

THE DEVELOPMENT OF
EDUCATION IN TEXAS
BY
ERDWIN EBY


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**THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION
IN TEXAS**



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THE
DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION
IN TEXAS

BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

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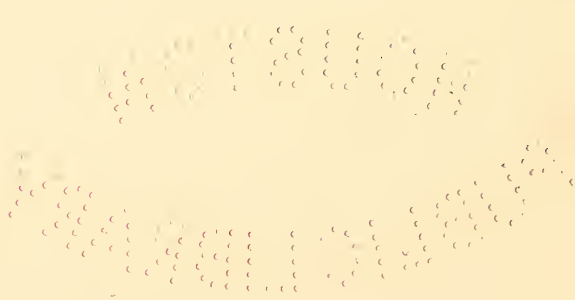
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PREFACE

IN recent years there has grown up an increasing interest in the history of American education. This is partly due to a worthy desire to make the historical aspects of educational study as practical and valuable as possible to the purely professional student. For the same reason attention is now directed to the development of the schools in the various individual states. The history of education in his own state is probably the best means of introducing the new teacher to the full appreciation of the actual status and conditions of the school system; it will make him a wiser factor in bringing about progress, and, at the same time, it is valuable in building up a professional spirit.

The progress of education in many of the states of the Union has been of minor interest for the general student, because it has not contributed vitally to the advancement of schools in the country as a whole. The history of Texas education has a peculiar importance for the student of education, and even in a much larger way for the scholar who is investigating the development of American social life. In no other state has the struggle of such diverse traditions and ideals been so prolonged and bitter. Many have wondered at the slow and fitful development of education in a state so large and wealthy. The ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* declared "Texas occupies the anomalous position of having the best school fund and the poorest school system in the United States." This peculiarity can only be understood when a clear analysis has been made of the cultural background and traditions and the economic history of the Texas people.

In the preparation of this work I have been materially assisted by E. W. Winkler, M.A., Reference Librarian at the University of Texas. He read the manuscript from Chapter II to Chapter VIII. His familiarity with the details of early Texas history has been of great service. I am likewise obligated to my friend, Oscar H. Cooper, LL.D., who has taken the trouble to read the entire manuscript and to make a number of important suggestions. Dr. Cooper is a native of Texas and received his early education here. For over forty years he has been one of the most active agents in our school system. Similar acknowledgment is cheerfully made to the Hon. S. M. N. Marrs, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, who has read the manuscript and suggested valuable emendations.

It is a point of personal courtesy to state that originally this was to have been the product of joint authorship. Dean W. S. Sutton, LL.D., for many years a leading educator, was to have been associated with me in investigating this interesting field of Texas history. No one regrets more than I that ill health at the time forbade him the joy of writing on this subject which has ever been dear to him.

FREDERICK EBY.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS,
July 1, 1924.

INTRODUCTION

FOR truth, which is a unit, forward-looking men in all ages of the world have had a genuine passion. This unit, however, has many phases, constantly increasing in both number and content. Through the labors of inquiring minds the various knowledges which man uses in his conquest over nature and over himself have been slowly developed. Strange to say, that subject which relates to the education of man, which is concerned with goals and processes in his evolution, received for centuries only scant attention, and men's thoughts relating to what is now a great field of human learning were naïve. The formal bringing up of the youth was consequently controlled almost exclusively by traditional customs and beliefs. It is true that among some nations that existed, even before the beginning of the Christian era, great men from time to time directed their thoughts to the study of education. Among the immortal books of the world is *The Republic*, which was written by Plato, and which is fundamentally a treatise on education, even until this day worthy of profound study. In that great work education is considered both the basis and the limitation of the state, and it is no wonder that its author emphatically declares "Man cannot propose a higher or a holier subject for his study than education and all that pertains thereto."

Quintilian's *Institutes of Oratory* is another treatise written upon education by a man endowed with gray matter in his head and with patriotism in his heart. Many other examples taken from ancient, and also from modern, times could be easily cited. Perhaps one of the most notable of all that could be mentioned is a little volume which contains four essays written by Herbert Spencer, published

about the middle of the nineteenth century. After pointing out that the most glaring defect in the school programs of his time was the neglect of the study of education, a subject concerning which not only teachers but also parents should be informed, he adds: "We must admit that a knowledge of the right methods of juvenile culture, physical, intellectual, and moral, is a knowledge second to none in importance." It is Spencer's opinion that this subject should occupy a very important place in the courses of instruction passed through by every man and every woman, as is evidenced in these words of his: "A subject which involves all other subjects, and, therefore, the subject in which the education of everyone should culminate is the theory and the practice of education."

In line with Spencer's views, as cited above, are these extracts taken from a little volume published in 1924, entitled *A Living Universe*, of which L. P. Jacks, principal of Manchester College, Oxford, England, is the author:

"There is nothing like education for turning the plain man into a thinker. It will get him earnest, it will bring him up against reality, in half the time that would be taken if he began his thinking on the stock conundrums of the philosopher, or on the questions that are debated among the sects. Get him thinking about education, if you want him to make discoveries. More people are thinking about it to-day than ever thought about it before. It is a hopeful sign of the times. Something will come of that."

.

"Reality, Religion, and Education seem to me to form an indivisible unity. Take them apart and all three will be misunderstood. Each of them needs the light that is thrown upon it by the other two."

Now this subunit of truth called education has, after a biological fashion, been subject to the law of evolutionary development, for education itself has been divided and subdivided into smaller

units. There was a time, not so long ago, in fact, when a single professor in a university could handle very successfully the materials especially related to the profession of teaching and administering schools. So far as universities are concerned, I, myself, have seen the evolution of the professional and scientific study of education in the higher institutions of learning in America. When I was a university student, there was not an institution of higher learning in America that devoted any part of its curriculum or its income to the professional preparation of teachers. The truth is that in the entire English-speaking world there were only two universities — one in Edinburgh and the other in Glasgow — where any attention whatever was paid to this subject. To-day, however, in every reputable college and university in the United States there are from one to fifty or more individuals who are charged solely with important duties relating to the training and instruction of prospective teachers and school administrators. In the realm of research, perhaps there is no other subject that is commanding so great attention and so patient and scientific investigation of men and women in the university world as the subject which was regarded by Plato and Spencer as supremely important.

One of the phases in the development of the scientific study of education is devoted to the history of educational activities. There was a time when the materials for this history had not been gathered together in any appreciable quantity and when, furthermore, what few materials were at hand had not been carefully investigated, analyzed, classified — when, in fact, the history of education had not been reduced to rational pedagogic form. The development of this phase of history itself followed after the development of the larger, more inclusive subject history. The truth is that it is in modern times only that real insight into the study of history and into the value of such study has been made clearly manifest. This is simply another way of saying that the

world is yet young and has much to learn. It is doubtless within the range of truth to confess that the world history of education has not yet been written. Education being a comparatively new subject, time which is a factor which not even the Almighty eliminates must be taken into consideration. Nevertheless, sufficient progress has been made to justify strong faith in the value of its study.

Aside from the cultural value, the study of the history of education has high professional value. In the first place, the conscientious student of educational history will come face to face with the race's ideals with respect to culture, as these ideals have been revealed in the theory and practice of the different peoples, ranging from those in the stage of barbaric culture to those enjoying the highest degree of civilization. Some of these ideals the student will see plainly have been wrought out, and he will gain insight and gather inspiration from a study of other ideals yet to be realized. The teacher, above all other workers in the world, needs to be guided by lofty ideals, for he it is who is to reproduce in the lives of his students such aspirations as make possible the further triumphs of humanity. It is certainly true that no individual or nation has ever yet achieved eminence if noble and beautiful ideals have not furnished incentives to conduct; and while the teacher is to be concerned in advancing knowledge among men, he is, nevertheless, to be considered as a prophet from whom and through whom the inspiration of the sons of men is to operate.

Again, inasmuch as permanent educational ideals embody the truth and have a scientific basis, a reasonable acquaintance with the history of education will do much to rationalize the practice of teaching. While teaching is an art, yet that art is not best acquired empirically. Let the student once form the habit of interpreting the rationale of the schools of a given country or age, let him orient the school among the several human institutions and carefully discern its specific functions, and he will become en-

dowed with the power of the truly scientific worker and will show himself a workman not to be ashamed. Mere empiricism or mere imitation in educational work belongs to the savage or barbaric stage of human development and is unworthy of the respect of the thoughtful man of the twentieth century. I repeat that the study of the history of education will enable the student to capitalize the best theory and practice of the world in ancient, medieval, and modern times.

Again, by capitalizing the educational experiences of the centuries, the teacher will reduce his mistakes in pedagogic practice to a minimum. Instead of being a slave to tradition, he will justify his works by sound theory. In his study of the history of education he will see how certain great movements have each been made upon a large scale, and the results of each movement he will be able to evaluate. For example, acquaintance with the education of the Greek people will give him insight with respect to the educational values of language, of philosophy, of art, of physical training. From these same people he will learn that, though a nation may have wealth and learning, though it may be endowed with great political power, though it be famous for poetry and music and statuary and architecture, and even though it lead the world in philosophy, it is doomed finally to overthrow if the moral unity of the individual citizen and the moral unity of the state itself are not preserved at every cost. In other words, it is imperative that the individual and the nation learn the great lesson taught by Socrates, that morality is the fundamental basis of life. The fact is that, in our own day, in educational work there is no phase upon which great light can not be thrown by the history of education, for our educational views and conduct have evolved from those of former times. If, therefore, one desires to perfect himself in school management, in the method of teaching Latin or any other subject, or if he wishes to gain clearer views with respect to the philoso-

phy of education, surely a knowledge of the world's work in former ages along these lines will be of incalculable advantage.

The study of the history of education, furthermore, should lead the student to be eager to engage in independent and original work. Clear understanding of the educational problems that have already been solved inevitably leads the normal mind to attack other problems, the solution of which has not been attempted or, if attempted, only partially wrought out. The earnest student of the history of education will realize his duty in the premises, believing that, as Oscar Browning says, "The dead hand of spiritual ancestry lays no more sacred duty on posterity than that of realizing, under happier circumstances, ideals which the stress of the age or the shortness of life has deprived of their accomplishment."

Another benefit to be derived from the study of the history of education is that it promotes professional spirit, which is a plant of slow growth. Acquaintance with the great educational thinkers of the world, such men as Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Comenius, Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Horace Mann, undoubtedly inspires respect for the teacher's calling. One's own character and his affections are largely molded by the company that he keeps, and he who walks with the master spirits that have led the race up the heights of knowledge and wisdom and culture will, insensibly perhaps but surely, be led to the consecration of his own talents to that calling which contributes in the highest degree to world progress.

Certainly, the thoughtful man will consider as especially valuable that phase of the history of education which is concerned with the rise and development of education in his own state. Just as one does not thoroughly understand a matured plant or animal without having accurate first-hand knowledge of its genesis and its evolution to full growth, so the interpretation and evaluation of the school system of a state are of little value unless they are made

in the light of the several historical steps that have been taken in their development. This historical knowledge is valuable, furthermore, in that its proper evaluation leads to setting up goals toward which the institution is moving. Any human institution certainly moves, for it is written in the face of the sky and on the surface and in the bowels of the earth that this is by no means a static world.

The author of this volume, who some years ago compiled a source book on education in Texas, and who, so far as I am informed, set a standard for such work in America, has very carefully and clearly interpreted, in several of the earlier chapters of this new volume actual facts revealing the sources of Texas education. He has set forth in a plain and illuminating manner the development of our schools from the earliest period of our history and has shown the influences which operated effectively during the days of Spanish control and Mexican sovereignty, as well as during the independence of Texas as a republic, and during her career as a state, both prior to and subsequent to the Civil War, up to the very present day.

It is an extraordinarily interesting and profitable treatise which the author has contributed to the professional literature of our day. It is interesting, because of the manifold factors that have been employed in the building up of our system of education. Even lovers of romance will find an opportunity for enjoyment if they trace with the author the history of education in Texas. This treatise is, furthermore, extremely profitable, because, properly understood, it will enable the schoolmaster and the legislator to plan wisely for the future development of our entire school system from the bottom to the top, including both the bottom and the top. The great general truths at which the mind of the intelligent student should arrive from a study of this volume will enable him to appreciate at its true value the report soon to be made by the director and his associates employed in making a school sur-

vey of Texas. Besides, it will enable him to render valuable constructive service in determining what should be done by the people of Texas in order that they may have, as demanded by the constitution, an efficient system of public instruction. Some one has said that the wisest man in the world is he who knows what to do next. It is my judgment that, if the school people and if the laymen — the fathers and mothers who own the schools and who furnish the money to pay the cost of running these schools — become thoroughly informed as to the actual history of our schools, they will know what to do next, and, though Texas now ranks as to education thirty-fifth among the states of the Union, they will be the wisest people in America. The reason that “knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers” is that people will not pay the price involved in the careful and prolonged study of so important a matter as education, and, if wisdom is the principal thing and if, therefore, we ought to get wisdom, we ought to be grateful indeed for the opportunity afforded us by the author of this volume to become really informed as to what has already been done by the people of Texas in the promotion of our educational welfare, as well as the probable lines of progress which should be determined in the light of past achievements.

WILLIAM SENECA SUTTON.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS,
July 16, 1924.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	vii
CHAPTER	
I. THE SOURCES OF OUR EDUCATION	1
II. EDUCATION UNDER THE SPANISH RÉGIME	53
III. SCHOOLS DURING THE MEXICAN ERA, 1821-1836	66
IV. FROM INDEPENDENCE TO THE MEXICAN WAR, 1836-1848	79
V. FROM THE MEXICAN WAR TO THE CIVIL WAR, 1848-1861	110
VI. CIVIL WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH, 1861-1870	149
VII. THE RADICAL SCHOOL SYSTEM, 1870-1875	157
VIII. THE REËSTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE SYSTEM, 1875-1883	169
IX. EDUCATIONAL REORGANIZATION AND PROGRESS, 1883-1900	193
X. THE FIRST TWO DECADES OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY	214
XI. THE EVOLUTION OF THE TEXAS HIGH SCHOOLS	240
XII. NEGRO EDUCATION	263
XIII. HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS	281
XIV. PRESENT PROBLEMS AND THE SURVEY	304
QUESTIONS	323
INDEX	337

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN TEXAS

CHAPTER I

THE SOURCES OF OUR EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

Texas, a land of conflicting races and types of culture. The civilization of the Southwest has been of complex origin. From earliest times Texas has been the battle ground of rival races, nations, and conflicting forms of culture. Here in early days the French and Spanish renewed their Old World rivalry and struggled for supremacy over the vast territories of the Western hemisphere. Early in the nineteenth century the Mexican people, having assimilated to some degree the superior arts of their masters, threw off the Spanish yoke and undertook to govern themselves. Soon the westward expansion of Anglo-American civilization swept away the tyranny of the Mexican and rescued Texas for the culture and institutions of the Anglo-Saxon race. All of these successive conquerors were in their turn desperately harassed by the savage natives who were naturally loath to give up their richest hunting grounds in the Southwest.

Here, too, have come into sharpest conflict the diverse ideals and forms of culture fostered by different classes of Anglo-Saxon peoples. When the supremacy of the Anglo-Americans was firmly established, the evolution of the Texas school system became a struggle, at times extremely bitter, between the antagonistic educational views, policies, and practices which the various groups of

settlers from the older states brought with them to the new republic. To understand in a clear way the halting and, apparently, erratic course of education in the Lone Star State, it is necessary, therefore, to pass in review the divergent educational ideas of these heterogeneous groups before they met on Texas soil. In fact, to appreciate these differences fully it will be wise to go even farther back and observe how they originally arose in the evolution of European culture. Only in this way can we understand at all adequately the strength and persistency of our cultural traditions and the organization of our educational institutions.

OUR HERITAGE FROM THE ANCIENTS

Fundamental contributions of ancient culture. Of the ancient peoples our modern civilization is most deeply indebted to the Hebrews and the Greeks. From the one we derived our religious faith and moral principles; from the other we acquired the rich heritage of liberal culture, classical art, literature, philosophy, and science. From the Romans have been derived our ideas of law and government.

The Greek education. The Greeks were the first people in history to foster free intellectual activity and to evolve genuine culture. As a consequence a wonderful system of education developed which has powerfully influenced all later conceptions of training the young. The Greeks strove ardently to realize a clearly defined educational objective by harmonious cultivation of the whole man. They trained the body to strength and agility for war and to gracefulness and beauty for esthetic enjoyment. They developed the artistic sensibilities to appreciate and to create beauty whether in concrete materials, such as pigments, marble, or bronze, or in the more subtle mediums of expression, such as manners and language. They inspired the youth with wholehearted loyalty and devotion to the service of the State. Before the Greeks no attention had been given by ancient peoples to free inquiry into the sciences of the

social and material worlds. They were the first, and one of the few peoples, to subordinate traditionalism and all conventionalized forms of conduct and to aim definitely at liberal culture through the enlightenment of human intelligence and genuine freedom of action. They emancipated the individual from the bondage of uniformity. By their methods of training the higher intellectual capacities were stimulated to action, and education was for all time directed to the development of the rational nature, enlightened by scientific knowledge.

From a form of training decidedly simple in earlier times they rapidly advanced until they elaborated a curriculum which embraced practically every subject and means of cultivation employed in modern times. The democratic form of their society and government fostered a powerful interest in oratory. It became the sole road to fame and political station and was, in consequence, the supreme end of literary training. The study of expression led them to discover the rules of language as formulated in grammar, rhetoric, and logic. After the time of Plato the mathematical sciences: arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and the theory of music, or harmony, were introduced and, along with literature and rhetoric, formed the preparatory or secondary school course. Upon this basic training the youth proceeded to the study of the highest subjects of human interest: the natural and social sciences, philosophy, theology, and oratory.

In addition to these various subjects which are still essential elements of the curricula of the schools, the Greeks have given to the modern world the idea of a system of education fostered and controlled by the state in order to produce free, liberally trained, and democratic citizens. Contact with the Greek culture and spirit during the past four centuries has borne fruit in many ways, but in none so much as in the many reforms introduced into the schools.

Education as religious training. The other major stream of educational tradition came into European civilization chiefly from

the Hebrew people, but it was modified, enlarged, and vitalized by Christianity. This aspect of education represented the most ancient type of training, coming down from the initiatory ceremonies practiced by primitive peoples in the training of their youth. It concerned itself chiefly with the moral and religious side of human life, training the children in right conduct, in reverence to God, and in the proper performance of religious ceremonials. This form of training was naturally patriarchal. The Mosaic economy accordingly placed the responsibility for the training of the offspring upon the parents. Thus it was that among the Hebrews the family took precedence over the State and over the tribe in regard to the duty of teaching the children. In later times this domestic, or family, education proved to be unreliable and an utter failure as a means for insuring the inculcation of the laws of the Lord. The synagogue, or local congregation, then took over the task of furnishing instruction, and school attendance was made compulsory. The early Christian church conceived education as a moral and religious nurture and as the best means of bringing about the triumph of Christian truth in the world. The church controlled all education in the Western world down to the nineteenth century.

MEDIEVAL INSTITUTIONS

The fusion of Greek and Christian culture. These two grand streams of ancient culture, the Hellenic and the Christian, tended for a long time to repel each other, especially in the Western branch of the Roman Empire. With the ascendancy of the Church and Christianity in the fifth century all enthusiasm for the ancient classical literature and learning practically ceased, and an age of blind faith, ignorant credulity, and uncritical idealism ensued. After the eighth century the elements of ancient learning were gradually assimilated by the Christian spirit, and during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Christian doctrine and Aristote-

lian philosophy were harmonized into a system of thought generally known as Scholasticism. The institution which served best to express the cultural life and spirit of the earlier medieval period was the monastery while the most important educational institution of the later period was the university.

The monastery as an instrument of culture. Monasteries were introduced into western Europe at the close of the fourth century; they attained their highest development about the ninth, but continued to live on with considerable vigor and power until the fifteenth. They originated particularly in the desire of their founders to cherish a strict religious life in conformity to their three vows of poverty, celibacy, and obedience. In this way they attempted to institutionalize Christian living. The monasteries came to be more than mere religious hermitages. We must consider them as a system of schools and as a form of social organization well adapted for training the wild and roving population of northern Europe just emerging from barbarism. The monasteries furnished these barbarian peoples their first lessons in settled and orderly habits of life and taught them the fundamental arts and crafts on which civilization rests. During centuries of social and political chaos the monasteries preserved all that remained of ancient literature and learning. They were the only models of social organization and the only centers of civilizing industry. In their schools the young received instruction in reading, writing, church music, and in religious exercises.

After the twelfth century many elementary schools were conducted in connection with the parish churches and higher grammar schools in the cathedrals. The parish schools were taught by the sacristans. So far as the studies were concerned, they were the same as in the monastic schools.

The founding of the universities. By far the most significant, as well as most interesting, educational movement during the later period of the Middle Ages was the rise of the universities. From

the organization of Bologna and Paris, the first to grow up in the twelfth century, institutions of this kind have spread throughout the civilized world and are not only the oldest institutions in the world, but in many respects the most influential.

These early universities sprang up spontaneously as the response of the age to the need for higher knowledge. Following the crusades the cities of northern Italy were revived from their torpid condition to an era of great commercial and political activity. The church also had been reinvigorated with intellectual energy and religious zeal by the successive movements of the crusaders against the infidel Mohammedans. As a result there arose a pressing demand for legal knowledge in the conduct of business, in the management of political affairs, and in regard to ecclesiastical order. To meet these varied needs the University of Bologna in Italy developed as a school giving special instruction in civil and canon law. On the other hand the intense intellectual ferment produced by the introduction of the philosophy of Aristotle gave birth to the University of Paris. The one became a school especially devoted to the pursuit of law; and the other, to the pursuit of theology. Bologna became the model for the universities of southern Europe; Paris, the mother of universities in the north. Up to the fifteenth century no less than seventy-nine universities were established in European countries.

THE RENAISSANCE AND THE REFORMATION

The rebirth of culture. In the fifteenth century an incomparable awakening of the human spirit took place, generally called the Renaissance, or Rebirth. From the barrenness of scholastic formalism the people of western Europe turned with passionate fervor to the rediscovered art, literature, and philosophy of the ancient world. With vaulting ambition and unquenchable audacity they strove to emulate the ancient ideal of the liberally cultured man and vigorously set themselves to rival, if not surpass,

the literary and artistic productions of the classical era. To speak and write the Latin language with the purity and elegance of Cicero and to master the Greek literature were the pinnacles of desire for the scholar and gentleman. This brought about a new era in education known as Humanism, because it centered attention upon the products of the human spirit, the works of man. In this era the beauties of ancient art and of external nature found deeper appreciation. Above all, the individual was emancipated in thought and conduct from the deadening bondage of institutionalism and was free to express his potential talents.

All educational institutions began to pulsate with a new and vibrant spirit. The Latin grammar schools, which had come into existence during the early part of the Middle Ages, discarded vulgar medieval Latin and in its stead taught the pure Roman tongue and literature. Furthermore, instruction in the Greek language was given for the first time in many centuries. The universities, which had lost their original intellectual energy and were stupefied by the repetition of scholastic formalism, again awoke to vigorous scholarly activity. Gradually their curricula were revised, and in many instances their faculties were reorganized. In general, it may be stated that Christianity, which for so many centuries had looked with suspicion and even antipathy upon pagan literature and science, now became fully reconciled to these humanistic products and made them an essential part of a Christian education.

The Protestant Reformation. In northern Europe the Revival of Learning combined or was amalgamated to a large extent with the smoldering religious disaffection and finally emerged as the Protestant Revolt and Reformation of the sixteenth century. The break with medieval forms of society and religion was more or less complete according to the particular people, or nationality, involved. Social and religious changes so far-reaching and profound, altering as they did the fundamental habits and ideals of

human existence, naturally produced a radical alteration in education.

For a short period at the beginning of the revolt against the Roman Church a sudden decline in all schools occurred. Monasteries were overthrown, the attendance at the universities fell from hundreds of students to a few dozen, and a number of universities became extinct. Even the old Latin grammar schools were largely deserted. Soon, however, the leaders of the Reformation perceived this new peril. A powerful movement to establish a new order of schools and to foster learning arose everywhere with intensified interest. Many circumstances favored the movement. Among the chief of these were the growth of the individualistic spirit, the development of commercial life and needs, the new intellectual freedom secured by the Renaissance, and above all the fundamental beliefs of the Protestant churches. The new religious doctrines placed the responsibility for personal salvation upon the individual himself. They declared that every man was free and independent in his moral and religious life and reconcilable to God by an act of his own will. To this solemn end he must be enabled to read and interpret the inspired Scripture for himself. It became a fundamental conviction of all the religious reformers that every child must be taught to read. Even apart, however, from this most powerful stimulus, the turbulent intellectual and social ferment of the age and the violent controversies which raged through all lands furnished the masses with an irresistible motive for acquiring a knowledge of letters. These movements brought about the demand for universal instruction, while Luther went so far as to advocate compulsory education. The modern elementary school, as distinguished from the Catholic parish school, was the direct outcome of the Protestant Reformation.

The beginning of State interest in schools. Prior to the Reformation with the exception of Charlemagne no State authorities had assumed an active interest in the establishment and control

of elementary schools. They accepted without question the authority of the Church and local community over all matters of education. A profound change took place at this time which was to result ultimately in a complete transformation of educational control. This new movement is directly traceable to the policies of Luther and other leaders of the German Reformation and to John Calvin, the reformer of Geneva.

Several circumstances impelled Luther to place his church directly under the patronage and protection of the German princes. In his revolt against Roman Catholicism he threw off the authority of the Pope and the bishops and denied the right of such officers to exist in the Christian church. Under this condition there was no one with authority to establish churches and schools in accordance with the new order to take the place of those that were falling away. In this predicament Luther turned for assistance and authorization to the princes and nobles. He possessed to an excessive degree the Teutonic awe and subserviency to the hereditary nobility, believing that all such civil authorities were directly appointed by divine volition, just as truly as the clergy. By this act, in subordinating the Church to the will of the civil powers, he brought about the alliance of Church and State in Protestant Germany. As a result of this union the State began to assume an ever widening control and domination over education and religious affairs.

John Calvin, who had brought about a similar reformation in the city of Geneva, agreed with Luther in regard to the unification of the State and Church. However, he did not subordinate the Church to the State, but, on the contrary, he subordinated the civil power to the Church. Taking the Old Testament as his guide, he set up in Geneva a rigorous theocratic government in which the leaders of the Church exercised authority in both religious and state affairs. The same powers naturally assumed control over the schools. This Calvinistic view of the Church-State

and education prevailed largely in Switzerland, in Holland, in Scotland, and among the Puritans in England. Through these peoples it was introduced into the American colonies and gradually came to exert a large influence over the development of education throughout this entire country.

So far as education was concerned the Lutheran and Calvinistic methods of control had very similar results. In both cases the Church formulated the aim and the curricula of the schools, and the State saw that these were carried out. Thus the Church remained, as she had always been, the supreme arbiter of instruction. She suppressed doctrines in conflict with her dogmas and tenaciously guarded, as her own peculiar right and function, the training of the young. Education was considered essentially a religious nurture and discipline, the inculcation of Christian principles and habits of living. The more conservative branches of the Church have always remained unwilling to share the right to control instruction with either the family or the State.

Résumé. We have now surveyed the development of the various types of schools and forms of educational control which flourished in the Old World. The universities and colleges furnished a liberal culture and training for the learned professions and for the upper classes. While the religious bodies could not completely dominate these higher institutions, they exerted a large measure of control and used them for the training of the ministry. The Latin grammar school taught the classical languages and served at the same time as a means of advanced intellectual discipline and as a preparatory school for the college. The elementary schools taught reading, writing, and ciphering to meet the needs of life in a general way, but their aim was predominantly religious. The Bible, the catechism, and church music were the chief instruments of culture, and the pastors were either the teachers or the supervising officers.

With these schools there grew up three forms of educational

control and organization : the parental, the Church, and the State. First, the aristocratic classes, especially of France and England, looked upon education as the natural prerogative of the parents and jealously guarded their control over all instruction as strictly a family concern. In consequence they employed private tutors to teach their children at home. The poorer classes went without instruction, or received it as a charity at the hands of some benevolent individual, or organization. Second, as we have seen, there were the various branches of the Church which firmly adhered to the ancient connection of religion with instruction and continued to assert control over the schools. Finally, there was the State. Originally introduced into the field of education as the servant and assistant of the Church, it later on began to extend its authority over the schools for its own sake. All of these institutions, ideals of culture, and forms of organization were brought by the various groups of colonists to the New World. Their subsequent evolution, conflicts, and readjustment form the story of the history of education in America.

COLONIAL SCHOOLS

Colonial education in the South. Virginia and the South generally were colonized under the crown by English gentry, their indentured servants, and some few artisans and traders. They preferred the aristocratic form of society and government of the motherland, and in religion they adhered to the established church. By tradition they regarded education as essentially a concern of the family. The training of the young was not the business of the State except in so far as it was necessary to protect the rights of orphans and to make laws regulating the apprenticeship system. The Church took an interest in higher education chiefly in order to recruit the ministry. It respected the claim of the parent to the right to mold the character of the child in accordance with his own ideals of life and station in society. This aristocratic

attitude toward education was further strengthened by the feudal nature of the society which took form in the South. The people were scattered over wide territories on large plantations. There were very few growing towns and no good roads to bring the people into frequent association. The family of the planter formed the apex of the social pyramid; the artisans and laborers formed its base. The younger children of these wealthy planters were taught at home by tutors; for higher culture the older were sent to England, to the colleges of the North, or to William and Mary in Virginia. The poorer children received only such instruction as their parents could give, or what they could procure in the few private or charity schools. The aristocratic class feared the injurious consequences of popular education upon the organization of society. This is evident from the celebrated statement of Sir William Berkeley, royal governor of Virginia. When asked about the policy pursued in regard to education in the colony in 1671, he replied,

The same course that is taken in England out of towns; every man according to his ability instructing his children. But, I thank God, there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years, for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best government. God keep us from both.

The Middle Atlantic colonies. In the Middle Atlantic colonies a very different attitude was taken in regard to the establishment of schools. Neither racial nor religious homogeneity favored unity of action, as in Virginia or in the New England States. The Catholics settled Maryland and were to be found in large numbers in other colonies. The Scotch Presbyterians colonized New Jersey; German Lutherans, Moravians, Quakers, and Mennonites occupied Pennsylvania; while the Dutch Protestants established themselves in New York. Each group organized its churches and schools

in accordance with its own traditions and ideals. These schools were of the parish type and for distinctly sectarian purposes. In each case the church was in complete control, and the aim was to train the children to be faithful members of the particular communion. The large number of these sects, the irreconcilable character of their beliefs, and their peculiar conservatism made it impossible to secure unity of action on a matter of such vital moment as the education of their children. Traces of this ecclesiastical domination of the schools lasted in some of these states for a long time.

Educational beginnings in New England. In the New England colonies a third type of educational policy was inaugurated. The Pilgrims and the Puritan Fathers came to America to find a refuge from the religious intolerance and political tyranny of the Old World. They undertook to set up a new civilization according to their own ideals of society and government. They had drawn their religious and ecclesiastical doctrines from the same source as the Dutch, that is, from the theology and political philosophy of John Calvin. Moved by their intense religious convictions, they, therefore, established a theocratic society in which the State and the Church were wholly identified. All adults were at once members of the Church and citizens of the State.

Steps were taken almost immediately to insure the education of the young. They proposed to preserve the learning and culture which they had brought with them across the sea and to realize still further those lofty ideals of a divine society for which they had braved the hardships of the American wilderness. In 1635 the first Latin grammar school was organized in Boston, and others followed rapidly in the next few years in the other towns. These institutions were purely classical schools to prepare students for college. In 1636 Harvard College was founded by the combined efforts of the Church and the State. Its purpose, in the quaint language of the day, was "to advance learning, and perpetuate

it to our Posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Churches, when the present Ministry shall lie in Dust."

In founding Harvard College and the Latin grammar schools these New England Puritans had conformed strictly to the traditional ideas with which they had been familiar in Old England. Among these colonists were a large number of college-bred men. They naturally established Harvard as an imitation of Magdalene College at the University of Cambridge which some of them had attended. The Latin grammar schools were likewise of European model. They copied those secondary schools of humanistic culture which arose in northern Europe after the Renaissance. These institutions were later transformed by the spirit of the Reformation and used as an instrument of the Protestant Church to keep alive a knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages in order to have access to the Scriptures in the originals.

The New England elementary school. In 1642 the first school law was passed in Massachusetts requiring all parents to instruct their children in reading and religion for the welfare of the commonwealth. Finding this provision ineffective for the purpose, in 1647 the establishment of elementary schools was made compulsory. In every town of 50 families a school was to be formed to teach reading and the Scriptures, and where there were as many as 100 families a Latin grammar school was also to be instituted.

There has been much discussion as to the origin of the elementary school of colonial New England. Not only was the idea of compulsory establishment a radical step in itself, but such schools were practically unknown in the mother country. It has been claimed, and with some measure of truthfulness, that this was the first time in history that the whole body of people had passed a law requiring the organization of elementary schools for the instruction of all the children of the State. Yet it would be a mistake to believe, as some do, that the New England colonists originated the public elementary school. Unquestionably the Pilgrims

and Puritans had come into contact with such elementary schools in the Old World. In most of the Protestant countries schools of the same character had been called into existence before this time. The same fundamental educational ideas and practices had long been in operation in Holland, Scotland, and all other lands where Calvinistic theology had taken root. In 1618 the Synod of Dort representing the Dutch Reformed Church adopted a regulation requiring parents to instruct their children and also requiring the establishment of elementary schools "not only in cities, but also in towns and country places." Here we see the two conceptions which formed the policy of the New England Puritans, the placing of responsibility upon the parents and the compulsory organization of schools for all children.

In German states the princes took the initiative in establishing elementary religious schools; in Holland and Scotland this was done by the Church authorities. In colonial New England the different conditions of social organization and government made possible a more radical step. The people were all of the same religious belief, and their government, while theocratic in principle, was more democratic in practice. They were thus able to establish the elementary school by the will of the people.

The evolution of the district school. The district system of school organization, which has played a large part in the development of American education, was derived from the New England town system. How the larger unit of school government gradually changed into the smaller and less efficient district system is worthy of attention and may now be traced. When the colonists settled in New England, they chose to live close together in compact communities for the sake of mutual protection against the savages and for the advantage of personal association. These communities controlled the land for considerable distances about them. The central village together with the extended territory belonging to it was termed a "town." So far as the group of people was con-

cerned, the town was a compact body, and as a consequence it evolved the products of organized society. It was efficient in government and progressive in promoting churches, schools, libraries, lyceums, and other popular institutions. In this respect it was quite different from the Southern colonies. There the population was scattered, communication was painfully slow and difficult, general meetings were few, and consequently social organization was conservative and aristocratic.

As the Indians were gradually pacified or forced into the interior, the people scattered out into the country and tilled their farms at some distance from the central village. However, for political, social, and religious organization the town was still the unit of government. As the distances of the rural population from the central community grew greater, it became more and more impractical to send the children to the town to school. However far he might reside from the town school, the parent was still obliged to pay the maintenance tax. Under these circumstances the rural class of citizens began to demand that the teacher should move from district to district and teach in each place for a period of time proportionate to the taxes paid by the parents of that district. This plan gave rise to "the moving schools" or "squadroning out the school." It was carried to absurd lengths in many instances. As time passed these districts demanded a school with a full-time teacher, though still under the control of the town authorities. Finally the districts took the control out of the hands of the town authorities. This disintegration of the school system, the change from the larger to the smaller unit of organization, control, and supervision, culminated in the Massachusetts law of 1827 which gave to each little district the right to maintain its own school. This district plan has been adopted in one form or another by most of the states, but in recent years there has been a strong tendency to revert to a more central type of organization with the county as the unit.

NEW EUROPEAN MOVEMENTS

New European influences. We have seen how culture was first brought to the American colonies and how the earliest institutions, modeled after the European, were established. But it must not be thought that with the founding of these schools American education became independent and that later Old World movements ceased to influence its further progress. The exact contrary was the case. It is indeed necessary to go back again and again to study the new movements which arose across the Atlantic, and to trace their effects upon the progress of the younger institutions and more plastic life on this side. Only in this way can we understand how the colonial institutions organized by the Church for religious purposes were transformed into our articulate system of public free schools for the benefit of the State.

Developments of the seventeenth century. The seventeenth century witnessed several progressive changes which in time profoundly affected education in America. The first and most far-reaching of these movements was that of sense realism, or the study of outer nature by direct observation. This scientific movement had as its foremost advocate the celebrated Francis, Lord Bacon; but in reality it owed its vitality and success to the great scientists of that day. These men turned from the barrenness of medieval scholasticism, and also from the generalities of classical humanism, to the exact investigation of the facts of the material world. They started those wonderful researches which have revealed the subtle forces of the physical universe and enabled us to utilize this knowledge for the enlightenment and the benefit of mankind. The most significant of all these grand scientific discoveries was the new astronomy, the Copernican system, which has done more to revolutionize human thinking than any other modern conception.

The advancement of learning by the study of concrete nature was championed by the noble educational reformer Comenius,

who lived in the seventeenth century. He undertook to improve the methods of teaching and to reorganize the curriculum of the schools by imparting more concrete and practical knowledge. He desired to teach children more of things and less of empty words.

About this same time there appeared two other developments which were to affect the educational progress of the world. One was the new charity movement, and the other the growth of religious nonconformity. We must inquire what these movements were and how they affected the schools.

For a number of reasons, political, economic, and otherwise, during the sixteenth century there had taken place in England a very large increase in the proportion of the population who were unable to support themselves. In consequence of unemployment, vagabondage and brigandage had grown to such a degree that the very existence of organized society was threatened. Various efforts had been made to suppress vagrancy by drastic laws, but without success. In 1601 the English Parliament passed a poor law which became the basis of a system of national poor relief. Officers were appointed in every parish to assess an annual tax, and they used this fund for the benefit of the poor. They were also charged with the duty of seeing that orphans and poor children were apprenticed and properly taught trades so that they might become self-supporting. This act was not originally designed as a measure for education, but it was the clear recognition that the State had the responsibility of caring for the poor by public taxation and that indigent and orphaned children should be apprenticed by State officers for their proper training. During the seventeenth century many plans for the education of the poor were put into operation, and as a result there began the charity schools, the ragged schools, and various efforts to establish trade schools for training poor children in useful occupations.

