is not difficult, one in ten of the illiterates is a pauper, while of the rest of the population only one in three hundred is a pauper. In other words, in those three great central States a given number of children suffered to grow up in ignorance produce thirty times as many paupers as when given an average common-school education.

In 1870 a special investigation was made, in fifteen States, of the inmates, to the number of 7,398, of almshouses and infirmaries. Of these, 4,327, or nearly 59 per cent. could not read and write; while in those fifteen States the average percentage of illiterates was only 6 per cent. of the whole population. From this 6 per cent. came that 59 per cent. of the paupers; or, to express it in another form, a given number of children in those fifteen States, suffered to grow up in ignorance, produced twenty-two times as many paupers as the same number of children would if given a fair common-school education.

Similar results may be obtained from the census of almost every country in Europe or America.

We may safely say, then, that it is a general law of modern civilization that an illiterate person is from twenty to thirty times as liable to become a pauper and a charge upon the public as is one with an average common-school education; and that the annual loss to the community, in the United States, in the productive power of the illiterates and in the support of paupers made such by illiteracy, is nearly, if not quite, equal to the amount that would be required to establish and maintain a free common school the year round in every State in the Union, amply sufficient for the whole fifteen millions of the children of the school age in the United States.

The annual expense of maintaining paupers—96 per cent. of whom have become such through lack of proper training while young—is at least ten times as great as would have been the expense to the public of securing an education while young to each of these paupers sufficient to have enabled 96 per cent. of them to support themselves instead of being a charge upon the public.

Education leads naturally to industry, sobriety, and economy; hence it makes one conscious of the benefits resulting from these habits.

Statistics proclaim in no uncertain voice that *education is the surest preventive of pauperism*; and that the expense of providing and applying in season this preventive would not be one-tenth that now brought upon society by pauperism.

The first incentive to action is self-support—gaining a livelihood. This is the very basis of personal independence of individual character, respectability, and influence. The key to self-support is education. Money and labor, invested in education, are capital invested in such a manner that the principal is absolutely safe, and the income large, sure, and promptly paid. The States should see to it

that a reasonable investment of this kind is made in and for every child as it grows up.

In France, in 1868, one-half of the inhabitants could not read nor write. From this half came 95 per cent. of the persons arrested for crime. From the other, the educated half, came only 5 per cent. In other words, a given number of children, suffered to grow up illiterate, produced nineteen times as many persons arrested for crime as the same number would if educated, at least to the extent of the elementary branches.

In the Grand Duchy of Baden, from 1854 to 1861—seven years—the government, by a rigorous system of universal compulsory elementary education, reduced the number of prisoners actually arrested 51 per cent., and the number of crimes committed 54 per cent.

In the six New England States, in 1870, 7 per cent. only of the inhabitants above ten years of age were unable to read and write; and yet this 7 per cent. produced 80 per cent. of the criminals. Or, in other words, a given number of children in New England at that time suffered to grow up illiterate produced fifty-three times as many criminals as the same number would if educated to the extent of the curriculum of the public schools. This fact is a complete vindication of the moral effect of the New England system of public education, Cardinal Antonelli to the contrary notwithstanding.

In the State of New York, in 1880, the illiterates produced eight times their proportion of the criminals in that State; that is, a given number of children brought up illiterate, on the average produced eight times as many criminals as the same children would have produced if educated to the extent of the curriculum of the public schools.

In the city of New York, in 1870, among the illiterates, one crime was committed for every three persons; while among the literates there was only one crime to twenty-seven persons. Or, in other words, the ignorant class in that city furnishes nine times the criminals they would if educated in the public schools.

In the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in 1870, the illiterates, according to their numbers, committed seven times as many crimes as the literate class.

In Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois, taken together, the illiterates committed ten times as many crimes, according to their numbers, as the literate class.

Take the whole of the United States together, according to the census of 1870, the illiterates committed ten times their pro rata proportion of crimes.

In Pennsylvania, in the years 1879 and 1880, one-thirtieth of the population above ten years of age could neither read nor write, and this one-thirtieth committed one-sixth part of the crimes, or nearly six times its proper proportion. But if we class with the illiterates the criminals who could barely read and write, but who had no education beyond bare reading and writing, it will then appear that the one-thirtieth of the population of Pennsylvania that is illiterate commits one-third of the crime, or more than fourteen times its legitimate proportion.

A careful examination of the statistics of twenty States shows the following average results:

First. That one-sixth of all the crime in the country is committed by persons wholly illiterate.

Second. That one-third of the crime in the country is committed by persons wholly or substantially illiterate.

Third. That the proportion of criminals among the illiterate class is, on the average, ten times as great as it is among those who have been instructed in the elements of a common-school education or beyond.

Fourth. That the expense imposed upon society to protect itself against a few thousand criminals, most of whom were made such through the neglect of society to take care of their education when young, is one of the heaviest of the public burdens. *In the city of New York it is 50 per cent. more than the whole cost of the public schools.*

In that city the annual appropriation for police, criminal courts, reformatories, jails, and penitentiaries is over five millions of dollars; while that for the training of the 385,000 school children in the city is only \$3,500,000.