The growth of the nonconformist religious bodies, the Presbyterians, Puritans, Quakers, and Baptists, was another forceful

factor which affected the evolution of education. The English government tried to suppress these sects by the Act of Uniformity of 1662 and by the Five Mile Act of 1665. Unless the clergy were willing to subscribe to the creed of the established church, they were excluded from the universities and forbidden to preach or to go within five miles of their former pulpits. About two thousand were driven from their churches. Many of them were highly educated men who turned to the establishment of private academies as a means of making a living. The students who attended these academies were largely nonconformists who would not have been welcomed at the regular preparatory schools or at the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. For this reason the academies were obliged to take the place of both grammar schools and colleges. Moreover, they represented a new educational spirit in that they were far more democratic and practical than the traditional institutions. Their curricula recognized the importance of realistic studies and of preparing students for vocations. The religious purpose of education still dominated, but the academies were far broader in spirit, more tolerant, and yet more successful in character building than the older schools which they were displacing. John Milton, the poet, and Daniel Defoe, the celebrated author of *Robinson Crusoe*, not only advocated the value of academies, but both taught in such schools. This new type of institution was destined, as we shall see later, to play a most prominent part in American educational history.

JOHN LOCKE AND THE ENLIGHTENMENT

Locke as the source of new principles. The preëminent inspiration which stirred the eighteenth century came from the simple but clear-minded English physician and tutor, John Locke. His reflections, which may to-day appear rather commonplace, produced an extraordinary effect upon the succeeding generations. From an empirical investigation into the origin of human experi-

ence and knowledge Locke reached the conclusion that the human mind does not possess any innate ideas, as everyone had believed from the days of Plato and Aristotle. His fundamental doctrine is that all our ideas, knowledge, and mental possessions whatsoever can be traced to the sensations which come from the outer world through our sense organs. The mind itself is a *tabula rasa*, a blank sheet of white paper, so to speak, on which outer objects make their impressions through our eyes, ears, and other sense organs. By means of the processes of analysis, association, discrimination, and combination of the sense materials the individual builds up his knowledge of the world. From these apparently simple principles sprang an unusual series of revolutionary deductions which were destined to regenerate human society and thinking in many ways:

1. If the mind at birth is like a blank sheet of white paper in each individual, then it follows that all men are born equal in capacity and human differences are due alone to environment and education. This conclusion was drawn by the French thinkers and came to be embodied in the American Declaration of Independence.

2. If all ideas have their origin in experience, then it follows that the experience of one man is as authoritative as that of another. Tradition is robbed of its sacred character and tyrannical authority. This conclusion was drawn by the philosophers of the eighteenth century in that great awakening called the Enlightenment. Its leaders demanded that all human traditions and ideas and conventionalities be put to the test of reason. They boldly challenged authority and autocracy in every sphere, in religion and the church, in literature and art, in philosophy and government. Reason was the only authority acknowledged and was set up in the figure of a goddess to be worshiped.

3. Out of this revolt against the domination of the past and the idea of the original equality of all men emerged a tidal wave of

democracy which ultimately brought about the French Revolution and overthrew political autocracy in France, England, and America.

4. The naturalism of Rousseau is but another aspect of the same revolutionary philosophy, a revolt against the artificialities of society.

5. Locke's inquiries were the starting point of Kant's profound philosophical speculations and of the pedagogical principles of Pestalozzi and Herbart. From this source Pestalozzi drew his doctrine of sense perception, and Herbart borrowed his formal steps of instruction.

6. Locke's essay on religious toleration was the most important discussion in this field and led to the adoption of religious liberty in modern times.

ROUSSEAU

Life and character. The most revolutionary conceptions of modern social history came from Rousseau. He attacked the fundamental institutions on which civilization had developed out of barbarism: vocation, the State, the Church, the home, and the school which by its training perpetuated the other institutions.

Born in Geneva in 1712, he suffered the loss of his mother at his birth. By his own confession he grew up a lazy, irritable, mischievous, and vicious boy; he lied, stole, and played dirty tricks. His education was neglected, and he was naturally too capricious to acquire a trade. At fifteen he turned his back upon his home and native city and for many years lived a wholly disreputable, roving life. At the age of thirty-seven he went to Paris and took up a Bohemian existence as a writer. Here he lived with a low woman and had five children which he promptly sent to a foundling hospital and never attempted to reclaim. One hot summer day in 1749 he was walking to Vincennes, some miles out from Paris, to visit his friend Diderot who was imprisoned in the Bastille. As he walked, he read the offer by the Academy of Dijon of a prize for

an essay on the subject, "Has the progress of the sciences and the arts tended to the purification or the corruption of morals?" In relating the incident Dr. William Boyd quotes from Rousseau as follows:

'The instant I read this,' he says, 'I saw a new world, and became a new man. If ever anything was like a sudden inspiration, it was the impulse within me at this reading. All at once, I felt my mind dazzled with a thousand lights. Crowds of vivid ideas came thronging upon me with a force and confusion that threw me into an inexpressible bewilderment. . . . Not being able to breathe and to walk at the same time, I cast myself beneath one of the trees of the avenue, and there spent half an hour in such agitation of soul, that when I arose the whole front of my coat was wet with tears, though I had not been conscious of shedding them.

'If only I could have written even a quarter of what I saw and felt under that tree, with what clearness would I have set forth the contradictions of our social system; with what power would I have exposed the abuses of its institutions; with what directness would I have shown that man is naturally good and that it is these very institutions which make him bad.'¹

In this way Rousseau was led to initiate a revolt against civilization. He laid the blame for all human evils upon society. He believed that man was originally a savage, or a brute, and lived a stupid care-free existence, without reason and without desires, but happy nevertheless. Then human reason developed, and with it arose cravings which could not be satisfied by the unaided effort of the individual. Finally society evolved with its classes and suppression of individuality and the enslaving of the masses to serve the classes. Against all this Rousseau violently protested. He would train the child not for citizenship nor for vocation nor for society but for manhood.

The education which had prevailed up to this time fitted the

¹ William Boyd, *The Educational Theory of Jean Jacques Rousseau*.

individual for the aristocratic type of society which existed throughout Europe. Rousseau would change all this and return to the training which nature itself gives. "Everything is good as it comes from the hands of the author of nature, but everything degenerates in the hands of man. He forces one country to nourish the productions of another; one tree to bear the fruits of another. He mingles and confounds the climates, the elements, the seasons; he mutilates his dog, his horse, and his slave; he overturns everything, disfigures everything; he loves deformity, monsters; he will have nothing as Nature made it, not even man; like a saddle horse, man must be made over according to his fancy."

The first education of the child is to be purely negative. He is not to receive any training except from his own experience. His only habit is to form no habits whatever. He is not to be molded and trained by the artificial customs and conventionalities of society, but to grow up in accordance with the force of nature. *Émile*, the mythical pupil whose education Rousseau portrays, is brought up in the country so as to avoid the evil influences of society. His body and senses are the first to develop. To this end he is to play, run about, climb trees, and do whatever a boy wants to do from sheer delight in physical exertion. In this way he develops his physical strength, and at the same time learns to judge with accuracy. Nothing is to be done for him which he can do for himself. Self-reliance and independence are thus secured. He will owe obedience to no one, and the words "obey" and "duty" are not permitted in his vocabulary. Nothing shall interfere with the growth of his individuality.

With the dawn of puberty the rational faculty begins to appear and to assert its control over the individual. Before twelve years of age the child has no need of reason. With the emergence of the rational judgment comes the need of intellectual training. But this also is to be along lines that are natural, and not the formalistic and pedantic instruction offered in the schools. No atten-

tion is to be devoted to foreign languages which had for several centuries monopolized the curriculum. The study of nature, music, drawing, geometry, geography, all pursued according to the growing interest of the child in his environment, are to form the studies of the child. Even religion which had been the first subject in all courses of study is to receive no attention until the child is fifteen years of age and can judge for himself what form of religion he desires.

The conceptions of Rousseau were contradictory and often erratic, brilliant flashes of insight mingled with what was wholly false and bad. But revolutionary as they were, their influence succeeded in ushering in a new era of educational interest.

THE NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN AMERICA

The effects of the new European influences. The effects of these various European developments upon the course of political organization and education in the New World were very great. The people of America responded with enthusiasm to the extraordinary awakening flowing from the new philosophy of Locke, Rousseau, and the Enlightenment. Not only did this new philosophy spread the principles of political democracy and republican government, but it also caused a new emphasis to be placed upon the diffusion of knowledge among the masses. The first impulse for the universal diffusion of learning among the masses appeared at the time of the Reformation. This was, however, sectarian and lacked the power necessary for the realization of universal education. The new conceptions of the Enlightenment, the doctrine of the equality of all men at birth, the supremacy of reason in ascertaining truth, and the democratic ideal led to the belief that the security of free and popular government rests wholly upon the general diffusion of knowledge.

The nonconformist and the realistic movements influenced America chiefly through the adoption of the academy which be-

came the most characteristic educational institution of this continent for almost a century.

The academy movement. The first academy to be established in America was due to the influence of Benjamin Franklin who received his inspiration from the writings of Defoe. This academy was organized in 1751 in Philadelphia and later grew into the University of Pennsylvania.

From the time of the American Revolution academies sprang up in increasing numbers all over the country, both north and south. They quickly took the place of the Latin grammar schools. There was a good reason for this change. The conservative curriculum of the Latin grammar schools, and of the colleges as well, had furnished only a formal training in the classical languages. This was sadly out of touch with the rapidly developing social and political needs of the new era in the Republic. These institutions had been the product of past centuries and of outworn cultural conditions of the aristocratic and ecclesiastical type. Many of the New England towns had refused to support a Latin grammar school, but chose to pay a yearly fine to be exempted from compliance with the law. The academy on the other hand offered a broader and more practical training. It was far more democratic in social spirit, more tolerant in religious affairs, and accordingly it suited better the new conditions of American life. This can be seen in its curriculum and in its admission of girls.

Among the subjects taught in the academies were English grammar, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, geography, surveying, rhetoric, navigation, bookkeeping, and other practical subjects. The sciences also were given a place, especially natural philosophy and chemistry. In many cases girls were freely admitted to instruction on a parity with the boys. Usually, where both the sexes were not admitted, separate academies were established for the education of girls. In these the studies were adapted to the special needs of girls as people saw them at that time.

The academy as an educational institution was peculiarly suited to the pioneering conditions of this country at the time of the great Western expansion. These institutions taught children of all grades and ages. They were chiefly supported on tuition fees and could, therefore, be readily established. They were organized by religious bodies, communities, counties, fraternal and educational societies, and by private enterprise. In a number of the states provision was made for the founding of academies as a part of the public school system. This was notably the case in Kentucky, Indiana, Georgia, and Texas, while other states gave them financial aid especially in order to encourage the training of teachers.

Until well after the Civil War this type of institution was the chief instrument of secondary education in this country. The coming of the high schools and the broadening of the curriculum of all the schools reduced the academies to a subsidiary position.

THE SECULARIZED STATE AND PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS

The results of the American Revolution. The establishment of the American Republic brought about the separation of the State from all ecclesiastical control. The State as an institution and the method of its preservation came more definitely into attention. While education was not made a part of the functions of the Federal Government, its importance was recognized by the leaders of the new nation. We must now trace the events which led to the secularization of the schools and the organization of state systems of popular schools. The three most powerful factors in bringing about these developments were as follows:

1. The influence of French scientific, political, and educational conceptions.
2. The adoption of religious liberty in all the states.
3. The appropriation of lands by the Federal Government for the support of public schools.

The French educational influences. During the period of the French Revolution her statesmen were remarkably active in elaborating plans for the organization of systems of public education. They all shared the profound conviction that the new political order must find its essential support in popular enlightenment. In describing the character of these plans for education, Dr. Sherwood wrote as follows :

Mirabeau, Talleyrand, and Condorcet, and others presented reports and plans upon the subject of a national education. . . . The plans multitudinous as they were from 1762 to 1808 were substantially of one type, centralized organization, a graded system of instruction, primary schools in every commune for all children, lyceums in the larger divisions, colleges in the departments, a great university at Paris, a hierarchy of secular teachers to replace the hierarchy of the teaching orders. The state was to be the "all in all" of the system. Education was to be universal, compulsory, and gratuitous. This educational despotism was taught with fervour by the revolutionists.¹

"It is in republican government that the whole power of education is needed," declared Montesquieu. This sentiment nowhere found readier acceptance than in the infant republic across the sea. Such slogans were brought to America. Men like Franklin and Jefferson visited France and adopted not only many of her political principles, but her culture and educational philosophy as well. A number of prominent Frenchmen toured the United States and interested themselves in plans for schools, higher institutions of learning, and learned associations for linking France and America. In this way the influence of French educational policies spread widely among the American people.

The institutions founded at this time show unmistakably the influence of these French conceptions. The State superseded the Church in control, and there was planned a closely knit, unified system under a central authority. The first state university was

¹ Dr. Sidney Sherwood, *History of Higher Education in New York*.

established in Georgia in 1786. The *Senatus Academicus*, or governing board, of the university was given control of all the lower schools throughout the state. It was empowered "to recommend what kind of schools and academies shall be instituted, agreeably to the Constitution in all parts of the State, and prescribe what branches of education shall be taught and inculcated." The university was further empowered to examine, recommend, and appoint instructors for all schools, and the president was charged with the duty of visiting the schools and of supervising their work. A similar grandiose scheme was proposed for the establishment of a university for the state of Michigan in 1817. In this case the university was to be given charge of all schools, museums, libraries, atheneums, and laboratories within the state. At present the chief surviving trace of this centralizing plan is the University of the State of New York, which is the agency coördinating all institutions and schools, functioning as the State Department of Public Instruction but exercising control over the higher institutions as well as the lower, private as well as public.

This plan for an articulate system of schools ascending from the primary schools in the districts through the academies in the counties to the state university at the apex was generally accepted by political and educational leaders at that time. The newer states of the central Northwest, without fixed traditions and institutions to hamper their action, naturally led in the realization of the plan of a unified system. The constitution of the state of Indiana adopted in 1816 provided for a complete system as follows :

It shall be the duty of the General Assembly, as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide by law for a general system of education, ascending in regular gradation from township schools to a state university, wherein tuition shall be gratis and equally open to all.

The Napoleonic wars turned the energies of the French people into other channels, and the movement to adopt French culture

and plans of school organization on this continent gradually dwindled away. Its ideals were partly realized in the educational achievements of Thomas Jefferson.

Jefferson and education in Virginia. Among the men who have influenced Southern education none accomplished greater results than Jefferson who for over forty years pursued the desire to establish state institutions of learning. A graduate of William and Mary College, he was a rare combination of the scholar and statesman. His interest in education was comprehensive, clearly defined, and life-long. As early as 1779 he introduced a bill into the General Assembly of Virginia providing for free training of all free children, both boys and girls, in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Above the common schools there were to be classical or grammar schools provided for the study of Latin, Greek, English, geography, and mathematics. The system was intended to head up in William and Mary College, where only the most advanced learning was to be pursued. Though this project failed of realization, it remained the basis for all his future plans and achievements in the field of popular education.

As ambassador to France from 1784 to 1789, Jefferson visited the universities and schools of England, Scotland, France, Switzerland, and Italy. For many years after his return he strove to induce the people to establish a system of common schools and a state university. Not, however, until 1825 was his great ambition realized in the opening of the University of Virginia close to his own home.

The founding of the University of Virginia marked a new era in the development of higher education on this continent. In place of following the traditional American college, it sought to imitate the higher institutions of the Old World. At first no degrees were offered, and the various departments were organized largely as separate and independent schools. The elective principle in the selection of studies was recognized for the first time to any great extent.

The most radical departure of all was in the aim of this new institution and in its curriculum of studies. As a state institution the university did not aim at training for the ministry, as the old standard colleges had done. Its purpose was rather to equip students for those professions which are more directly related to the life and service of the state. It aimed to train lawyers, judges, political leaders, diplomatists, and other public officials. Much attention was devoted to the sciences. In place of the narrow classical studies its curriculum was the most extensive offered in America up to this time. Among the subjects were the following: Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Spanish, Italian, German, Anglo-Saxon, mathematics, architecture, physics, chemistry, mineralogy, botany, zoölogy, medicine, government, political economy, history, law, ideology, belles-lettres, and the fine arts. This institution took an exalted rank from the beginning as the leading university of the continent. Its influence throughout the Southland was powerful, and especially was this true in regard to the formation of the University of Texas many years later.

Federal land grants for education. The Constitution of the United States made no mention of education, nor was this considered as one of the direct interests of the Federal Government. Congress, however, was induced as early as 1785, and more specifically in 1887, to make definite provision for the future establishment of schools in the Northwest Territory. In the surveying of the states which were carved from this vast domain, Section No. 16 in every township was set apart for the maintenance of schools, and two townships were donated for the establishment and support of an institution of higher learning in each state. Similar land grants for educational purposes were provided for the other states entering the Union from outside this Territory. There were but few exceptions to this rule, one being Texas which on being annexed to the Union retained control over its own unsettled domain. The possession of these large tracts of land for the establishment

and maintenance of schools unquestionably increased popular interest in the idea of a free-school system for all the children of the state under the management of the state. Free education was accepted as a logical corollary to free popular government. With the adoption of universal suffrage throughout the various states and the Federal Government went the principle of universal education. With the adoption of religious liberty the coalition with the Church was abolished, and the State began to take complete charge of the schools.

Religious liberty. At the time of the American Revolution only three of the thirteen colonies had granted religious liberty to the people; and, with but one or two exceptions, no institution of higher learning was open to students without subscribing to a religious test. The Federal Constitution required the separation of Church and State and guaranteed religious freedom to all the people. This action was of the greatest importance. Professor Cubberley writes:

“The far-reaching importance for our national life of these sane provisions, and especially their importance for the future of public education, can hardly be overestimated.”

The action of the Federal Government led to the abolition of established churches in all the states of the Union. The same causes operated to the secularization of the schools as well. The rapid multiplication of religious bodies, the interminable wrangling over religious instruction, the growing protest of the liberally minded against sectarian narrowness and intolerance produced a profound impression. Gradually the schools of the older states passed from the supervision of the pastors, whose visits became infrequent and finally ceased. By the end of the first third of the nineteenth century this process of secularization was triumphant throughout the New England States. Meanwhile in the younger states of the Middle West the new principle of separation had obtained from the beginning.

In surrendering control over the schools and in accepting secularized public education for their children most of the religious bodies lost interest in elementary instruction. They confined their efforts to maintaining a few academies and colleges to train ministers for the denomination. So far as religious instruction was concerned, the churches now turned their attention to the development of the modern Sunday school. Some of the most conservative religious bodies still clung to the ancient authority of the Church over the instruction of the young, and these have continued to maintain parish schools as well as colleges and universities for their people.

Transition steps to the state system. The new educational awakening ushered in by the American Revolution and the French influence did not at once bring about the establishment of systems of state free schools in all parts of the country. That education and enlightenment are essential for the preservation of republican government was generally accepted both by the leaders and by many of the common people. But the effort to realize fully this lofty purpose was thwarted for a long time by the existing educational institutions, vested interests, deep-seated prejudices, and the lack of public funds. Education had to pass through a preliminary stage before it was to become free and fully under public control. In working out the civic, or public, view of school organization the practical question arose, "How far is the state responsible for the education of her future citizens?" Three main views or attitudes were taken in regard to the organization of schools during the first half of the nineteenth century:

- 1. The family-charity school policy.** Those who by tradition regarded education as a family function continued to cling tenaciously to their right to control the training of their children. They resented the interference of the state as a violation of the fundamental laws of God and nature. They conceded, however, that, in the general interest of the common welfare, it is proper for the state

to furnish instruction free when the head of the family is too poor to provide for this instruction. The poor rates, or tax, had become an admitted and fixed principle of government, and it was only a small step to extend this principle to the education of the poor. All indigent children and orphans without means may properly be trained at the expense of the public, but this must be recognized, not as an inherent duty of the state but as a public charity. Among the men who held this view were those who regarded education as the prerogative of the family and others who objected to taxation for the support of schools. They felt that it was a criminal perversion of justice to tax one for the education of another man's children.

2. The Christian-education policy. We have seen that the various Christian bodies had always been interested in maintaining schools for the grounding of children in church doctrines and higher institutions for training the ministry. The more conservative denominations viewed the development of secularized, state-supported schools with deep distrust. They believed that education was essentially religious, and that without instruction in Christian principles the children would grow up lacking the moral conceptions on which our civilization is based. They believed that it was to their interest to foster and control the schools. Their conception was that, in place of setting up secular schools, the state should assist in supporting the parish schools and Christian academies, and not attempt to supplant them.

3. The state free-school policy. Supporters of this view held that education is a vital function of the free and democratic state and essential to its preservation. The diffusion of knowledge must be made free and universal so that the blessings of "liberty and equality" may be preserved and shared alike by all. This policy was proposed by Thomas Jefferson as early as 1779 and came as the logical accompaniment of the great democratic movement. It

was, however, first realized in the New England States and in the Middle West where the New England influence predominated. It will be recalled that in this section of the country the state and church were originally combined. Gradually after the Revolution the church withdrew from control of the schools and left the state in authority. Although there was some opposition to this development of a secularized state system of schools, the movement was greatly strengthened by the adoption of full manhood suffrage about the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

The pauper-school compromise. In the struggle which ensued between these various policies for the control of the schools, the family-charity and the Christian-education parties combined and determined the direction of school organization in New York and the states to the south. One of the methods of compromise may be seen in the plan adopted in New York of distributing state funds among the various private and denominational schools. The support thus provided assisted in maintaining schools, but the children were all required at the same time to pay the rates for the support of the teachers. In most states where this plan was practiced, the public funds were confined to paying the tuition of indigent children and orphans in the various private and church schools. Apparently the difficult problem of education was solved. Parents could send their children to schools of their own choice; the churches offered Christian education without violating the newly adopted principle of separation of Church and State, and the demands of the state were satisfied in that all the children could receive educational advantages. Pennsylvania adopted this pauper system in 1802, Georgia in 1817, Virginia in 1818, New Jersey in 1820, and Texas in 1854. All the Southern States used this means of organization in one form or another before the war.

The system in Pennsylvania. The constitution of Pennsylvania in 1790 stipulated that "the legislature shall, as soon as conveniently may be, provide by law, for the establishment of schools

throughout the State in such manner that the poor may be taught gratis." In 1802 this mandate of the constitution was carried out in a law which directed the "overseers and guardians of the poor" to select the children who were eligible for charitable instruction. This act required that parents must make a public record and avowal of poverty in order that their children might receive instruction free. The legislature did not provide for the establishment of any schools, but proposed merely to pay the tuition of poor children in the private and church schools already in operation. The money for this purpose was collected along with the tax for poor relief. Large sums were thus paid to the private and parish schools, to academies and colleges. The state exercised no control or supervision whatever, and no system of public schools was inaugurated.

The system in Georgia. Among the Southern States Georgia was the most characteristic. Here the pauper-school system began with the act of July 31, 1783. This act empowered the governor to grant 1000 acres of vacant land to every county of the state for the establishment of free schools. After lengthy delay this action was followed in 1817 by a law establishing a fund for the support of free schools throughout the state, and \$250,000 was appropriated for this purpose. Four years later \$500,000 was added to be divided equally for the endowment of county academies and "for the encouragement and support of free schools." It was not the intention of the legislature to establish separate schools for poor children, but only to offer a bounty to the existing institutions and to defray the tuition of the poor. In Georgia the teachers of the private and denominational schools were required to pass an examination before they could receive the tuition paid by the state for poor children.

Defects of the system. The pauper-school system was arraigned in the most scathing terms, and it proved to be but a temporary makeshift. Dr. Orr of Georgia expressed the general opinion that

this "so-called system had no system in it, that it was full of defects, and that it was lacking in a hundred of the elements that make up an efficient public school system." It was charged that it was promoted by the selfish interests of private schools and the narrowness of the aristocratic class. It resulted in stigmatizing for life all children who accepted the state provision for free tuition. The rich refused to send their children to schools which received these pauper offspring. Many of the poor were too proud to avail themselves of the benefits of free tuition under the humiliating circumstances. The children failed to attend the schools. An example is the case of Georgia where in 1836 out of 83,000 children of school age only 25,000 were enrolled in school. Furthermore, bitter rivalry broke out among the various denominations to secure state aid for their particular institutions, and some went so far as to conceive an ambition to monopolize the field for their particular body. The inefficiency of the plan was so great that it had to be discarded by every state. However, grossly defective as the plan turned out to be, it was transitional in a way to our present free state school system.

Establishment of free-school systems. Education made rapid progress after the War of 1812. The growth of commerce and manufacturing caused a large increase in the population, especially in the towns and cities. The problem of delinquency and crime and of continued idleness among the young began to grow acute in these centers. The extension of manhood suffrage to all, and the concurrent passing of the old aristocratic ideas of government and society emphasized still further the need of universal education. A large number of educational societies sprang up to meet these new problems and to foster free schools for all children. It became more and more evident that the existing private and church schools and academies would be totally unable to meet the situation.

The greatest difficulties in the progress of the schools at this time were, first, the high cost of an efficient system, and, second,

the dearth of qualified school-teachers. Early in the century the Lancasterian system of mutual instruction was introduced into New York City and other places. In 1818 Lancaster came over from England to settle in Philadelphia and to establish his methods of instruction. According to his plan the expert teacher imparts the lesson to the older pupils, and they in turn teach the same lesson to younger classes. In this way one well-qualified master can guide hundreds of children in their studies. The cheapness of this method was a powerful commendation. Lancasterian schools were set up in various cities and towns, and they performed an important service in familiarizing the people with the idea of free instruction and thus in bringing in the free schools.

Free schools for all children were opened first in the cities and towns and were later adopted for entire states. From its foundation the town of Dedham, Massachusetts, had supported its primary and Latin grammar schools by taxation and offered free instruction to all the children of the community. In the eighteenth century other towns in Massachusetts followed this example. Not until the nineteenth century did the cities in other states open free schools. New York City took over the schools of the Free School Society in 1832 and made all schools free. Buffalo followed in 1838, Hudson and Rochester in 1841, Brooklyn and Williamsburg in 1842, Syracuse in 1848, Troy in 1849, and Auburn in 1850.

In 1827 Massachusetts abolished the rates throughout the entire state and declared the schools entirely free to all children. Other states followed in order: Pennsylvania in 1834, Rhode Island in 1848, Indiana in 1852, Ohio in 1853, Illinois in 1855, Vermont in 1864, and New York in 1867. The last state to abolish the rates was New Jersey, in 1871.

THE PESTALOZZI-FROEBEL INFLUENCE

A new European influence. We now come to the last and most profound of the great European influences which have affected

education in our country. This concerns the work of Pestalozzi and his disciple Froebel. In many ways they advocated the same principles, so that they are sometimes considered together and as representing the same conceptions. Froebel's insight perfected the visions of Pestalozzi, but the differences between their views and accomplishments were so great that it is necessary to treat them separately.

The life and work of Pestalozzi. Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi was born in Zurich, Switzerland, in 1746. By nature he was visionary, impractical, idealistic, and extraordinarily altruistic. Coming under the influence of the naturalistic philosophy of Rousseau as a youth at college, he began to devote his attention to schemes for the uplifting of mankind. The great majority of people at the time, especially in his native land, lived in unspeakable poverty, squalor, and misery. Pestalozzi many times sought to establish an orphanage to prove his theories that industrial training of children was the most effective means for elevating human beings. In 1800 he organized the Burgdorf Institute for the training of teachers. This school soon became famous but lasted only four years. In 1805 he began a similar school at Yverdon which made him the most celebrated teacher in the world. The triumph of his principles and methods was due mainly to their concrete demonstration in the teaching of children in these institutions. Teachers and pupils from all countries of Europe came to study and observe his principles in operation. Monarchs honored him and sent selected teachers to learn his methods. The German people more than any others transformed their schools according to his plans.

The fundamental aim of Pestalozzi was to regenerate human society by means of the training of the young. The school was recognized as the one instrument which would train the children to habits of industry and develop intelligence so as to produce industrious, self-reliant workers and law-abiding citizens. As the

result of his work the autocratic monarchies of central Europe adopted the school as the means for producing well-trained and obedient subjects; the democratic countries of the West adopted the school as the means of producing intelligent citizens.

Organic development. The most characteristic principle of Pestalozzi's pedagogy was the idea that education is a process of organic development. He never wearied of the comparison of the growth of the child and the growth of the plant. The analogy was complete in his mind. Both unfold from within according to inner laws. The ultimate aim of education he repeatedly defined as the harmonious development of all the powers. The child has three sides to his organic nature, the psychomotor, the intellectual, and, most fundamental of all, the religious-moral side. Now each of these aspects of the child's nature unfolds according to a definite law of growth. Education must discover what these laws are by observing closely the natural development. Pestalozzi here anticipated the study of the genetic laws which have been discovered more clearly during the past half a century. He wanted to bring all teaching and training into accord with these laws of growth.

Intellectual development. It was in the field of intellectual training and instruction that Pestalozzi made the greatest advancement. The one principle most epochal in character which he brought forcibly into teaching practice was that of sense training. That all knowledge begins in sense impressions was not a new idea. It had been fully emphasized two centuries earlier by Comenius. But it required the keen psychological analysis of Locke and Kant to make men understand it fully. The profound implications of this idea, as the basis of educational science, were shown by Pestalozzi and brought out into practical application. He elevated the training of the child in sense observation to the dignity of a scientific procedure. He showed that knowledge begins in sense perceptions and then proceeds from the concrete to the abstract, from the simple to the complex, by gradual steps of progress.

Pestalozzi traced all knowledge back to three original, or root, subjects or elements, form, number, and language. All outer objects of our experience have form which we perceive through the eye and hand. From observing objects we learn the different things about us, and this leads on to natural history, geography, geometry, and drawing. Again, the observation of different objects is the root of the experience of number and consequently of the science of arithmetic. Only in connection with concrete things would Pestalozzi introduce children to the study of number. Finally, objects tend to call forth emotional expression and to procure names. In this manner language develops, and with language there evolve song, music, and literature. The teacher must observe these steps in the growth of the child's experience.

Pestalozzi believed in beginning always with the concrete in every new study. Then by graded steps he advanced from the mastery of one object to another. In geography he began with the room in which the child lived, then the house, the town, the country, and so on. Similarly he worked out his method of instruction in nature study, arithmetic, music, and language lessons. The most important lines of progress he brought about were teaching children from things and not from textbooks, grading the work and the classes, and teaching children in classes and not individually as had formerly been the practice. The best modern methods followed his example in all these lines.

We learn by doing. Pestalozzi felt that the most necessary reform in education would come from the working out of a complete pedagogy of constructive activities. Just as there is a gradual unfolding or development of the intellect from the first simple sense impressions to the most complex idea formed in the mind, so there is likewise a gradual progress from the simplest movement of the arm and hand of the child to the acquisition of the most complicated movements of the most skilled craft. He believed that the child learns by doing and that knowledge which is not

accompanied by practical application to the control of things is empty and dangerous. He desired to work out the pedagogy of manual production, industrial activities, and agriculture. But he left these lines only as theories for others to work out in definite methods. It was on this side of Pestalozzianism that Froebel made his chief progress beyond his master.

Religious-moral training. Pestalozzi believed that the religious and moral feelings form the most fundamental aspect of human life. He considered the emotional relation of the mother and child to be the starting point of all the moral and religious life. For this reason he considered the mother the supreme teacher and the home as the ideal school.

Influence on American education. Pestalozzian doctrines came to America in a number of ways. About 1820 his method of teaching arithmetic was introduced by Colburn. In the next decade Woodbridge and Lowell Mason introduced his system of music. Horace Mann came into contact with the Pestalozzian practices in the schools of Prussia and Saxony during his visit in 1843 and advocated many reforms in his celebrated report. The principles of organic development and of sense observation did not come fully to America until after 1860.

Sources of Froebelianism. The conception of education as organic development received its most complete expression in the writings and elaborate technique of Frederick Froebel. As a young teacher he spent two years, 1808–1810, with Pestalozzi at the Yverdun Institute. At first Froebel felt that the great master had said the final word on the complex science of education; but after his two years of study and the maturing of his own views, he came to believe that Pestalozzi's work was tentative and crude. Returning to Germany he reëntered the university and began to study with extraordinary avidity ancient languages, mathematics, natural history, chemistry, mineralogy, and other sciences. In all this work he was seeking to discover whether these sciences

show a process of development or evolution from the simpler to the more complex forms. In 1816 he returned to his native homeland in the Thuringian Forest region in southern Germany and set up a training school for boys on the order of Yverdun. After teaching here and in Switzerland for twenty years, he took up the plan of Pestalozzi to devise a method by which mothers could educate their own children. This had been one of the most ardent dreams of Pestalozzi throughout life. The result of Froebel's efforts was the origination of the kindergarten in 1837. The name itself is symbolic of his whole system; it signifies that the children are young plants in a garden which is the school. The child is an organism which develops by virtue of inner laws that the educator must discover and obey.

Peculiarities of Froebel's doctrines. No system of pedagogy embodies so much that is fundamental for an understanding of the education of children. On the other hand no great system has so much that is bizarre. Froebel drew his ideas from two main sources: first, the speculative philosophy of his time which regarded the universe as an evolutionary process from the Absolute; second, from a systematic observation of the spontaneous activities and natural developments of the child organism. Unfortunately he fell into the error of interpreting the facts he discovered by the principles of his general philosophy. Then he took another step and sought to objectify his view of the process of development by an elaborate system of symbols. Yet in spite of his quixotic ideas Froebel's doctrines are the most remarkable expression of the philosophy of education of modern times. His principles readily harmonize with our present educational science because he based his theory upon voluntaristic or behavioristic psychology, evolutionary processes, and the socialization and industrialization of education.

Doctrine of self-activity. According to Froebel the essence of man's being is constructive activity, creativity, or spiritual

energizing. Long observation of the spontaneous activities of young children had strongly confirmed him in this point of view. The application of this principle to the work of the schools is seen in the following quotation from *The Education of Man*:

The young, growing human being should, therefore, be trained early for outer work, for creative and productive activity. . . . Play, building, modeling are the first tender blossoms of youth; and this is the period when man is to be prepared for future industry, diligence, and productive activity. Every child, boy, and youth, whatever his condition or position in life, should devote daily at least one or two hours to some serious activity in the production of some definite external piece of work. . . . The domestic and scholastic education of our time leads children to indolence and laziness; a vast amount of human power thereby remains undeveloped and is lost. It would be a most wholesome arrangement in schools to establish actual working hours similar to the existing study hours; and it will surely come to this.

Froebel rejected the traditional conception of the school as the place where children acquire information from textbooks and teachers by means of instruction and memory. The school is rather the environment in which the child learns to make or create those things which his nature spontaneously seeks. He learns by doing. He makes the inner outer, that is to say, he realizes in outer form what he has as an image or purpose within his mind. The entire process of education is realized through self-activity. What Pestalozzi and others considered as but one aspect of development Froebel makes the central process, the driving power, the correlating function, namely, the willed act. Experience and knowledge come normally to the child as he engages in motor activities. The chief end of the school is not information but "to give firmness to the will, and to quicken it and make it pure, strong, and enduring in a life of pure humanity." The school trains the will for achievement in human society.

Doctrine of unity. There are many of Froebel's ideas which appear bizarre and mystical to students of our day. This is often because their application is misunderstood. The doctrine of unity which was the most profound of all the teachings of the great master is looked upon as metaphysical and impractical. He believed in the unity of the mental functions and rejected the faculty theory of mind. All our thinking begins with a whole or unity, proceeds by analysis of parts, and returns again to unity. The best example of unity is seen in the coördination of all the functions of the child nature in self-activity and in social activity which will be illustrated later.

In any constructive activity we see the unity, or coördination, of all the functions of the organism. If a boy constructs a boat from a piece of board, all parts of his being are brought into play. There is the exercise of the sense organs, memory, imagination, desire, will, attention, etc. His movements relate the conduct of his mind to muscular activity and control. Here too is exhibited the natural relation between the process of learning and doing. In such constructions the boy learns by comparing, measuring, and testing. From this theory of Froebel have been derived in more recent days the functional theory of the learning process and also the project method.

Doctrine of development. Ideas of development were common in Froebel's day. Rousseau had taught that the child passes through certain stages of growth. Pestalozzi emphasized the idea of development and believed there were definite laws governing the growth of the child physically, mentally, and morally. Froebel believed that one and the same law of development governs in the physical and the mental world. The growth of the child's body, the development of the child's mind, the growth of a tree, and the formation of a crystal are all according to this one law.

The child repeats the development of the race, not as a mechanical repetition, but as a spiritual development. Froebel also be-

lieved that the race is still in process of further unfolding, or evolution. Growth is by special stages, and each stage should be all that the stage calls for. If any stage of growth is dwarfed or hindered, all later stages are retarded.

Social education. According to Froebel everything in the universe can be considered in two aspects: first, as an individual object in itself, separate and apart from other things. An example would be the hand considered apart from the arm or body, or a building, or a star. Then again every object may be considered as a part of a larger whole, as a member of the body, as a part of a city, or as a part of a solar system. As he frequently did, Froebel invented a new word to express this dual relation of which everything partakes; the word is *Gliedganzes*, "part-whole."

Every human being is such a "part-whole." In his own being he is a unity, a whole, an independent entity or individual. But biologically the newborn child is only a fresh shoot growing from the tree of humanity. He bears the same relation to the race as a whole that the sprout does to the plant. Again, every individual is a member of various larger wholes or groups, the family, the school, the church, town, nation, group of workers, and so on. It is the peculiar duty of the school to adjust the child to all these relationships, to train him to understand his social relations, and to fit into all the groups necessary for his life. In the kindergarten Froebel put into practice the doctrine of social education. The circle which characterizes the kindergarten symbolizes and at the same time realizes the idea of the school as a community.

Froebel's curriculum. Froebel derived his curriculum from the spontaneous interests and activities of the child. Whatever children do naturally and normally fills some essential need in their development. "Therefore, education in instruction and training, originally and in its first principles, should necessarily be passive, following (only guarding and protecting), not prescriptive, categorical, interfering."

The following are recognized as the natural lines of the growth of the child's interest and activities :

1. The religious sense.
2. Knowledge and exercise of the body.
3. Study of nature proceeding from the nearest surroundings to the most remote.
4. Memorizing of short poetical representations of nature and life.
5. Exercises in language starting with the study of the external world and passing over to the inner world.
6. Constructive activities in systematic outward corporeal representation, proceeding from the simple to the complex. This involves constructing things with paper, cardboard, wood, clay, etc.
7. Drawing.
8. Study of colors; coloring of outline pictures; painting.
9. Play or spontaneous representations and exercises of all kinds.
10. Narration of stories and legends, fables and fairy tales, etc.
11. Short excursions and walks.
12. Arithmetic.
13. Form lessons (geometry).
14. Grammatical exercises.
15. Writing.
16. Reading.