The average attendance at the schools in 1888 was 138,329. The "compulsory school age"—that is, the age within which all children are required by law in the State of New York to attend school—is eight to fourteen years. The number of children of this age in the city of New York in June, 1880, was 144,474; while the average attendance on the public schools of children of all ages from five to twenty-one in that year in the city was only 133,096. As a logical consequence of this neglect of education the city jails and almshouses are crammed and taxes are high.

The city, in its meager provision for education and its enormous taxation for criminals (to use an old but expressive adage), "saves at the spigot but loses at the bung."

What is true of the metropolis of the country is equally true of every city, town, village, and neighborhood.

These facts could be multiplied almost without limit.

The examination of the statistics of criminality and illiteracy in the census of any civilized state or country will give results substantially in harmony with the above.

Carlyle says that—

"If the devil were passing through my country, and he applied to me for instruction on any truth or fact of this universe, I should wish to give it to him. He is less a devil knowing that three and three are six than if he didn't know it; a light spark, though of the faintest, is in this fact; if he knew facts enough, continuous light would dawn on him; he would (to his amazement) understand what this universe is, on what principles it conducts itself, and would cease to be a devil."

I desire here to introduce a series of tables compiled from various sources, but chiefly from the census of 1880 and from returns gathered by the Bureau of Education. There are sometimes slight variations in the results obtained by different agencies, but their general accord is an indication of their reliability.

Several of the most important are taken from the report of the committee of the House of Representatives on the bill for aid of the Government for educational purposes. I refer to Mr. WILLIS's report, very lately published; a report without which no examination of the subject will have been exhaustive, and with which no one can consider his sources of information incomplete.

These tables contain the substance of all the statistical matter in possession of the Government necessary for the study of the subject. Upon several of them I have expended considerable labor personally, but to the wise, philosophical, and indefatigable efforts of the Bureaus of Education and of the Census the credit of this mathematical and statistical grouping chiefly belongs.

There is necessarily some repetition of matter in showing different combinations of elements as they relate to different topics and propositions, but it is believed that there are important features peculiar to each table, and that the present and future will find this statistical statement one of convenient reference and perhaps of profound study.

These tables are twenty-four in number, and in order to facilitate reference to them I give a résumé of the contents of each.

Table 1. Historical and statistical data of the United States.

Table 2. Showing the area of the several States and Territories containing public lands, and the quantity devoted for educational purposes up to June 30, 1867.

Table 3. Public-school statistics of the United States in 1880, with number of teachers and pupils in private schools, prepared by Commissioner of Education. Items too numerous to mention.

Table 4. Showing the total population, school population, enrollment, average attendance, total number of teachers, length of school year in days, number of pupils or children not attending school, per cent. of school population enrolled in schools, per cent. of school population not enrolled in school in eighty-six cities, census of 1880.

Table 5. Illiteracy in the United States.

Table 6. Illiterate population ten years of age and over.

Table 7. White and colored adult males and adult male illiterates of the two races.

Table 8. Colored schools and enrollment in Southern States five years, from 1877 to 1881.

Table 9. Giving the popular majorities received at the last three Presidential elections, and the number of illiterate voters as shown by census of 1880.

Table 10. Comparative statistics of education at the South.

Table 11. The population and assessed valuation of personal property and real estate in States and Territories, from census reports of 1860, 1870, and 1880.

Table 12. Amount raised by taxation for support of public schools in each State and Territory during the year 1880.

Table 13. Rate of taxation for school purposes in various cities.

Table 14. Showing the population, total assessed valuation of property, total taxation, per capita of valuation, per capita of taxation, rate of taxation, total indebtedness, per capita of indebtedness, by States and Territories.

Table 15. Assessed valuation of real and personal property, total population by States, &c., and property per capita, the States and Territories arranged in groups.

Table 16. Increase and decrease in assessed valuation in the several Southern States, as shown by comparison of census of 1870 and 1880.

Table 17. School district indebtedness in the United States.

Table 18. Valuation and taxation.

Table 19. Selected cities, valuation and taxation.

Table 20. Drawn from the returns of school statistics for the year 1881 to the Bureau of Education, showing the number of youth not enrolled in school, and the expense of supplying them with the necessary school-houses, teachers, and text-books, including wages of teachers, for a school three months the first year.

Table 21. Drawn from the returns of school statistics from the Southern States and District of Columbia for the year 1881, showing the number of youth not enrolled in school, and the expense of supplying them with the necessary school houses and teachers, and the books and wages of teachers for a school of three months' length for the first year.

Table 22. Based on returns to the Bureau of Education for 1881, showing legal school population, total school expenditure, per capita of school expenditure, proportion of \$15,000,000 to each State based on number of persons by census of 1880 ten years old and upward who cannot read, proportion of \$15,000,000 to per capita of school population of 1881, total of school expenditure including \$15,000,000, and total per capita expenditure including \$15,000,000.

Table 23. Showing the sum of money which each State and Territory would receive in the division of \$15,000,000 among them all in proportion to their relative population ten years of age and upward who cannot write (census of 1880, 6,239,958).

Table 24. Showing the sum of money which each State and Territory would receive in the division of \$15,000,000 among them all in proportion to their relative population ten years of age and upward who cannot read. (Census 1880.)

TABLE I.—*Historical and statistical data of the United States.*

[Compiled from Report of the Commissioner of the Land Office for 1867.]

States and Territories.	Act organizing Territory.			Act admitting State.			Area in square miles.	Population in 1860. a
	U.S. Statutes.	Vol.	Page.	U.S. Statutes.	Vol.	Page.		
ORIGINAL STATES								
New Hampshire.....							9,280	326,073
Massachusetts.....							7,800	1,231,066
Rhode Island.....							1,306	174,620
Connecticut.....							4,750	460,147
New York.....							47,000	3,880,735
New Jersey.....							8,320	672,035
Pennsylvania.....							46,000	2,906,115
Delaware.....							2,120	112,216
Maryland.....							11,124	687,049
Virginia, East and West.....							61,352	1,596,318
North Carolina.....							50,704	992,622
South Carolina.....							34,000	708,708
Georgia.....							58,000	1,057,286
STATES ADMITTED.								
Kentucky.....				Feb. 4, 1791	1	189	37,680	1,155,684
Vermont.....				Feb. 18, 1791	1	191	b 10,212	315,098
Tennessee.....				June 1, 1796	1	491	45,600	1,109,801
Ohio.....	Ord. of 1787			Apr. 30, 1802	2	173	39,964	2,339,502
Louisiana.....	Mar. 3, 1805	2	331	Apr. 8, 1812	2	701	b 41,346	708,002
Indiana.....	May 7, 1800	2	58	Dec. 11, 1814	3	399	33,809	1,350,428
Mississippi.....	Apr. 7, 1798	1	549	Dec. 10, 1817	3	672	47,156	791,305
Illinois.....	Feb. 3, 1809	2	514	Dec. 3, 1818	3	536	b 55,410	1,711,951
Alabama.....	Mar. 3, 1817	3	371	Dec. 14, 1819	3	608	50,722	964,201
Maine.....				Mar. 3, 1820	3	544	b 35,000	628,279
Missouri.....	June 4, 1812	2	743	Mar. 2, 1821	3	645	b 65,350	1,182,012
Arkansas.....	Mar. 2, 1819	3	493	June 15, 1836	5	50	52,198	435,450
Michigan.....	Jan. 11, 1805	2	309	Jan. 26, 1837	5	144	b 56,451	749,113
Florida.....	Mar. 30, 1822	3	654	Mar. 3, 1845	5	742	59,268	140,425
Iowa.....	June 12, 1838	5	235	Dec. 29, 1845	9	108	b 274,350	674,948
Texas.....	Apr. 20, 1836	5	10	Mar. 3, 1847	9	178	53,924	775,881
Wisconsin.....				Sept. 9, 1850	9	452	b 188,981	305,439
California.....				Feb. 26, 1857	11	166	83,531	173,855
Minnesota.....	Mar. 3, 1849	9	403	Feb. 14, 1859	11	383	95,274	52,465
Oregon.....	Aug. 14, 1848	9	323	Jan. 29, 1861	12	126	81,318	107,206
Kansas.....	May 30, 1854	10	277	Dec. 31, 1862	12	633	23,000	
West Virginia.....	Mar. 2, 1861	12	209	Mar. 21, 1864	13	30	112,090	c 6,857
Nevada.....	Feb. 28, 1861	12	172		13	32	b 104,500	c 34,277
Colorado.....	May 30, 1854	10	277	Mar. 1, 1867	13	47	75,995	28,841
TERRITORIES.								
New Mexico.....	Sept. 9, 1850	9	446				121,201	
Utah.....	Sept. 9, 1850	9	453				88,056	
Washington.....	Mar. 2, 1853	10	172				69,994	
Dakota.....	Mar. 2, 1861	12	239				240,597	
Arizona.....	Feb. 24, 1863	12	664				113,916	e 360,000
Idaho.....	Mar. 3, 1863	12	808				90,932	
Montana.....	May 26, 1864	13	85				143,776	
Indian Territory.....							68,901	
District of Columbia.....	July 16, 1790	1	130	}			d 10 m. sq.	f 126,990
Russian purchase.....	Mar. 3, 1791	1	214				557,390	70,000

^a Total population in 1860 was 31,500,000; estimated in 1867 to be 38,500,000. ^b Area taken from geographical authorities and not from public surveys. ^c To the white population in Nevada should be added 10,507 Indians; and in Colorado, 2,261 Indians. ^d As estimated January 1, 1865. ^e That portion of District of Columbia south of the Potomac River was retroceded to Virginia July 9, 1861 (Statutes, volume 6, page 35). ^f By census of 1867.

TABLE 2.—Showing the area of the several States and Territories containing public lands, and the quantity devoted for educational purposes by Congress up to June 30, 1867.

[Compiled from Report of the Commissioner of the Land Office for 1867.]