Froebel's laws hold for all education. The name of Froebel and his system is inseparably associated with the kindergarten and infant education. His principles were derived chiefly from the observation of young children and found their application in the involved technique of the kindergarten. But it is a great mistake to believe that these principles are confined to infant education. They are applied to-day in all grades of school work, even in the university, and have been one of the most potent influences in breaking down the traditional formalism of the school and in enriching the curriculum and methods.

The kindergarten in America. By prophetic intuition Froebel believed that in America his ideas and practices would have their best development. The kindergarten was first introduced into this country during the fifties as a private and even family enterprise by some of Froebel's early disciples. Later it was promoted by private instructors and associations. In more recent years it has been accorded public recognition and tends to become an integral part of the school system in all towns and cities.

The outstanding American educators in the past fifty years have expanded and amended Froebel's principles. Dr. G. Stanley Hall rejected the metaphysical and symbolic elements of Froebel. He expanded Froebel's less systematic study of children into the scientific study of genetics. Second, he substituted biological evolution for the dialectical and spiritualistic evolutionism which Froebel had borrowed from speculative idealism.

Another educational thinker who is greatly indebted to Froebel is Dr. John Dewey. He has restated Froebel's doctrine of self-activity in his functional method. Moreover the new emphasis on social education and the enrichment of the curriculum is due to the application of Froebelianism to the entire process of education.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

Struggle to make the public school system efficient. The adoption of the free-school system by the states did not carry with it a high degree of efficiency. This was advanced by the epochal services of Horace Mann and Henry Barnard. Coming at a critical stage these two grand figures popularized the state control of education and reformed the schools of New England. As these states were regarded as educational models by the younger states of the West, their reforms became national in scope and influence. In 1837 Horace Mann was appointed the first secretary of the Massachusetts School Board. In this position he visited all the

counties throughout the state annually and conducted public meetings in the interest of better schools. His twelve annual reports were the most valuable discussions on education which had appeared in this country. In 1843 he visited Europe to study the schools of the leading countries of the Old World. His observations, published in his *Seventh Annual Report*, created a profound impression and led to the adoption of many important reforms. Many of these innovations were due indirectly to the educational work of Pestalozzi which had held sway so completely in German schools. Among the more specific reforms advanced by Horace Mann are the following:

1. Better physical equipment for education; sanitary schoolhouses, better heating, lighting, and ventilation; hygienic seats and desks; apparatus for instruction, such as blackboards, maps, and charts.
2. More spacious playgrounds.
3. A higher standard of equipment for the teaching profession; normal schools, institutes, and the formation of teachers' associations.
4. Greater care in the examination and selection of school-teachers.
5. The employment of more women teachers, as they are by nature more sympathetic and better adapted to elementary instruction.
6. Intelligent supervision of teaching.
7. A library for every school and community; more books written expressly for children; more books dealing with history, science, and mechanical arts.
8. Improved methods of instruction; the word method in reading; spelling words which are commonly used and not technical terms; more concrete methods in the teaching of arithmetic, grammar, composition, nature study, and music.
9. The consolidation of small school districts; the establishment of the larger unit of school organization for purposes of supervision.

10. The introduction of vocal music, history, geography, physiology and hygiene, and moral instruction into the course of study of elementary schools.
11. Punctuality and regularity of attendance; resorting to compulsory attendance in case of parents who refuse to send their children.
12. Higher compensation for teachers.
13. Uniform textbooks.
14. The enactment of laws against child labor.
15. A longer school year, ten months being the ideal.
16. More secondary schools with state aid.

This comprehensive series of needed reforms, which was largely realized in Massachusetts, was paralleled to a very great extent by the work of Henry Barnard in Connecticut and Rhode Island. In later days Barnard became the first United States Commissioner of Education. Through his *American Journal of Education* he did much to foster an intelligent study of the science and history of education.

School attendance made compulsory. The New England Puritans, following the precepts of the Old Testament, required parents to teach their children. In 1647, as we have seen, they took a greater step and made the establishment and maintenance of schools compulsory in every town. But they failed to make attendance upon the schools required. This final step was not made until the middle of the nineteenth century.

In his visit to Europe Horace Mann found the best system of schools and the most effective instruction and the least illiteracy in the German kingdoms of Prussia and Saxony. In these states attendance upon the schools had been compulsory for over a century. On his return home Mann frequently urged more stringent measures for securing regularity of attendance and the resort to compulsion in case of the parents who are continually negligent. As a result Massachusetts finally adopted compulsory attendance

in 1852. This step was not a difficult one in New England, for it was the logical outcome of their educational policies from the beginning. Even in Massachusetts, however, many years were required to perfect the system. Shortly after the Civil War other Northern and Western states which had been settled by New England people adopted the compulsory feature. The Southern states on the other hand were very slow in the adoption of the new policy. The reason for this must be sought in the different philosophy of government which had been held in this section of the country.

One of the far-reaching consequences of the Civil War was the final acceptance by the Southern people of a new view of government and state. This view emphasized the reality of the state as an organism with a function and life of its own rather than a mere organization dependent upon the caprice of individuals. This new organic character appeared in the concentration of power in Federal and state governments and in the contracted liberty of individuals. The increased consciousness of the state showed itself in the argument for the adoption of state public school systems. No argument was more persuasive than the need of educating the people in order to preserve the state. As self-preservation is the first principle of organic life, so it was an evidence of the awakened self-consciousness of the state. For this reason the state must educate its future citizens, who by their suffrage direct the life of the state. It is obliged to educate to prevent crime and inner degeneration. Every state in the Union has adopted compulsory education. This step was longest delayed in the Southern states, where the older and more aristocratic and individualistic conceptions of government had prevailed. Only during the past twenty years have these states finally adopted the compulsory feature in their school systems, and its operation is still far from perfect, owing to the lack of a vigorous public sentiment.

ADOPTION OF COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

1852	Massachusetts	1889	Oregon
1867	Vermont		Colorado
1871	New Hampshire	1890	Utah
	Michigan	1895	Pennsylvania
	Washington	1896	Kentucky
1872	Connecticut	1897	Indiana
	New Mexico		West Virginia
1873	Nevada	1899	Arizona
1874	New York	1902	Iowa
	Kansas		Maryland
	California	1905	Missouri
1875	New Jersey		Tennessee
	Maine	1907	Delaware
1876	Wyoming		North Carolina
1877	Ohio		Oklahoma
1879	Wisconsin	1908	Virginia
1883	Rhode Island	1909	Arkansas
	Illinois	1910	Louisiana
	North Dakota	1915	Texas
	South Dakota		Alabama
	Montana		South Carolina
1885	Minnesota		Florida
1887	Nebraska	1916	Georgia
	Idaho	1918	Mississippi

THE AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL

The rise and development of the high school. Among the various types of schools which have been organized on this continent the high school alone is of pure American origin. The first to be established was opened in Boston in 1821. This institution was for boys. It was instituted to furnish the youth who did not desire to learn Latin and Greek in the Latin grammar school an opportunity to secure an English classical education. A similar

school for girls was organized in 1828. The attendance of girls was so large that it was considered wiser for them to continue their studies in the grades added to the elementary school. New York City opened the second high school for boys in 1825. A few others followed through the years, but further progress was slow before the Civil War. In 1860 high schools to the number of 321 were reported. The growth of high schools was somewhat hindered by the older academies and also by the opposition to the support of high schools by public taxation. A decision of the Supreme Court of Michigan in 1872 settled the question as to public support, and since that time progress has been extremely rapid. To-day the high, or secondary, school is a recognized part of public education. In the past two decades the high school has evolved into the junior and senior high schools in many places.

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CHAPTER II

EDUCATION UNDER THE SPANISH RÉGIME

I. TRAINING THE NATIVES

Early attitude toward the natives. The Spanish conquerors had little thought of colonizing the vast and mysterious regions of the New World with their own people. They regarded the American continents as offering merely a boundless opportunity for the expansion of the imperial empire and the enrichment of her treasuries. In the realization of these ends they necessarily had to deal with the aboriginal tribes whom they found already inhabiting the lands. At first these natives were considered and treated as a lower race fitted only for serfdom. Large tracts of land were allotted by the Spanish monarch to his favorites, and the natives were required to cultivate these tracts. The Spaniards had little desire to act inhumanely toward these primitive peoples, but in their eagerness to subdue and exploit them many soon began to treat the natives with shocking cruelty.

Education of the natives planned. At the beginning of the sixteenth century the priests as well as others complained that the natives would not work without coercion and they could not be converted unless subjected to restraint. Accordingly in 1503 the Spanish sovereign ordered that the Indians be gathered into villages and that schoolhouses be provided and that the children be taught reading, writing, and Christian doctrine. The Indians were to be regarded as freemen, but they must be required to labor. This was the beginning of the *encomiendas* system adopted for civilizing the natives. A few years later Las Casas, a Spanish bishop in the island of Cuba, was moved by feelings of pity because

of the desperate sufferings inflicted upon the natives by his Spanish compatriots in the East Indies. Returning to Spain he prevailed upon the court to take measures to end the horrible cruelty and slaughter. As a consequence Cardinal Ximenes, who exercised the regal authority, decreed that all the Indians should be treated as freemen, and he brought about legislation looking to the organization of a system for their civilization and conversion to Christianity. Everywhere throughout the Spanish Americas the natives were to be gathered into settlements, where churches, hospitals, and schools would be established for their welfare. The sacristan in each community was charged to teach the children up to nine years of age to speak, read, and write the Spanish language. By educating the natives these authorities sought to extend in a peaceful way the Spanish conquest of the cross and the power and wealth of the imperial government. This humanitarian and statesmanlike measure was decided upon as early as 1516, nearly a century before the British planted their first colony in Virginia or projected a college for the instruction and conversion of the savages of North America. Though this effort of Cardinal Ximenes did not succeed in establishing communities with churches and schools as he planned, it led generally to the adoption of a more compassionate attitude toward the natives and an earnest effort for their conversion.

The Spanish mission. The *encomiendas* system was adapted to the Indian tribes which were already well on the way to civilization and consequently more susceptible to foreign cultivation. For wilder tribes a different instrument was employed. This was the mission which everywhere served as a temporary means until such time as the natives were sufficiently civilized to exercise the measure of independent government to be found in the pueblos. The mission marked the frontier. That it was successful may be inferred from the fact that the Spanish language, religion, and customs have dominated the major portion of the New World.

Earliest mission work in Mexico. Early in the sixteenth century Franciscan monks entered Mexico and began to establish cathedrals, missions, and schools for the natives. Among the foremost of the missionaries in point of time and talent was Peter of Ghent, who was one of the most skillful musicians of Belgium. By his efforts schools for teaching reading, writing, and more especially music were organized in many places throughout Mexico as fast as the opposition of the natives could be overcome. Music was peculiarly essential for the proper conduct of the services of divine worship. Moreover, the natives, particularly the Aztecs, were passionately fond of melody, which they themselves had developed to quite a high degree as a native art. The missionaries found no other means so powerful in attracting their interest and leading them to the acceptance of Christianity. Not only did they learn to sing in church choirs, but they speedily became adepts in manufacturing musical instruments of various kinds which they learned to play with a considerable degree of skill. Their voices were naturally harsh and thin, but they took the greatest delight in singing. Following the ancient practice of Christian teachers, the children in the school formed the church choir. Special choristers to train the natives were brought from Europe. Native singers of note were frequently taken from one community to another to assist in overcoming the temerity of their fellow tribesmen. Christian song was thus found to be more powerful in converting the aborigines than abstract doctrines or the ritualism of worship.

Mission beginnings in Texas. From the time of European exploitation the territory now known as Texas formed a part of that extensive but indesignate domain called "New Spain." No efforts to assert the sovereignty of the Spanish government were put forth until the Frenchman La Salle attempted to plant the standard of France upon the Texas coast in 1687. This threat from their ancient rivals aroused the Spanish and led to the es-

establishment of the first mission center in East Texas, about where the present town of Nacogdoches now stands. The purpose in view was not so much to promote a colony or settlement of Spanish people as to convert and train the tribe of T  jas Indians as a fighting force which could be employed against any further encroachments of the French, who had permanently located a colony in Louisiana. Three missions, accompanied by a garrison of soldiers for their protection, were accordingly located at Nacogdoches from 1690 to 1693.

Having thus definitely asserted their control over Texas territory, other mission centers had of necessity to be founded from time to time to carry out the imperial policy. In all, twenty-five or more were established and maintained for a shorter or longer period of time. Efforts were made to bring most of the different tribes of Texas under their civilizing influences.

The purposes of the missions. The fundamental purpose of the mission system was at once religious and political. It was the instrument at once of the Church and of the State. The aim in the one case was to convert the natives to Christianity, to implant the elementary lessons of civilized life, and in the other to make obedient subjects of the king. The task to be accomplished called for an educational project of the most comprehensive character in transforming these savages into peaceable and industrious citizens with settled habits and Christian morals. As an institution the mission copied the organization and regimen of the medieval monastery, adapting these to deal effectively with the new problems of frontier life. In selecting this instrument the Spanish authorities resorted to the most successful means the early church had discovered for the conversion and civilization of the barbarian tribes of western Europe throughout the beginning of the Middle Ages.

The missions were not purely religious and philanthropical in purpose. They were agencies of the State as well as of the Church.

In each case a new establishment had to be fully approved by the Spanish regency, and all the missions drew their support directly from the imperial treasury. As the royal treasury was usually in straitened circumstances, only the most urgent necessity could induce the monarch to consider the founding of a new station. The prime object of the Spanish court was to train obedient subjects, who would add to the wealth and glory of the empire. The mission in America was not intended to be a permanent institution, but merely a temporary agency to be replaced ultimately by the pueblo as soon as the natives were prepared for such a measure of self-government.

The educational activities of the missions. As we have seen, the educational aims of the missions were rather elementary. Two main tasks were pursued: first, to teach the religious doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church and, second, to implant the settled habits of civilized conduct and industrial life. In engrafting the new characteristics it was essential to overcome the Indians' ingrained nomadic tendency of roaming from place to place and to train them to adopt a settled habitat. To this end the Indians were gathered into mission communities or villages and were kept there by force when necessary. Families from allied tribes which had already acquired some degree of tractability and settled habits were placed in the community as examples to be imitated. The community system of ownership was employed under the control of the *padres*. The products of the field were placed in a common storehouse and rationed out to the Indians as necessity required. A strict daily regimen imposed upon all members of the community was rigidly enforced, and the conduct and activities of all were ordered with monastic regularity.

Religious exercises were practiced daily. As the vernacular dialects were far too scanty and otherwise unsuitable for the expression of Christian truth, the Spanish language was more or less strictly insisted upon. At sunrise the Angelus bell summoned

everyone to mass, led by the priests and overseers. The neophytes filed into the chapel to engage in public worship for an hour before breakfast. Mass was observed frequently, if not daily. The Indians were taught to recite the prayers, the creed, and the catechism. Similar religious exercises were repeated in the evening. A special catechism adapted to their needs was printed for the Texas Indians, a copy of which is still in existence. On Saturdays, Sundays, and fast days they repeated the rosary, and the *padre* explained to them more clearly the doctrines and mysteries of the Christian faith. Songs were sung at these services, and it was this feature which excited the deepest emotions in the breasts of the Texas savages, just as it had done in the case of the more highly gifted and civilized Mexican tribes. At times prolonged devotional exercises were imposed as punishment for minor forms of misconduct. The neglect of the daily religious routine was regarded as a most serious misdemeanor and was treated with corporal chastisement. Punishments of this kind and imprisonment found little congruity with the roving nature of the Indians, and consequently they formed one of the chief causes of frequent rebellion and desertions from the mission community.

Along with this religious discipline went the training in the fundamental industries of civilization, for every mission was an industrial school. Habits of daily toil had to be implanted and skill in the various arts and crafts acquired. The messengers of the Gospel undertook to teach and supervise the practice of the trades and occupations which constitute the basis of civil order. Each Indian, besides cultivating his own plot of land, worked two hours a day on the farm belonging to the village, the produce of which went to the support of the church. By such means they hoped to produce the conditions which favor and facilitate Christian living. To this end the mission communities were organized and conducted as vast agricultural and industrial establishments. Irrigation plants were constructed in a number of instances, and

farms were tilled. Indian corn, wheat, melons, beans, sweet potatoes, and other vegetables were grown; sugar, cotton, and many fruits were likewise cultivated. Animal husbandry was also practiced. Among the animals raised we may note cattle, horses, hogs, sheep, and goats, of which over 9000 head in all were reported. The primary arts and crafts of community life among civilized peoples were taught to the Indian workers. In connection with their agricultural activities they engaged in ditching, carpentering, smithing, brickmaking, masonry, tanning, and the making of wine. The women were instructed in the common domestic duties, such as cooking, spinning, carding, weaving, and sewing. Surely the educational activities of the missions would have delighted our pedagogical theorists who advocate the practical arts, motivated instruction, and the project method of teaching! Moreover, in addition to this training of the older natives, instruction in the elements of learning was given the children in a regularly conducted school.

The results of the mission work. Historians of the Spanish civilization point with great pride to the remarkable results which have followed the efforts of the Spanish people to civilize the natives of North and South America. The Spanish language has become well nigh universal from New Mexico and Southern California to the farthest tribes of South America. The religion, customs, and habits of these lands are likewise of Spanish origin or are largely tinged by Spanish influences.

What results were achieved in Texas? Why is this land not now inhabited by its aboriginal stock? The mission fathers labored with great zeal. Between 1740 and 1745 the baptismal records show that 700 were baptized. At this time 885 Indians were in the missions about San Antonio.

In the case of the natives of Texas no permanent results were achieved by the efforts of the missions. They failed to produce in Texas any lasting Indian civilization such as they produced

in New Mexico and southern California. Only a few extensive buildings, now in ruins, remain to mark the attempts of the Spanish to wean the Texas Indians from savagery and to implant in them the ways and ideals of civilized humanity. This failure was due to a number of causes, but chiefly to the character of the Texas Indians themselves. While some tribes were more civilized and teachable than others, they were all backward mentally and intensely fond of unrestrained and savage life. They revolted at the protracted spiritual exercises which they were required to observe but could little understand. They had to be lured to compliance by gaudy trinkets and gifts of food and other things. They were docile only when hopeful of securing some self-indulgence or when they wished to avoid punishment. The tasks imposed upon them by the mission fathers were irksome. Their wild spirit, which could not be controlled by any high motives, constantly led them to desert and return to the nomadic and savage life of former days. These Texas Indians were lower in point of intelligence than the Mexican and other tribes which acquired the civilization of the Spanish conquerors. Success followed the work of the missions only where the aboriginal tribes were already far on the path toward civilization and had a capacity for Christian culture.

After a century of labor among the different tribes of Texas no permanent pueblos had resulted. From 1790 onward the missions were gradually secularized, the lands divided, and the efforts to civilize and Christianize the aborigines of Texas were abandoned.

II. SCHOOLS FOR THE SPANISH CHILDREN

Schools in Spanish settlements. Several attempts were made from 1715 to 1722 to establish Spanish settlements in Texas. But these efforts were spiritless, for there was little inducement for the people to establish homes upon a frontier so remote. A few soldiers were usually stationed to guard the missions. At strategic points, such as San Antonio de Bexar and Nacogdoches, regular

military garrisons were maintained. Finally in 1731 ten families from the Canary Islands were brought over by the Spanish government and settled as a colony. This new settlement, the first civil settlement in Texas, was officially designated Villa de San Fernando de Bexar. It became the capital of the province and enjoyed the right to a *Cabildo* or city council. In these settlements and garrisons the need for schools for the children was soon felt, and efforts were made to furnish some instruction.

It is abundantly certain that the first school in Texas other than the missions was conducted in San Fernando. The records show that as early as 1746 Cristobal de los Santos was teaching there. Some years later Don Ignacio de los Santos Coy, a native of Texas and probably the son of Cristobal, became sacristan and taught the parish school in this same villa. This was evidently a regular parish school such as were conducted in all Catholic countries for the training of the young in religious doctrines. It is wholly possible that this school was established along with the church at the beginning of the settlement in 1831. The training received was not of a high order. The Canary Islanders were naturally proud, but lazy and exceptionally quarrelsome. They lived miserably and were prohibited from leaving the province on any pretext. They had little education, for records indicate that few of them could read or write.

Another Spanish school was conducted by Don Francisco de la Mata at San Antonio de Bexar, as we learn from his own hand. In May, 1789, he sent a petition to the *Cabildo*, or village council, in which he described the lack of training among the children. After bewailing their profound ignorance, he proceeds :

I have also been much grieved at heart to see the children¹ . . . running about as vagabonds engaged only in pernicious pursuits such as playing with arrows and ropes, and spending their time in childish

¹ According to the census of 1782 there were 321 boys and 264 girls at San Antonio de Bexar ; in 1791 the census gives 285 boys and 264 girls.

games and other idle entertainments which lead only to perdition. They have no respect for the officials, and no reverence for the aged or the distinguished. This I know from personal experience since most of them did not even know how to make the sign of the cross. Thus "moved by the love of God," he opened a school in order to teach these children the Christian religion and civic duties. He begged the official sanction for his school and the coöperation of the *Cabildo* and of the parish priest. Such recognition was necessary to assist him in collecting the small tuition fee and would tend to prevent parents from interfering with the conduct and discipline of his school. He complained with bitterness that some parents, whose children he had punished, came to the school to insult and threaten him, and that in the presence of the children themselves. Moreover, what was still more serious, they withdrew the children from the school on the slightest pretext, and he was in sad need of the fees for his support. The *Cabildo* granted his requests and transmitted the petition to the governor of the province for his approval. Don Francisco contracted to teach for six years, to the summer of 1795.

In 1792, as we learn, Don Ignacio de los Santos Coy, the rather meek instructor of the parish school, was dismissed from office and De la Mata was installed in his place, evidently as the result of an intrigue. But not for long. He soon fled and was cast into prison on the charge of slandering the governor. De la Mata, in spite of his pious sentiments, was a disreputable character. But of schools we hear no more for a decade.

Executive interest in the schools. With the beginning of the new century the ruling officials took an interest in the establishment of schools in the interior province, which included Texas. In January, 1802, Lieutenant Colonel Elguezabal issued a proclamation ordering the judges to compel parents to send their children to school. Heavy penalties were to be imposed upon those who failed to comply. During the following year the Gen-

eral Commandant, Nemesio Salcedo, ordered that schools be established "in the *presidios* and other military posts where the number of troops and settlers is enough to provide a small salary." Detailed arrangements were set forth for the organization of the schools. We are certain that a school was opened in San Antonio in accordance with these orders, but we do not know how long it may have continued. There is an old record found on the report of the garrison at San Antonio of the equipment of the school in 1809. It is probable that some efforts were made through these intervening years to keep the school in operation. These efforts were none too successful, we may fairly judge, for it was necessary for the new governor, Manuel de Salcedo, to establish a new one in 1809. In that year a proclamation was posted informing the people of the opening of a school in a house rented for the purpose, located on the main plaza in front of the garrison. José Enrique Flóres was the teacher.

After the counter revolution in 1811–1812 an earnest effort was made by the *Junta de Gobierno* of the province of Texas to establish a "public primary school" in San Antonio de Bexar. Private subscriptions were taken for the support of the school for the first year on the promise that in the future the school would be supported from the *mestenas* fund and would no longer be a burden upon the meager resources of the people. A building was erected, and places were provided for seventy pupils, five of whom should enjoy free tuition. These five free scholars were to be selected by the teacher from the poor children of the community. This is a notable step, the establishment of a public school to be supported by public funds and to provide for free tuition for a few children at least! Whether all these plans were realized is highly doubtful. This school had evidently a precarious and fitful existence, like the others before it. We may judge this from the fact that a fresh effort to establish a school had to be made in 1817 when José Nicolas Paez y Colomo was appointed schoolmaster.

A school in which eighty children were enrolled was taught at La Bahia (Goliad) in 1818 by José Galan, a private soldier. Both this and the school at San Antonio de Bexar ceased during the troubled era of the Mexican Revolution.

A comparison of the educational achievements of the New England colonists with the recurrent efforts of the Spanish in Texas might be suggestive but would hardly be fair. The circumstances in the two instances were widely different. In the case of the Spanish the plans for education, though plentiful enough, were made by governmental authorities. In New England it was the people themselves who were interested in learning and took the initiative in the establishment of schools of all grades, primary, secondary, and collegiate. The Puritans had the richest of cultural traditions to guide their efforts. The Spanish had a meager background of educational inheritance. The church paid slight attention to the establishment of schools in Texas, while in New England the leading motive in all instruction was to teach the young to read the Scriptures and to prepare a Christian ministry for the churches. Other great barriers in Texas were poverty and the lack of men who had sufficient knowledge to act as teachers. The Spanish population was few in numbers and not merely indescribably poor, but eking out a bare subsistence in an isolated wilderness with savages as their nearest neighbors.

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CHAPTER III

SCHOOLS DURING THE MEXICAN ERA, 1821-1836

I. MEXICAN PROVISIONS FOR EDUCATION

The Republic of Mexico. The revolution, which had begun in 1810, finally succeeded in throwing off the Spanish yoke in 1821; and the Mexican people established a Federal Republic similar to that of the United States of America. Under the new government, Texas was joined to Coahuila, lying south of the Rio Grande, forming one enormous state with the capital at Saltillo. Texas was divided into three "departments," Bexar, Brazos, and Nacogdoches, with their respective capitals at San Antonio, San Felipe de Austin, and Nacogdoches. The government of the state was placed under the charge of a congress, but local affairs were to be managed by the departments.

Constitutional provision for education. The Federal Constitution of Mexico provided for military and naval training and for higher education, especially along the lines of the natural and political sciences; the conduct of general education was reserved to the individual states. The Constitution of the state of Coahuila and Texas which was adopted in 1827 made generous provision for education. It granted the right of freedom of the press and speech. Primary schools were to be established in all towns "wherein shall be taught reading, writing, arithmetic, the catechism of the Christian religion, a brief and simple explanation of this Constitution and that of the Republic, the rights and duties of men in society, and whatever else may conduce the better education of youth." Seminaries of higher learning were to be established, and the method of teaching was to be uniform through-

out the state. Nothing, however, was said as to the means by which these schools should be supported. The Roman Catholic religion was adopted as the official religion of the state, and the exercise of any other was most strictly prohibited.

The first state laws. Several years before the adoption of the Constitution an ordinance was decreed making the *ayuntamientos*, or municipal governments, responsible for the establishment of primary schools. A few months after the adoption of the Constitution in 1827 a new measure was enacted, again calling upon the *ayuntamientos* to establish schools and holding them responsible for designating the means by which funds should be raised for that purpose. They were required to appoint committees to visit the schools weekly and to report their condition to the government every six months.

With the coming of the Anglo-Americans into Texas a decree was issued regulating colonization in the Republic. Every *empresario* who would establish a colony was required to make provision for schools. In accordance with the ancient practice of founding new towns, coming down from Roman times, one city block must be set aside for public buildings and another for school purposes. Such blocks were set aside in Gonzales, Bastrop, Victoria, Austin, and other Texas towns for this purpose.

Lancasterian schools to be established. Little was accomplished in spite of all these former laws. Accordingly in 1829 a more comprehensive measure was passed requiring the establishment of what they termed "Lancastrian schools" of mutual instruction in the capital city of each department of the state. As we have already seen, this Lancasterian or monitorial method of instruction had arisen in England about the beginning of the nineteenth century and was enthusiastically welcomed into the Northern states, especially New York and Pennsylvania, where it exerted a large influence in popularizing the movement for free public instruction. This monitorial method was taken up with

great enthusiasm in Mexico also, and many schools of this character were established. For various reasons all efforts failed to introduce this system into Texas, and not a single school of this character was established. Accordingly early in the following year another law was passed as an emergency measure until the Lancasterian schools could be put into operation. This new measure required that six primary schools be established in Texas by the departments. Under this law several schools came into existence, notably the one at Nacogdoches.

The decline of Spanish schools. There were several schools in operation during the period of the Revolution, but they had ceased to exist, and even San Antonio was without instruction for some time. The population in a number of most important towns declined during these years. San Antonio, which claimed 5000 citizens in 1806, had but 2400 in 1834. At La Bahia (Goliad) the inhabitants all sought to leave. Conditions were indescribably bad and, due to the miserable situation, the population diminished. A report states that "if there had been a supply of horses here, the place would have been absolutely abandoned." Under such conditions schools could not flourish, and a new beginning had to be made in each instance.

New school at San Antonio. Early in 1825 the governor of the state called upon the local political chief Saucedo to require the *ayuntamiento* to promote the establishment of public primary schools in his department. Saucedo responded, bemoaning the bad conditions, and made the following recommendation: "I think it absolutely necessary that in this town should be established a primary school supported by state funds, since up to this time this city has not had a separate school fund."

A local movement to establish a school was begun, subscriptions for the teacher's salary were taken, and a tax was voted upon all cattle, sheep, and goats brought into the city for slaughter. The authorities petitioned the Congress to supply funds for the

erection of a school building. The Congress, however, always notoriously embarrassed financially, was unable to support the movement. In spite of this the school was opened in 1826 and continued to exist in a more or less fitful way for several years. In January, 1828, the governor bought 100 charts, 36 catechisms, and other supplies out of public funds for the maintenance of the school. This is apparently the first instance in which free textbooks were supplied the children in this state. However, the school did not flourish, and a reform movement was begun.

Early in 1828 the *ayuntamiento* of San Antonio passed a most elaborate plan for the establishment and organization of a school. It was entitled :

Ordinance Which Shall Be Observed in the Public Free
Primary School Dedicated to the Instruction of the
Youth in the Vicinity of Bexar

Over the doorway was to be the inscription :

“Public Free Primary School.”

This remarkable institution was dedicated to the Christ-child and was to be supported by private subscription supplemented by municipal appropriations. The most significant fact was that it was to be absolutely free to any and all children. The teacher was prohibited from selling seats or exacting in any way, directly or indirectly, any payment or contribution for the tuition of the children. The entire conduct of the school, the behavior of the pupils within and without the school, the religious exercises to be observed, the punishments to be used were all set forth in detail. A system of rivalry, as in Jesuit and Lancasterian schools, with badges, prizes, and other rewards was adopted. The children were divided into two bands, Rome and Carthage, each with numerous officers. The teacher employed was Citizen José Antonio Gama y Fonseca, and he was required to teach the children to read, write, and calculate, the principles of grammar, religious

doctrines, good morals and manners, and other social virtues. The reports of this school are surprisingly complete for a number of years. In 1828 there were 150 pupils, and the enrollment remained fairly stable. There was great difficulty in securing satisfactory instructors. Some samples of the work of the pupils still exist. While this institution did not reach the lofty ideals which gave it birth, it continued to offer instruction to the children of San Antonio at least down to 1834 and, perhaps, even later. As outside support was lacking, there was always a great struggle to keep the school going.

Other schools established. In accordance with the state law other towns also endeavored to establish schools. One was conducted in La Bahia in 1828-29 supported by private funds, the parish priest acting as teacher. For a time a school was taught at Gonzales by the official translator employed by the city council. But the most successful school, other than that at San Antonio, was carried on at Nacogdoches, beginning in 1830. This was established by the Board of Piety, but was maintained like all the others by private subscriptions. A building was erected for the school by the coöperative effort of the citizens. One provided the lumber, another gave 100 pounds of nails, and another the hinges for windows and doors; other contributions were a month's service of a laborer, a barrel of beans, a two-year old steer, a yoke of oxen for 8 days, a yearling calf, and so on. This indicates rather concretely the makeshift condition of those pioneer days. The school opened with 51 pupils in 1831, but the reports indicate a decline from year to year until in 1834 only 11 pupils were in attendance. In accordance with the state law, schools were also established at San Felipe de Austin, Brazoria, Johnsboro, and several other places. These were, however, in Anglo-American settlements and will be dealt with later.

Protests of 1832. In spite of the several laws passed by the state, the numerous written demands by higher officials, and the

efforts of the *ayuntamientos*, nowhere did the schools really flourish. The difficulties in maintaining schools by local means led to a number of protests being made to the governor and Congress. A convention of Anglo-American citizens was held in October, 1832, at San Felipe de Austin. Among those who attended were Stephen F. Austin, Wm. H. Wharton, John Austin, Ira Ingram, Luke Lesassier, Chas. S. Taylor, Claiburne West, and Wm. Menifee, all men interested in education and the welfare of Texas. Among other resolutions adopted was one to the governor and the legislature of the state :

The inhabitants of Texas, represented by delegates, chosen for the purpose of making known their wants to that Supreme Government, and assembled in General Convention, in the town of San Felipe de Austin, respectfully represent that, from the commencement of the settlement of Texas, up to the present time, no step has been taken to encourage public education, and to create a fund exclusively devoted to that object. — They would respectfully suggest . . . that the Government of the State of Coahuila and Texas, heretofore, so liberal, and ever munificent in grants of lands to individuals, will, it is hoped, be equally so, in the grant of land for so useful and patriotic an object as will be the dissemination of knowledge through every part of society. Under these considerations, your memorialists pray a grant of as many leagues of land, for the promotion of education, as the Legislature, in its liberality, shall think proper to bestow ; to be made to Texas as the foundation of a fund for the future encouragement of Primary Schools, in Texas, in which will be taught the Castilian and English Languages: and they further pray, that the said grant be made to the *Ayuntamientos* in Texas for the use and benefit of the people in Texas, and for the object aforesaid, with the express condition that the said lands shall not be sold or otherwise disposed of, until the voice of the people of Texas, be taken thereon.

In December, the same year, some Mexican citizens of San Antonio sent a similar protest to Congress. They declared :

Many have been the demands of these towns for the erection of primary schools at the expense of the state in view of the poverty of the inhabitants and their meager municipal funds, and they have never been heeded.

They charged that Congress had always put them off with "specious regulations" which in the end required the people themselves to bear the burden. They demanded that the state endow a primary school in each town in the department, leaving the people to find the means to support the teacher. About the same time, the *ayuntamiento* of Nacogdoches requested the Congress for a grant of land for the support of their school.

New provision for schools. Spurred by the general dissatisfaction, the State Congress in 1833 took action, making new provisions for education in Texas. Four leagues, or 17,712 acres of land, were granted to Nacogdoches for the endowment of a primary school. San Antonio was also provided with the proceeds arising from rental of certain public properties. Furthermore, the state school law was amended to make provision for the new conditions. In addition to the subjects required by the Constitution to be taught, there were now added geography and good manners. Schools were to be established in all towns by the *ayuntamientos*. One half of the income of all municipal funds up to \$2000 was to be set aside for education. The revenues arising from the renting of public domain were also to be used for this purpose. In each town a special *junta*, or school board, was to be organized consisting of the police chief, the parish curate, and one other citizen. This board was given complete charge over all affairs connected with the school. Truly, these provisions were far-reaching for the time. One must notice, however, that they failed to set aside the public domain as a future endowment for the schools.

A Federal survey. Owing to the discontent of the Texas people and the demand for the formation of a state separate from Coahuila,

the Federal Government of Mexico in the spring of 1834 commissioned Col. Juan Almonte to make a survey of the state along political, economical, and educational lines, and his report was of such importance that the facts bearing on education will be given in full.

In 1834 there were four municipalities (in the department of Bexar) with the following population respectively — San Antonio de Bexar, 2,400; Goliad, 700; Victoria, 300; San Patricio, 600, the latter an Irish settlement. Thus the Mexican population had declined from 6,400 to 4,000 between 1806 and 1834.

There is one school in the capital of the department, supported by the municipality, but apparently the funds are so reduced as to render the maintenance of even this useful establishment impossible. What is to be the fate of those unhappy Mexicans who dwell in the midst of savages without hope of civilization? Goliad, Victoria, and even San Patricio are similarly situated, and it is not difficult to foresee the consequences of such a state of things. In the whole department there is but one curate; the vicar died of cholera morbus in September last.

The capital of the department of the Brazos is San Felipe de Austin, and its principal towns are San Felipe, Brazoria, Matagorda, Gonzales, Harrisburg, Mina, and Velasco. The district containing these towns is that generally called "Austin's Colony." The following are the municipalities and towns of the department, with the population: San Felipe, 2,500; Columbia, 2,100; Matagorda, 1,400; Gonzales, 900; Mina, 1,100; total, 8,000.

In this department there is but one school near Brazoria erected by subscription, and containing from thirty to forty pupils. The wealthier colonists prefer sending their children to the United States, and those who have not the advantages of fortune care little for the education of their sons, provided they can wield the axe and cut down a tree or kill a deer with dexterity.

The department of Nacogdoches contains four municipalities and four towns. Nacogdoches municipality has a population of 3,500; that of San Augustine, 2,500; Liberty, 1,000; Johnsburg, 2,000; the town of Anahuac, 50; Bevil, 140; Teran, 10; Tanaha, 100; total population, 9,900, in which is included about 1,000 negroes.

There are three common schools in this department: one in Nacogdoches, very badly supported, another at San Augustine, and the third at Johnsburg.

Texas wants a good establishment for public instruction where the Spanish language may be taught, otherwise the language will be lost. Even at present English is almost the only language spoken in this section of the republic.¹

Almonte reported only five schools in Texas at that time, but we know from other sources of a number of Anglo-American schools of which he evidently did not learn.

Reasons for failure of Mexican education. It would not be just to condemn the Mexicans too severely for the backward condition of their schools in Texas. Many were the reasons for their failure. The poverty of the people was extreme, and the state treasury was in a condition of chronic bankruptcy. The towns suffered frequently from Indian raids and from pestilences which decimated the population. It was impossible to secure qualified teachers, and books and other apparatus were scarce. The Church was interested only in religious training. The officials, on the whole, were men of high intelligence and eager to promote the enlightenment of the children. But the people generally were not interested in learning. A contemporary described them thus:

For the most part they are small in stature and of feeble frames. They are mostly uneducated in letters, and without ambition to excel in any of the arts or accomplishments of civilized life. Most of them are expert horsemen, and skillful in throwing the lazo or noose by

¹ John J. Linn, *Reminiscences of Fifty Years in Texas*.

which to catch wild horses or cattle. In their habits they are idle and averse to exertion, choosing rather to endure cold and wet, than by industry to erect comfortable cabins. In many respects they seem to resemble the savages, from whom most of them are descendants.¹

II. SCHOOLS FOR ANGLO-AMERICANS

Colonization. The coming of the Anglo-Americans opened a new era in the civilization of the great Southwest. The first band of colonists, legally recognized, was brought into Texas by Stephen F. Austin in the year 1821. Under his charge about 500 families in all settled in the south-central portion of the state along the fertile valley of the Brazos River. Later another colony came in under the leadership of Green De Witt and located farther to the west. Other colonies followed and numerous settlers and squatters began to establish homes in various portions of this vast empire. The earliest settlers came by way of the Gulf and spread northward along the valleys of the Trinity and Brazos. Later the immigrants came overland, entering Texas near the town of San Augustine. Everywhere they reproduced, as far as they were able, the institutions and practices which they had known at home.