States and Territories containing public lands.	Areas of States and Territories containing public lands.		Donations and grants for schools and universities.		Granted for agricultural colleges July 2, 1862, a		Granted for deaf and dumb asylums.	Remaining unsold and unappropriated June 30, 1867.
			Schools.	Universities.	Selected in place.	Located with scrip.		
Ohio.....	39,964	25,576,960	704,488	69,120				500.00
Indiana.....	33,809	21,637,760	650,317	46,080				2,000.00
Illinois.....	55,410	35,462,400	985,066	46,080				2,000.00
Missouri.....	65,350	41,824,000	1,199,039	46,080	244,384.51	147,797.25		1,835,892.71
Alabama.....	50,722	32,462,080	902,774	46,080			21,949.46	6,915,081.32
Mississippi.....	47,156	30,179,840	837,584	46,080				4,930,893.56
Louisiana.....	41,346	26,461,440	786,044	46,080				6,582,841.54
Michigan.....	56,451	36,128,640	1,067,397	46,080	225,253.88	960,807.59		5,180,640.63
Arkansas.....	52,198	33,406,720	886,460	46,080			2,097.43	11,757,662.54
Florida.....	59,268	37,931,520	908,503	92,160			20,924.22	17,540,374.00
Iowa.....	55,045	35,228,800	905,144	46,080	240,000.96	1,760.00		3,113,464.18
Wisconsin.....	53,924	34,511,360	958,649	92,160	240,007.73	702,425.07		10,016,700.87
California.....	188,981	120,947,840	6,719,324	46,080				106,062,392.13
Minnesota.....	83,531	53,459,840	2,969,990	46,080	119,852.17	488,803.03		36,776,170.89
Oregon.....	95,274	60,975,360	3,329,706	46,080		1,920.00		52,742,078.96
Kansas.....	81,318	52,043,520	2,891,306	46,080	90,000.40	411,959.70		43,148,876.44
Nevada.....	112,090	71,737,741	3,985,430	46,080				67,090,332.62
Nebraska.....	75,995	48,636,800	2,702,044	46,080		475,989.58		42,523,927.38
Washington Territory.....	69,994	44,796,160	2,488,675	46,080		1,120.00		41,627,464.39
New Mexico.....	121,201	77,568,640	4,309,368	46,080				73,005,192.00
Utah.....	88,056	56,355,635	3,130,869	46,080				51,139,646.00
Dakota.....	240,597	153,982,080	8,554,560					145,295,284.97
Colorado.....	104,500	66,880,000	3,715,555					62,870,665.83
Montana.....	143,235	92,016,640	5,112,035					86,994,605.00
Arizona.....	113,916	72,906,304	4,050,350					68,835,954.00
Idaho.....	90,932	58,196,489	3,233,137					54,463,343.00
Indian.....	68,991	44,154,240						44,154,240.00
American purchase from Russia.....	577,390	369,529,600						369,529,600.00
Total.....	2,867,185	1,834,998,400	67,983,914	1,062,880	1,159,499.65	3,192,582.22	44,971.11	1,414,567,574.96

* The whole quantity liable to be issued under the act of July 2, 1862, is 9,600,000 acres.

TABLE 3.—Public school statistics of the United States in 1880, with number of teachers and pupils in private schools, prepared by Commissioner of Education.

States.	School age.	School population.	Enrolled in public schools.	Average daily attendance.	Average duration of school in days.	Expenditure in the year—per capita of pupils enrolled in public schools.	Number of public schools.	Teachers in public schools.	Teachers in private schools.*	Pupils in private schools.*	Available school funds (permanent).	Permanent school fund, including portions not now available.	Interest on permanent fund of school lands.	
Alabama.....	7-21	388,003	179,490	117,978	80.0	\$2.08	4,594	4,615			\$2,528,950		\$138,013	
Arkansas.....	6-21	247,547	70,972				3,100	1,827			614,875	6190,186	614,269	
California.....	5-17	215,978	158,765	100,966	146.6	b17.17	2,803	3,595			2,006,800	2,104,465	180,909	
Colorado.....	6-21	35,566	22,119	12,618	689.0	17.80		678			36,000		c67,041	
Connecticut.....	4-16	140,235	119,694	478,421	179.2	11.01	1,630	p3,100	512	13,900	2,021,346	2,021,346	112,188	
Delaware.....	6-21	35,459	27,823				561	594			448,999		26,607	
Florida.....	4-21	88,677	39,315	27,046			1,131	1,095			246,900		dd17,962	
Georgia.....	6-18	6433,444	236,533	145,190		1.99	65,916	6,000	1,680	48,452	9,049,302	9,049,302	593,119	
Illinois.....	6-21	1,010,851	704,041	481,638	150.0	9.61	11,964	22,255	1,497	60,440	2,086,886	2,086,886	138,016	
Indiana.....	6-21	703,558	511,283	321,659	136.0	7.96	9,383	13,578	6592	412,112	9,065,255	9,065,255	6631,914	
Iowa.....	5-21	586,556	426,057	259,836	148.0	11.25	11,084	21,598	474	12,724	3,484,411	3,484,411	282,908	
Kansas.....	5-21	340,647	231,434	137,667	107.0	7.85	5,233	7,780	979	66,205	2,297,590	2,297,590	11,815,519	
Kentucky.....	a6-20	545,161	265,581	f193,874	102.0	3.85		6,764				1,755,682	1,755,682	114,172
Louisiana.....	6-18	273,845	68,440	45,626	118.0	6.74	1,494	2,025	u247	u4,404		1,30,867	1,30,867	30,320
Maine.....	4-21	214,656	149,827	103,113	120.0	6.53		6,934			438,287		27,995	
Maryland.....	5-20	276,120	162,431	85,778	210.0	8.64	2,300	3,125			906,229		52,116	
Massachusetts.....	5-15	307,321	306,777	233,127	177.0	f14.93	5,570	8,595			2,086,886	2,086,886		
Michigan.....	5-20	506,221	362,556	f213,898	141.0	6.81	6,695	13,949	703	18,854	2,880,942	2,880,942	226,955	
Minnesota.....	5-21	271,423	180,248	f117,161	94.0	8.42	24,064	5,215			4,449,728	15,000,000	250,485	
Mississippi.....	5-21	426,689	236,704	156,761	77.5	2.70	65,367	5,560			815,229		126,233	
Missouri.....	6-20	723,484	476,376	f219,132	610.0		8,641	10,447			8,950,806		ee36,245	
Nebraska.....	5-21	142,348	92,549	f60,156	109.0	12.29	2,922	4,100			3,323,217	f20,754,810	134,025	
Nevada.....	6-18	610,295	67,590	65,108				b184			b380,000			
New Hampshire.....	6-21	672,102	665,048	648,910	b101.5		2,528	63,582			63,066		624,809	
New Jersey.....	5-18	330,688	204,961	115,194	192.0	9.48		3,477	572	43,530	1,454,007	2,515,785	100,000	
New York.....	5-21	1,641,173	1,031,593	573,080	179.0	10.09	p20,500	30,730	w139,476	y7,265,807			f170,000	
North Carolina.....	6-21	459,324	225,606	147,802	54.0	1.12	5,503	4,130			220,000	aa531,555	8,000	
Ohio.....	6-21	61,042,320	747,138	476,279	150.0	8.59	12,043	23,684	292	28,650			245,745	
Oregon.....	4-20	59,615	37,533	27,435	89.6	8.37	8,685	1,314	212	3,744	6562,830		36,910	
Pennsylvania.....	6-21	g1,200,000	937,310	601,627	147.0		b18,386	21,375	v947	v24,066			gg1,090,000	
Rhode Island.....	5-15	52,273	44,780	29,065	n184.0	11.63	924	1,295	208	6,676	240,376	266,950	12,448	
South Carolina.....	6-16	h228,128	134,072		77.0	2.42	2,973	3,171						
Tennessee.....	6-21	544,862	290,141	191,461	68.0		5,522	5,954	1,665	41,068	h2,512,500	h2,512,500		
Texas.....	8-14	230,527	186,780				6,127	4,361			e3,385,571		44,623	
Vermont.....	5-20	692,831	75,238	48,606	125.0		2,616	4,326			b669,087		553,690	
Virginia.....	5-21	555,807	220,736	128,404	113.0	3.82	4,854	4,873	1,609	25,622		1,468,765		
West Virginia.....	6-21	210,113	142,850	91,704	99.0	4.43	b3,725	4,134			423,989	423,989	15,320	
Wisconsin.....	4-20	483,229	299,258	197,510	162.5	7.51	5,984	10,115	804	25,938	2,747,844	2,995,112	184,409	
Total for States.....		15,128,078	9,679,675	5,743,839			187,005	280,143	12,993	560,239			6,392,048	

TABLE 3.—*Public school statistics of the United States in 1880, with number of teachers and pupils in private schools, &c.—Continued.*

Territories.	School age.	School population.	Enrolled in public schools.	Average daily attendance.	Average duration of school in days.	Expenditure in the year per capita of pupils enrolled in public schools.	Number of public schools.	Teachers in public schools.	Teachers in private schools. ^a	Pupils in private schools. ^a	Available school funds (per manum).	Permanent school fund, including portions not now available.	Interest on permanent fund, including rents of school lands.	
Arizona.....	6-21	7,148	4,212	2,847	109.0			101						
Dakota.....	5-21	12,030	8,042	3,170	88.0			286						
District of Columbia.....	6-17	43,558	26,439	20,637	193.0	\$14.87		433						
Idaho.....	5-21		6,758					155						
Indian.....		11,444	6,098	3,944				212						
Montana.....	4-21	7,070	3,970	2,506	96.0			153						
New Mexico.....	c7-18	429,312	65,151		c132.0			c138						
Utah.....	6-18	40,672	24,326	17,178	128.0			517						
Washington.....	b5-21	624,223	b14,032	b9,585	b87.5	b8 15		340	b560	b31	b451			
Wyoming.....	b7-21		b2,090	b1,287				b49						
Total for Territories.....		175,457	101,118	61,154				1,696	2,610	112	6,921			188,584
Grand total.....		15,803,535	9,780,773	5,804,993				188,701	282,753	13,105	567,160			6,580,632