Many and varied were the reasons which induced these first settlers to brave the hardships of this new land. The pioneering spirit is not confined to any special class of people so far as culture is concerned. Among the pioneers there were those who valued culture and immediately sought teachers for their children. Others cared nothing for even the bare elements of knowledge, but selfishly accustomed their children to toil at as early an age as they could do so. Some built rude log cabins upon their farms and engaged wandering scholars to teach their own and their neighbors' children. Very frequently the parent or some other relative or friend whiled away a portion of the time by teaching the children to read and

¹ *A History of Texas, or the Emigrant's Guide to the New Republic by a Resident Emigrant.*

write. It cannot be said of Texans as of the pioneers of the Western States that the church and school were set up almost before their homes were complete.

Early teachers. We do not know what was the first English school taught in Texas. It is stated on good authority that Isaac M. Pennington taught a school in 1823; where, we have not learned, though it was probably somewhere in Austin's Colony. In 1825 James Garner, a lawyer in Arkansas, entered into a contract for his son, Thomas Jefferson Garner, with some citizens of Nacogdoches that he would teach an English school for 12 months. That this school was conducted for a time at least is reasonably clear. It is recorded that Henry Smith, later provisional governor, taught a school when he first arrived in Texas in 1827. In 1828 Josiah Wilbarger conducted a school at Matagorda. The next year E. R. Weightman and his wife taught in this town. Weightman was one of the official surveyors for Austin's Colony and a man of ability and training. His wife, formerly Mrs. Mary Helm, was a woman of culture. She published a small book about Texas entitled *Scraps of Early Texas History*.

How many schools were taught in Texas from 1829 to 1836 it is impossible to say with accuracy. The first year there were three at San Felipe de Austin and one or two in Matagorda. In 1830 two schools were opened in the Gulph Prairie Settlement, and D. B. Edward opened a seminary at Gonzales. After this time the number increased each year. Among these pioneer teachers were Gail Borden, the inventor of condensed milk, and Luke Lesasier, alcalde at San Felipe de Austin. In 1834-35 Miss Trask of Boston taught the first girls' school at Cole's Settlement, later called Independence. In 1836 Miss L. A. McHenry and her sister, Mrs. Ayers, conducted the first boarding school for girls.

In 1828 in the three schools in operation in San Felipe de Austin only 51 pupils out of an available scholastic population of 434 attended. In 1830 only 77 out of 959 attended. In 1831 there

were four schools with only 77 pupils out of 1197 children between 7 and 16 years of age. It is clear that the people of San Felipe either could not afford to send their children to school or did not value education very highly.

These schools were all private enterprises, or what is termed "old field" or "cornfield" schools, and were largely confined to elementary instruction. None of them excited special attention or attained other than local significance. The chief pioneer schoolmaster in early Texas was Thomas Jefferson Pilgrim, and his career must be treated with more detail.

Thomas J. Pilgrim. This pioneer teacher was born in Connecticut in 1807 of Puritan stock and early joined the Baptist Church. Intending to enter the ministry, he attended the Hamilton Literary and Theological Seminary, the forerunner of Colgate University. On account of poor health he came to Texas, reaching Matagorda Christmas Day, 1828. He proceeded immediately to San Felipe de Austin, where he established a day school and also a Sunday school, the first ever attempted in the Southwest. The Sunday school was soon abandoned for fear of difficulty with the Mexican Government, for all religious teaching other than that of the Roman Catholic Church was strictly forbidden. The day school succeeded better. Pilgrim won the respect and friendship of Stephen F. Austin, who undertook to establish an endowed academy in which he might be permanently located.

For some reason Pilgrim left San Felipe and located a school about ten miles from the Gulf in the vicinity of Columbia in one of the best communities in Texas. This was reputed to be the first school in Brazoria County. Here he moved about from one plantation to another and took many of his pupils with him, not unlike the early moving school of Massachusetts. In 1840 he located in Gonzales, where he taught, with the exception of two brief intervals, until his death in 1877.

The Pilgrim school was the best in Texas in those pioneer days.

In addition to the ordinary elementary branches, instruction was given in history, rhetoric, composition, natural philosophy, moral philosophy, and in Latin, Greek, and Spanish. Pilgrim was a gifted linguist and was one of the official interpreters in Spanish for Austin's Colony. He exercised a rigorous discipline over his pupils, and probably for this reason his pupils made remarkable progress in their studies. The children of the best citizens of Texas were put in his charge. A number of them became prominent in the affairs of the state. Among these was Judge A. P. McCormick, who claimed that Pilgrim was "the best teacher in Texas and one of the best men." Others were Guy M. Bryan, Stephen F. Austin, Jr., Joel W. Robinson, and J. H. Bell, all well known in Texas history.

He was "a Puritan of the strictest sect," exceptionally devout and religious. For many years he acted as superintendent of a union Sunday school which he founded at Gonzales.

Pilgrim did excellent service as a pioneer schoolmaster and exerted a broader influence than others of his day. While he may have believed in public education, he played no prominent part in promoting the sentiment for state control. His name rarely, if ever, appeared in connection with any of the efforts to foster a state school system.

ADDITIONAL READINGS

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- PILGRIM, THOS. J. — "First Sunday School in Texas." In Baker's *Texas Scrap Book.*
- EBY, FREDERICK — *Education in Texas; Source Materials.*

CHAPTER IV

FROM INDEPENDENCE TO THE MEXICAN WAR, 1836-1848

Mexico charged with neglecting education. The Declaration of Independence signed at Washington, Texas, on March 2, 1836, was the result of a deepening sense of wrongs suffered during many years. The subsequent defeat of Santa Anna at the Battle of San Jacinto on April 21 resulted in the immediate establishment of the Republic of Texas. The neglect of public education was one of the chief grievances charged against the Mexican Government. Several protests, as we have already seen, had been expressed prior to the famous Declaration. As early as 1832 the convention assembled at San Felipe de Austin complained of this negligence and urged that Congress set apart lands for the support of schools. Similarly a group of Mexican citizens in San Antonio de Bexar shortly after expressed strong resentment at the refusal of Congress to come to the assistance of the poverty-stricken municipalities and to respect their frequent appeals for the establishment of schools. Along with the other charges made in the Declaration, was this :

It (the Mexican Government) has failed to establish any public system of education, although possessed of almost boundless resources (the public domain) and although it is an axiom in political science, that, unless a people are educated and enlightened, it is idle to expect the continuance of civil liberty, or the capacity for self-government.

This indictment is one of the most striking ever offered in justification of revolt against a parent government. In view of the many decrees, laws, ordinances, and other provisions for educa-

tion originated by the Congress of Coahuila and Texas and by the state authorities, the charge appears drastically unjust, if not wholly groundless. Seemingly everything had been done for the encouragement of schools which was at all practicable under the circumstances. It is highly improbable that the setting aside of large tracts of vacant land belonging to the public domain would have materially hastened the establishment of schools. Subsequent events do not lead us to conclude that it would have changed the situation in the least. Only when we consider the high degree of culture, the progressive political philosophy, and the lofty ideals of individual and social life which animated the leaders of the Texas people, does the explanation of the charge become clear.

Culture and ideals of Texas leaders. Many of the American people of that day looked upon Texas as the refuge of the adventurer and the criminal class and regarded the Texans as naturally wild and uncultured. But such was far from the truth, particularly so far as the leaders were concerned. Rarely, if ever indeed, have the leaders of any pioneer republic counted so large a proportion of highly educated men. Writers of that time, such as Thomas J. Pilgrim, who was a discriminating observer, declared that the people of Texas were as cultured and no more vicious or criminal than people in other parts of the country. Another writer expressed astonishment at finding at the capital of Texas graduates of half the colleges of the United States. It has been claimed that no constitution for any government has ever been signed by so many well-educated men. Moreover, with but a few exceptions the chief representatives of the Republic were profoundly interested in the preservation of culture and in the establishment of some system of public education. Stephen F. Austin had been a student in Connecticut and at Transylvania University in Kentucky. Throughout his life in Texas he took the liveliest interest in the promotion of schools. Several elaborate

plans for the establishment of colleges and academies were drawn up by him, as well as a proposed constitution for the Republic of Mexico. Henry Smith, as we have seen, was for a time a school-teacher when he first arrived in Texas. Lesassier, one of the leading lawyers before the Revolution, had also been a school-teacher. Ira Ingram, a native of New Hampshire, speaker of the House in the First Congress and an associate of Austin, in an effort to establish schools in early times, willed his fortune valued at \$75,000 for the education of the children of the town of Matagorda. By far the best informed educational leader of the time was Andrew J. Yates, who belonged to a New York family distinguished for political and educational achievements. He was an M.A. graduate of Union College and not only had attained an honorable position as a college professor and author, but had amassed a fortune before coming to Texas about 1835. Here he enjoyed the friendship of Stephen F. Austin and was intrusted with important concerns for the Republic. As we shall see, he was the leader in the first movements to establish public education. But the strongest evidence of the brilliant interest of the leaders of Texas in all lines of culture is found in the organization of the Philosophical Society.

During the latter part of the year 1838, while the seat of government was still located at Houston, a brilliant group of cultured men formed the Philosophical Society of Texas in imitation of The American Philosophical Society formed in the year 1769 for the promotion of science. The objects of this new society were to foster the study of the various natural sciences and to bring about the diffusion of learning as widely as possible throughout the infant Republic. The society drew up a memorial petitioning Congress to establish a system of public education. Not merely is it noteworthy that such an association devoted to these lofty ends was formed thus early in the life of the pioneer civilization of the Southwest, but the personnel of the body was quite extraordinary. The

president of the organization was Mirabeau B. Lamar, who was shortly after elected President of the Republic. Among the five vice presidents, the first was Ashbel Smith, who had arrived in Texas the previous year. He was a native of Connecticut and a graduate of Yale University in both arts and medicine. He was a man of extraordinary intelligence and learning and was destined to play for almost half a century a vital part in the development of education in Texas. The third vice president was Anson Jones, a son of Massachusetts but educated in Philadelphia. He was a doctor of medicine and became the last President of the Republic at the time of annexation in 1845. The fifth vice president was David S. Kaufman, a native of Pennsylvania and a graduate of Princeton University. The corresponding secretary was David G. Burnet, another of the Presidents of the Republic of Texas. Burnet was a native of New Jersey, where he had received a good education.

Such an organization was grandly visionary for that early time, a noble effort of cultured men to preserve and advance science and learning amid the primitive circumstances of this new land. It flickered as an ideal for a brief moment and then went out like a flash in the night. But it revealed as nothing else could do the standard of culture and the aspirations for intellectual advancement which the leaders of Texas had set up for attainment in this new Republic.

The educational policies of the founders of Texas were copied from the views of the great American statesmen, Franklin, Washington, Adams, and Thomas Jefferson. Never had a body of men established a new government so purely democratic as the Republic of Texas. Never was there a society so free from fixed traditions and inherited prejudices. Their faith in the principles of individual liberty and self-government was profound. They were convinced that civil rights and liberty could be maintained only in a government where the intelligence of all the

citizens had been enlightened by the freest diffusion of knowledge. Universal suffrage necessitates universal enlightenment. They invested this proposition with the dignity and force which belong alone to purely axiomatic truths.

In the light of these principles the fathers of Texas contrasted the action of the Federal and state governments in the United States with the conduct of the Mexicans. In 1787 the Congress of the United States had set aside large areas of land in the Northwest Territory for the future establishment and maintenance of schools. The various states had also exerted themselves to organize their systems of public schools. The governments of Mexico, both Federal and state, on the other hand, had shown a lamentable indifference to the enlightenment of the masses and had taken only feeble steps to endow public education. Furthermore, the restrictions placed by the Constitution upon freedom of teaching and of publication were extremely galling to the Anglo-Americans, who were intensely jealous of their personal rights of speech, the freedom of the press, and religious liberty. It must also be remembered that the laws of the state of Coahuila and Texas required all public schools to be conducted in the Spanish language.

In the light of these facts the protests of the Texas people were justified. The Mexican Government had done all that was practicable under the circumstances, but they did not appreciate the idealistic conceptions of government, social life, scientific development, literature, and religion which motivated the Anglo-American colonists. It was a clash of two radically different types of civilization, and naturally one had to yield before the advance of the other.

The constitutional provision for education. The Constitution of the Republic of Texas, adopted March 17, 1836, made it "the duty of Congress, as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide by law a general system of education." Following so quickly

upon the ringing charge of the Declaration of Independence, and written practically by the same group of men, the extreme brevity and generality of this provision is highly disappointing. One would naturally have expected some more definite and positive declaration, rather than a temporizing promise of future action depending upon the accidents of circumstances. It appears that the apparently strong interest in public education was already being shifted into the background, a view which is borne out by subsequent events.

Delay in the establishment of a system of public education. The First Congress in 1837 was strangely silent on the subject of popular education. It contented itself with chartering several private institutions. Other concerns, really more fundamental to human welfare in such primitive social conditions, absorbed attention. The organization of the various departments of the civil government, the preparation of public defense against the hostility of the Indian tribes, the danger of reprisal on the part of the defeated Mexicans, and the financial and commercial instability of the new government were the problems demanding immediate action.

The cause of education was, however, not forgotten by all. Early in 1838 the following memorial was presented to Congress, signed by A. J. Yates, Anson Jones, David G. Burnet, and fifty-nine others.

To the Honorable the Senate
and House of Representa-
tives of the Republic of Texas
in Congress Assembled,

The Memorial of the Subscribers, Citizens of the Republic of Texas, Respectfully Sheweth, that Your Memorialists are deeply impressed with the necessity of providing some means for the establishment of a system of popular education, to be founded, protected and sustained by the patronage and fostering care of the Government.

A wise and settled policy in the present enlightened age has induced most of the Nations of Europe, including all those who now exist under a prosperous government, to direct their attention to this important subject, and the example of the happy country from which most of us have emigrated affords a brilliant illustration of the wisdom of such an establishment, especially when the hazardous experiment of self government by a free people is attempted.

Such is the present position of our Country. We have just emerged from the midst of a people who have vainly attempted without its aid to govern themselves — we have rescued a portion of their territory from civil and religious thralldom, after they had invited us to participate in the blessings of a Civil Liberty, which they proclaimed to the world to have established, but which we have discovered by actual experience, existed only in name and not in administration. We have left a country where Civil and religious Liberty were proclaimed established and administered and where its doctrines have been taught and instilled by the parental instruction of the Nation into the minds of its offspring, thus laying a sure foundation for its permanent Security.

An infant Nation like our own must be guided in her measures, in some degree, by the prevailing opinions of other nations, and no act of this Government could more deeply impress them with a favorable opinion of its wisdom and policy than an early attention to the subject of popular education, and the establishment of such a system as shall do honor to the Nation and guarantee to our posterity the blessings for which we have been and are contending.

Your Memorialists would therefore respectfully request Your honorable Body to take the subject into serious consideration, and establish by law such a system of popular education for the Citizens of this Country and their children, as your wisdom shall suggest making such reservations of the public domain for the support thereof, as shall increase the value of the remainder and insure its success, and Your Memorialists will ever pray.¹

¹ William Stuart Red, *The Texas Colonists and Religion*.

Several bills on education were introduced into the house. No action, however, resulted from these efforts. The indifference of Congress to this great subject was so conspicuous that it aroused adverse criticism on the part of the press and many of the people, and Congress was gravely reproached for its unexplained negligence. Several went so far as to suggest that the delay indicated a lack of good faith in the charge made in the Declaration of Independence against the Mexican Government.

President Mirabeau B. Lamar. — The election of Mirabeau B. Lamar to the presidency of the Republic in 1838 foreshadowed early and positive action. A native of Georgia, he had received a fair education and was profoundly interested in all forms of culture and enlightenment. He was widely renowned for his sympathy with popular education. So well known in fact was Lamar's desire for the establishment of a system of schools that he was made the recipient of numerous letters on the subject, some coming from distant points in the American Union. In this respect he was vastly superior to his predecessor in office, Sam Houston, whose enthusiasm for the establishment of schools was not at all pronounced at this time. Houston never mentioned the subject of education in his early messages. On the other hand, in his first message to Congress in December, 1838, Lamar made an impassioned plea for immediate and favorable action. His words are celebrated as an example of brilliant and oratorical style. Since this message had such a vital effect upon the first legislation as well as all later thought on public education in Texas, it deserves to be quoted:

If we desire to establish a Republican Government upon a broad and permanent basis, it will become our duty to adopt a comprehensive and well-regulated system of mental and moral culture. Education is a subject in which every citizen, and especially every parent, feels a deep and lively concern. It is one in which no jarring interests are involved, and no acrimonious political feelings excited; for its

benefits are so universal that all parties can cordially unite in advancing it. It is admitted by all, that cultivated mind is the guardian genius of Democracy, and while guided and controlled by virtue, is the noblest attribute of man. It is the only dictator that freemen acknowledge and the only security that freemen desire.

After pointing out the more practical benefits of education, he concludes :

Let me therefore urge it upon you, gentlemen, not to postpone this matter too long. The present is a propitious moment to lay the foundation of a great moral, and intellectual edifice, which will in after ages be hailed as the chief ornament and blessing of Texas. A suitable appropriation of lands to the purpose of general education can be made at this time without inconvenience to the Government or the people ; but defer it until the public domain shall have passed from our hands, and the uneducated youths of Texas will constitute the living monuments of our neglect and remissness. To commence a liberal system of education a few years hence may be attended with many difficulties. The imposition of taxes will be necessary. Sectional jealousies will spring up ; and the whole plan may be defeated in the conflict of selfishness ; or be suffered to languish under feeble and insufficient support ; a liberal endowment which will be adequate to the general diffusion of a good rudimental education in every district of the Republic and to the establishment of a university where the highest branches of science may be taught, can now be effected without the expenditure of a single dollar. Postpone it a few years, and millions will be necessary to accomplish the great design.

Report of the committee on education. Following the message of President Lamar, the Committee on Education presented a lengthy report to Congress in January, 1839, and introduced a bill which laid the foundation for the present endowment of public education in Texas. The body of this celebrated report must be credited to a Presbyterian minister, the Reverend W. Y. Allen, a graduate of Princeton University, who wrote it in compliance

with the dying request of the first chairman of the committee. The report is a strong presentation of the value of education. After calling attention to the inexcusable neglect of the former Congress, it proceeds to explain in lofty expression the moral, civic, and practical benefits which come from training. In advance of the age it discusses the need for well-qualified teachers and the means of training them. The report closes with a statement of plans and a bill looking to the promotion of the cause of education in Texas.

The Bills of 1839 and 1840. The bill proposed by the Committee on Education became a law, January 26, 1839. It provided that three leagues (13,284 acres) of land should be surveyed and set apart in each county "for the purpose of establishing a primary school or academy." At the same time fifty leagues were provided for the endowment of "two colleges or universities." For the immediate organization of the means of public instruction no provision whatever was made, and the law fell far short of expectations. Criticism at once arose from the more ardent friends of public education. About six weeks after the passage of the bill an elaborate and yet sensible plan of organization for a complete system of schools was presented to President Lamar by Andrew J. Yates. In all probability as a result of his suggestions, together with a powerful appeal from President Lamar in which he recommended the organization of a Bureau of Education for the control of school lands and the establishment of a national system of education, a new law was passed in February, 1840. By this new law a fourth league of land was authorized to be set apart for each county. The entire four leagues were to be surveyed as early as convenient. The chief justice and his associates in each county were appointed to act as a board of school commissioners. They were empowered to divide the counties into school districts, to examine candidates for teachers' certificates, and to inspect and supervise the schools. These practical provisions were designed to initiate a system of public education.

According to the educational conceptions of the time this endowment was fairly generous. Each county was to receive 17,712 acres. The three leagues could only be leased; the fourth could be sold by the county school commissioners and the proceeds applied "to the purchase of the necessary scientific endowments, one half for the use and benefit of an academic school of each county, and the remainder distributed equally among the various common school districts which may be laid off." In these provisions Texas legislation was following the precedents established by other states. As early as 1783 Georgia authorized the Governor to set aside "one thousand acres of vacant land for erecting free schools" in each county. In 1821 \$250,000 was set apart to be divided between certain academies and elementary schools. By the Federal Law of 1787 section 16 was granted to each township in the various states which in the future were to be carved out of the Northwest Territory. Later similar endowments were granted for other portions of the country. A comparison of the lands which have been donated to the counties of Texas under these laws with those given by the Federal Government to other states up to this time will show that the statesmen of Texas were making generous provision for a school system.

STATES RECEIVING THE SIXTEENTH SECTION

STATES	DATE OF GRANT	ACRES
Ohio	1803	710,610
Alabama	1803	901,725
Mississippi	1803	838,329
Louisiana	1806	798,085
Indiana	1816	601,049
Illinois	1818	985,141
Missouri	1820	1,162,137
Arkansas	1836	928,057
Michigan	1836	1,003,573
Texas	1839-40	4,209,413

The intent of these laws. These Acts of 1839 and 1840 are easily susceptible of misconstruction. It is natural that, in more recent decades, they should have been surrounded with a halo of glory. Succeeding generations have read back into their enactment motives and plans which were wholly foreign to the thought of their authors. Just what did President Lamar and the Congressmen of the Republic have in view when they set aside these tracts of land for the promotion of schools? What did they intend by "the establishment of a general system of education"? Study of these enactments reveals that they were vague and even ambiguous in their provisions. The meager literature on the subject of educational organization in Texas at this time does not indicate any formulated views generally accepted on the question of a state-supported and controlled system of schools. It is, therefore, quite erroneous to interpret these laws in terms of the highly developed and technical conceptions of a public school system such as we have to-day.

There is no evidence that any of these men had in view a state-endowed, state-supported, and likewise state-controlled system for the training of the young. There is no suggestion that they were willing to go so far as the New England colonists in 1647 when they made the establishment of schools compulsory upon the local communities. There is no hint that the state can justly impose taxation upon all the property of the state for the education of all the children. By a "system" they understood that the state, from out of its vast unsettled domain, should gratuitously make provision for the establishment and equipment of schools. The maintenance and control of schools devolved wholly upon the parents who sent their children. It must be noted that the lands given for the schools were handed over unconditionally to the counties. Congress reserved no supervisory power, and it did not set up any machinery for the purpose of directing the schools. In the case of indigent children the state might pay their

tuition, but that was the limit of its direct participation in educational affairs. At this time we do not find the word "free" used with regard to the schools in Texas. General gratuitous instruction furnished by the state for all children was not thought of. To control the training of their children was one of the inalienable rights of a free people. "Free schools" and compulsory attendance as we have them to-day, controlled in every particular by the government, appeared an intolerable tyranny. The blessings of culture were so attractive as well as beneficial that the leading men of that day believed all parents would unquestionably seek them voluntarily for their offspring. The state could wisely afford to assist parents by providing facilities for them to educate their children in their own way, but need go no further.

It is noteworthy that these laws of 1839-1840 in a large measure recognized that the state could assist all grades of instruction, elementary, secondary, and higher. Primary schools were considered necessary for offering the elements of learning to the masses. Academies were designed to furnish a supply of teachers for the primary schools and to prepare students for higher education. Two universities were projected to foster the highest learning in languages, literature, science, and philosophy. In this graded series we see reflected the influence of the French conception of a complete state system, but it was altered by the experiences of the older states.

Failure of these plans for establishing schools. The efforts to bring about the establishment of schools by means of these land grants proved a failure. Land was so abundant and consequently so ridiculously cheap that no funds could be immediately secured either from sale or lease. There was, moreover, a widely spread feeling that these school lands should be held intact until the country was more thickly settled, when they would bring high prices and a large endowment could be realized. It must also be acknowledged that there was great popular indifference to the

establishment of county schools. Twenty months after the enactment of the Law of 1839 granting each county three leagues, not a single survey had been made. As late as the year 1855, only 41 counties had completed their surveys; 20 had made partial surveys; and 38 had made no effort whatever. There is no evidence that any county in early times used its land for the establishment of schools. Indeed, not until recent years have the counties generally received any benefit from these grants.

The wisdom of appropriating four leagues of land to the several counties and of placing independent jurisdiction over them in the hands of the county civil authorities has been frequently called in question. There is no doubt that the authors of these bills desired the early establishment of schools in each county. But as President Lamar and Andrew J. Yates at that time, and Governor Pease and others at a later time, pointed out, vastly greater progress would have been made if the state had retained control of these lands and organized the schools, instead of relying on the county officials to take the initiative. The county officers were not interested in the promotion of culture, and as a consequence complete inaction resulted.

Social changes influence educational policies. A powerful cause for the neglect of these early plans for county schools lay in the fact that the people generally believed in private and religious training. A rapid increase in immigration followed the Revolution of 1836. The great majority of the new settlers came from the old South. They brought with them their aristocratic ideals of life, class distinctions, and the traditional practices of education of the states from which they came. Slavery was introduced, and Texas took on the plantation form of social and industrial life. It became a cotton-growing state of large individual plantations worked by slaves. The tide of immigration spread thinly over the vast areas of fertile soil, producing a widely scattered rural civilization. But while the Southern element

predominated, there were accessions to the population from Northern states as well. These people were not accustomed to cotton farming but were interested in commercial and professional pursuits. Large colonies of Germans were likewise formed in the central part of south Texas. Thus the population became ever more heterogeneous, and the diversity of culture and educational conceptions increased. This lack of common ideals on educational matters, as we shall see later, is an important factor in explaining the strange and fitful course of school affairs in this state.

Under these conditions the people of Texas followed the educational practices with which they were most familiar. People of moderate means taught their children at home or put them into the community school. The wealthy employed tutors or sent their children back to the states. The great majority left their children to pick up the elements of learning as best they could.

Home instruction. We are so accustomed to associate education with formal schooling that we overlook the large amount of instruction imparted in the family in the pioneer period. The fact that illiteracy in 1850 was only 12.2 per cent of the population of white men over twenty years of age, and only 20.2 of the women of the same class, is evidence of considerable family instruction. It was common for the father or mother or interested kinsman to while away some of the weary hours in teaching the young to read and write. Numerous reminiscences bear testimony to this form of teaching.

The "old field" schools. Numerous itinerant teachers of adventurous disposition, and other individuals temporarily out of employment, opened schools in the growing communities. Christian ministers who looked upon the school as an effective denominational instrument were among the chief leaders in the field. As best they could, they enlisted the active sympathy of influential citizens of the community in their efforts to form a school. Every small town appreciated the advantages of a school, and aspired

to become famed as the "Athens of Texas." The people enthusiastically welcomed all these budding enterprises because they gave promise of attracting new families and, at the same time, made it possible to educate their children in the home town. The number of these community schools and of the "old field" or "cornfield" schools no one knows.

Institutions of higher rank. Numerous efforts were made to establish institutions of a more pretentious rank. Up to 1848 charters were issued by the legislature to eight universities, seven colleges, ten academies, and four institutes. A number of academies, institutes, and seminaries did not seek such legal sanction.

One of the first acts of the First Congress of the Republic in 1837 was to issue charters to the University of San Augustine, Washington College, and Independence Academy, which was projected for the education of girls. During the forties a number of institutions arose and attained some degree of prominence. Among the most important of the number were Rutgersville College and Wesleyan College, promoted by Methodist influences; the University of San Augustine, Nacogdoches University, Marshall University, sponsored by their respective communities; McKenzie Institute, Guadalupe Academy, Independence Academy, Baylor University, and Matagorda Academy, all of them being private ventures except Baylor, which was established by the Baptist Association. The more prominent of these may be described in more detail in order to understand the general character and work of the schools of this period.

Rutgersville College. This has the honor of being the first college to materialize in Texas, and at the same time it was the earliest denominational enterprise. In 1837, Dr. Martin Ruter, President of Berea College in Kentucky, came into the young Republic as an emissary of the Methodist General Conference of the United States. After traveling somewhat widely he reached the conclusion that the best means of missionizing Texas was

through the establishment of a Christian school. On his return journey he was stricken with fever and died on Texas soil. His visit made a profound impression on his coreligionists, who took steps to realize his plans for a Christian college. This institution was called Rutersville College and was located in a place also named in honor of Dr. Ruter, in Fayette County near the town of La Grange. The Preparatory and the Female Departments were opened by the Reverend Chauncey Richardson and his wife in January, 1840. The next month the college was chartered by the Congress of the Republic and endowed with four leagues, or 17,712 acres, of land. The curious views of the time are reflected in the provisions of the charter. The amount of property the corporation could possess was strictly limited to twenty-five thousand dollars. The life of the charter was confined to "ten years and no longer." Such restrictions were usually stated in the charters of the denominational and private institutions, evidently indicating a fear that they might become too wealthy and influential for the good of the state.

Rutersville College was organized with a preparatory department, a female department, and the collegiate departments for young men of college grade. The collegiate departments consisted of moral science and belles-lettres, mathematics, ancient languages and literature, modern languages, and natural science. Two degrees were offered, the Bachelor of Arts, for the completion of the entire classical curriculum, and the Bachelor of Science and English Literature for other courses.

The collegiate departments went into operation in 1841, buildings were erected, and the beginning was made on an endowment. It was the first institution in Texas to publish a catalogue. In January, 1841, there were sixty pupils enrolled, and the number increased to 100 by the end of the year. By 1850 this institution had imparted the benefits of education to more than eight hundred of the youth of Texas. From this time, however, it began to fail,

and was finally merged, in 1856, into the Texas Monument and Military Institute located at Bastrop. The decline was due to its isolated location, to changes in management, but more particularly to the clash of local and denominational authority.

The University of San Augustine. This was the first institution to receive a charter from the First Congress of the Republic, and, at the same time, it was granted four leagues of land from the public domain. San Augustine formed the eastern gateway into the great Southwest. Its population increased rapidly, and it early became a progressive and important town. It proudly aspired to become the "Athens of Texas" as well as a commercial center. There was a delay of some years in the movement to begin the institution, until popular demand finally brought about action. A league of land was exchanged for a two-story frame building. On September 5, 1842, the school was opened by the Reverend Marcus A. Montrose, who worked with indefatigable energy to make the venture a success. He evidently employed a form of mutual instruction, himself instructing the older students, who in turn taught the younger under his direction. Montrose was thus enabled to limit expenses, which was very essential, as there was no source of revenue except the fees of the students.

The organization consisted of a grammar school for children under twelve years of age, a female department, and the college. The college was divided into the introductory, the junior, and the senior year. There were two sessions annually, the first beginning in February and running to July; the second beginning in September and ending in January. By means of aggressive advertising and good instruction and discipline the institution rapidly became the best known and most widely patronized in the state for several years. In one respect the school marked a forward step; it endeavored to meet the prevailing criticism in that day that an undue proportion of the time was spent on acquiring languages to the neglect of the sciences. Laboratory work in science was required.

It was the first institution in the state to install a chemical laboratory and to form a mineralogical cabinet. Among the subjects taught were mathematics, Latin, Greek, history, astronomy, navigation, rhetoric, logic, political economy, natural philosophy, chemistry, botany, and geology. French was advertised as the medium of conversation. A rather ambitious curriculum when we consider the preparation of the students and the faculty limited to one lone professor!

After several years of strenuous effort Montrose was ousted from the presidency of the university. His manner of advertising, which was bombastic and egotistical, aroused the censure of Oran M. Roberts, a young lawyer and farmer, who had recently settled near San Augustine. Roberts was a graduate of the University of Alabama and had an abiding interest in all matters of education. An acrimonious controversy arose between the two men. As a result Montrose withdrew, and Roberts was elected president of the board of trustees in 1845. This position of leadership he retained for a number of years, and at the same time he offered a course in law at the university. Roberts, who thus early comes upon the stage, was destined a full generation later to play the most constructive rôle which any man has played in the educational progress of the state.

Montrose was succeeded in the presidency by the Reverend James Russell, a Scotch Presbyterian and like Montrose a graduate of the University of Edinburgh. Russell was a man of encyclopedic scholarship and undertook to teach everything he knew. However, the development of the institution was shortly arrested by a melancholy event which brought disrepute upon all educational efforts in that section of the state. While not originally a denominational enterprise, the university was largely under Presbyterian influence. Latent sectarian feeling suddenly broke out in a violent form due to a doctrinal controversy, and as a consequence the Methodist people promoted a new enterprise which they named

Wesleyan College. The rivalry between the two schools soon became exceedingly bitter. One day President Russell of the University of San Augustine was assassinated; and though his assailant was never brought to trial, the murder was attributed to a feud growing from the antagonism of the rival institution. This woeful circumstance turned many against both institutions. They kept up bravely for a time with something of the old zeal. Wesleyan had as high as 150 students, and the university fully as many. But soon their patronage dwindled, and their sessions became intermittent. In 1847 friends sought to revive the educational interests of the town by uniting the two schools into the University of Eastern Texas. A new charter was obtained the following year, and an effort was made to give the consolidated concern the status of a state institution. It was, however, under an independent board of local men. The new university took over all the property of the two institutions, including two three-story buildings, libraries, laboratories, and other equipment. The effort was, however, largely abortive, and the school gradually faded from the educational landscape of Texas and was superseded by the San Augustine Masonic Institute. The entire circumstances stand out as the most conspicuous case of the evil results wrought by sectarian bigotry and rivalry in the field of education. Had the various denominations put away their early jealousy and refused to duplicate institutions of learning in the same town, the cause of education in Texas would have been much more advanced. The apparent success of one church incited another to locate a school in the same town when there was not sufficient patronage to support the one efficiently. The San Augustine tragedy produced a profound effect upon the people of Texas, causing them to eliminate sectarianism in all their schools, whether under denominational control or not, and to look with greater favor upon public education.

Other institutions. Several other institutions attained local celebrity during this period of Texas history. Among these was

the University of Nacogdoches, which was chartered and opened in 1845 and which made an effort to profit by the declining prestige of the two institutions at San Augustine. Baylor University was chartered during the last days of the Republic in 1845 and was opened for operation early in the following year. It did not attain much fame before the following decade and will be treated in more detail later. Marshall University, at Marshall, attained more rapid success. It received a charter in 1842 and was one of the six schools, each of which was granted four leagues of land by Congress for buildings and equipment. Another promising institution which arose at this time was Galveston University. It was opened in 1840 and received a charter the following year. A local board controlled the institution. Beginning with five students, the enrollment increased quite rapidly to over one hundred. The institution ran for a number of years but does not appear to have attained more than a local patronage. Matagorda Academy, one of the best academies in the state, was begun in 1840 by the Reverend C. S. Ives and his wife, who came to Texas as missionaries of the Episcopal Church.

Prominent educators of the period. The chief schoolmen of the period were naturally of the pioneer type working along individual lines. Professional interest and organization did not begin to appear until shortly after annexation. Among the most successful of these early teachers was Thomas J. Pilgrim, whose work we have already studied. At this time he was teaching at Gonzales. His work here was probably elementary, and we do not hear much of his school. Montrose, Chauncey Richardson, and McKenzie were the most noted educators during the forties.

Marcus A. Montrose. Of the life and work of this man we know but little. A refugee from Canada, he came first upon the scene in the spring or summer of 1842. He stopped by chance at the hotel at San Augustine overnight, and while looking over the town in the morning he noticed a large frame structure. Learning

on inquiry that this was the university and that the trustees were seeking a president, he informed them that he was a teacher, an M. A. graduate of the University of Edinburgh, and desired the position. Mr. Montrose was about thirty years of age and possessed a striking personality and the habits of a scholar. The board offered him the appointment and immediately he began to work with untiring zeal and to advertise in a sensational way. In spite of his eccentricities and egotistical manner his efforts met with a large degree of success. For several years the University of San Augustine was the most noted in the state. His fame as a teacher and scholar spread everywhere. His students held him in extraordinary reverence. As we have seen, a controversy arose between him and Oran M. Roberts which resulted in his withdrawal from the university. He was next located at the University of Nacogdoches for one term and later at Fanthorp, Anderson, and Jasper. His success at these places was not notable. Some years later he conducted for a time the La Grange Female Institute, a Presbyterian school. Miss Melinda Rankin, who wrote a lengthy account of cultural conditions in Texas in 1850, referred to him as "a teacher who has done much for the cause of education in Texas." He advocated in the press of the state a national system of education similar to the parish schools of Scotland, but the public was opposed to such a mixed school system.

Chauncey Richardson. Mr. Richardson was born in Vermont in 1802. He attended Wesleyan College in Connecticut and is another of the many teachers from New England who so greatly influenced the progress of culture in this Southwestern state. He was a Methodist minister, but on account of poor health he chose to teach. First, he took charge of a college for girls at Tusculumbia, Alabama, but in 1840 he came to Texas as the first president of Rutgersville College. In 1846 he was elected president of the Texas Literary Institute, the earliest organization of educators in the state. After laboring six years as the president of Rutgers-

ville, he retired and began the publication of the *Wesleyan Banner*, a religious paper. Some of Richardson's addresses were published by request and indicate that he was a man of sound and broad scholarship as well as good judgment. Among other things he urged the establishment of departments in all the colleges in the state for the training of teachers.

The first educational association. A greater feeling of security for life and property and a strong desire for progress followed upon the annexation of Texas to the United States in 1845. A new zeal for education was immediately manifested. A number of leaders sent out a call for a convention of teachers and others interested in education to meet in Houston. The object of the meeting was "to consult as to the best means of obtaining standard and uniform textbooks, the establishment of a college for teachers, and the devising of a systematic mode of instruction." Among those signing this call were C. S. Ives, Chauncey Richardson, C. Gillett, and Judge R. E. B. Baylor. The meeting was held on January 9, 1846, and was termed the "Convention of the Friends of Education." It was noteworthy as the first gathering of the kind in the history of the state. The principal address of the session was delivered by the Reverend Chauncey Richardson. In excellent language he set forth the moral and religious aspects of education, the scope of a liberal training, and the need of a public system for the equipment of teachers. The meeting proved quite successful, and some practical results were attained. A uniform series of texts was recommended, a board appointed to examine and recommend teachers, a memorial was adopted to be brought before the legislature, and a committee was authorized to report at a future meeting upon various other important subjects. An organization was formed called the Texas Literary Institute. Richardson was elected president; Ashbel Smith, who was usually found at all gatherings concerning the progress of education, was vice president; and the Reverend William Tryon,

a native of New York City, but a graduate of Mercer University, Georgia, and the originator of Baylor University, was the treasurer.

Education strongly religious. During these simpler days education and religion were inseparably associated. Usually the same building served as both church and school, for the church was usually the only community building in the neighborhood. Many of the early teachers of the youth were Christian ministers, for by this means they added to their meager livelihood. The spirit of the missionary was admirably combined with the love of knowledge. These men regarded the school as the best means for the evangelization of the youth. All the denominations began to foster academies and colleges as well as Sunday schools. Not a little of the instruction in reading during this time was imparted in the Sunday schools.

Extra-school cultural agencies. To-day there are many agencies outside the schools which transmit the common knowledge of our age. Chief among these are libraries, newspapers, and occasions for public speaking. Of libraries we hear little at this early date. Books were extremely scarce, and only a few private libraries had as yet been brought into the state, though some of these were remarkable for their excellence.

During the years from 1830 to 1848 many newspapers were started and published for a shorter or longer time. Of these only six attained any large measure of popularity and continued publication into the next decade. These were *The Telegraph and Texas Register* and *The Morning Star*, both published at Houston; *The Galveston News* and *The Civilian*, at Galveston; *The Red Lander*, at San Augustine, and *The Standard*, at Clarksville. The existence of newspapers was much like the existence of schools; the great majority were ephemeral ventures, and only a few enjoyed any longer period of prosperity. Only a small proportion of the people were habitual readers. On this point Mr. Olmsted, a traveler from New York State, records his careful observation:

“In the whole journey through eastern Texas we did not see one of the inhabitants look into a newspaper or a book, although we spent days in houses where men were lounging about the fire without occupation.”

But we are assured by another writer that “the darkest day for books and newspapers was the brightest for oratory.” The interest in the spoken word had always possessed a powerful charm for the Southern people, who greatly admired oratorical displays. The old settlers would travel many miles to hear a favorite political speaker or a noted preacher.

School equipment. The schoolhouses, textbooks, and other equipment of the modern school were either wholly lacking or were of the most primitive character. The buildings were invariably the rough log cabin with neither windows nor door. Chimneys too were uncommon for some years, and dirt floors were the usual thing. The seats were rough boards, and desks were wholly unknown. For textbooks the pupils brought whatever books the family happened to possess in its scanty store. In arithmetic and reading the variety of different works used in the same school was humorously extensive. Among the books most frequently found were Webster's *Elementary Spelling Book* (Blueback), *Robinson Crusoe*, *Æsop's Fables*, *Plutarch's Lives*, *Shakespeare's Plays*, *Scott's Life of Napoleon*, *Goldsmith's History of Greece*, *Weems' Life of Washington*, *Blair's Rhetoric*, and Peter Parley's *Universal History*.

There was no uniformity practiced by the various teachers, who represented a very wide diversity of tradition, extending from New England to Georgia, not to mention representatives from several foreign lands. There was no class work, and grading was unknown except in the academies and colleges. Instruction was individual. Each teacher taught what he wished and carried the pupils as far as he could. No uniformity was followed in regard to the time of the year for opening and closing the schools. Each teacher

taught as many months as he could induce a sufficient number of pupils to attend. The children in the country worked in the fields or on the ranch during the busy seasons and attended school when work was slack; generally this was during the winter months and in the summer when the crops were laid by. Sometimes by agreement with the teacher, an older child would attend during the months when there was little work, and then his place in the school would be taken by a younger child; at times a girl would take the place of a boy, the parent paying only one tuition fee for the two children.

The new state constitution. Annexation to the United States necessitated the rewriting of the Texas constitution in 1845. As the fundamental law and guide the provisions and phraseology of the constitution have always carried extraordinary significance and influence in shaping legislation. The article on education in this new constitution was more elaborate than the simple provision in the constitution of the Republic. A tide of reform had been sweeping over the various states of the Union, and many of them had rewritten their constitutions and their school laws. The first section of the Texas Constitution of 1845 imposed upon the legislature the duty of making "suitable provision for the support and maintenance of public schools." The second section which follows immediately upon this declaration requires that the legislature "shall, as early as practicable, establish free schools throughout the state and shall furnish means for their support by taxation of property." Moreover a very positive step was taken by providing that "it shall be the duty of the legislature to set apart not less than one tenth of the annual revenue of the State, derivable from taxation, as a perpetual fund; which shall be appropriated to the support of the free public schools." In accordance with this last provision the legislature in 1848 passed the law setting aside one tenth of the annual revenue, and this amount was allowed to accumulate in the state treasury.

Explanation of the constitution. It has been seen that the constitution required the legislature to make provision for two types of schools, "public" and "free." For the first no special funds are fixed; for the second, one tenth of the annual revenue is positively reserved. This curious difference calls for explanation, more especially as the significance of the two sections became a matter of controversy a few years later. This peculiar difference is due to the fact that this article of the constitution was a compromise agreed upon by the various sociological groups which held quite divergent opinions as to education.

Uniformity of views in regard to the aims and organization of education did not exist at this time. Homogeneity of racial tradition and political ideals was totally lacking, and, consequently, there could be no unanimity in regard to the training of children. The people of Texas had but recently emigrated from the various sections of the American Union, and they naturally typified the diverse ideals, forms of culture, and training which had flourished among their own people from colonial days. As the ideals and culture of the Puritan and Cavalier clashed in England, so after the lapse of time they were again to clash on the vast plains of the Southwest. But in addition to these were also to be found the descendants of other races with their individual cultural aims and practices. Four different conceptions of educational organization were proposed to control legislation at this time in Texas:

1. Education, a parental function. By far the largest body of Texas people looked upon education as a purely private concern to be left to the arbitrary decision of the parent. To train their offspring to their own ideals and habits of life is the primary duty of parents; a duty imposed at once by divine command and by the order of nature. Education is no business of the state. For the state to interfere in this solemn relationship is a rank impertinence and subversive of the inherent rights of parenthood. They looked upon public taxation to educate the children of others as

an act of confiscation and robbery under the guise of law. Every parent was responsible for the education of his own children.

2. Church interest in education. Allied by powerful traditions with the first class were those who looked upon the training of the young as a deep religious concern. They regarded the training in Christian truth and character as the true and only culture. They promoted schools to train an educated ministry. But they established parish or denominational schools and academies as a means of evangelizing the people and of forming habits of Christian morals. As the state profited by the character training in their institutions, they believed their work should receive the sanction and support of the state. Persistent efforts were made to secure public lands and funds for denominational or Christian schools. Six institutions had been granted four leagues of land each, and one received one league, during the days of the Republic. There was no essential antagonism between those who adhered to this view of education and those who believed in family responsibility. Parents generally were willing to send their children to the religious schools, especially those of their own denomination.

3. The free state school policy. Those who favored free public schools supported by the state for all children alike were as yet few in number in Texas. This policy had won out in the New England States and in some of the North Central States settled by people from New England. Among the leading men in Texas at this time were many who had been born and educated in the North and were familiar with the progress of public education in that section. In the Constitutional Convention of 1845 were a number of men who had come from the North. The idea of a complete state school system was familiar to them, and they desired to see the fullest provision for schools.

4. Education, a charity. Among the other groups were many who believed that it was necessary to provide for the training of the indigent and the orphan. During the sixteenth century

poverty was widespread in England. It came to be considered a legitimate function of the government to supply funds from the public treasury for the relief of the unfortunate. From this sprang the poor rates, or the tax imposed upon property to take care of paupers. It was an easy step during the early part of the nineteenth century to add to this tax the amount necessary for the tuition of indigent and orphan children in the schools. This system of pauper schools was in operation in Pennsylvania and in most of the Southern states in one form or another. It appealed strongly to many of the Texas people who had a deep sympathy for the dependent and orphaned children of those heroic men who had made the supreme sacrifice to win liberty for the Republic. They shared with the first groups the positive conviction that education is not primarily the duty of the state, but for the sake of public safety they believed that the state ought to provide for the training of indigent and orphaned children.

Public schools and free schools. The first section of the new constitution required the establishment of "public schools." This indicated the adoption of a general policy of assisting the people in their private and community enterprises. It did not propose free tuition for all children or the principle of general taxation for popular education or a system of state-owned and supported schools. On the contrary the advocates of private and church schools fully expected the state to assist in promoting their particular enterprises.

The second section provided for "free schools" by taxation on property. The private and church school advocates favored this policy as a wise charity for the education of the orphaned and indigent. They did not expect free schools to be organized for this class of children, but merely that their tuition would be paid by the state and that they would attend the existing institutions. On the other hand, the advocates of free schools for all children accepted the language of this section which apparently supported their policy.

This constitutional article was accordingly an artful compromise of divergent policies and educational traditions. In the half century during which Texas was struggling to work out a system of public education, these antagonistic views fought bitterly for control. This is the explanation of the vacillating course of education in this state, of its frequent revolutions and retarded progress.

The principle of taxation for education. The adoption of the principle of general taxation for paying the tuition of even the indigent children marks a new era in educational support in Texas. It shows that the people recognized the futility of attempting to provide public schools merely by setting aside large tracts of land for that purpose. Neither the grants of land for the county schools nor yet the grants to the particular institutions had brought about the desired result. Land was too abundant and could not be converted into currency for the maintenance of schools.

The acceptance of the principle of general taxation, or the setting aside of part of the annual revenues of the state, was a radical step, the entering wedge, so to speak. The people of Texas from this time raised no objection to this policy. But they were bitterly opposed to the plan of local taxation for schools. Thus we see that the term "free schools" and the principle of taxation for schools had come into the constitution of the state, but neither of these implied what it does to-day.

Municipal control of schools. During the Mexican régime all educational arrangements were left to municipal control; rural education not only was not contemplated, the very need for it did not exist. No sooner did the Congress of the Republic convene than the struggling towns sought to renew the same privilege in the management of their school affairs. In December, 1837, San Antonio, Victoria, and Gonzales were permitted to incorporate. The charter made it "the special duty of the council to promote by every equitable means the establishment of common schools,

male and female, within the limits of the corporation, in which the English language shall be taught, and children of the poor class of citizens invited and received gratis." City property could be used for this purpose. Similar privileges were conferred upon Austin in 1839. In accordance with the San Antonio charter a committee of the council in 1844 urged the establishment of a school, but this was not done until several years later. In 1846 Galveston obtained the privilege of voting taxes for the establishment and maintenance of "public free schools." In accordance with this law, a public school was opened with great ceremony in 1847 with an efficient corps of teachers from New Orleans. The attendance was large, but opposition to the tax increased, and after a year or two the system was abandoned. The income from the tax was not sufficient to maintain the school. Similarly the charter of Corpus Christi empowered the mayor and aldermen to act as superintendent and administrators of schools and to use public funds for their establishment and support. Of these communities only Galveston ever exercised the rights conferred upon them. These provisions are, however, of the greatest importance, as they indicate that the towns had thus early secured the right to control their own educational affairs and to vote local taxation and had opened up a cleft between themselves and the rural districts which was destined to widen as the years went by.

ADDITIONAL READING

EBY, FREDERICK — *Education in Texas; Source Materials.*

CHAPTER V

FROM THE MEXICAN WAR TO THE CIVIL WAR, 1848-1861

Improved social conditions and new problems. The middle of the century found Texas in flourishing circumstances. The more harassing conditions and hardships of pioneer days had begun to pass away. Linked with a large sisterhood of states in a powerful union, Texas could safely forget the dangers which had confronted the weak Republic. As a state, she could confidently expect the fullest protection, security, and prosperity. The war, and the subsequent settlement with Mexico in 1848, removed the greatest source of apprehension. Furthermore, the Indian raids had likewise ceased to be a constant and irritating menace to the industry of the settlers in the older portion of the state. The boundary dispute with the Federal Government, which for a time threatened to arouse angry revolt, was settled amicably and advantageously for Texas. By the terms of settlement, the state received an indemnity of \$10,000,000, half of which was kept in the Federal Treasury to pay claims against Texas and the other half was paid to the State Treasury in the form of United States five per cent bonds. This sum put an end to the grave financial embarrassment which had depressed Texas for many years. It did much more. After all pressing obligations had been cleared away, a substantial residue still remained to the credit of the treasury in United States Indemnity Bonds. A feeling of optimism pervaded the people and brought forth eager plans for internal improvements.

The new conditions of security for life and property removed the chief objection to immigration. Each year now witnessed thousands of settlers attracted to the extensive and fertile plains

of the Lone Star State. The State Census of 1847 reported the population as 142,009. The first Federal Census of Texas in 1850 showed the population to have increased to 212,592. Immigrants flowed in with increased acceleration during the next decade. The Census of 1860 showed that the population had risen to 604,216, a gain of 184.2 per cent, which is more than twice the percentage of increase in any other decade in the history of the state. A succession of extraordinary crops swelled the available wealth of the people and spurred them to set up new and higher standards of living. The entire energies of the people were no longer exhausted in coping with the necessary demands of mere existence. New towns sprang up in the more prosperous localities, new counties were settled and organized, more substantial buildings were constructed, and industries began to be established. Thus the components of a more organized society took the place of the temporary expedients of pioneer days, and the foundations of permanent and cultured civilization appeared. Under these circumstances the Texas people now turned eager attention to the improvement of commercial and social life. They soon perceived that progress was being seriously obstructed by the lack of two essentials, permanent highways, on the one hand, and institutions of learning on the other.

Means of transportation needed. The early Anglo-American settlements in Texas were planted along the rivers, close to the Gulf of Mexico, and along the eastern border, close to Louisiana. At the time which we are now studying, immigration moved farther inland, and the population became scattered in more remote territories far from the navigable streams. Hitherto no effort had been made to build permanent highways even in the older settlements, and in the beginning of this period railroads were as yet unknown in the Southwest. All communication was necessarily slow, and the movement of agricultural products to market was painfully laborious as well as expensive. Texas was a land of magnificent

distances, fabulous in fertility, with abundant products from farm and ranch, but remote from the markets of the world. A cheaper and more expeditious means of transportation was the prime need of the state, and accordingly popular interest turned to the building of railroads.

New motives for the establishment of a state system of schools. Early in the fifties the people of Texas for the first time became genuinely aroused on the other essential internal improvement, the subject of education. There arose a strong and widely spread desire that something adequate be done to provide educational facilities in order to realize the dream of the fathers of the Republic. Writing on the subject a contemporary declared, "of all the internal improvements, this is the improvement vastly more important to our state than any other." The movement culminated in the establishment of the common school law in 1854. This important step was not, however, the result merely of the ordinary growth of interest in education. It sprang from a peculiar complexity of motives which originated in the economic and social circumstances of the times. What these inducements were which brought about an action so important in the history of the state, we shall now see.

At least four powerful motives were dominant in stimulating public interest in school establishment: (1) A vigorous reaction against the antislavery propaganda taught in the Northern schools was spreading throughout the entire Southland. (2) The private school people desired to keep at home the money which was being spent by sending Texas students to institutions in other states. (3) The conviction had grown up generally that the efforts hitherto put forth to look after the education of the children of the state had proved a failure. (4) The chief impetus was the possibility of securing a fund which would promote the building of railroads and the interest of which would support the schools. It is necessary to look at these motives more in detail.

1. From colonial days it had been the custom of the wealthier people of the South to send their older children to institutions in the Northern states for training. There they acquired the social and political views of their teachers. As the agitation against slavery and the doctrine of state rights grew more threatening, the people of Texas and the South became alarmed for the loyalty of their children educated under such antagonistic influences. In these Northern schools they were taught "principles at war with our dearest rights." Fear was expressed in regard to the large proportion of teachers from the North in the schools of Texas, and also in regard to the character of the textbooks which had been practically all written by Northern authors and expressed abolitionist sentiments. Resolutions against these insidious dangers were passed at public meetings, and editors commented upon the subject frequently in the newspapers. The educational leaders, eager to increase the attendance at their own schools, employed this argument to enlist popular sentiment in favor of their cause, and political leaders likewise seized upon it to promote their popularity. A member of the House of Representatives declared, "The doors of a Northern college should never be entered by a Southern student until that fanatic section remove the feast of poison there spread to fasten upon the unsuspecting mind of the young." Governor Pease, born and educated in Connecticut, in his message to the legislature in 1853, said, "It should be our policy to furnish within our own limits all the means for obtaining an education . . . so as to remove the necessity of having to send our youth abroad to be educated among those who are hostile to the policy and institutions of the state." It would appear that this danger was largely imaginary. In 1850 there were only three Texans in Princeton, and none in 1860. Only one attended Yale in 1861, and there was none at Princeton or Harvard.

2. The promotors of the private schools of all grades looked with envy upon the money expended by Texas youth in traveling

and in tuition fees for instruction in institutions outside of the state. They asserted that if the wealthy class could be induced to patronize the home schools, these would soon become strong and would, they believed, equal any in the land. Dr. Daniel Baker asserted that \$200,000 might be saved to Texas by teaching her youth at home. Powerful influences were brought to bear upon the legislature to offer the private institutions the patronage and financial support of the state so that they might be better equipped to take care of the students.

3. It had become apparent to all observers that the early provisions made by the state for the establishment of a public system of schools had proved a failure. The population of Texas was increasing at an enormous rate, and comparatively few of the children had the opportunity for an education. The United States Census in 1850 gives 349 "public schools"¹ in Texas with an enrollment of 7949. Only about one child in every five or six was receiving any instruction in Texas at that time. The rural districts were far more unfortunate than the towns. Miss Rankin described the situation by saying, "A very large majority of the rising generation of middle Texas now growing up in our midst are entirely destitute of instruction. In many of our counties common schools cannot be found. In many neighborhoods the Sabbath school is the only means of instruction afforded." Educationally Texas was still in a most primitive condition. The state itself had taken no steps to furnish schools for her children. It had been generally claimed that the population was too much scattered and the finances too meager to warrant the establishment of a system of schools. Now with the increase in population, state support for schools was a prime necessity. Up to this time one tenth of the annual revenue, which had been designated for the support of

¹ What was implied by the term "public" we do not know. The support of these schools was all drawn from private sources, so that the schools were not "public" in our sense of the word.

“free” schools, had been allowed to accumulate in the state treasury. But this small fund and the rentals from the county lands were inadequate for the purpose of a public system of education. Unquestionably the situation, growing more desperate each year, would have remained quiescent so far as public action was concerned, had it not been for the large sum of money received from the boundary award.

4. The most powerful inducement for the establishment of a state public school system at this time lay in the universal desire to build railroads throughout the state. The legislature was debarred by the constitution from engaging directly in any commercial enterprise. Nor could the state loan money from her treasury for the promotion of private undertakings. On the other hand it was generally understood that no private corporation could be induced to construct railroad lines across the vast stretches of Texas without very substantial financial assistance. Yet the state had to secure transportation or remain commercially isolated and undeveloped. The solution of this complexity lay in linking together the two great measures of internal improvement, the endowment of the public school system and the financing of the railroad companies. It was proposed to set apart a large proportion of the United States Indemnity Bonds from the boundary award as a permanent school fund, the interest only to be used for the support of schools. It was further proposed that this fund be loaned to the various railway companies on reliable security and at a remunerative rate of interest.

This plan of uniting the two great needs of the day won a large number to the cause of popular education. On the one hand it appealed to those who were interested in the construction of railroads. On the other hand the majority of the supporters of public schools looked upon the scheme as a sound business policy. The United States Bonds were bringing only five per cent, and the railroads would be willing to pay six. The security appeared to be

ample and unquestionable. The plan received the support of the best men and wisest leaders in public life, among them Governor Pease, Ashbel Smith, and J. W. Throckmorton.

Schools and railroads, the political issue. The endowment of a system of public schools and the loaning of the fund to encourage the construction of railroads became the political issue of the election in 1853 and absorbed the attention of the candidates for the governorship and for the legislature. E. M. Pease made the school question the chief plank in his platform and was elected governor. Fully two thirds of the members of the legislature were pledged to make liberal provision for the establishment of a school system. Eager plans were proposed. Some of the most enthusiastic wished to apply the entire sum of ten million dollars from the boundary settlement to the schools. The agitation resulted in the school law, in February, 1854, which established the first public system of education in the state.

The school law of 1854. This important law had four significant features which reveal the educational conceptions which flourished in Texas at this date. An analysis of these features will show again the lack of any preponderant public sentiment in regard to public education. The law was, like the article of the Constitution of 1845, a clever compromise of divergent policies. The four chief features are as follows:

1. **A permanent school fund.** The first section of the law set aside \$2,000,000 of the five per cent United States Indemnity Bonds as a permanent endowment for the maintenance of common schools. Only the income of this fund was to be distributed each year on the *per capita* basis. It was termed "The Special School Fund."

2. **The method of organizing the system.** Provision was made for the immediate organization of common schools. The state treasurer was appointed *ex officio* superintendent of common schools and was charged with carrying out the law. The county

judge and commissioners were constituted a county school board. This board was instructed to divide each county into convenient school districts and to see to the election of three trustees in each school district. The county tax assessor was charged with taking the scholastic census, the age limits being from six to sixteen years.

The greatest degree of democracy prevailed in the organization of the system. The trustees were required to call an election in the district to determine the location of the school. They were also to call a meeting of all the patrons of the school to decide the length of the school term, the kind of teacher they desired, and the salary they were willing to pay. The local trustees elected the teacher in accordance with the wishes of the patrons and exercised a general supervision over the conduct of the school.

On receiving at the close of the state fiscal year their portion of the *per capita* state apportionment, the district trustees were to apply the total amount to the payment of the teacher's salary. Any deficit in the amount was to be assessed equitably among all the paying patrons. Only those districts could avail themselves of the state bounty which had "provided a good, and substantial schoolhouse with the necessary seats and other fixtures."

3. The pauper school feature. Provision was made in this law for the tuition of the indigent and orphaned children in each county. A list of the children whose parents were unable to pay their share of the teacher's salary was to be made by the trustees. This list and the amount due for tuition from such children were to be sent to the county judge. This officer in turn notified the state treasurer, who paid the amounts for the tuition of this unfortunate class of children out of the one tenth of the annual revenue of the state set aside by the constitution for "free public schools."

4. Private schools convertible into common schools. The last section of the law which had the appearance of an afterthought was its most vital feature. By this section the district trustees had nothing to prevent them, "after being instructed by the major-

ity of the patrons of the school, from employing the teacher of a primary department in any college or academy and converting such primary department into a common school for such district." This section, apparently so harmless, was one of the chief barriers to the establishment of a state system of public schools.

The school law, a clever compromise. This was the first occasion that the people of Texas undertook to formulate a practical plan for the organization of a state school system. By this time the various divergent educational views and conceptions had resulted in forming distinct parties. The law of 1854 represents the views of these different parties and is accordingly a curious but interesting example of the politician's art of compromise. In the formulation of the important features there appeared three divergent types of school organization: a system of public schools, pauper schools, and private schools enjoying the bounty and support of the state. But in the practical working out of the system only two antagonistic groups were present. The one group consisted of the private school interests and those who advocated provision for indigent and orphaned children. The other group, the minority, believed in the establishment of a free school system open to all the white children of the state.

The private school influence. The absence of public schools in Texas up to this time left the field open to the growth of private and denominational enterprises. A number of the religious bodies had taken steps to found institutions, and a large number of individual teachers had opened schools and built up a local patronage. These educators did not look with favor upon the setting up of state or county schools, which would at least interfere with their own success if they did not wholly destroy their efforts. Many of them used their influence to secure financial assistance and endowments of land from the state legislature. Bills were frequently introduced into the legislature to grant lands and even financial aid to the stronger denominational colleges. There existed, how-

ever, a powerful prejudice against donating funds to higher institutions rather than devoting them to the establishment of the common schools, and the feeling was even stronger against fostering sectarian institutions, however appealing the plan might be.

Among those who sought to secure subvention from the state for their private schools was Dr. Daniel Baker, financial agent of Austin College and one of the ablest ministers and educators in Texas. Another was R. C. Burleson, president of Baylor University from 1851 to 1861.

The free school advocates. The number of those who desired to see the establishment of a state school system, free and open for all children, was growing larger by this time. There were many who regarded the second section of the article in the constitution, which provided for "free" schools, as referring to something more than provision for pauper education. This group was composed of several classes: First, there was a large number of New England and Northern people, some of them teachers, who had been familiar with public free schools and desired to see the same type set up in Texas, as they had known in their native states. Moreover, the Germans who had settled several large counties during the forties were strongly in favor of free schools. In a mass meeting in 1854, they demanded that the state establish free schools removed from sectarian influences and that attendance be made compulsory. The Masonic order was another agency operating to realize the same end. It is furthermore to be remembered that several of the municipalities had taken steps to secure the privilege of local taxation so that free schools might be instituted.

The law of 1854 was accordingly an all-round compromise in which the various parties incorporated such provisions as they desired. Each trusted the future to carry out the provisions it favored and to nullify the others. Most of the members of the legislature were willing to accept the compromise in the hope that the school fund might be loaned to the railroads to assist in bring-

ing about more rapid construction. While the law undertook to establish common schools, it was largely an excuse for distributing state funds. Yet it offered the only system of public education which was at all feasible in that day.

The operation of the school system. The act establishing the school system was passed January 31, 1854, and was intended to go into immediate operation. By October the *ex officio* state superintendent stated that eighty-nine of the one hundred counties had reported their scholastic population. If we estimate the number for the remaining eleven counties, the total scholastic population of the state was approximately 65,463. The per capita allowance was only 62 cents. The following year the per capita increased to \$1.50. The law made it possible to establish public schools in case the people in the various districts desired that this be done. But there were serious difficulties in the way of realizing the plan. First, there were few districts which could meet the requirement in regard to the schoolhouse and equipment. No provision was made by the legislature for securing buildings by public means; so the districts had to turn to voluntary subscriptions for this purpose. Again, local taxation was not permitted, except by special legislation and under circumstances which were practically prohibitive.

So far as the organization of a system of common schools was concerned, little was actually accomplished. The civil officers on whom the responsibility rested gave slight attention to the matter, and the people generally desired as little machinery and organization as possible. The *ex officio* superintendent constantly complained of the chronic remissness of the county officers in failing to file reports of the schools. Out of 100 counties in 1854 and 1855 only 89 reported the first year and 74 the second. In 1856 there were 112 counties and only 22 reported; in 1861 only 12 out of 124 reported. Throughout the entire state and with but few exceptions the people resorted to the use of private schools which

under the law could be designated "common schools." Only in two or three counties, mainly of German population, were districts formed, and an effort made to construct schoolhouses.

The evolution of the system. The direction which education now began to take showed the trend of opinion at this stage. As the population was scattered it was generally deemed impracticable to divide the counties into districts. As has been stated only two or three counties attempted to form permanent districts and to build schoolhouses. State Superintendent James H. Raymond and Governor Pease considered this feature of the law a failure and favored abandoning the district organization. As a result a new law was passed in August, 1856, doing away with this method of organization. The few progressive districts in the two or three counties which had already elected trustees and constructed buildings, now found under the new law that the district trustees were done away with and there was no legal authority to take charge of the schoolhouses. Bitter jealousy and strife arose between rival factions which laid claim to the ownership and use of these structures. Under the new law all efforts at securing permanent locations and constructing buildings had to be abandoned. Any group of people anywhere were permitted to set up a school, large or small, and to employ a teacher at such a price and length of service as they pleased. They drew the state per capita for each child who attended the school. The result of this policy was the complete triumph of the private school interests, with the state doling out a public bounty for the maintenance of private enterprises. This plan of operation was the extreme of educational individualism. No state system of public schools was possible under the conditions.

Another marked tendency soon became apparent ; the state fund was by law more and more confined to the education of the indigent and orphaned classes. The state apportionment was necessarily small, in fact too insignificant for many people to take the trouble

to collect. The majority of the people interested in the progress of the schools favored restricting the state bounty to defraying the tuition of those who were unable to pay. The law of 1856 required that the General School Fund accumulated by setting aside one tenth of the annual revenues and consisting approximately of \$128,668 and the Special School Fund amounting to about \$2,114,-529 be consolidated into The School Fund. The annual interest from this fund was to be distributed to the counties on the per capita basis, to be applied, first, to paying the tuition of those unable to pay ; then the balance to be distributed among the paying patrons according to the attendance of their children.

AMOUNTS PAID FOR TUITION OF INDIGENT AND ORPHANED CHILDREN

1854-55	. . . . .	\$394.82
1855-56	. . . . .	3986.06
1856-57	. . . . .	5898.00
1857-58	. . . . .	1947.09
1858-59	. . . . .	505.25

Difficulties encountered in operation of the law. Simple and apparently equitable as the plan for paying the tuition of indigent and orphaned children appeared, it met with serious difficulties. In the towns the indigent children attended the better schools where the tuition was high, while in the country places the children had only the poorer schools in which tuition was cheap. In some schools high salaries were paid the teachers and in other cases the salaries were low. Under these circumstances the amount of tuition for this unfortunate class varied greatly from county to county, and it was felt that such a condition was inherently unjust. In order to equalize the amount the new law passed in 1858 fixed the tuition allowed for each child at ten cents per day. In this they were following the experience and example of the development of the system of pauper education in Georgia.

The chief difficulty was the method of selecting those who were to receive free tuition because of their inability to pay. Under the law of 1854 the trustees of each district were charged with the unpleasant duty of designating those who were indigent. Under the law of 1856 parties who were unable to pay had to satisfy the teacher of this delicate fact; the teacher then made an oath to the chief justice of the county, certifying to the indigence of the parents. In 1858 this disagreeable function was shifted again, this time to the county court. Finally in 1860 it was made the duty of the county court to require each teacher to produce a certificate signed by two respectable paying patrons testifying that the parents of the children were unable to pay. Unless such a certificate was produced, the teacher received no tuition for teaching this class of children.

The law in regard to indigent children was not adhered to very closely in many counties. In some places it was completely ignored, and the state fund for distribution was apportioned on the per capita basis for all children. In some cases parents in fair circumstances and able to pay urged the teachers to place them on the indigent list. In other cases poor parents were too proud to submit to the indignity of publishing their poverty to the world, and in consequence kept their children out of school. The statistics indicate that less and less was spent in this manner, proving that this method was not popular. A few schools refused to accept students on the state poor bounty and snobbishly advertised the fact that they were "Select Schools."

Properly speaking there were no "pauper schools" in Texas. There could not be schools organized primarily to meet the need of the indigent class of pupils. The available fund was used, first, to defray the tuition of the poor and any balance was then used to pay part of the tuition of the other children in case their full tuition had not already been paid. Thus practically all children were in part beneficiaries of the state's bounty. There is no evidence

that the system in Texas was at that time characterized by the opprobrious epithet "pauper schools."

Opinions of the system. Estimates of the benefits and efficiency of the system vary widely. Contemporary observers strongly favored the plan, praised its justice, and suitability for the condition of the scattered population of Texas, and confined criticism to matters of detail. Greater difference of opinion arose after a decade or two had passed. Some continued to praise the system; others strongly condemned it. Governor O. M. Roberts declared in a message to the legislature as late as 1879 that "the best and most satisfactory common schools that we ever had were those during a number of years before the late Civil War." Dr. R. C. Burleson, President of Waco University, agreed with this view. On the other hand, State Superintendent DeGress and others condemned the system as a flagrant violation of democratic society:

Children of poor parents unable to pay tuition were soon singled out by paying scholars and made to feel the humiliation of their position, and many were the taunts and insults hurled at these poorer children. Education received with such bitter memories could scarcely have been beneficial in its effects.

People soon learned that the public free school meant *free* only to those who confessed themselves paupers, and the pride and dignity of many a worthy but poor citizen kept him from sending his child to school where its poverty became a living disgrace in the eyes of their fellow scholars and the theme of malicious tongues of the neighborhood.

The line was plainly drawn between the poor and the rich, and even the memories of the darker hours and early struggles of the Republic, when poor and rich battled alike, failed to arouse legislators to a sense of the wrong they were committing in clothing their benefits with such bitter accompaniments.

The poorer classes refused the charity extended to them under the law and preferred ignorance with pride and proper dignity for their children than the humiliation and disgrace that accompanied the benefits of so-called "free education."

Another critic of the system wrote in 1885 as follows :

It will be found that in the private schools, then organized, many poor orphans and children of worthless, if not indigent, parents received the benefit of the state's bounty. These charity pupils, however, did not draw the little nourishment they received from the founts of learning without many pains and griefs that the young and tender should never be subjected to under merciful and enlightened government. They were pointed at as paupers, and their history was known full well. They were derided by their thoughtless school-mates, and made to feel more than the bitter pangs of poverty, in rags and hunger — their young and sensitive hearts were wounded, and their school life was a torture. It is very doubtful if the pains they suffered in childhood were ever counterbalanced by the joys in after years that were the results of the little learning they received.¹

The system as finally developed in 1858 was simple in the extreme and apparently acceptable to the main body of the people. Those parents who desired could form a school and could secure their own teacher and receive the state apportionment for their children. Those who wished to patronize one of the existing private schools were permitted the same privilege. The state apportionment was not paid until the close of the year, when the teacher had made his full report of attendance. The patrons were naturally obliged to advance the salary of the teacher throughout the term. At the close of the school the patrons would receive directly from the county treasurer the amount due them for each child. The system was loose, unsupervised, and lacking in the means of building a permanent organization and school spirit. Changes in the law were frequent. The people did not have time to familiarize themselves with the operations of the system and to formulate plans for the future before some vital change would be made. Contracts made by one party would not be honored

¹“History of Public Free School Systems in Texas,” *Texas Review*, 1886, Vol. I.

by another. As a result of these conditions there was much confusion and indifference.

Schools before the Civil War. It is easy to underestimate the educational activity of the Texas people before the Civil War and to disparage its real value. Relying on their rather meager resources, they displayed admirable energy and initiative in establishing institutions of learning. In too many instances their zeal outran their wisdom and their financial strength as well. The actual evidences of their undertakings have been largely destroyed, swept away by the ravages of war and its devastating aftermath. Of the hundreds of institutions of various grades in existence before the conflict only five now survive with any sort of unbroken history; Austin College originally located at Huntsville in 1849 and moved to Sherman in 1879; Baylor University founded in 1845 at Independence and Waco University in 1861, consolidated into the new Baylor in 1882; Baylor Female College which superseded Independence Academy and was removed to Belton in 1886. Ursuline Academy opened in Galveston in 1847; and Ursuline Academy, San Antonio, established in 1851.

From annexation to the beginning of the war 117 institutions were granted charters by the legislature, and, in addition to these, there were 9 educational associations incorporated. There were 40 academies, 30 colleges, 27 institutes, 7 universities, 5 schools, 3 high schools, 2 seminaries, 1 collegiate institute, 1 orphan asylum, and 1 medical college. A few of these never realized their plans and were never put into active operation. On the other hand, for one that was thus chartered, there were many which did not seek legal existence. In addition to such institutions there still remained the "old field" schools in ever increasing numbers. These were ephemeral adventures existing for a few months at a time. Such elementary schools existed in the smaller communities. Every town of any size sought to have at least one college or academy and a number of smaller schools as well.

Agencies promoting schools. The agencies which promoted the establishment of these numerous schools were of many kinds. They fall into four groups:

1. The largest factor in the setting up of schools was the community need and spirit. More than half of all the institutions chartered by the legislature were promoted by local leaders in the towns and villages. The better class of people in these communities were intelligent and progressive. They possessed the spirit of initiative, endurance, and adventure which characterized the pioneers who colonized the West. They were ambitious to secure for their children the opportunities of education. Moreover, they looked upon the school as a powerful asset in attracting new settlers to the neighborhood. In most cases the schools were promoted by a group of influential citizens who constituted themselves a board of trustees and assumed full responsibility for the venture. In many instances they formed joint stock companies and sold shares to the public. They considered a school a promising commercial enterprise and expected it to maintain itself financially if it did not pay a dividend on the investment.

{ The first genuinely free school system to be opened in Texas was organized in San Antonio in 1853. For some years the city council had recognized the obligation to furnish free instruction, but apparently nothing was done. Finally four schools were opened, one for boys and one for girls on each side of the river. These four schools were supported by the income from funds derived from the lands donated to the town by the Mexican State Congress. It is an interesting reflection that twenty years after the Declaration of Independence which charged the Mexicans with neglecting education, the only free schools existed upon the endowment which they provided. Not only was instruction in the ordinary elementary subjects provided but also free instruction in violin for a time at least. These schools evidently lasted down to the beginning of the Civil War.

2. The various religious bodies were active in establishing schools. Most of them looked upon Texas as a mission field of paramount importance. Not only was it a rich territory appealing for religious cultivation for its own sake, but it was the recognized pathway to Mexico and Latin America generally. No sooner did the religious organizations begin to establish churches than they began to plan for schools. Between 1846 and 1873 the Methodists chartered 20 institutions of learning, the Baptists 12, the Presbyterians 10, the Catholics, Episcopalians, and Lutherans, 1 each. These numbers, however, do not, by any means, represent all the institutions which owed their existence to these various bodies. In many instances no charters were sought. Furthermore, in the rapidly growing communities religious lines were not so fixed and conventionalized as in the more settled and older portions of the country. In order to secure the patronage of the entire community and surrounding country, it was frequently the custom of the local leaders to seek only the goodwill and general oversight of some particular church. They feared that, if the denominational tie should appear too conspicuously, the other religionists would not patronize the institution. The connection between the church and the school was often indefinite. Alliances were easily formed and dissolved with equal facility. Not until 1870 did the General Conference of the Methodist Church take steps to define clearly its relations to its schools. It suited the conditions of society much better to advertise the school as broadly Christian. As we have already seen, the tragedy of San Augustine in the previous decade resulted in the decrease of sectarian rivalry. At his inauguration as president of Austin College in 1859, President Bailey stated that "none of the institutions teach theology, much less sectarian doctrines. They are all, however, religious institutions in the sense of making religion the basis of their theory of education, and in that sense only." In several instances the two stronger denominations in a town agreed that the one

should promote the school for boys, and the other the school for girls.

While it is true that none of the institutions of that day required special study of the Bible, they were deeply interested in training young men for the Christian ministry. This was the plea presented on all occasions before the denominational conventions for the endowment of the institutions. Some of them furnished not only free instruction for young preachers but assisted in their support as well.