^a For whites; for colored 6-16.^b In 1879.^c In 1875.^d Census of 1870.^e In 1878.^f Estimated.^g In 1873.^h In 1877.ⁱ In the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Creek Nations.^j In the five civilized tribes.^k For the winter.^l In white schools only.^m In cities; 176 in counties.ⁿ In evening schools, 61.^o In the counties; 158 in cities and towns.^p Approximately.^q Number necessary to supply the schools.^r Private schools in public buildings.^s In 1879; exclusive of New Orleans private schools.^t In 1879; exclusive of Philadelphia.^w In academies and private schools.^x Estimated average number of pupils.^y Includes the United States deposit fund, as reported in 1878, amounting to \$4,014,521.^z In State and United States 4 percents, ordered to be sold by the last Legislature.^{aa} Exclusive of 1,000,000 acres of swamp land made subject to entry sale by last Legislature.^{bb} Funds in the five civilized tribes, whole or part interest of which is used for school purposes.^{cc} From rents in 1879.^{dd} State apportionment.^{ee} Includes revenue from other funds.^{ff} Apparently does not include interest on the United States deposit funds.^{gg} State appropriation in lieu of interest on permanent fund.^{**} As far as reported by State superintendents; accompanying is a more specific report on this point, which approximately exhibits (if we exclude the preparatory work done by private normal schools) the number of private institutions, with teachers and pupils in them, giving secondary or superior instruction in each State and Territory.TABLE 4.—*Table prepared at the request of Hon. H. W. Blair, by the Bureau of Education, showing the total population, school population, enrollment, average attendance, total number of teachers, length of school year in days, number of pupils or children of school age not attending school, per cent. of school population enrolled in schools, per cent. of school population not enrolled in school in eighty-six cities (census of 1880).*

Cities.	Population.	School population.	Enrollment.	Average attendance.	Total number of teachers.	Length of school year in days.	Number of pupils not attending.	Per cent. of school population not enrolled in school.
Mobile, Ala.....	29,132		4,639	4,014	125	172		
Selma, Ala.....	7,529	1,757	882	717	14		875	50
Little Rock, Ark.....	13,138	6,169	2,503	1,655	33	180	3,666	41
Oakland, Cal.....	34,555	8,108	5,996	5,067	129	206	2,112	74
Sacramento, Cal.....	21,420	4,943	3,895		75	200	1,048	79
San Francisco, Cal.....	233,959	53,802	38,320	28,150	686	211	15,572	71
Denver, Colo.....	35,629	5,700	3,210	1,953	65	190	2,490	56
Bridgeport, Conn.....	29,148	6,641	5,229	3,529	91	210	1,412	79
Hartford, Conn.....	42,015	9,652	7,612	4,886	140	201	2,040	79
New Haven, Conn.....	62,882	13,897	11,897	7,931	230	200	2,000	86
Wilmington, Del.....	42,478		7,043	4,472	115	207		
Georgetown and Washington, D. C.....	159,871	27,142	15,728	12,508	259	203	11,414	58
Jacksonville, Fla.....	7,650	1,011	804		17	176	207	21
Key West, Fla.....	9,890	3,415	1,168	828	17	240	2,247	34
Atlanta, Ga.....	37,409	10,500	4,100	2,609	68	200	6,400	39
Augusta, Ga.....	21,891	9,366	4,127		32	183	5,339	43
Chicago, Ill.....	502,185	137,035	59,562	42,375	896	200	77,473	43
Peoria, Ill.....	29,259	9,670	4,761	3,386	76	200	4,409	49
Indianapolis, Ind.....	75,056	26,789	13,936	8,925	219	200	11,853	52
Terre Haute, Ind.....	26,042	8,096	4,138	2,975	78	200	3,958	57
Des Moines, Iowa.....	22,408	3,576	2,322	1,562	41	190	1,254	65
Dubuque, Iowa.....	22,254	9,476	3,686	2,555	71	200	5,790	39
Leavenworth, Kans.....	16,546	6,257	3,060	2,154	34	180	3,197	49
Topeka, Kans.....	15,452	2,816	1,935	1,607	30	180	881	68
Covington, Ky.....	29,720	10,094	3,286	2,485	66	198	6,809	32
Louisville, Ky.....	123,758	46,587	19,990	13,498	325	215	26,597	43
New Orleans, La.....	216,090	56,947	17,886	15,190	407	208	39,061	31
Bangor, Me.....	16,856	5,479	3,120	2,458	71	204	2,359	45
Lewiston, Me.....	19,083	5,974	3,558	2,061	76	187 ¹	2,416	60
Portland, Me.....	33,810	10,660	6,797	4,347	128	200	3,863	64
Baltimore, Md.....	332,313	86,961	48,066	29,961	822	186	38,895	55
Boston, Mass.....	362,839	57,703	59,768	46,130	1,201	206	2,065	a103
Lawrence, Mass.....	39,151	6,865	4,800	4,232	118	200	2,065	30
Lowell, Mass.....	59,475	9,121	12,211	6,045	160		3,090	a134
Worcester, Mass.....	58,291	10,988	11,452	7,913	218	200	464	a104
Detroit, Mich.....	116,340	39,467	15,719	10,818	250	200	23,748	40
Grand Rapids, Mich.....	32,016	9,784	5,727	3,590	106	200	4,057	58
Minneapolis, Minn.....	46,887	12,806	6,142	4,248	120	200	6,664	48
Saint Paul, Minn.....	41,473		4,338	3,030	96	200		
Vicksburg, Miss.....	11,814	3,000	1,196		21		1,804	39
Kansas City, Mo.....	55,785	11,325	5,259	3,140	62	200	6,066	54