3. Among the most effective agencies which undertook to provide the means of culture for the youth of that day were the fraternal organizations, particularly the Masonic order and the Odd Fellows. The report of the Grand Lodge of the Masonic order for 1848 states, "The subject of education is one of peculiar interest to the fraternity. We as Texans can be justly proud of the magnificent provision made by our State for the future education of her children. It would be a noble rivalry for us to engage emulously with her in this noble enterprise." A superintendent of education was appointed, and an educational fund authorized by the Grand Lodge. In the next few years local Masonic lodges in Texas chartered 18 institutions; some of them were the best in the state. A large number of other schools were established without charters by the lodges and in many cases the local Masonic lodge was the silent promoter of the schools in communities where independent boards were in charge. In many instances the Masonic lodges furnished the buildings in which the community school was conducted. By a regulation of the Grand Lodge, no loans for local buildings would be extended except on condition that provision be made to house the local school.

Among the most noted of these institutions were the Masonic Female Institute at Marshall, the Milam Masonic Female Institute at Bowie, Linden Male and Female Academy, New Danville Masonic Female Academy, Upshur Masonic College, Rusk Ma-

sonic Institute, and the San Augustine Masonic Institute which succeeded the two combined colleges at that place in 1851.

The services of the Masonic lodges in conducting schools and furnishing buildings were possibly greater than those of any single religious denomination. As the state developed its system of schools, Masonic interest gradually declined until it limited its activities to the education of the orphans of its former members. Their services must be regarded as one of the most important transitional steps toward free public education. A certain parallelism can be noted between the educational program of the Grand Lodge and the later organization of public education in the state. The Odd Fellows organization chartered three schools, but their efforts were never as widespread as those of the Masonic order.

4. By far the most progressive measures for the promotion of schools were adopted by the German communities of south central Texas. As early as 1842 a colony of Germans settled in New Braunfels. After the Prussian Revolution in 1848 large numbers emigrated for political reasons and located upon the fertile lands of the south central portion of the state. Among them were many of superior intelligence and training; they brought with them the customs, love of learning, and idealism of the older Germany of Kant, Fichte, and Schiller. Many of them had left The Fatherland to secure a larger measure of political and religious freedom. They had been educated in schools which from the lowest to the highest were maintained and supported by the state and were free to all children. They naturally desired similar advantages for their children here in Texas. As early as 1854, in a public gathering of the representatives of the German people, they expressed a demand for "public free schools" without military training or sectarianism and a free state university. Failing to secure these institutions from the state, they set about to procure them by other means within their power. They promoted

the free schools of San Antonio, and they were the first people to adopt and adhere to local taxation and to conduct a free academy.

The general method followed by the German people was to organize an association to take charge of the school. These were of two kinds, associations for education only and associations which combined other features with this purpose. In 1858 the German Free School Association of Austin was chartered and established. It carried on a school for many years. Similar associations were organized in San Antonio, Galveston, and other places. The other method was the Casino Society. A Casino Society at La Grange was chartered in 1860 for the purpose of conducting a free school. Other societies of this character were organized in Bastrop, Yorktown, Indianola, Victoria, Columbus, and other places. Usually a commodious building was constructed. One part of the building was used as an amusement hall for gymnastics and for musical and social activities. The income from these features was used for the maintenance of the school.

NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS CHARTERED

1845-1850	. . . . .	27
1851-1855	. . . . .	30
1856-1860	. . . . .	60
1861-1865	. . . . .	11
1866-1870	. . . . .	23
1871-1873	. . . . .	43

Leading institutions before the Civil War. The most influential and best attended schools of this period were: in eastern Texas, Marshall University and the Masonic Female Institute at Marshall; in north Texas, McKenzie Institute and the Paris Academy; in central Texas, Larissa College at Larissa; in the southern part of the state, Baylor University at Independence, Ruttersville College, Austin College, and the New Braunfels Acad-

emy. The characteristics of the various types can be best understood by considering several of these institutions more closely.

McKenzie Institute. Located at Itinerant Retreat four miles west of the present town of Clarksville, McKenzie Institute was, on the whole, the most prosperous and vigorous institution in the Southwest, if not west of the Mississippi River, during the period up to the Civil War. It was created by Rev. John W. P. McKenzie, a Methodist preacher. McKenzie was a typical example of the early preacher-educators who transmitted the lights of learning and of religion to the virgin empire of the Southwest. Born in North Carolina in 1806 and educated at the University of Georgia, he became a missionary to the Choctaw Indians in Indian Territory, now the state of Oklahoma. Coming to Texas as a circuit rider, he was forced to retire from the ministry in 1840 because of ill health. Opening a school in a log cabin the next year, he enrolled sixteen boys. His efforts were successful, and the institution expanded gradually until it possessed 900 acres of fertile land and four large frame buildings. At the height of its career it had an enrollment of over 300 boarding students coming from all parts of Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, Indian Territory, and even from Missouri.

McKenzie was noted for his strictness in discipline, and for the vigorous regimen of his school. The students arose at 4:00 A.M. to attend classes and prayers. The spirit of the institution was exceptionally devout and religious. Through his lengthy career McKenzie was familiarly known by all as "Old Master," a sobriquet which followed him from his student days. He was not lacking in kindness and sympathy. Large numbers of students of the day were desperately poor and unable to pay for board and tuition. McKenzie never had the heart to turn away any prospective student, however indigent he might be. In later years an examination of the books is said to have shown that he had loaned to needy students \$30,000 which was never repaid. While

other institutions were continually struggling with debts, this one was largely self-supporting due to the skillful management of the farm. Fees were low and board was cheap. The total property represented a value of \$50,000 to \$60,000.

Like the other institutions of that time McKenzie included a preparatory department extending through the primary grades and also the female and the collegiate departments. It offered the regular arts' courses in Latin, Greek, and modern languages. Some theological courses were likewise given, for candidates for the Christian ministry were warmly welcomed and encouraged in their efforts to secure an education. The faculty consisted of as many as nine men at one time, probably the largest number in any school in the state. Three thousand students received training in this pioneer school, and among them were many who became distinguished in the public life of Texas. The institute struggled through the ravages of the Civil War and came to an end in 1869 largely through the old age and infirmities of its founder. But in spite of his weakness McKenzie undertook a new venture and accepted the presidency of Marvin College at Waxahachie. This was, however, short-lived, and McKenzie died soon after.

The New Braunfels Academy. New Braunfels conducted the only free academy open to all children and supported by public taxation. This town is located in Comal County, and was the most important German settlement in the state. For some years a school was conducted by the pastor of the church. Public schools were organized in this county under the law of 1854, and as a result several districts constructed school buildings. The new school law of August, 1856, did away with all the school districts and left the county in an embarrassing situation. At the request of the citizens the legislature granted Comal County the right to vote local taxation for school purposes. In February, 1858, the citizens of New Braunfels took out a charter for an academy and the town council was empowered "to levy and collect a special

tax upon all persons and property . . . for the support of the Institution." The academy drew its pro rata of the state school apportionment and collected from taxation sufficient to pay any deficit. In 1859 the school was conducted in a large stone building with four commodious classrooms and had an attendance of over 275. It possessed a library of about 2000 volumes together with "philosophical apparatus sufficient for the elucidation of any subject that may be treated." Though it bore the name "Academy," the work was almost wholly elementary in character. "The branches taught are at present only of the elementary kind; but separate classes for the higher branches of instruction will be established as soon as the pupils are far enough advanced for that purpose. We do not give to this school a high-toned name, but it is just that kind of common school which is everywhere wanted by the mass of the people." The charter ran for twenty years; at the end of that period an effort was made to renew it, but Governor O. M. Roberts vetoed the measure, and the academy was converted into the public school of the town of New Braunfels.

This institution was one of the most efficient schools in Texas and formed a step in the evolution of free-school sentiment and of public taxation for education. Its influence might have been even stronger had it not been for the clannishness of the German people who supported it.

Baylor University. This is the oldest existing educational institution in Texas. It was established by the Texas Baptist Educational Society which was an offshoot of the Union Baptist Association formed in 1841. The leading spirits in organizing this society were the Reverend William M. Tryon, the Reverend James Huckins, a missionary from New Hampshire, and Judge R. E. B. Baylor, after whom the institution was named and who came from Kentucky. Baylor University was chartered in 1845 under the Republic and opened in May, 1846, with 24 pupils. Henry F. Gillette, a native of Connecticut, a graduate of Trinity College,

Hartford, became principal of the preparatory department, the first branch of the institution to be opened. He had formerly organized the Independence Academy and was recognized as one of the best educators in Texas. In February, 1847, Henry L. Graves, a graduate of the University of North Carolina, assumed the presidency, and the following year Baylor was placed under the control of the newly formed Baptist State Convention. For the first five years progress was slow, but a new era dawned in 1851 with the election to the presidency of the Reverend Rufus C. Burleson, a young minister preaching to a congregation in Houston. A law department was opened, the male and female departments were separated, and college classes were begun. The law department was abandoned after a few years, but not before it had trained a number who were to take rank among the distinguished jurists of the land. The strongest motive for founding Baylor was the desire to prepare an educated ministry. For this reason attention was given to theological studies though no separate department was organized for many years. Baylor was one of the few institutions which were able to offer work of a genuine college standard for that day and to graduate students with degrees. It gradually secured substantial buildings and one of the best libraries in this section of the country. Dr. Burleson was connected with education in Texas for almost half a century, and because of his powerful influence on the development of the public schools it is necessary to understand his life and character more fully.

Rufus C. Burleson. Born on a plantation in northern Alabama in 1823, Burleson began to attend an "old field" school when seven years of age. At fourteen he entered the Summerville Academy where he spent two years. In 1840 he matriculated in the University of Nashville, but after a year he was forced to withdraw and give up his studies because of ill health. On his recovery he taught for some years in Mississippi, entered the Baptist ministry, and later took up his theological course. Choosing to become

a missionary to Texas, he accepted an appointment in Houston where he began his career in 1848. From 1851 he was president of Baylor University, then located at Independence. In 1861 he resigned this position and with the entire faculty and the senior class, migrated to Waco where he took charge of the Waco Classical Institute. This was now reorganized and chartered as Waco University. This institution and the old Baylor were consolidated in 1886 under the management of Dr. Burleson and the control of the Baptist General Convention. Burleson was a man of untiring energy, extraordinary persistency, and strong personality. He succeeded in making his school the leading center of higher culture for many years, and he had a determining influence on the fortunes of the public school system. He passed away as president emeritus of Baylor University in 1900.

Austin College. This ranks among the oldest of the educational institutions of the state. It was founded by the Brazos Presbytery in 1849 and received its charter and opened its doors the following year. The prime instigator of the movement for its establishment was the Reverend Daniel Baker, who for a number of years acted as financial agent and later accepted the presidency of the college. A splendid brick building was erected at a cost of \$16,000, and about sixty boys were enrolled the first year. Unlike most of the schools of that day Austin College did not establish a department for girls but confined its attention to the education of boys and young men. It possessed a good equipment and had a library of some 2000 volumes. The collegiate department offered two courses, the classical and the scientific. In each of the departments much emphasis was placed on ancient languages and mathematics. The scientific course offered instruction in physics, chemistry, and botany. As we have seen, several of the institutions of the time boasted of their devotion to the study of the sciences and of their laboratory equipment. How fully the sciences were studied cannot be definitely ascertained. Unless

excused, students were "expected to attend public worship Sunday morning and the Bible classes in the afternoon." The training of a Christian ministry was the leading motive for the support of the school, yet its spirit was broad and tolerant. The B.A. degree was conferred for completion of the classical course, and the B.S. for the scientific. The work of this college was of the highest standard for those times. It remained at Huntsville until 1869 when it was removed to its present location at Sherman.

Daniel Baker. On the roll of the educators of Texas before the Civil War, Dr. Daniel Baker stands among the highest. He was born at Midway, in Liberty County, Georgia, in 1791. The loss of both father and mother during his early boyhood threw him upon his own resources and developed self-reliance and an indomitable will power. He studied first at Hampden-Sidney College in Virginia and later at Princeton University, where he was graduated in 1816. By temperament he belonged to the ardent and emotional type and was extraordinarily devout and consecrated though subject frequently to turbulent religious feelings. He was known as a man of peculiar elevation and sanctity of mind. Princely in courtesy and good cheer, he united dignity and urbanity of manner with versatility and directness. Naturally eloquent in speech, he was a warm-hearted animated preacher, full of fire and emotion. While not an exact scholar of the classical mold, he loved and revered learning. After a short experience in teaching he had entered the Presbyterian ministry and held a number of important pulpits throughout the South. He came to Texas to settle permanently in 1848, and the next year his influence brought about the founding of Austin College. As financial agent he made six tours outside the state, collecting approximately \$100,000 and making the institution known far and wide. In 1853 he accepted the presidency of the college, which he held until January, 1857. As evangelist and agent he preached throughout the length and breadth of the state and was the first Protestant

preacher to reach the Rio Grande Valley and to penetrate into Mexico. His greatest passion was the success of Austin College, but he was deeply interested in the progress of public education as well. He was one of the "Friends of Education" who formulated a memorial which preceded the establishment of the common school system in 1854. Before the Civil War he was the chief influence operating upon the state legislature to divert the state funds to the endowment of denominational schools. His plan was to offer public scholarships; also he proposed that the state should extend financial assistance to the schools on a sliding scale commensurate with the amount of actual working endowment which each of the larger private institutions possessed. While pressing this plan upon the legislature, he died in Austin in 1857.

Other important schools before the Civil War. Among the other institutions which attained a fair degree of prominence before the Civil War we must mention Larissa College, located in Cherokee County. This arose from a school begun in a log hut in 1848. It was taken over by the Cumberland Presbyterians in 1855 and soon became one of the best equipped schools in all Texas, possessing among other apparatus a powerful telescope, claimed to have been the largest in the South. With her splendid telescope, microscopes, botanical and geological laboratories, Larissa offered the strongest science work of all Texas schools before the war. It did its best work from 1855 to the outbreak of the war under the leadership of the Reverend F. L. Yoakum. Soule University was another institution deserving brief notice. It was an effort of the Methodist people to replace the loss of Rutgersville and Wesleyan Colleges. It was established at Chappell Hill in Washington County, one of the most thickly settled sections of Texas at the time. Beginning in 1856, it struggled through the war, but ceased to exist soon after. Marshall University was chartered in 1842 and opened several years later. It flourished well before the war and was the leading institution in that portion of the

state. It continued to offer instruction until the organization of the present public school system. Most of its property was turned over to the public schools, but the board is still continued as an incorporated body. Marshall University was given an endowment of four leagues of land by the legislature when it was incorporated. The Nacogdoches University is another of the institutions which received land from the state. It was given the land which in 1833 was donated to the municipality for the endowment of a public school. The period of its prosperity was short, yet it continued to exist until it was absorbed by the public school system. Matagorda Academy opened as early as 1840 by the Reverend C. S. Ives and his wife and ran for many years as one of the superior academies. Bastrop Military Academy was also a prominent institution during this period.

Special characteristics of the schools. Practically all of the institutions were organized with primary classes. This was particularly true after the passage of the law of 1854 which permitted these private schools to be utilized as common schools and to receive the state per capita for their pupils. They also offered the usual preparatory work to fit students to enter college. Most of these institutions conducted a female department which was always separate and apart from the male department except for the elementary classes in which both sexes were frequently taught together.

Attention to discipline was much more necessary than in schools of to-day, for the youths were frequently wholly lacking in decorum. Rules and regulations were abundant, covering all kinds of misdemeanors. Teachers exercised a paternal government over the students and often advertised that "morals and deportment would be carefully guarded." They took charge of the spending money of the student as well as of his firearms. Punishments were generally quite crude and frequently harsh. Burluson saw nothing incongruous in praying with a young man and then taking him out

for a flogging. McKenzie draped the young men over his knee when administering a thrashing. This he termed "riding old Sawney."

So far as the calendar was concerned the general custom was to have two sessions each year, the one beginning in January or early in February and ending in June or July and the second session beginning in August or September and ending in January. In 1853 Baylor University went on a ten months' schedule beginning March first, with vacation in January and February. The present plan of a nine months' term did not come in generally until after the war. One views with amazement the array of subjects which these institutions professed to teach; all the greater is the wonder when we consider the limited number of the instructors. The same professor did not hesitate to offer courses in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Sanskrit and many of the sciences. The classes were small, and only occasionally was there a chance student who wanted some of the more unusual studies.

It was the common practice at the end of each term to hold a public examination to which the people flocked in great numbers. The various classes were examined orally in the presence of the congregation by a committee of the board of trustees. This constituted the most important occasion of the session.

Throughout Texas at this period a new style is noted in the construction of school buildings. The log cabin had passed away in most places, except in the more remote communities. The universal type now was the oblong two-story, four-room building. It was frequently constructed of stone which was readily obtainable in many sections of the state. Some of these old structures still remain, though most of them are now in ruins.

Lack of standards. The early institutions of Texas bore many pretentious names. The terms "university," "college," "academy," "institute," "seminary," "collegiate institute," and "high school" were rather promiscuously employed. Some of these

DEGREE GRADUATES BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

INSTITUTION	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860	1861
Rutersville .	6	8	6	6	3	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0
Wesleyan . .	—	—	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
McKenzie . .	—	1	0	0	0	5	0	4	5	0	8	0	6	7	10	13	5	3
Baylor . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0	6	5	16	22	7	7 ¹
Chappell Hill Female	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—
Soule	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0	3	4
Larissa . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4 ¹	—
Waco	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7 ³
Austin	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	7 ³	3 ³	2	8	7	0

¹ Two of these were women; what degree the women received is not known.

² President Burleson took the senior class of Baylor with him and graduated them at Waco.

³ Four received the Bachelor of Law degree in 1856 and two in 1857.

high titles must be understood to designate their aspirations rather than any standard which they could hope to realize. There was no real appreciation of the significance of these terms. The people were generally devoid of a sense of educational standards. These institutions were practically all organized on the same plan and attempted to do the same kind of work. The authority to grant degrees was conferred by the legislature on academies, universities, institutes, and even high schools. In all these schools existing before the Civil War the work was chiefly elementary. Few students were of real collegiate standing. Many of the Texas youth who desired higher education went out of the state to the institutions of the East. Rarely was any protest raised against the bombastic claims. The people in the towns proudly referred to the "college on the hill," though none of its students could pass the sixth grade of a modern school.

The personal factor. With scarcely an exception all the institutions of this time were the lengthened shadow of some individual. Each advanced or declined according to the ability of its head. The leading educators of the time we have already reviewed in connection with their schools. These were John W. P. McKenzie, Daniel Baker, Rufus C. Burleson, and Marcus A. Montrose. Among the others who should be mentioned are J. B. Smith, who conducted a school for girls in Austin; W. G. Halsey, of Rutgersville College, and later connected with Soule University; C. S. Ives of the Matagorda Academy; C. Gillett, Episcopal clergyman who established St. Paul's College and, later, Wharton College in the city of Austin. There were a number not engaged in teaching who interested themselves in the progress of education. Among these were Governor E. M. Pease, reared and educated in Connecticut, who brought about the establishment of the school system in 1854. Ashbel Smith also was always a powerful force in advancing the interests of the schools. As a member of the legislature for several years, as trustee for a number of institutions, and

as a speaker at numerous educational gatherings, he helped to mold the policies of the state. He was a student of educational progress and a correspondent of his childhood and college friend, Henry Barnard. Judge R. E. B. Baylor was another powerful influence; likewise, the Reverend William M. Tryon, who was a native of New York City and one of the founders of Baylor University.

A large proportion of the teachers were ministers. A list of teachers who attended the Texas Teachers' State Convention as late as 1866 showed 18 ministers and 17 laymen. They were hardy pioneers of simple minds and pure hearts filled with the indomitable spirit of the early apostles. They were primarily missionaries, then lovers of learning; in becoming teachers they did not so much desert the pulpit as they annexed the teacher's desk as another form of ministry. They braved the elements, lived in extreme simplicity, and frequently suffered great hardships. Some of them had turned to teaching because of delicate constitutions, but all exhibited a superabundance of energy, wonderful versatility, and indefatigable will power. They had an abounding enthusiasm for schools, not that they were great scholars, but that they believed that the school is the best instrument for evangelization and Christian nurture. Their sacrifice of their own means to assist poor scholars forms one of the most admirable features of the history of education in any age.

Beginning of the education of girls. Among the well-to-do classes the education of girls received much attention. The means of elementary instruction were practically the same for the two sexes, most of the elementary schools instructing girls and boys together without discrimination. In regard to instruction of higher grade a distinction was usually made, but in the main it was evidently the general desire to provide impartially for the needs of both. This does not mean that boys and girls were trained for the same ends and by the same studies as they are to-day. But

the means for training girls for cultured womanhood and home making were fairly well diffused.

We have already noted that Miss Trask of Boston taught a school for girls at Cole's Settlement before the Revolution. A little later Miss L. A. McHenry of Kentucky conducted the first boarding school for young ladies at Mountville, Washington County. Up to the outbreak of the Civil War, when a university, college, or academy was established, provision was usually made for a female department. These institutions for girls had their own curricula and faculties. In many instances the male and female department were under the same management, but the two sexes were kept entirely separate except for social and religious life. The buildings for these two departments were usually located from half to three quarters of a mile apart. In many cases the boys and girls attended chapel exercises together when the two institutions were sufficiently close. In some academies the two recited in the same classes. But as many people opposed even such a limited form of coeducation, many separate schools were established for girls. Some of these, as a drawing card, advertised that association with boys was strictly prohibited.

Among the most popular schools for girls during the forties was Independence Academy, which later flowered into the Baylor Female College. This institution, which is the oldest in the state, was removed to Belton in 1886. For nineteen years Horace Clark and his wife conducted the school. For a short time the female department of Rutgersville College was the leading seminary for young women. It was under Methodist auspices and was noted for its earnest religious influence. This institution was under the management of Mrs. Richardson, wife of the president of the college. La Grange Female Institute attained prominence for several years as a Presbyterian school.

With the increase of interest in education after the middle of the century a number of other institutions became noted. An out-

standing example was the Marshall Masonic Female Institute. It was chartered by the legislature and opened in 1850, with the Reverend T. B. Wilson in charge. There were four grades or departments in the school, and tuition was paid according to the department the pupil entered unless she was the child of a deceased Mason and unable to pay for herself. In the primary department orthography, reading, and writing were taught for the sum of \$10 per session of five months. The next department, called the junior class, offered elementary lessons in arithmetic, grammar, geography, natural philosophy, mental philosophy, botany, geology, mythology, and history, all for the sum of \$15. The middle class was instructed in chemistry, rhetoric, logic, moral science, mental philosophy, evidences of Christianity, political and domestic economy, astronomy, algebra, and ancient and modern languages. The cost of this course was \$20. Other courses offered were composition, drawing, painting, embroidery, and waxwork, which might be had for \$10 each. Instrumental music was given for \$20 and the use of the piano was \$4 extra.

At the end of each session of five months a public examination was held by the board of managers, when a report was made to the local lodge. During 1851 there were 134 students in attendance in spite of the fact that two rival schools were opened. The institution flourished best before the war, but continued in operation into the present century.

Other female institutions. Several other schools for girls deserve mention. The Chappell Hill Female Institute was chartered in 1852 as a Methodist enterprise and was later allied with Soule University. These were founded in an effort to retrieve the loss to the denomination of Rutgersville College. The institute soon became a strong factor in the educational life of the state. The Reverend W. G. Halsey and his wife, who had formerly been at Rutgersville, were in charge. During the war, and later owing to yellow fever, it had to be closed, but was reopened and continued

in operation until well into the present century. Other schools promoted by the Methodists were Andrew Female College, located at Huntsville, and Paine Female Institute at Goliad, organized in 1854 and operated successfully for many years. Of all the early institutes founded by the Methodist Church, Andrew Female College was the most influential and lasted longest. It was chartered in 1853 and continued about thirty years. The organization consisted of three classes in the preparatory department and three in the college. Strict attention was given to the religious life of the students. Its method of instruction and standard of work were superior to those found in other schools of that day.

Live Oak Seminary was conducted at Gay Hill by the Reverend James W. Miller and Miss Rebecca K. Stuart, who later became Mrs. W. K. Red. The school began in 1853 and in 1875 was removed by Mrs. Red to Austin. She was a woman of exceptional intelligence and executive ability and gave a distinctive tone to her educational work. This was under the auspices of the Presbyterian church. Students attended from every part of Texas and from the most notable families.

A number of schools for girls were conducted in Austin, the most prominent and permanent being the Austin Female Collegiate Institute owned by the Reverend B. J. Smith. This was opened in 1852 and ran for about twenty years.

Melinda Rankin, who came from Boston, has given us the best description of the conditions of education in Texas in her book, *Texas in 1850*. She came to the state in 1848 and taught for several years in a girls' school at Huntsville. Pursuing her original purpose she went to Brownsville and established the Rio Grande Female Seminary in 1856 in order to missionize Mexico. Later she entered Mexico and was the first Protestant missionary to the Latin-American world.

The aim of education for girls was not what we know to-day. These institutions were for the most part finishing schools to train

girls in deportment and the refinements of life. A large array of subjects was offered, but the work was superficial. In addition to the regular academic studies others were sometimes presented, such as calisthenics, painting, wax and shell work, piano, guitar, vocal music, embroidery, and ornamental needlework. College work of a kind was open to those who sought advanced work, and a number of these schools were permitted to grant degrees, though this privilege was sparingly exercised. Except in some academies there was no coeducation until after the war.

Progress of general culture. The decade before the Civil War witnessed rapid progress along all lines of culture. The introduction of railroads facilitated commerce and enabled the people to bring in fine furniture and other articles for the home. A higher standard of living was adopted in the prosperous communities. In 1857 there were 61 newspapers published in the state, indicating that the people were becoming more literate. Some of these publications are still being issued. Libraries were established in the institutions of learning and in the Sunday schools. The Sunday school at Brownsville fostered by the Union Sunday School Association had 700 volumes in 1850 and had an enrollment of 100 pupils in the school. The following year within the territory comprising the Colorado Baptist Association there were 24 union and 5 Methodist Sunday schools. Their schools had libraries ranging from 100 volumes in most to 1000 volumes at Brownsville and 1300 at Austin. Throughout this period the men of culture were likewise gathering more extensive private libraries, and some were fairly large.

ADDITIONAL READINGS

EBY, FREDERICK — *Education in Texas; Source Materials.*

RANKIN, MELINDA — *Texas in 1850.*

DE CORDOVA, JACOB — *Texas: Her Resources and Her Public Men.*

BAKER, WILLIAM M. — *The Life and Labours of Rev. Daniel Baker, D.D., Pastor and Evangelist.*

MORRELL, Z. N. — *Flowers and Fruits from the Wilderness.*

CRANE, WM. CAREY — *Centennial Address, Embracing the History of Washington County.*

BENEDICT, H. Y. — *A Source Book Relating to the History of the University of Texas.*

Reports of the State Treasurer and Ex Officio Superintendent of Common Schools for 1854, 1855, 1856-57, 1859.

CHAPTER VI

CIVIL WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH, 1861-1870

General effects of the war. All great wars have profoundly affected human progress. War breaks up the conventional habits, stirs deep emotions, and makes way for new conceptions and ideals of life. Every great conflict brings about a redintegration of social life and thought if the process does not go still deeper and result in a complete new age of civilization. The Civil War was no exception, especially in the South. Some of its effects were immediate and superficial, while others were more remote and far-reaching. In the end it made necessary a new era in the culture of the Confederate States, revolutionized Southern society and ideals of life, and gave a new direction to education. However, the immediate effects on the schools were destructive and caused Texas to flounder in chaos for twenty years, before the new era dawned.

Many economic changes took place. Between 1860 and 1870 the population of Texas increased from 604,215 to 818,579, an increase of 35.5 per cent. Most of this increase occurred between the close of the war and the new decade, a large proportion of the increase being due to the influx of colored people. The inhabitants of the state were greatly scattered, so that even in 1870 there were only 3.1 individuals to the square mile. The eastern sections were more densely settled, but in the west there was scarcely any population at all. So far as economic conditions were concerned, some progress was made in manufacturing and in the building of railroads. In 1860 there were only 307 miles of railroads; in 1870, 711 miles. In 1860 there were 983 manufacturing establishments producing an annual value of \$6,577,202; in

1870 the number of establishments had increased to 2399, producing \$11,517,302. On the whole, however, the war left Texas prostrate industrially. The greatest industry of the state, agriculture, was completely revolutionized by the emancipation of the negroes. Farm values decreased during the decade over 31 per cent, or from \$88,101,320 to \$60,149,950. A new social order had to be developed before there could be economic prosperity on any large scale.

Educational results. The state organization of education ceased to function. A very small amount of public funds, 62 cents per capita, was distributed for the last time during the first year of the struggle. The public school system was not, however, seriously missed, for it had never been deeply rooted in the affections and habits of the people. The paltry per capita distribution could be readily dispensed with, and its withdrawal was not felt by those who were genuinely interested in the education of their children.

Effects upon the public school fund. The school fund was very seriously affected by the new condition brought about by the war. Under the law of 1856 this fund was gradually loaned to railway companies to assist in the construction of their roads. A majority of the most intelligent public men of the day believed the plan a wise means of investing this fund on what seemed the very best security. The amount loaned to the several companies totaled \$1,753,317, the last loans being made in 1861 and 1862. Even before the great conflict it began to appear that the railway companies might be unable to meet their annual interest payments. Under the stress of war the roadbeds declined, the income of the roads decreased, and the companies were compelled to default in the payment of their annual interest. Those companies which attempted to pay a portion of the interest at this time paid in a depreciated currency which the government promptly declined to accept. Thus the school fund lost heavily, and for many years a settlement was not effected.

Moreover, much of the balance of the school fund was diverted to other purposes. As the financial needs of the government grew more pressing, the governor transferred \$1,285,327 to the military board for carrying on the war. Added to these disintegrating events was the general instability of all financial conditions brought about by the demoralization of the monetary system. In this way it happened that a school fund of \$2,592,533.14 in 1861 was reduced to practically nothing by the end of the struggle between the states. Furthermore, the liberal donation of the legislature in 1858 in setting aside all funds from the sale of public lands for the schools was repealed during the war. The total effects of the war upon the endowments for public education were extremely disastrous, requiring practically a new beginning.

Effects of the war on private schools. The effects of the war on private schools varied; some were but slightly impaired, while a few new ones were actually established and continued to flourish; but the most of them were completely destroyed. Many of the teachers joined the army, the number of pupils was greatly reduced, and the attendance became irregular. The children were kept at home to assist on the farm or the ranch and in the household duties. Only those of the wealthier class were able to send their children. The more pretentious institutions for men were the first and greatest sufferers. Baylor University with 260 students in 1861 fell to 90 in 1864. In 1860 six students were graduated, and with the exception of 1864, when there was one, no others were graduated until 1868. Soule University graduated three students in 1860, four in 1861, nine in 1862, five in 1863, and one in 1866. McKenzie had none to graduate between 1861 and 1870. In 1860 there were 25 colleges with 2416 students; in 1870, 13 colleges with 800 students. In numerous instances where institutions held tenaciously on during the war, they were nevertheless unable to recover from the losses sustained at this time and, after several years of struggle, finally became defunct.

Reasons for failure of private institutions. Of the scores of institutions in operation before the Civil War only five now remain. We might here discuss the various causes which operated to destroy these private schools which existed in such numbers:

1. These institutions tended to destroy each other by their unwise multiplicity. No sooner would one denomination establish its work in a growing town than another would seek to compete with it. The same was true of the private school-teachers. There was a strong spirit of rivalry, which should be wholly foreign to educational enterprises. In 1859 the town of Marshall, with a total population of 1411, boasted a university, a select boarding and day school, Marshall Grove Academy, Marshall Collegiate Institute, Marshall Masonic Female Institute, and Marshall Republican Academy. It is true that these institutions drew some of their students from the surrounding territory. But the population was very sparse, and there were other schools not far removed. Many other towns were similarly oversupplied.

2. Lack of permanency was also due to the fact that so many of these institutions were located in evanescent centers of population. Of the five institutions coming down to the present day, the Ursuline Academies at Galveston and San Antonio are the only schools established before the war which have had a continuous existence in the same locality in which they were first established. Austin College was first located at Huntsville and later was removed to Sherman. Baylor University and Baylor Female College were founded at Independence; later the one was consolidated with Waco University at Waco; the other was moved to Belton. These early institutions located prior to the building of railroads could not foresee the sweeping changes in the location of the towns. Those centers through which no railroad ran soon dwindled into insignificance, and, although in their day they were among the most promising towns of the state, many of them have disappeared from the map. Among such

erstwhile towns of great prominence are the places where the schools of Texas began: Rutersville, Independence, Washington, Larissa, Dangerfield, San Felipe, Tehuacana, and Gay Hill. The towns and the schools decayed together in many instances. The tradition that a school must be remote from the bustle and distractions of city life did not sustain these institutions. Culture obeyed a superior law and followed the shifting population to the new centers.

3. The only schools which really flourished for any length of time were those which were dominated by some one outstanding personality. With the passing of the leaders even these schools soon fell into decay and finally died. The personal factor was far more essential in these pioneering ventures than in the state establishments or in the well-organized institutions of to-day. It was necessary to advertise broadly and to seek far and wide for students. Strong personal influence and widespread acquaintance and popularity were then the safest foundations for success in the building of a school.

4. Endowments were too meager to sustain these institutions during the adversities of the war. The state bounty for public education materially assisted them before 1861, but when this ceased to be paid many of them were forced to succumb. Another factor was the increasing expense of higher instruction. So long as higher education remained predominantly literary and theoretical, that is, so long as it was confined mainly to classical instruction, it remained cheap. With the coming of the sciences and the equipment of laboratories and libraries the expense of college instruction greatly increased. The private foundations, such as Austin College, which had secured endowments valued at \$100,000, were impoverished in the general conflagration of the war, and the people were too poor to replace them for many years.

Revival of private institutions. It is a mistake to think that all forms of education ceased to function during the years of this

bitter struggle. All institutions conducted primary departments, and these were not so adversely affected. Austin College had 125 students in 1863-64; Port Sullivan College had 120 in 1863; Baylor Female College in 1861 advertised that the school was "in full operation," and in 1864 that it "has enjoyed a larger patronage than during any previous year," 160 in attendance; New Braunfels Academy had 400 pupils in 1867. Several new institutions are known to have begun during the war. Waco University began in 1861; Osage Academy in 1865; Bayland High School in 1864; Richmond Seminary in 1864, and a number of others.

After the war. At the conclusion of the war the people turned again to private schools for the training of their children. The following tabulation shows the number of institutions and their enrollments according to the United States Census Reports:

	COLLEGES (NUMBER)		STUDENTS (NUMBER)
1850	2		165
1860	25		2,416
1870	13		800
	ACADEMIES (NUMBER)	TEACHERS (NUMBER)	STUDENTS (NUMBER)
1850	97	137	3,389
1860	97	236	5,916
1870	535	649	22,276

From these tables it will be noted that the Texas people were getting a better conception of educational standards. They no longer called every school a college or a university but were content to use the term "academy." Even before the war the state legislature had declined to grant academies the right to award degrees. The large attendance upon these academies is a striking

evidence of the interest of the people. From unofficial tabulations of the number of schools in Texas in 1867 and again in 1869 we find that practically every county had a number of common schools and frequently one or more academies and colleges, or high schools, as they preferred now to designate them. Upshur County had 4 high schools and 15 common schools; Freestone had 2 colleges and 13 common schools; Colorado had 1 college and 15 schools and academies. A county without a number of schools was scarcely known. The towns also were well supplied. Marshall with a small population had a university, the Marshall Masonic Female Institute, and six other schools; La Grange had five schools; Galveston had ten, including a medical college; Austin had 15; Palestine had one male school and one female, and there were 30 in the county.

The new constitution and laws. The constitution of 1866 and the laws passed that same year show the old views on education again dominant. There is a clear resemblance between the school law of that year and that of 1854. It provided for districting the state for schoolhouses, the selection of private schools as public schools, and the same democratic control in selecting the teacher and in determining the time and salary. It is quite apparent that this was a compromise of those who believed in private schools and those who wanted free public schools but saw the impossibility of a complete system at the time. No reference was made in this law to providing education for the indigent. But that this group was not idle can be seen from the special law on this subject passed the same day. By this law police courts of the counties were given permission to vote a special tax for the education of indigent white children. Among other measures a state superintendent of public instruction was authorized. The one tenth of the annual revenues which had for many years been set apart for schools was now abolished. In place of this provision for education large tracts of public lands were to be granted for the endowment of

the school system. The legislature was empowered to levy a tax for educational purposes provided the amount collected from "Africans" be devoted to their education. But before any action resulted from these provisions the Federal Government nullified the constitution and all these plans for reorganization were inoperative. The state was plunged into a most deplorable condition of internal disorder and strife.

CHAPTER VII

THE RADICAL SCHOOL SYSTEM, 1870-1875

The radical government. After the war the control of political affairs was wrested from the old Democratic party of the state, and a group of radical political adventurers, the carpetbaggers, came into power. This group was enabled to gain the ascendancy by affiliation with the Republican party, which controlled the Federal Government at Washington, and by allying with themselves the newly enfranchised colored population. The leaders were Northern sympathizers who looked upon the Southern people as benighted by ignorance and believed strongly in free public schools offering equal opportunities for blacks and whites. They represented that New England educational tradition which had spread westward through the Northern states and from early days had been exerting only a minor influence in Texas. Under their control a new state constitution was formed, and a new system of education was projected and forcibly imposed upon the people.

Educational conditions. The National Bureau of Education reported for 1870 that Texas was "the darkest field educationally in the United States." The radicals blamed their opponents for this deplorable condition. They pointed out that after more than thirty years there was not a single state-supported school in Texas. Other than the New Braunfels Academy there was not another public school building. For a full generation children had been born and had grown to maturity in the state without the blessings of public school instruction. There were 70,895 whites, or over 17 per cent of the population above ten years of age, and 90 per cent of the negroes illiterate. Criminality was rife in Texas.

Of homicides in the 37 states Texas had more than double the number of any other state in 1870. Leading the list were: Texas, 323; Tennessee, 117; Louisiana, 128; Georgia, 116; Alabama, 100. These bad conditions were laid at the door of ignorance due to the neglect of education. The "sacred" school fund which they claimed "had been subject to frauds, robbery and application to unlawful purposes" had been practically all lost. The county school lands had never been utilized and had been badly administered. The negroes never had been given any opportunity for instruction. The radicals saw no reason to believe that the old leadership would improve affairs. With iron will they thereupon set themselves the task of redeeming the school fund and of organizing a free school system for the first time in the history of Texas.