TABLE 4.—Table prepared at the request of Hon. H. W. Blair, by the Bureau of Education, &c.—Continued.

Cities.	Population.	School popula- tion.	Enrollment.	Average attend- ance.	Total number of teachers.	Length of school year in days.	Number of pupils not attending.	Per cent. of school population en- rolled in school.	Per cent. of school enrolled in school.
Saint Joseph, Mo.	32,431	8,908	3,820	2,579	58	200	5,088	43	57
Saint Louis, Mo.	350,518	106,372	55,780	36,449	1,044	200	50,592	52	48
Omaha, Nebr.	30,518	7,381	3,716	57	200	3,665	50	50	50
Dover, N. H.	11,687	2,350	1,880	1,436	46	180	470	80	20
Manchester, N. H.	32,630	4,774	4,350	2,818	86	190	424	91	9
Nashua, N. H.	13,397	2,072	2,526	1,630	52	180	454	300	62
Portsmouth N. H.	9,690	2,251	1,891	—	35	200	300	62	38
Jersey City, N. J.	120,722	41,226	22,776	12,905	328	204	18,450	55	45
Newark, N. J.	136,508	41,936	19,778	11,100	270	210	22,457	46	54
Paterson, N. J.	51,031	13,672	7,901	4,750	142	200	5,571	58	42
Albany, N. Y.	90,758	35,411	14,049	9,175	229	210	21,362	40	60
Brooklyn, N. Y.	566,663	181,083	96,663	52,677	1,315	205	84,720	53	47
Buffalo, N. Y.	155,134	56,000	18,606	14,555	439	201	37,394	33	67
New York, N. Y.	1,206,209	385,000	270,176	132,720	3,357	204	114,824	70	30
Rochester, N. Y.	89,366	37,000	18,889	8,250	230	200	23,131	37	63
Wilmington, N. C.	17,350	4,921	866	—	—	—	4,055	18	82
Cincinnati, Ohio	255,139	87,618	36,121	27,279	671	225	51,497	41	59
Cleveland, Ohio	180,146	49,256	24,262	16,807	596	196	24,994	49	51
Columbus, Ohio	51,647	14,662	7,902	5,953	149	200	6,760	54	46
Dayton, Ohio	38,678	11,660	6,114	4,527	125	—	5,546	52	48
Toledo, Ohio	50,137	14,988	7,615	4,739	125	209	7,283	51	49
Portland, Oreg.	17,577	4,669	2,650	1,956	46	200	2,019	57	43
Allegheny, Pa.	78,682	—	11,610	8,287	202	193	—	—	—
Philadelphia, Pa.	877,170	—	105,541	94,145	2,295	207	—	—	—
Pittsburgh, Pa.	156,389	—	26,937	17,387	526	—	—	—	—
Scranton, Pa.	45,850	19,800	10,174	6,861	169	220	9,626	51	49
Newport, R. I.	15,693	3,419	2,580	1,808	53	198	839	75	25
Providence, R. I.	104,857	19,108	13,993	9,630	289	—	5,115	73	27
Charleston, S. C.	49,984	12,727	7,284	—	91	197	5,433	57	43
Columbia, S. C.	10,636	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Chattanooga, Tenn.	12,892	3,061	2,185	1,882	30	180	876	71	29
Knoxville, Tenn.	9,693	2,100	1,509	930	26	200	591	72	23
Memphis, Tenn.	33,592	9,011	4,105	2,289	63	151	4,906	45	55
Nashville, Tenn.	43,350	12,460	6,098	4,299	96	190	6,362	49	51
Houston, Tex.	16,513	2,746	1,756	1,172	23	160	990	64	36
San Antonio, Tex.	20,550	3,022	1,584	934	22	205	1,438	52	48
Burlington, Vt.	11,365	—	1,566	—	32	—	—	—	—
Rutland, Vt.	12,149	—	2,395	—	64	—	—	—	—
Norfolk, Va.	21,966	6,695	1,613	1,117	26	210	5,082	24	76
Petersburg, Va.	21,656	7,417	1,985	1,494	28	174	5,432	27	73
Richmond, Va.	63,600	21,536	5,821	4,778	129	198	15,715	27	73
Madison, Wis.	10,324	3,517	1,939	1,745	34	185	1,578	55	45
Milwaukee, Wis.	115,587	37,742	17,085	11,149	239	—	20,657	45	55
Oshkosh, Wis.	11,748	5,874	2,217	2,017	53	—	3,657	38	62
	8,300,081	2,052,923	1,302,776	858,533	21,672	—	750,147	—	—

a More than the school population. This is due to the fact that they are allowed to attend school after the school age established by law. Average attendance about two-thirds of enrollment or one-third of population of school age.