The Constitution of 1869. The first step toward this organization was the writing of a new constitution. It provided for the most highly centralized system of education Texas has ever had. It required for the first time "a uniform system of public free schools for the gratuitous instruction of all the inhabitants between the ages of six and eighteen." The office of superintendent of public instruction was authorized, and this officer was to have almost absolute management of the schools. All counties were to be laid off in convenient school districts with local directors or school boards. School attendance was made compulsory for four months each year. All the features for the administration and operation of a complete modern school system were thus provided.

How the system was supported. Ample support was likewise ordered; the permanent fund was to be recuperated; all funds and lands formerly set apart for school purposes were again appropriated, and the county school lands put under the control of the state. All monies coming from the sale of any portion of the public domain were to be devoted to the permanent school fund and could never be used for any other purpose. The available fund was derived from the following sources:

- (1) The income from the permanent fund.
- (2) One fourth of the annual revenues derived from general taxation.
- (3) A poll tax of one dollar on every voter between twenty-one and sixty years of age.
- (4) Local taxation of such an amount "as will be necessary to provide the necessary schoolhouses in each district and insure the education of all the scholastic inhabitants both white and black" for ten months each year.

The school law of 1870. In August, 1870, a law was enacted complying with the demands of the constitution. Owing to the unpopularity of its authors, it was treated with indifference, and few schools were organized. This neglect angered the radicals, who decided to accomplish by forcible means what they failed to do by persuasive measures, and therefore they enacted the drastic law of 1871.

The radical school system. The law of 1871 set up the most imperial system of education known to any American state. It was organized along military lines and assumed absolute authority over the training of the children. A state board of education was provided, consisting of the superintendent of public instruction, the governor, and the attorney general. This board was empowered to act in place of the legislature in school affairs. Its duties were as follows:

- (1) To adopt all necessary rules and regulations for the establishment and promotion of public schools.
- (2) To provide for the examination and appointment of all teachers.
- (3) To fix the salaries of teachers.
- (4) To define the state course of study.
- (5) To select textbooks and apparatus for the schools.
- (6) To prescribe the duties of the boards of directors of the several school districts.

As the superintendent was the chief member of the state board, his will naturally dominated in the conduct of its operations.

Duties of the state superintendent. The superintendent had many special functions to perform apart from his relation to the board :

(1) To gather school statistics and disseminate educational information among the teachers and patrons.

(2) To have charge of the investment of the permanent school fund and the distribution of the available fund.

(3) To appoint a district supervisor for each of the 35 judicial districts.

(4) To approve all accounts for the payment of teachers, for schoolbooks, and for apparatus.

(5) To approve all district school directors or trustees appointed by the 35 supervisors.

(6) To approve all plans and specifications for school buildings.

(7) To approve all contracts for school buildings.

(8) To rent rooms or buildings for school purposes anywhere in the state where local officers declined to act.

Functions of the district supervisors. The 35 district supervisors were required to perform the following duties :

(1) To divide the counties under their charge into convenient school districts.

(2) To appoint 5 members to act as a board of directors in each school district.

(3) To enforce the rules and regulations adopted by the state board of education.

(4) To report pupils who were delinquent in fulfilling the compulsory attendance law.

(5) To examine teachers.

District boards of directors. Five citizens were to be appointed in each district to exercise the following limited functions :

(1) To decide upon the question of separate schools for the two races.

(2) To levy a tax of one per cent "for the purpose of building schoolhouses and maintaining schools in their respective school districts."

(3) To select sites for the schoolhouses.

(4) To enforce attendance upon the public schools.

Such were the main features of this militaristic system of organization. One is led to imagine what was left to the choice and discretion of the people. They had but to pay the taxes for the support of the system and obediently to send their children to school. With the management of the schools they had absolutely nothing to do. A system more foreign to the sentiments of the people of Texas could not have been devised.

State Superintendent De Gress. To bring this highly centralized organization into operation the governor did not appoint an experienced educator, but a young military officer, who had never taught, Jacob C. De Gress. Born in Prussia, he came to Missouri with his father when ten years of age. After receiving some education, he entered the United States Army in 1861 and served in various capacities. Retiring from the army on account of wounds, he was appointed superintendent of public instruction by Gov. E. J. Davis and held the office from May, 1871, to February, 1874. He undertook to organize and manage the school system with military rigor and without regard to the wishes or the financial ability of the people.

What was accomplished. Mr. De Gress boastfully reported in 1871: "The public free schools opened on the 4th ultimo (Sept.) for the first time in the history of Texas." The scholastic population at the time was 229,568. By December, 1324 schools were in operation with 63,504 pupils enrolled. During the session of 1872-73, 129,542 children attended school for a portion of the ten months. This was 56 per cent of the scholastic popula-

tion. During 1873-74, 102,689 were enrolled out of 269,451, or 38 per cent.

The schools were graded into those of the first, second, and third class. The branches taught in the schools of the third class were orthography, reading, penmanship, geography, and primary arithmetic; in schools of the second class, orthography, reading, penmanship, higher geography, mental and practical arithmetic, elementary English grammar, and history of the United States; in schools of the first class, orthography, reading, penmanship, mental and higher arithmetic, English grammar, English composition, modern history, physical geography, Constitution of the United States, and any branches of a higher grade that pupils may be competent to study. Spanish, French, or German could be taught, but not more than two hours a day. Needlework was required in schools for girls.

Building schoolhouses. When the system was inaugurated, there were only one or two school buildings owned by the public in the entire state. A special school tax was authorized for the construction of buildings. In 1871-72 the sum of \$78,815 was expended for this purpose, and in the following year \$44,063. The opposition to this tax was intense, and comparatively few districts secured buildings.

Antagonism to the system. Bitter opposition to this school system set up by the radicals arose immediately. It was stigmatized as tyrannical, accused of graft and favoritism, and pilloried as "the infamous school system." Many state officers refused to coöperate and neglected to send reports of the scholastic census, of taxes, and of buildings, thus seriously hindering the organization. The state board and superintendent met the opposition sometimes by drastic action and sometimes by changes in regulations, only making the operation of the system more confused and the people more infuriated.

The school-tax war. The bitterest element in the entire situation was unquestionably the imposition of the 1 per cent tax upon

all property for the support of schools and the building of school-houses. This tax was authorized in the school law passed on April 12, 1871, and was sent to the governor for signature. After a lapse of five days, *i.e.* on April 17, this measure automatically became a law without his signature. On April 22 another measure was passed reducing the tax to one fourth of the ad valorem state tax and giving the county courts power to reduce even more if necessary. At the same time all other tax laws in conflict were repealed. This enactment received the governor's signature and became the law. But, two days later, *i.e.* on April 24, the governor approved the former school bill which passed on the 12th and had become the law on the 17th. During the following month the state board of education ordered the board of directors in each district to levy a tax of 1 per cent. The taxpayers over the state assembled in meetings to protest against the imposition of this tax as unjust and illegal. A general Taxpayers' Convention was held in Austin. This body advised the people of the state to refuse to pay the tax. Meanwhile the whole question was carried to the courts, where a number of years later the tax was declared illegal.

According to the reports of the state superintendent the following amounts of this special tax were levied and collected :

	LEVY	COLLECTED
1871	\$2,225,040	
1872	2,079,205	\$1,077,838.60
1873		24,931.21

While the opposition to the tax was based upon the illegality of the law, the real cause was the absolute repugnance of the people to any tax for public education. The policy of using force to compel one man to educate the children of another violated every sense of right and justice. It was regarded as nothing less than robbery and confiscation. So far as the building of school-houses was concerned, they claimed that it was too much to expect

a people impoverished by war to erect in one year all the school buildings necessary for the children. Mr. De Gress urged upon the legislature a law permitting bonds to be issued for building schools, payable in twenty or thirty years. But the legislature refused to pass such a measure, though it would have been a most salutary action.

Compulsory attendance. This violated another deep-seated prejudice of the majority of the Texas people. At this time only two states, Massachusetts and Vermont, had adopted the policy of compelling attendance. The Texas people believed that it fitted the autocratic governments of Europe and of domineering New England, but not the free people of America. They held the age of six years was altogether too young to send children to school in a state which had no roads and where they were open to attack by desperadoes. The age of eighteen was too old, taking the boys from working on farms and the girls from the homes where they were needed to help sustain the family. The poverty of the people stricken by war did not permit of such an imposition.

Deeper still was the objection that compulsory attendance at state schools appeared to be ruthless violation of parental rights. Tragic was the plight of those Texans who clung tenaciously to the old Southern ideals of family life and culture. The new schools and their foreign conductors were robbing them of the most intimate and sacred of all parental functions, the training and religious nurture of their own children. In our day it is no longer possible to fathom the intensity of feeling against such a desecration of the divinely appointed order.

Teachers and employees. Another reason for determined opposition was the large number and the character of employees and teachers. In order to carry out the vast scheme the board of education appointed sub-superintendents, supervisors, inspectors, committees, architects, and printers. Most of the teachers and officers were strangers to the Texas people. They had no voice

whatever in the selection of these officials or of the teachers of their children, which was in violation of the rights of a free and democratic people.

The education of the negroes. The Texas people retained for the most part the Southern prewar prejudice against the education of the negroes. The fact that the colored people evinced an eager thirst for learning, thinking that by this means they would speedily be on a level with their former masters, tended to increase the opposition. A deep-seated suspicion was current that the radical leaders favored the education of the colored race in order to gain their political support, thus to continue with their assistance the control of the government. Moreover there was the danger that such an alliance would further increase the tyranny of the school regulations and finally perhaps coerce the white children to attend the same schools as the colored. Whites who taught negro schools were ostracised and sometimes insulted.

Extravagance. Another cause for great dissatisfaction and protest was the lavish manner in which money was appropriated. Expenditures bore no relation to available funds. For the year 1872-73 the available fund according to the report of Mr. De Gress was \$478,820.34, while the disbursement amounted to \$1,144,535.55. A host of officials was employed at salaries far in excess of what was really necessary. The state superintendent received \$3000; 12 supervisors each received \$1800; and others in proportion. The schedule of salaries for teachers was as follows for ten months:

Third Class	\$75 per month
Second Class	\$90 per month
First Class	\$110 per month
Principals	\$115-\$150 per month

Dr. Wm. Carey Crane, president of Baylor, criticizing these salaries, stated: "The lowest salaries should have been the highest for the present, and even that is nearly thirty dollars above the

average per month in Pennsylvania and New York." On the other side, the salary scale was defended by Superintendent De Gress in the following statement :

The experience of all States has demonstrated the fact that poor teachers speedily bring reproach upon any system of public instruction, and loses to the people much of the interest they would otherwise feel in educational matters. This is one of the principal reasons why the figures of teachers' salaries were placed so high at the outset.

After the radical school] system had been eliminated by the return of the democracy of the state, it was found that a floating indebtedness of approximately \$1,000,000 was still owing for the conduct of the system. It was some years before this debt was finally paid.

The autocratic powers of the superintendent and the board. Another great objection to the system was the arbitrary method of managing it, and the extraordinary powers exercised by the board of education and the superintendent. The people had no voice whatever in the conduct of schools which their children were forced to attend. All officers were appointed directly by the superintendent or with his consent. Teachers were appointed by the state board without consulting the patrons. The state was divided into 77 districts and a school inspector appointed for each district. The state superintendent arbitrarily did away with the district boards of directors and appointed five directors for each county to take charge of the schools of the county. In leasing buildings Superintendent De Gress had all leases made in his name. He determined the amount of rentals to be paid for all such buildings used for school purposes throughout the state. In the selection of textbooks, also, the state board was vigorously assailed. Many of the texts authorized were printed in the Northern states and were written by Northern authors who expressed sentiments inimical to the ideals and prejudices of the South.

Defense of the radical system. This highly centralized school system was not without its apologists and those who judged it with unprejudiced minds. Its ardent defenders pointed with feeling to the reprehensible conduct of the opposition in diverting the "sacred school fund" to pay for the "rebellion." Superintendent De Gress reported that the people of Texas had been permitted to grow up in ignorance for two generations, and only a system which compelled attendance would succeed.

A number of the contemporary leaders of education were willing to acknowledge the efficiency of the system though opposed to the means by which it was operated. President Burleson, Secretary Hollingsworth, and others in looking back upon the efforts of the radicals condemned its grave blunders but praised its efficiency. Free schools were opened for the first time in the history of the state. Both races were given opportunity to receive school training under fairly competent teachers. One writer described the system in the following manner :

To be candid, however, it cannot be denied that the schools were, in general, perhaps effective and much good was done, though at tremendous cost to the people, and a heavy debt laid upon them. Officers were strangers to Texas in many cases, and the whole system and its strange conductors seemed to have suddenly taken possession of the school interests that has been so long looked upon by the people of Texas as a part of the parental and family functions.

On the whole, the system was far more fitted for a paternalistic or bureaucratic state such as flourished in central Europe, than for a free and democratic Western people. It is worthy of note, however, that although the system was repudiated by the returning Democratic party of that time, and all of its efficient features eliminated, yet during the past two decades a number of these same features have again been incorporated into the school system by the authority of the people of Texas. Among such features

we note the employment of a state superintendent of public instruction and supervisory officers, compulsory attendance, local taxation for buildings and for support of schools, classification of schools, grading of teachers' certificates, state-adopted, uniform textbooks, and a certain degree of control over the expenditure for buildings. The present tendency is also toward the county unit which was arbitrarily adopted by Superintendent De Gress. There has likewise been a steady growth of the power of the state department of education over the school system. While it has not become as bureaucratic as the radical system, the movement may finally result in a form of organization not dissimilar.

The beginnings of reaction. The old Southern democracy was returned to power in 1873 and a new school law was enacted which began the destruction of the radical system. The management and organization were taken out of the hands of the state superintendent and board and lodged with the people. Little attention was paid to the law. Only 30 counties made complete scholastic reports, and 10 were partially complete. The next year scarcely any reported. The attendance fell from 56.9 per cent in 1872-73 to 38 per cent in 1873-74, and the next year no reports were made of attendance. The people reverted to private schools such as existed in *ante bellum* times. The public educational condition again had become completely chaotic.

ADDITIONAL READING

EBY, FREDERICK — *Education in Texas; Source Materials.*

CHAPTER VIII

THE REESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE SYSTEM, 1875-1883

The making of the new constitution. The accumulating wrath of Texas democracy reached high tide in the convention which assembled to rewrite the constitution in September, 1875. As was to be expected, a bitter struggle engaged the representatives of the two political parties with their diverse and antagonistic sociological and educational traditions. Other subjects of contention were numerous, but none was so violently fought over as the article on education. The variety of opinions on every phase of this subject was astonishing. At the one extreme were many who did not believe in public education in any form; men who saw in it only a new kind of tyranny which had its origin in New England or the monarchies of the Old World. At the other extreme were the strong partisans of the highly elaborate and centralized system of the departing radical régime. A powerful faction favored the prewar method of pauper education. A number of the members of the committee on education in the constitutional convention reported in favor of this outworn plan. They reiterated all the old arguments against a free state-supported system, declaring it was antagonistic to the law of God, who divinely authorized parents to control the training of their offspring; contrary to the principle of religious liberty; and a violation of justice in taxing one man to help educate the children of another. Theirs was the slogan, "Away with free schools; let every man educate his own child." This extensive group was composed of the partisans of sectarian schools, who desired to perpetuate the old policy

of state subsidies for the private and denominational institutions. Only on a few points was there universal agreement. Among these were two important lessons which the people had learned from sad experiences: (1) There must be separate schools for the white and colored children. (2) The school fund must never again be diverted to any extraneous purpose.

The contest in the convention over the article on education raged for many days. The first report of the committee consisted of a majority report signed by nine members and two minority reports. After much further acrimonious discussion, numerous amendments, resolutions, and proposals, the entire subject with all these recommendations was referred to a new special committee of seven members. After further lengthy deliberation this special committee failed to agree, and a majority report signed by six members and a minority report signed by one were introduced.

The article on education. The article on education as finally adopted after so much wrangling was naturally a disappointing compromise which fell far short of meeting the real needs of the times. In its intense hatred of the radical school system the convention blindly wrecked the entire organization, destroying the features which were good together with those which were bad. Along with the others many of the policies favored by democracy in former days were swept away in the terrible reaction of political sentiment. The new constitution abolished the office of state superintendent of public instruction, together with all other supervisory functions. It eliminated compulsory attendance and all provision for the districting of the counties. The free school age now became the period from 8 to 14. Local taxation for building schoolhouses and maintaining schools by public funds was rendered impossible under the new conditions. The county school lands which the Constitution of 1869 had placed under the control of the legislature were now returned to their respective counties. The proportion of the general revenue set apart for the support of

schools was restricted to one fourth or less of the occupational and ad valorem taxes.

Furthermore it was declared "the duty of the legislature of the state to establish and make suitable provision for the support and maintenance of an efficient system of public free schools." But no suggestion was given as to what was to be understood by the term "efficient system"; and in the absence of all recognized standards of educational merit, this catchword was not merely meaningless but deceptive and harmful. Provision was made for the school fund which was henceforth to include all funds, lands, and other property set apart and appropriated for the support of public schools; all the alternate sections of land reserved by the state out of grants heretofore made to the railroads or other corporations, of any nature whatsoever; one half of all the public domain of the state; and all sums of money which may come to the state from the sale of any portion of the same. In all, this amounted to something like 45,000,000 acres of land available for the endowment of public schools. This was exclusive of the four leagues granted to each county. At the same time the permanent fund invested in bonds amounted to \$3,256,970. After all, even this reactionary body had dealt more generously with the public schools than had many of the other states of the Union.

The school law of 1876. The school law was now rewritten in accordance with the policies set forth in the new constitution. A state board of education was authorized and set up, which was to have general oversight of the schools, so far as any central control was to be exercised. This board was permitted to secure the services of a secretary; but beyond collecting the reports of the school officers and dispensing useful information, he was merely a clerk without supervising powers.

The community system. The method of school organization adopted in the new law was as simple and as loose as it could possibly be. In the absence of any authority for dividing the counties

into suitable school districts, the parents and guardians were permitted to unite and organize themselves into school communities, embracing such population as might agree to take advantage of the benefits of the available free school fund. The parents submitted to the county judge, who was ex officio county superintendent, a list of the children whom they wished to send to the school. This officer was required to appoint three trustees to act for the term in which the school was to be in operation. These trustees were charged with the employment of the teacher, and the general oversight of the school. This entire process had to be repeated yearly. There were no definite boundaries for the school communities, and the patronage of schools shifted from year to year. Any group of children, however few there might be, could form a school. The "community" was a purely voluntary district in the exact sense of the term, having legal existence for one year only.

A number of advantages were claimed for this so-called community system of organization which was original with Texas and never utilized in any other state: (1) It gave to parents the greatest latitude in determining for themselves the kind of education they desired for their children and the character of teacher they wished to employ. (2) There was no restriction to the number of children necessary to constitute a school community. The system was, therefore, adapted to the sparsely settled areas of Texas and fitted also those sections which were growing rapidly and in which changes were frequent. The district system had formerly been given a trial and was not found to fit these conditions. (3) The parents could enjoy the use of the state school fund, together with the minimum of state interference. Moreover, it lodged the responsibility of educating the children upon the parents, where, as they believed, it belonged, and did not permit of local taxation, by which the rich man is forced to pay for the education of the poor man's children.

Disadvantages of the community system. The objections to the new method of organization were numerous: (1) Under this system no local taxes could be collected, as there were no fixed boundaries for the school community. (2) The schools, having no permanent organization, but merely existing for a few months, to be reconstructed anew each successive year, could erect no permanent buildings. (3) A number of small and inefficient schools were usually conducted in communities which were scarcely large enough for one good one. It offered a means by which petty jealousies, prejudices, and often sectarian bitterness rather than community coöperation controlled in the maintenance of schools. The annual reorganization produced continual controversy among the patrons. (4) It tended to the disintegration and dissipation of the school resources. The school fund, which should have been expended in fostering an enduring school spirit and a stable organization, was dispensed from year to year without lasting results. Under these circumstances no continuity of action or sentiment for public education was possible. (5) There was an entirely new board of trustees every year, and even these might be removed by the petition of the majority of the patrons. (6) There was no fixed place for the school, but its location was determined anew each year. (7) A parent might join in the organization of a school ten or fifteen miles from his residence without any intention of patronizing it, thus seriously crippling the school in his own neighborhood.

The working of the system. The new system of organization appeared to give rather satisfactory results for several years. The number of children enrolled in the schools increased remarkably when we consider that attendance was purely on the voluntary basis and also that many of the people hated public education bitterly. The following report of the scholastic population is incomplete, for many officers failed to take the census.

SCHOLASTIC ENROLLMENT AND ATTENDANCE

YEARS	ENROLLED	SCHOLASTICS
1876-77	133,568	154,530
1877-78	146,946	168,294
1878-79	192,654	208,324

Likewise the expenditures for the support of the schools continued to increase.

EXPENDITURES

YEARS	EXPENDITURES
1876-77	\$479,400
1877-78	757,323
1878-79	869,474

Judged from the enrollment and the increase in revenue the new system was a working success, but many weaknesses soon began to appear. The average length of the school term in the country schools was less than four months. No schoolhouses were built, and the teachers were almost totally lacking in preparation for their work. By the third year, *i.e.*, in 1879, many people had reached the conclusion that the system was not satisfactory, and it must either be radically transformed or done away with entirely. In a letter to Governor Roberts, Dr. Rufus C. Burleson declared, "The present system of free schools is not what the interests and the constitution of Texas demand. It is a failure and a prodigal waste of at least \$800,000 of the people's money." Governor Roberts, who at this time was not an ardent partisan of the free school policy, was likewise strongly convinced that the schools were a dismal failure; even less efficient than those which were in existence before the war.

The crisis. In April, 1879, Governor Roberts vetoed the appropriation for the support of the schools and precipitated a new crisis in the school affairs of the state. For several years the government had been struggling to pay the large floating indebtedness still remaining from the extravagance of the radical régime. The total annual revenues of the state were not sufficient to pay off the debt, to meet the running expenses of the government, and to permit the use of one fourth of the total for the maintenance of the free school system. By the law of 1876 one fourth of the total revenue was definitely set aside for this purpose. The constitutional requirement did not demand that one fourth must be set aside, but rather that "not more than one fourth should be so used." Influenced by the inefficiency of the school system, and the need for curtailing expenditures, Governor Roberts refused to sanction the appropriation bill again setting aside one fourth of the revenues for the schools. He demanded that the amount be cut down to one sixth, until the state should again be free from debt. His action brought on a bitter political fight and revived the old opposition to public education. Some wanted the constitutional limit of one fourth of the public revenues retained; others wanted much less. Many were still bitterly opposed to the whole enterprise of public education. This group now found new support from men who discredited the system because they hoped to exploit the public lands for their private gain. They contended that it was a Yankee innovation and a failure. In any case the state was financially embarrassed, and the creditors had a prior claim to the public revenues.

The appropriation for schools passed at the special session of the legislature in June, 1879, cut the amount from one fourth to one sixth of the annual revenues. The salaries of the teachers were made contingent upon the attendance of seventy-five per cent of the children enrolled in the scholastic census. A maximum was fixed beyond which the salaries of the three grades into which

teachers were divided could not go. The amount expended for the schools fell off \$190,157 for the year 1879-80. The attendance fell off 5868 in spite of the fact that the total number of scholastics increased over 10 per cent. The next several years saw a still further decline in school revenues and in the enrollment of children. These changes led to a speedy degeneration of the schools.

The fight against the policy of retrenchment set in operation by Governor Roberts focused attention upon the weaknesses of the school system. The conditions were the more deplorable because the free schools had operated to drive out the private schools which everywhere had sprung again into existence after the war. Numerous suggestions of reforms were put forth, but the most pressing difficulties of the time may be reduced to four: (1) The need of better qualified teachers. (2) The need of state and local supervision. (3) The formation of permanent school districts in counties. (4) A more adequate and fixed income for the support of the schools. Other problems of moment, but secondary in importance, were the need of schoolhouses, the grading of the schools, better methods of instruction, school equipments, high schools, and a more fundamental popular appreciation of genuine standards of professional workmanship. The four main needs of the schools must be discussed more in detail.

1. Better equipped teachers. Complaint at the dearth of competent teachers was not new in the state; in fact, every decade had expressed grievous dissatisfaction over the lack of professionally trained instructors. Many had been the efforts to interest the people in this matter and to secure an institution for this purpose. Up to this time the supply of teachers had almost entirely been drawn from other states and foreign countries. There were practically 7000 teachers in the state, and only a few were trained. Gradually did the fact dawn upon the leaders that a public school system could not be run successfully unless the state licensed the teachers and furnished the means for professional equipment. As

yet there was no institution of any kind, public or private, to perform this important function.

2. The need of state and local supervision. The necessity for educational supervision was widely recognized as one of the greatest needs. The reactionary policy of the framers of the constitution in 1876 had rejected the office of state superintendent of public instruction, and the law made no provision for supervising officers. Even the idea of supervision had come to be associated with the gross extravagance and the tyrannical conduct of the radical school organization and was repellant to the ideas of the people at large.

3. The formation of permanent districts. The division of the counties into school districts which would form permanent units of organization was a necessary element of a system of state free schools. It may be valuable to review what Texas had done up to this time in regard to this matter. The law of 1840 permitted the school commissioners to lay off such districts, but not one had been formed. The law of 1854 again made provision for the districting of the counties, but only two or three had availed themselves of this privilege, and the plan was abandoned in 1856. The radical system districted the counties in 1871 and appointed school directors or trustees for each district. The reaction of 1876 again destroyed the efforts at districting the counties, and, as we have seen, the community system was put into operation. Thus the state had played fast and loose with the very foundation of any genuine public free school system. The great objection alleged against the district system on all occasions had been the scattered character of the population of the state. The fact that states like Missouri, Minnesota, Colorado, California, and others had adopted the district system when their lands were as sparsely populated as Texas would indicate that the real reason for opposition was to be found elsewhere. Moreover, while the population of Texas was exceedingly sparse in some sections of the state,

others were fairly well settled and could have easily adopted the district plan.

The widening contrast of town and rural schools. From early times, as we have had occasion to see, the towns of Texas were granted special privileges by the legislature for the conduct and management of their schools. They were permitted to vote taxes for maintenance and for the construction of buildings. They formed districts independent of the ordinary state rules, while at the same time they received the state per capita allotment for their children. These privileges were reaffirmed by the Constitution of 1876 and by subsequent laws. Incorporated towns were privileged to vote on the question of assuming control of their own schools as independent districts and on how large a tax the people desired to pay for this purpose. They could also choose the form of government, whether the schools should be managed by the city council or by a board of trustees appointed for that purpose. With great rapidity the towns began to avail themselves of these privileges, especially after the year 1880. They turned away from the private schools which furnished facilities chiefly for the well-to-do, in order to establish public free schools open equally to all children.

The rapid advancement of the town schools, especially those under the fostering care of the Peabody Board, whose influence will be considered later, gave the people of Texas their first object lesson in effective public education. Soon the town districts with their independent privileges contrasted sharply with the chaotic conditions in rural education. The numerous discriminations made in favor of the towns and the disadvantage of the rural sections were clearly seen: (1) The salaries of teachers in the country schools were restricted to a set amount, making it impossible to employ the best teachers for the country children. No such restriction was placed upon the towns in contracting with teachers. (2) The towns were permitted to vote a local tax of 50 cents on

the \$100 valuation of property in order to continue the schools in operation for ten months of the year. The rural communities were not permitted to vote any taxes for the maintenance of good schools. (3) The country schools ran on the average about $3\frac{1}{2}$ months each year, while the average for the towns was approximately 8 months. (4) The town schools employed expert supervisors; the country schools were supervised by the county judges, who generally had little interest and no knowledge of school affairs. (5) The towns were rapidly building permanent schoolhouses by public taxation; this was wholly impossible in the country.

Considered all in all, it would seem that had the leaders of that time purposely set about to favor the urban districts at the expense of the rural people they could not have acted with greater sagacity. It is true that those who made the laws did not aim to keep the country children in ignorance or to make so marked a difference in educational opportunities. But as circumstances worked themselves out, rural Texas was left in a condition of relative destitution. Rural Texas supplied the wealth and the school fund, urban Texas enjoyed the real advantages. The opportunity thus acquired to develop the town schools unhampered by the blighting restrictions which governed the community schools had far-reaching effects. It tended to produce a deep gulf of separation between the culture of the town and that of the rural population. The splendid development of the schools in the towns during this time, under the guidance and financial assistance of the Peabody Fund, reacted broadly throughout the state and persuaded the people generally that there could be no progress for the country schools until the district system should be adopted. This conviction led to a movement to bring about a constitutional amendment which would grant the counties the liberty to adopt the district system in case they desired to do so.

4. Increased finances a growing necessity. The fathers of Texas had a desire to endow the schools so bountifully that local

taxation would be forever unnecessary. For this reason they were persuaded to set apart large portions of the public domain for the maintenance of schools. By the time of annexation in 1845 it had already become clear that the plan of donating lands was wholly impractical as a method of supporting public education. They then adopted the policy of setting apart one tenth of the general revenues for this purpose. This method met with little objection; first, because this money was supposed to be used for the tuition of orphans and indigent children; second, because money from the general revenue was regarded as a charity, and not an invasion of the rights of property by coercing one man to educate the children of another. Introduced into the organic law of the state in this acceptable manner, the use of a small portion of the general revenue for the support of free schools for all children was later adopted by the legislature without much opposition. According to the constitution "not more than one fourth of the general revenue" could be set aside for the maintenance of schools. From 1876 to 1879 the legislature had set aside the full amount of one fourth. The financial embarrassment of the state treasury at the time, as we have learned, induced the governor and legislature in 1879 to restrict this amount to one sixth, to the imperiling of the schools. It was now clear that the annual income for the support of the schools must be increased from some source other than the general revenue.

It was also seen that the other chief source of income was not sufficient to establish and maintain "an efficient school system." The scholastic population was increasing at more than ten per cent each year, while the income from the permanent fund was increasing only five per cent. Schools for the rural population were being maintained for a little above three and one half months a year. The prospects were that even this inadequate term would be shortened still further. In order to meet this danger two remedies were proposed; the one was to increase the

amount of the permanent fund by a more rapid sale of the school lands; the other was to resort to local taxation. Many of the towns had already adopted local taxation, and the common school system was reluctantly forced to consider the same policy. But local taxation for the rural communities required a change in the constitution. This step was strongly urged upon the public in 1880 by Secretary Hollingsworth, and also by the state board of education, of which Governor Roberts was the chairman.

Agencies affecting educational progress. The crisis caused by the action of Governor Roberts in vetoing the educational bill and reducing the appropriation for the schools aroused anew a discussion in favor of the state free school system. A revolution in public sentiment toward education was set in motion through the coöperation of various influences. It is now necessary to study these important factors.

Among the new influences which affected the Texas people at this time was the establishment of the Federal Bureau of Education. By diffusing information in regard to the schools of the various states it afforded the public a comparative standard by which to judge educational work. The early annual reports beginning in 1870 brought to popular attention the problem of illiteracy discovered during the Civil War. The growing danger from the large increase in vagabondage and crime especially among the youth of the cities was also depicted. The only remedy for these evils which threatened the very life of the nation lay in the development of public education.

Work and influence of the Peabody agents. Following the blighting disaster due to the war between the states the supreme need of the entire South was the permanent reconstruction of her shattered industries and disorganized social system. No measures could hope to bring about more speedy and lasting results than the widest diffusion of education among the two races, the whites and blacks, now facing each other on a new basis. It was strangely

fortunate that at this critical juncture, when Texas and the South were most deeply prostrated by defeat and the ruin which followed the war, a princely New England philanthropist perceived the only remedial agency which promised speedily to reestablish a new and harmonious social order and a progressive and permanent civilization. In 1867 George Peabody, a wealthy merchant and broker, donated approximately \$2,000,000 to assist the former Confederate States in establishing free public schools. No agency has accomplished so much as this one for the rehabilitation of the South and the organization of her schools and industries.

The generous fund donated by Mr. Peabody was placed under the care of a board of seven men to be used as they saw best for assisting the stricken territory. It was decided that for the time being only the income should be used to promote the establishment of schools. As we shall see, this fund was distributed with the utmost care. But the brilliant achievements which were accomplished by the Peabody Fund were not due solely to the financial aid which was extended to the various poverty-stricken communities. The most valuable results were due to the winsome personality, discernment, tact, and genuine sympathy of the agents of the board, the first being Dr. Barnas Sears and the second Dr. J. L. M. Curry. As the successor of Horace Mann in the secretaryship of the Massachusetts School Board, and later as the successor of Dr. Francis Wayland in the presidency of Brown University, Dr. Sears was an educator of the highest scholarship and broadest experience. On assuming the agency of the Peabody Educational Board, with discriminating goodwill he took up his residence and citizenship in Richmond, Virginia, in order to identify himself unreservedly with the people whom he wished to assist.

Dr. Sears visited Texas for the first time in 1869, seeking to acquaint himself with educational conditions in the Lone Star State and to make some appropriation for the progress of the schools. He was, however, disappointed with conditions and reported to

the board that circumstances were too unfavorable for the initiation of their work here. In 1877 he again visited the state, with a determination to accomplish some results, because Mr. Peabody had expressed a special desire that something be done for the welfare of education in Texas. Dr. Sears addressed the legislature and held a number of public meetings in the most important towns over the state. Everywhere the burden of his heart was the thought that education is an essential function of government, and that poor public schools are worse than none at all. The public schools, he held, drive out the private schools and furnish no adequate equivalent in return. He strongly opposed mixed schools for whites and blacks, advocated supervision, the training of teachers, and other progressive measures. His ideas were not radical, and, therefore, he quickly secured the confidence of the people. Meanwhile from 1874 to 1878 Dr. Rufus C. Burleson, president of Waco University, was employed as the local agent of the Peabody Board for Texas. In this capacity he visited every part of the state, speaking in favor of the free state school system. He encountered much indifference in certain places; in others sharp and even malicious opposition; in many places great interest and sympathy.

Rules governing the work of the Peabody Board. When after the organization of the Peabody Educational Board Dr. Sears had time to survey the needs of the South, he made his first report suggesting the method which should be adopted. These recommendations were accepted as the rules governing the future conduct of this fund, and they have had a powerful influence in directing the policies of all similar educational foundations since that day. These guiding principles were as follows:

1. That in promoting "Primary or Common School Education," we confine ourselves, as far as possible, to Public Schools.
2. Instead of supporting small schools in the country, or helping to support them by paying the tuition of poor children, we limit our-

selves to rendering aid to schools where large numbers can be gathered and where a model system of schools can be organized.

3. That, other things being equal, we give the preference to places which will, by their example, exert the widest influence upon the surrounding country.

4. That we aim at the power and efficacy of a limited number of such schools in a given locality rather than at the multiplication of schools languishing for want of sufficient support.

5. That we make efforts in all suitable ways to improve State systems of education, to act through their organs, and to make use of their machinery wherever they are proffered us.

6. That we use our influence in favor of State Normal Schools, on account of their superior excellence over Normal Departments in Colleges and Academies, which will be overshadowed by the literary and scientific departments, and fail to win the regards and excite the enthusiasm of students or the interest of the general public.

7. That we give special attention to the training of female teachers for Primary Schools, rather than to the general culture of young men in Colleges, who will be likely to teach in the higher schools for the benefit of the few.

8. That, in the preparation of colored teachers, we encourage their attendance at regular Normal Schools, and, only in exceptional cases, at other schools which attempt to give normal instruction.

9. That we favor the appointment and support of State Superintendents, the formation of State Associations of teachers, and the publication of periodicals for the improvement of teachers, and, where it shall be necessary, contribute moderate amounts in aid of these objects.¹

From the experiences of the first decade of the work in promoting education in other Southern States, Dr. Sears and the board concluded to aid only such schools and at such places as would become models to guide all surrounding schools. Attention was accordingly concentrated upon the towns. In order

¹ *Proceedings of the Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund.* Vol. I.

to secure assistance from the Peabody Board each school was required to be graded and to continue ten months in the year. Two things were regarded as most essential to the success of a public school system: First, each school must be "vigilantly supervised by competent superintendents" and "taught and disciplined by efficient officers." Second, there must be means for training expert teachers. These views were adopted as the accepted policy of the board in 1877. In his report, Dr. Sears in writing of Texas stated:

Assistance has been promised, on condition that the schools of each city shall be put in charge of a superintendent who has had a professional training and experience, and who shall be able to train the existing corps of teachers by weekly instructions, as well as to superintend the schools and direct the teachers in their daily work. Until Normal Schools shall be established, this kind of training in the cities and teachers' institutes in all parts of the State will be indispensable. Otherwise, the public schools will be but a farce. I need not say that these conclusions are drawn from personal observation. The contrast between two or three cities which have already adopted these improved methods and those that tread in the old Texas paths is almost incredible.

The work of the Peabody Fund in Texas. In this period of educational confusion and inefficiency the Peabody Board and agents rendered most effective aid to the cause of public education in this state. There were three main lines of activity followed:

1. They promoted city schools. It was their definite policy to foster schools in certain strategic centers throughout the state which might act as models for the surrounding region. The places which received assistance in the development of schools were San Antonio, Houston, Galveston, Brenham, Sherman, Fredericksburg, New Braunfels, Marshall, Harmony (Lancaster), Weston, Powell, Dale, Gatesville, Harrison County, Denison, Belton, Gonzales, and Bryan. Most of the aid was given between the years 1874

and 1880, although much was donated in fostering other interests in later years. In all the Peabody Fund up to 1900 gave to Texas education \$154,124.

In all these places superintendents were employed, largely selected by the agents of the board because of their recognized success in supervising city schools. By guaranteeing the salary of the superintendents for one or more years, the towns were induced to supply buildings and teachers and also to tax themselves to maintain the schools for a term of nine or ten months. The schools were graded into 7 or 8 grades. The superintendents were expected to give much attention to training their corps of teachers along expert professional lines to make up for the lack of normal schools in the state.

The financial aid given by the board to any one of these places was not large. But its importance lay in the fact that it stimulated more generous support on the part of the people of the locality, and thus reconciled them to the principle of local taxation for the support of the town schools.

2. The board also carried on a campaign of general enlightenment in regard to public education. A state agent was employed to deliver lectures and familiarize the people with educational ideas and progress. The secretary of the state board of education who received a most meager allowance from the legislature for sustaining his work received a subsidy for traveling expenses and other needs. The secretary was thus enabled to make his office more effective in diffusing information in regard to the schools and their needs. The board gave small sums to foster an educational journal and for teachers' institutes for the professional development of teachers.