Thirty-four cities 50 per cent. and upward not enrolled at all.

TABLE 5—Illiteracy in the United States, census of 1880.

States and Territories.	Total population.	Total population who can not read, ten years of age and over.	Per cent. of total population who can not read.	Total population who can not write, ten years of age and over.	Per cent. of total population who can not write.	Total white population.	Total white population who can not write, ten years of age and over.	Per cent. of total white population who can not write.	Total colored population.	Total colored population who can not write, ten years of age and over.	Per cent. of total colored population who can not write.
Alabama.	1,262,405	370,279	29.33	433,447	34.33	662,185	111,767	16.88	600,320	321,680	53.53
Arizona.	40,440	5,496	13.59	5,842	14.45	35,160	4,824	13.72	5,280	1,018	19.28
Arkansas.	802,525	153,229	19.09	202,015	25.17	591,531	98,542	16.66	210,994	103,473	49.04
California.	684,694	48,583	5.62	53,430	6.18	767,181	26,090	3.40	97,513	27,340	28.04
Colorado.	194,327	9,321	4.80	10,474	5.39	191,126	9,906	5.18	3,201	568	17.74
Connecticut.	622,700	20,986	3.37	28,424	4.56	610,769	26,763	4.38	11,931	1,661	13.92
Dakota.	135,177	3,094	2.29	4,821	5.37	133,147	4,157	3.13	2,030	664	32.71
Delaware.	146,608	16,912	11.54	19,414	13.24	120,160	8,346	6.95	26,448	11,068	41.85
District of Columbia.	177,624	21,541	12.13	25,778	14.51	118,006	3,988	3.33	59,618	21,790	36.55
Florida.	269,493	70,219	26.06	80,183	29.75	142,605	19,763	13.81	126,888	60,420	47.62
Georgia.	1,542,180	446,683	28.96	520,416	33.75	816,906	128,984	15.78	725,274	391,482	53.98
Idaho.	32,610	1,384	4.24	1,778	5.45	29,013	784	2.70	3,597	994	27.63
Illinois.	3,077,871	96,809	3.15	145,397	4.72	3,031,151	132,426	4.37	46,720	12,971	27.76
Indiana.	1,978,301	70,008	3.54	110,761	5.60	1,938,798	100,398	5.18	39,503	10,363	26.23
Iowa.	1,624,615	28,117	1.73	46,609	2.87	1,614,600	44,337	2.75	10,015	2,272	22.69
Kansas.	996,096	25,503	2.56	39,476	3.96	952,155	24,888	2.61	43,941	14,588	33.20
Kentucky.	1,648,690	258,186	15.66	348,392	21.13	1,377,179	214,497	15.53	271,511	133,855	49.31
Louisiana.	939,946	297,312	31.63	318,380	33.87	454,954	58,951	12.95	484,992	259,429	53.49
Maine.	648,936	18,181	2.80	22,170	3.42	646,852	21,758	3.36	2,084	412	19.77
Maryland.	934,943	111,387	11.91	134,488	14.38	724,693	44,316	6.12	210,250	90,172	42.89
Massachusetts.	1,783,085	75,635	4.24	92,980	5.21	1,763,782	90,658	5.14	19,303	2,322	12.03
Michigan.	1,636,937	47,112	2.88	63,723	3.89	1,614,560	58,932	3.65	22,377	4,791	21.41
Minnesota.	780,773	20,551	2.63	34,546	4.42	776,884	33,506	4.31	3,889	1,040	26.74
Mississippi.	1,131,597	315,612	27.89	373,201	32.98	479,398	53,448	11.15	652,199	319,753	49.03
Missouri.	2,168,380	138,818	6.40	208,754	9.63	2,022,826	152,510	7.54	145,554	56,244	38.64
Montana.	39,159	1,530	3.91	1,707	4.36	35,385	631	1.78	3,774	1,076	28.51
Nebraska.	452,402	7,830	1.73	11,528	2.55	449,764	10,926	2.43	2,638	602	22.82
Nevada.	62,266	3,703	5.95	4,069	6.53	53,556	1,915	3.53	8,710	2,154	24.73
New Hampshire.	346,991	11,982	3.45	14,302	4.12	346,229	14,208	4.10	762	94	12.84
New Jersey.	1,131,116	39,136	3.46	53,249	4.71	1,092,017	44,049	4.03	39,099	9,200	23.53
New Mexico.	119,565	52,994	44.32	57,156	47.80	108,721	49,597	45.62	10,844	7,559	69.71
New York.	5,082,871	166,625	3.28	219,600	4.32	5,016,022	208,175	4.15	66,849	11,425	17.09