3. By far the largest achievement of the Peabody Board was the promotion of teacher training. For forty years educational leaders in Texas had advocated various means for the equipment of teachers for the profession. Through the assistance and advice

of the board the Sam Houston Normal Institute was established in 1879. This great step was realized only after Dr. Sears had offered to donate \$6000 for the institution provided the legislature would appropriate an equal amount. After this time the board gave an annual subsidy for the maintenance of this work. The board also instituted other means for the development of professional life among the teachers. It generously offered a number of scholarships to Texas teachers at the Peabody College at Nashville, Tennessee. These scholarships amounted to \$46,630 up to 1900. It promoted teachers' institutes and summer normal institutes for the study of methods of teaching. Nothing contributed so powerfully to the advancement of the cause of popular education as this training of teachers for the schools. It is clear to those who study the causes of the widespread revolution in educational sentiment which was now going on that the Peabody influence was the most effective. Unquestionably it was the persuasive counsel of Dr. Sears which induced the leading minds of the state to favor the principle of free state education for all children even in the face of its universal unpopularity, associated as it still was with the bitter memories of Reconstruction days.

Results of Peabody aid. In the cities three distinct results were achieved. First, model schools were established by aid of the Peabody Fund at Houston, Brenham, San Antonio, and several other cities. Second, the movement for local control of the town schools and of raising taxes for their support made rapid progress. Third, many of the leading citizens, formerly foes to the public schools, now proclaimed their devotion to the cause of free education.

Governor O. M. Roberts. It fell to the lot of this man, familiarly termed "The Old Alcalde," to play the most conspicuous rôle in establishing the new foundations for the educational system of Texas. Once only in the history of any state is even a governor afforded an opportunity so prodigious and potential. Nor does

an opportunity so extraordinary always find a man so well qualified to make the most of the occasion. He was graduated at the University of Alabama and always retained a profound interest in higher institutions of learning. Throughout his long experience in Texas from 1842, he was intimately connected with the schools as trustee, patron, teacher, and as a member of two constitutional conventions when the question of education was hotly discussed. A lawyer and jurist by profession, he was by temperament, habits, and sympathies a man of the common people. In the year 1879 he undertook the reorganization of the Agricultural and Mechanical College and brought about the establishment of the Sam Houston Normal Institute. He likewise assisted in the promotion of summer normal schools and teachers' institutes. Finally in 1882 he took the lead in the organization of the University of Texas, which was founded by the fathers of the Republic in 1839 and established by law in 1858.

The services of O. M. Roberts in popularizing the free school system have been thrown somewhat into eclipse by these more definite and concrete evidences of his educational statesmanship. But it was during his administration that popular sentiment was converted from violent antagonism to enthusiastic acceptance of the free public system of education. In this phenomenal alteration of policy Roberts participated, not merely as a great molder of opinion but as a convert. When he entered upon the governorship in 1879, he was rather indifferent to this plan of organization. Not only was he strongly biased in favor of private schools and religious education, but he shared the deep-seated abhorrence of the radical system. He frankly stated that "the best and most satisfactory common schools that we ever had were those during a number of years before the late Civil War." As we have already seen, his action in 1879 in vetoing the education bill which appropriated one fourth of the annual revenue for the maintenance of the public schools precipitated a crisis. This action brought

the condition of the public school system clearly before the attention of the people. Strong criticism was directed at the governor for crippling the schools already weak and inefficient. From this time we find him taking a new and positive stand in favor of a complete system of public education. In his message to the legislature in 1881 he declared :

The educational interests of this State, in all of its grades, from the highest to the lowest, should be regulated and adapted to the wants of the people in every condition of life; should have, in all of its parts and branches, a well-defined consistency and relation of one to the other in the different gradations, and should all be under the same supervision, government and control, to the extent that it is fostered by the State government, not including private institutions of learning. The natural division in the gradation of schools, in order to meet the wants of the people, is into three steps or degrees of education — the common schools for the millions, the academies for the thousands, and the college or university for the hundreds. So it has been, and ever will be, and the encouragement and provision for each degree are equally essential in the effort to elevate society to a higher standard of civilization.

In making an endeavor to establish such a complete system of education of all grades, Governor Roberts was obeying his profound respect for law and the constitution of the state. He felt that such a system had the full sanction of the law passed by the fathers of the Republic in 1839 in donating land for primary schools, academies, and for two universities. Moreover, his legal sense led him to respect the demand of the constitution for the establishment of an "efficient system of public free schools." But it would seem clear that his sentiments were molded to a large extent by the gentle and scholarly influence of Dr. Sears, not to mention a number of the leaders in Texas. The gratifying success of the Sam Houston Normal Institute greatly increased his zeal for the general cause of popular schools.

Secretary O. N. Hollingsworth. Another individual who played a notable part in popularizing free schools during this time was O. N. Hollingsworth. In 1873 he was chosen state superintendent in the election which brought back the Democratic party to power. Upon the abandonment of the state superintendency by the constitutional convention of 1875 he was appointed secretary of the state board of education and in this capacity served until 1883, throughout the most formative years in the history of Texas schools. Unlike Mr. De Gress, Hollingsworth was an experienced educator. He grew up in east Texas, where he received an elementary training in the schools which flourished during the fifties. In 1859-60 he attended the University of Virginia, though he did not remain long enough to graduate because of entering the army. For some years after the war he conducted a private school in San Antonio and later established a pretentious institution in San Marcos which was far beyond his financial ability to complete.

The task of reorganizing the schools after the reaction which swept away the radical system was difficult in the extreme. The vastness of the territory to be covered, the violent repugnance against anything savoring of state control of education, the absence of any authority in the office which he held, the niggardly financial support allowed by the legislature for the work, and the lack of coöperation on the part of state officers who were charged with duties under the school law, were sufficient to discourage the most heroic spirit. While he was a true democrat, he was fully aware of the great mistake made in the complete abandonment of the system in vogue before 1876. He understood the colossal difficulties confronting him in an effort to establish a new structure upon the gigantic ruins of an inflated system which had been swept out of existence, leaving as a monument to its discredit an indebtedness of approximately one million dollars due teachers, officers, and lessors of schoolhouses. Never was an office assumed in times more unpromising and unhappy. The intensity of prejudice

against public education had reached a climax. In his first report to Governor Coke, Hollingsworth wrote :

Less than twelve months ago I entered without sympathy, without encouragement, upon the arduous and responsible duties of this department, surrounded on every hand by embarrassments, disorder, distrust, and worst of all, unsupported by adequate legislation.

By assiduous toil in collecting information in regard to the operation of the loosely organized schools, by wise suggestions for legislation, by quiet but effective advice and rulings, he organized the semblance of a school system and brought order out of chaos. In his biennial reports he found a medium for diffusing information to the people. In 1880 he took a progressive step and initiated the *Texas Journal of Education*. In this publication he found a vehicle for the expression of the great need of educational reforms. In numerous editorials and articles he expounded the clear philosophy of an efficient free state school system. He advocated the newer methods of instruction, the grading of schools, adequate supervision, local taxation, the districting of the counties, and numerous other reforms which were necessary for the system. This journal, while financially a failure, gave the teaching profession its first medium of expression.

The work of Secretary Hollingsworth was not spectacular and consequently it did not arouse much antagonism. It was performed quietly, thoughtfully, more directed toward the teachers than toward the masses of the people. That it was effective is clear from the fact that a large number of his suggestions were finally enacted into law.

Teachers prefer public schools. Another factor making for the triumph of the free-school policy was the preference of the teachers. They had generally come to appreciate the superiority of the state system as compared with the inefficiency and difficulties of the private schools. The uncertainty of payments,

irregularity of attendance, and the all too frequent unhappy relations with meddling patrons were fully remembered. The certainty of the income, the greater sense of professional freedom, the securer tenure of office stimulated the teachers to favor the free system and to work for its development.

Among the leading educators of the times were Ashbel Smith who, as we have seen, had been active in the cause of popular education for over forty years and for a time was county superintendent; Dr. R. C. Burleson, president of Waco University, who acted as the state agent for the Peabody Board; and Dr. William Carey Crane, president of Baylor University. Dr. Crane was the most scholarly, polished, and literary man in the teaching profession in Texas at that time. Not only did he hold the highest offices and honors in his denomination, but he was in constant requisition as a speaker and leader in all educational gatherings. He was the first president of the State Teachers' Association and chairman of the committee which recommended to the governor the founding of the Sam Houston Normal Institute and the reorganization of the public school system in 1879. Unfortunately Dr. Crane was strongly biased in favor of the New York State plan of school organization which permitted the use of state funds for the support of private and denominational institutions of learning. He was a Southerner by birth but had received much of his education in Colgate University, New York, and this experience had led him to adopt an educational policy which was soon to be abandoned everywhere in this country. His activities were chiefly directed to the development of higher standards of scholarship and the broader diffusion of culture.

ADDITIONAL READINGS

EBY, FREDERICK — *Education in Texas; Source Materials. Biennial Reports of the State Board of Education.*

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATIONAL REORGANIZATION AND PROGRESS, 1883-1900

The revolution in educational sentiment. After the bitter experience with the radical school system a large proportion of the people of Texas were more than ever rabidly antagonistic to free popular education. However, about 1880 a rapid and far-reaching revolution in public sentiment began. The political leaders who had so violently denounced and repudiated the policies of the radicals suddenly dropped their invectives against state schools and began to declare their fervent friendliness. All the leading daily newspapers as well as the rural press became pronounced advocates of a thorough and efficient system of popular instruction. The difference in tone was so extensive and extraordinary that a contemporary writer, Mr. S. G. Sneed, described the change in these striking terms :

One fact is certain, the expressed sentiment of 1874 and the sentiment of 1886 in regard to public free schools are as differently flavored as though a new race had sprung up on Texas soil — educated under a different system and indoctrinated with different ideas, teaching a new philosophy of government.¹

This great alteration in public opinion was noted likewise by Dr. Barnas Sears, the general agent for the Peabody Fund. In his annual report in 1881 he wrote :

A remarkable change has taken place in the views of the best citizens ; and to-day no politician ventures to oppose increasing the appropriation to the constitutional limit.

¹ *Texas Review*, Vol. I, 1885-86.

The first constitutional amendment. The revolution in educational conceptions led to an agitation for a better school system and brought about the first constitutional amendment. The amendment favored the district school system and the right of voting local taxation wherever the people wished to exercise this privilege. This amendment, advocated by Governor Roberts, the state board of education, the state teachers' association, and a majority of the political leaders, was finally passed in 1883. The vote was 29,734 for and 21,060 against. The fact that this great step was taken when the majority of the voters were still smarting from the remembrance of the tyranny and extravagance of the radical system is testimony to the profound and far-reaching character of the awakening which had occurred.

The changes in the constitution. The two features of the constitutional amendment were, first, the changes in the method of providing revenue for the support of the schools; second, the permission given counties to form school districts outside the cities and towns.

The constitution declared that "not more than one fourth of the general revenue of the state and a poll tax of one dollar" could be appropriated by the legislature for the support of the common schools. This provision had two defects: it was altogether too meager and at the same time too uncertain, depending, as it did, upon the whims and exigencies of the legislature. The latter difficulty was evident when in 1879 the amount of the general revenue for the schools was reduced from one fourth to one sixth, and in consequence the available fund fell off from \$869,474 to \$679,317. By the amendment of 1883 the following sources of revenue were provided:

- (1) One fourth of the revenue derived from the state occupation tax.
- (2) A poll tax of one dollar on all voters between the ages of twenty-one and sixty.

(3) An ad valorem tax of such an amount, not to exceed 20 cents on the \$100 valuation, as with the available school fund arising from all other sources will be sufficient to maintain and support the public free schools of this state for a period of not less than six months in each year.

The school law rewritten. The first result of the great educational revolution was the complete rewriting of the school law in 1884. The new law became the basis for all future progress in education, and upon it we have been building with many minute changes and developments, but with none of those violent reactions such as had taken place in the past. The most important features of the new law were as follows :

(1) A state superintendent was to be elected to have general supervision over all the schools of the common school system.

(2) All counties except fifty-three which were especially exempted were to be divided into school districts. The fifty-three exempted were mainly in east Texas and in the Rio Grande Valley. They were to retain the old form of annual reorganization of schools, now known as the community plan.

(3) District or local taxation was authorized up to 20 cents on the \$100 valuation, provided two thirds of the property owners who paid taxes voted in favor of such a tax.

(4) A state tax up to 20 cents on the \$100 valuation was to be collected on all property or as much of this as was necessary with other sources of income to maintain the schools for a term of six months each year.

(5) The school fund was to be invested in county and other bonds, thus enlarging the means of steady investment of the permanent fund.

Local taxation, the vital issue. It was the question of school taxation which had been so desperately fought all through the years by the opponents of free public schools. The new amendment and the law now established the right of taxation on all property for the education of all the children of the community. Edu-

cation was no longer regarded as a public or private charity but as a necessary function of government and the natural right of every child. At last after forty years of rabid opposition the majority of the people of Texas accepted the doctrine of a political and educational philosophy which had been regarded with deep aversion and fought with desperate bitterness. The passage of the amendment marks the final acceptance of the free school policy with all its consequences. Secretary Baker, of the state board of education, expressed this in his report :

Friends of education can feel assured that our public free schools have passed the experimental stage and have so firmly fixed themselves in public esteem as to stand in no danger of discontinuance.

It must be understood, however, that while the people accepted the new order the full development of the free school policy was to be realized only gradually by many years of patient effort.

The real significance of the revolution which came about so speedily must be further explained, for it involved much more than a change in school organization. The educational revolution was fundamentally the expression of a new view of the nature and function of the state and popular government. With the birth of the American Republic the civil state had emerged as an organic entity with an independent life. Statehood took on a wholly new significance. This philosophy of government with its logical consequences was adopted early in the North but was not accepted in the more aristocratic and conservative South until some years after the Civil War. Then the supremacy of the modern state and its organic character were recognized, and its manifold implications tardily accepted. The new doctrine was evident in the slogans which became current in Texas in the struggle for the free school system: "It is cheaper to educate the ignorant than to reform the vicious"; "Schools, if properly conducted, afford a cheaper and safer protection against crime

than sheriffs, standing armies, jails, and penitentiaries." The argument which won the fight for public schools was the right of the state to preserve itself by the education of its future citizens. Conscious of its needs and purposes, the state no longer left education to the whims of parents or to the uncertain operation of the church, but undertook independently to control the forming of the character of its youth. Childhood was henceforth under the guardianship of the state.

With these changes in the constitution and the school law the fundamental features of a public school system were at last firmly established. The people of Texas were now free to work out in detail the various aspects of the system as rapidly as they might wish to do so, but the period from 1884 until the end of the century was marked by slow yet steady growth. No more sweeping changes fell with lightning disaster upon the system. The people began to understand the nature of the school organization and to form right habits of response. Changes in the laws were frequent; in fact, too frequent and usually inadequate.

The weak points. Sweeping as the educational revolution appeared to be, it was devitalized by several grave weaknesses. While the new law placed upon the state the responsibility of maintaining by taxation a public school system for six months in each year — which never has been done — it shifted the responsibility for educational progress upon the counties and local districts. The leaders were convinced that this was the wisest arrangement by the commendable progress made by the towns which had assumed control of their own schools. With liberty for local taxation the leaders expected the rural districts to exhibit similar zeal in the advancement of their schools. But in this they were much deluded. The vast body of the country people had no clear conceptions of public education. Never having had experience of good schools, they were ignorant of real standards of education and could not visualize an efficient school

system. Those who could do so moved to the towns to educate their children. Again, the voting of local taxes was rendered almost impossible by undemocratic restrictions. A majority of two thirds was required, and only the property owners who would pay the tax were permitted to vote. This was done for fear that the radical and negro voters might plunge the districts into extravagance. The voting of a local tax was made still more difficult by the development of absentee landlordism, which began to appear more fully at this time. It is notorious that this class has always opposed the imposition of taxes for the education of the children of the tenantry. As a consequence of these and other difficulties few districts voted a local tax, and stagnation and inertia blighted the progress of the rural schools.

The broadening of state education. The doctrine of public education having been accepted, the question at once arose: How far does the obligation of the state for the education of the young extend? Many of the leaders argued that the duty of the state is limited to the bare needs of citizenship. It should furnish only the elements of learning which are necessary to fit children to perform the duties and rights of suffrage. The capacity to read and write the English language with a fair degree of accuracy and a knowledge of the fundamental operations of arithmetic to meet the needs of ordinary business transactions were the limit set by many high authorities. Only this much of an education is the sacred duty of the state to provide for its own welfare and security. The broadening of the elementary curriculum, the elimination of sectarian instruction, and the expansion of state education upward to include the public high school took place at this time. The law of 1876 required the teaching of orthography, reading, writing, English grammar, composition, geography, and arithmetic. The law of 1884 required the same list of subjects, but stipulated that the reading be done in the English language. A number of schools were being taught at this time with no English

whatever. In spite of much effort on the part of the educational authorities to enforce the law foreign settlers continued to teach their native languages in the state schools. The law of 1884 gave the state superintendent and also the trustees the privilege of requiring other subjects than those listed. This permission was utilized especially in the independent school districts where a broader culture was demanded. In 1893, through the influence of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, physiology and hygiene were required in all the schools. This was a nation-wide movement. In 1899 the study of the humane treatment of animals was required. The expansion of the school upward will be treated in another chapter.

The struggle for supervision. Long before the Civil War the people of the Northern states discovered that no system of schools can be efficiently operated without adequate supervision. As a consequence the employment of state and city superintendents became the general practice. The people of Texas had incorporated the office of state superintendent in the Constitution of 1866, which was shortly disallowed by the Federal Government. The subsequent establishment of the office under the radical régime led to such gross abuses that it was abandoned rather too eagerly in 1876. Only a secretary of the board of education was authorized in the terrible reaction. The powers of the secretary were so restricted that the office was reduced to a mere clerkship and left little or no supervisory authority. By the year 1880 the educational leaders were unanimous in calling for the reestablishment of the office with a genuine educational function. O. M. Roberts, the retiring governor, and his successor, John Ireland, both favored the movement. The office was authorized by state law in 1884, and the first superintendent was Benjamin M. Baker, who had followed O. N. Hollingsworth as secretary of the board of education in 1883. Mr. Baker was a lawyer, but made an effective superintendent until 1886, when he was succeeded by Oscar H. Cooper.

Not only was state supervision over the system required, but even more essential was the need for local supervision of the common school system. While the independent districts in the towns and cities had already employed superintendents to look after their schools, the rural schools were sadly neglected. The educational leaders were unanimous in regard to this matter. State Superintendent Baker declared :

Local supervision of the public schools is the one imperative necessity and without it the greatest success must not be anticipated. My judgment is that the greatest need of our schools is supervision.

The Honorable Oscar H. Cooper said :

The arguments in favor of the supervision of ungraded schools in the country are unanswerable. No prudent man would employ a number of workmen on his farm or in his shop without devising some means by which their work could be efficiently supervised. . . . It is impossible to organize our schools on sound business principles without such supervision.

Dr. Joseph Baldwin, President of Sam Houston Normal, stated :

All experience demonstrates that schools are efficient in the direct ratio of the intelligence and thoroughness of the supervision. . . . City and village superintendents are secured by our present law. Their jurisdiction might well be extended to all schools in their respective precincts. A supreme need is the efficient supervision of country schools.

While there was a general agreement that supervision of common schools was imperative, there was no unanimity as to the method of securing it. There were several reasons why this was the case: First, the counties of Texas showed a great variation in the density of population from the sections in the east, where children were plentiful, to the sections in the west, where many counties did not have half a dozen scholastics. Again, the

expense of supervision disturbed many. It appeared absurd to spend large sums of money in employing expert county supervising officers when the common schools of Texas were obliged to run less than four months each year. The danger of centralization also arose. Many were painfully reminded of the 35 district supervisors appointed by Superintendent De Gress to inspect the schools. They feared that local supervision would renew the despotic conditions of the early seventies. The State Teachers' Association in 1879 recommended that the state be divided into six large districts on the basis of scholastic population, and that a superintendent should be employed for each district, giving his entire time to the administration of the common schools. Mr. Hollingsworth, the secretary of the state board of education, advocated the employment of a superintendent for each county with 2000 scholastics and one for two or more counties where the population did not reach that number. He pointed to the great benefits attained under proper supervision in Pennsylvania and other states. Dr. Joseph Baldwin and other educators believed that the expense was too great to employ a superintendent in each separate county, and advocated one for each senatorial district, or thirty-five for the entire state. The majority of the people was apathetic in regard to the matter, preferring to leave the management of the schools in the inexpert and indifferent hands of the county judges, where the law had already placed it. The discussion raged for a number of years. Finally, in 1887 the office of county superintendent was created by law. But unfortunately for the interests of the country schools the law was gravely defective in several features: The question whether the office should be established and continued in a county was left to the discretion of the county commissioners' court "who may hold an election when in their judgment it may be advisable," and it is notorious that such civil officers had little interest in the progress of the schools. The result was that very few counties adopted

the special officer in place of the county judge for the supervision of the schools. Not until the law was changed in 1907, requiring a superintendent in every county with 2000 scholastics, was there a perceptible increase in the number of county superintendents.

NUMBER OF COUNTY SUPERINTENDENTS

	NUMBER OF COUNTIES	COUNTY SUPERINTENDENTS	COUNTY JUDGES
1887-88	192	26	166
1898-99	197	22	175
1904-05	236	38	198
1908-09	243	108	135
1912-13	247	118	129
1918-19	252	140	112

Moreover, the office was made elective rather than appointive. This has rendered it a political rather than a professional function and has prevented the tenure of office from becoming sufficiently long to develop experienced and efficient professional school administrators and supervisors. This has remained until to-day one of the very weakest phases of the conduct of education in this state.

Decline of private schools. Some developments of minor significance appeared during these years, among them the decline of private schools. The marked improvement in the character of the town schools lessened the prejudice against them, and even the wealthier people began to send their children to these rather than to the private schools. The lack of patronage led to the decrease of such semiaristocratic institutions. The growth of municipal high schools was another factor in hastening this decrease. The high schools affiliated with the University of Texas largely took over the function of the academies which had sprung up after the war.

The secularization of education. To the minds of early Texans education and religion were inseparable. For this reason they were unalterably opposed to the secularism of public instruction.

Let us see what became of this powerful sentiment during the triumph of the free school system. On the one hand, objections to the state school system because of its secular character were expressed for the last time with any vigor. On the other hand, in many communities of the state, where a particular religious body was dominant, strong action was required to prevent sectarian influences from controlling the schools.

Many of the most powerful leaders of educational and political affairs opposed secularization. In his message to the legislature in 1881 Governor Roberts discussed the statement of the constitution which forbids the use of the school fund "for the support of any sectarian school." He contended that this did not necessarily require the exclusion of all religious teaching from the public schools, but only of those doctrines which are flagrantly sectarian. The action of the board of education in trying to enforce this constitutional requirement brought great criticism upon itself, some going so far as to call it "the infidel board of education." Before this the state board of education had taken a decided position opposing religious instruction. In 1886 at the San Marcos Sunday School Assembly and Summer Institute addresses were delivered by Dr. R. L. Dabney of the University of Texas, the Honorable Gustave Cook, and the Honorable H. Teichmueller. Each strongly presented the inherent connection of religion and education and opposed the secular public schools. Even as late as 1890 a discussion was held at the meeting of the Texas State Teachers' Association on "The Sphere of the State and That of the Church in Education." Dr. Leslie Waggener, of the University of Texas, advocated state education and the teaching of morals in the public schools. Dr. John H. McLean, president of Southwestern University, advocated the claims of religious education. He declared:

It is a great mistake to imagine that this state has eliminated the great subject of religion or morality from the public schools. It has

simply declared against forms of religion and sectarian religion being taught in the public schools. Justly and rightly has it interdicted sectarian religion. That qualifying term "sectarian" religion is all that is interdicted and intended to be interdicted by the state of Texas.

In adopting public schools, numerous communities, where religious opinion was largely unified, continued to teach religion, though this was contrary to state law. In 1886 Superintendent Baker urged the legislature to define what was meant by "sectarian school."

Religious training is neither a function nor a duty of government; it belongs exclusively to the church and to the home and to such private institutions of learning as may be established by individual means. The Protestant should not be taxed to teach Judaism to his child, nor *vice versa*. In my judgment a great majority of the bitter disagreements arising daily as to the management of our public schools spring from this question of religious instruction in them, and we need not expect anything approaching perfect harmony until the principle is plainly laid down that the schools are for the preparation of the children for citizenship only and the rule fixed thereby rigidly enforced.

In a number of communities religious bodies endeavored to use the schools for religious instruction and propaganda. During the nineties the matter was brought into court and the state superintendent made a very definite ruling on the question of what constituted "sectarian schools."

After this the issue gradually subsided. In 1908 the State Supreme Court rendered a decision permitting the Bible to be read in any public school but without comment. But this has not been generally practiced. In recent days there has been a revival of interest in the teaching of religion in the state schools.

The permanent school fund. It will be recalled that prior to the Civil War Texas had a school fund which amounted in 1861

to \$2,592,533.14. Although much of this original sum was diverted and lost by poor investments, the fund had subsequently been recuperated to a large extent, and in 1879 amounted to more than \$3,000,000. According to the constitution this could not be invested in any but United States and Texas State bonds, thus greatly restricting the possibilities of safe investment with a steady income. In 1883 the amendment to the constitution permitted investment in county bonds. But all of these avenues of investment did not keep all the fund steadily at interest.

This permanent fund was rapidly increasing by money coming from the sale of the state school lands which in all amounted to 45,000,000 acres. By the law of 1876 these lands could be sold only in tracts of 160 acres to any one individual and on condition that the purchaser would settle upon the claim. The purpose of this restriction was to prevent land speculation and to insure the growth of population. But these conditions were found to be too drastic and resulted in preventing the disposal of the land itself. In the five years from 1876 to 1881, according to the statement of Governor Roberts, only an average of 11,000 acres was disposed of annually. Meanwhile, as has been observed, the scholastic population of Texas was increasing far more rapidly than the income for the support of the schools. In consequence the people could only expect the school system to grow steadily poorer each year, unless some new means of increasing the revenues could be devised. In this serious situation it was felt that the school lands should be sold more rapidly and the income from the accumulated fund added to the annual apportionment for the support of the schools.

Governor Roberts on assuming office in 1879 recommended that the school lands should be sold in tracts of 3 sections or less and without requiring the purchaser to settle upon the land. His plan was adopted by the legislature in 1880, and as a result 360,360 acres were sold in the first nine months of the operation of the new

law. The permanent school fund was increased in this way. But the sale was upon long-time payments and at a low rate of interest. While these sales added materially to the size of the permanent fund, it did not furnish much increase in available funds nor did it make the income steady, for many purchasers were unable to meet their obligations year by year.

In spite of these arrangements the scholastic population continued to outrun the increase in annual income for the support of schools. The situation became acute in the early nineties. A deficit occurred in the payment of the appropriation for the schools, and teachers were forced to sell their school warrants at a great discount. The school term also decreased in length. The year 1894-95 saw the smallest per capita appropriation made since 1882. Not only did the available fund change from year to year, sometimes increasing and sometimes decreasing, but the per capita apportionment varied with it, so that school officers could never know in advance the financial condition of the school treasury. This extreme variability was due to a number of causes; chief among these causes were two: Hard times made it impossible for many purchasers of school lands to meet their interest payments when due, and, again, much of the permanent fund lay idle in the state treasury because of the lack of safe means of investment.

Owing to the need for more funds to maintain the schools, a constitutional amendment was passed in 1891 permitting 1 per cent of the permanent school fund to be used annually as part of the available fund. Never was a policy more unwise, for if persisted in, this would have finally resulted in the loss of the entire permanent fund. From the time the law was passed in 1892 until it was repealed in 1899 no less than \$1,336,461.68 was expended in accordance with this amendment.

Progress in cities and towns. The greatest progress in education during the last two decades of the century took place in

the cities and towns. These were growing rapidly in wealth, and the population was not only increasing in numbers, but was becoming more and more cosmopolitan in character.

Meanwhile the legislature had adopted a series of laws which permitted the urban centers a far greater amount of self-determination in education than was given to the people of the country communities. These laws were as follows:

1875 — “Incorporated cities” were authorized to assume control of the public schools within their limits, to build schoolhouses, levy local taxes for schools by vote of the people, and to provide “gratuitous education for the children within their limits for such time as their constituted authorities may deem expedient.”

1876 — The constitution and the law of 1876 granted any incorporated city or town exclusive control of the public schools within its limits in case a majority of the taxpayers voted in favor of this measure. The city council was given charge of the schools and could “establish and maintain free schools, purchase building sites, construct schoolhouses, and collect local taxes in case two thirds of the property owners voted in favor thereof.

1879 — A new law required that taxes voted for schools in cities and towns shall not exceed one half of one per cent, *i.e.*, 50 cents on the \$100.

1881 — Unincorporated towns and villages of 200 inhabitants or over may incorporate for free school purposes only.

1895 — Cities and towns may issue bonds to build schoolhouses.

By these enactments the cities and towns were enabled to exercise freedom in the development of their educational policies. So eagerly did they act upon their opportunities that the number

of such independent districts rose very rapidly; especially was this the case after 1886-87.

INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICTS

1879-80	94	1885-86	315
1881-82	123	1886-87	254
1882-83	129	1887-88	375
1883-84	208	1893-94	435
1884-85	268	1899-1900	526

To such good purpose did the cities and towns use their opportunities to improve their schools that they soon came to equal in general efficiency the cities and towns of the same size in the most progressive parts of the continent. Dr. Joseph Baldwin stated in 1885:

The graded schools of our towns and cities are rapidly taking rank with the best in the older states. They have thorough organization, efficient supervision, local taxation, and long terms. Our country schools have utter disorganization — no supervision, no local taxation, short terms. I earnestly protest against this discrimination in favor of the cities. I look upon the elevation of our country schools as the most important work now before our statesmen and educators.

In all the vital elements of a good school system there was rapid and substantial progress in the independent districts, as can be readily seen from the following statistics:

SCHOOL BUILDINGS CONSTRUCTED DURING THE YEAR

YEAR	NUMBER	VALUE
1881-82	4	\$ 3,519.63
1884-85	27	71,107.51
1894-95	23	301,977.00
1899-00	21	152,687.00

AMOUNT OF LOCAL TAXES COLLECTED

YEAR	DISTRICTS	AMOUNT
1884-85	51	\$206,532.88
1885-86	49	221,706.47
1886-87	51	219,700.45
1887-88	70	259,266.89
1893-94	—	569,606.74
1894-95	—	584,291.42
1896-97	—	577,674.41

SCHOOLS GRADED

YEAR	TOTAL NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	GRADED	PER CENT
1890-91	9327	605	6.49
1891-92	9576	627	6.54
1892-93	9571	647	6.76
1894-95	10324	866	8.39
1896-97	10589	909	8.58

The cities and towns made progress along many other lines. With their greater wealth they were enabled to pay higher salaries, to secure and hold the better qualified teachers, and to hold school a longer term, on the average about eight months each year. Their schools were graded, and the curricula expanded so as to instruct the children in other lines than those required by law for the common schools. At first in most places the town council took charge of the schools, but the evils of political management were soon apparent, and the people more and more transferred the management of their schools to a board of trustees regularly elected for that purpose. Finally the legislature provided a more uniform system, requiring the election of a board of trustees in most of the independent districts and taking the management of schools out of the hands of the city councils in cities and towns which had

not previously made this change. With this movement went the appointment of superintendents, who were to take charge of the systems under the direction of the boards. By this means professional leadership was introduced, and political interference with and control over the conduct of the schools have largely ceased.

Condition of the common school system. When we turn to the condition of the common schools during this same period, we find a sharp contrast. This entire system suffered from stagnation and indifference. The law of 1884 had relaxed somewhat the extreme stringency of the reactionary epoch, but the results were not as effective or as immediate as one would anticipate. The chief effect of the law of 1884 was to lift the responsibility for educational progress from the state as a whole and to place it upon the local communities. The districting of the counties, the voting of local taxes for school purposes, the building of schoolhouses, and local supervision, were not imposed upon the people by the legislature. Whether the people of any community desired these improvements necessary for a more efficient school system was now left to their own choice. Even the possibility of improving the schools was accordingly transferred to the various counties and local districts, where the people showed little interest in the education of their children.

Two systems of organization. The school law of 1884 established two systems of organization for the counties of Texas, the district system and the community system. By one of the provisions of the law, 53 counties were exempted from the district system and permitted to continue the old plan of organization. As time passed, other counties relapsed and readopted the old community method of conducting their schools, and thus there was a fluctuation from year to year from the one system to the other. This vacillation complicated the development of education and led to general inaction. The community system was vigorously condemned by all the state superintendents and other

educators, but without much effect. On leaving the office of state superintendent, Oscar H. Cooper declared: "The community system is cumbrous, obstructive, and inefficient; it produces a minimum result with a maximum of expenditure. The district system in many counties is but little better than the community; in fact it differs from it more in name than in reality." Many counties continued to organize their schools according to this discredited plan, until finally the legislature in 1909 necessitated the abandonment of the community plan by the last 12 counties.

NUMBER OF DISTRICT AND COMMUNITY COUNTIES

YEAR	DISTRICT COUNTIES	COMMUNITY COUNTIES
1884	125	53
1885	111	90
1886	85	97
1887	95	89
1888	107	87
1889	110	84
1890	130	75
1891	146	94
1893	152	73
1894	200	41
1895	201	35
1897	189	35
1899	191	35
1901	191	33
1903	198	31
1905	208	26
1907	231	13

The building of schoolhouses. Up to this period no feature of public education was harder to deal with than the building of schoolhouses. The more peculiar is this when we recall that the fathers of Texas in the laws of 1839 and 1840 intended especially to provide for their construction. Yet up to 1870 there were only one or two public schoolhouses built in the entire state. The effort of the radicals to force the construction of buildings was a disas-

trous failure and resulted only in enraging the people against public education. The community system did not conduce to the construction of many permanent buildings. The state superintendent in 1887-88 reported that there were in operation 8826 country schools and only 3286 houses owned by the state, and many of these were in deplorably poor condition. The situation at this time is thus described by Superintendent Cooper :

Five thousand five hundred and forty schools are not provided with any kind of a school house. They are temporarily housed in neighborhood churches, vacant barns or out houses, and other such buildings as can be obtained for a nominal rental. *In many counties the value of the common jail exceeds that of all the school property in the county! . . .* It is absurd to suppose that our school system can be generally efficient without adequate provision for building school houses. Under our present law the price of a school house to a community is the suspension of the public school for a year. . . . The average value of the country school houses, with site and furniture, is only three hundred dollars, and more than five thousand schools have no houses at all. . . . Our present policy of making the erection of a school house dependent largely on private subscriptions does not accord with the principles on which public education depends, nor does it give us good school houses. . . . Good school houses, properly equipped, will give vigor, stability, and high efficiency to our school system.

The law made no proper provision for the building of school-houses in the county districts. There was no legal way by which a community might be bonded and thus distribute the cost of a building over a term of years. Not for many years after this was there a rational plan evolved by the state. In 1888 only 37 per cent of the buildings in the counties were owned by the state; in 1896-97 the number had risen to 68 per cent.

The textbook problem. During the early days of Texas the children took to school whatever books the family happened to pos-

sess, and this remained the case to a large extent in the country schools down to a late date. During the radical régime the board of education selected the textbooks and the state superintendent attended to their distribution throughout the state. This was one of the chief offenses that discredited that unhappy system. When the town schools were graded, the problem of textbooks became acute, and great dissatisfaction arose over the matter. In many schools good teaching was impossible on account of the variety of textbooks which parents provided and the trustees allowed to be used. One teacher was obliged to use mental arithmetic, common school arithmetic, higher arithmetic, and university arithmetic at the same time for pupils of the same grade. The county superintendent of Navarro County stated :

In the same school would be found two or three different series of readers and sometimes four different kinds of spelling books. It was the same with grammar, arithmetic, and other branches. The result was that the teacher's time was so divided with the number of recitations that it was simply impossible for him to give the time that was absolutely necessary to an interesting recitation.

At a later period new evils appeared in the use of textbooks. The population was highly migratory, and with every change from one school to another the pupils might be required by the teachers to purchase a new set of books. Frequently new teachers coming into a school demanded that the children purchase an entirely new set of books without regard to prices, which were often extortionate. State Superintendents Baker, Cooper, and Carlisle discussed with great discrimination these evils and the method of remedying them. No effective action, however, was taken by the legislature until 1897, when a textbook board was authorized and a uniform system of books adopted for the elementary schools.

ADDITIONAL READINGS

EBY, FREDERICK — *Education in Texas; Source Materials. Biennial Reports of the Superintendents of Public Instruction.*

CHAPTER X

THE FIRST TWO DECADES OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The revival of interest. The first decade of the present century witnessed a notable revival of educational enthusiasm throughout the old Southland. East of the Mississippi an aggressive movement was promoted by several powerful organizations largely initiated by Northern influences, such as the General Education Board and the Conference for Education in the South. Unfortunately these agencies stolidly declined to extend assistance to Texas. However, educational leaders in the Lone Star State felt the new stimulus and soon initiated similar movements at home. Meanwhile fresh inspiration came from other sources as well. More and more city superintendents and high school teachers began to attend the various Northern institutions, especially in the summer. Here they came into contact with the latest educational developments and the enlightened enthusiasm of the great thinkers, Dr. William T. Harris, Francis Parker, G. Stanley Hall, and John Dewey. Furthermore, the reestablishment of the Department of Pedagogy at the University of Texas in 1897, the initiation of a similar chair in Baylor University, the summer schools, the founding of two new normal schools, and the College of Industrial Arts lifted professional training into larger prominence and awakened a deeper interest in educational progress. The fruitage of the revival was first observable in the rapidly growing cities and towns, but before long attention came to be centered upon the palsied condition of the rural schools.

Progress begins in the city and town schools. The new movement for progress began in the cities and towns, which were growing with unusual rapidity in population and wealth. In his biennial report at the close of the century State Superintendent Kendall, among other recommendations which brought rather brilliant results, advised that the state board of education be authorized to invest the permanent school fund in the building bonds of all independent districts on the same terms and conditions as were provided for buying ordinary county or city bonds. This suggestion was enacted into law in 1901 and stands out as one of the chief causes of a more rapid development of the schools in the independent districts.

The effects of this measure were immediate and far-reaching. As early as 1891 such districts were permitted to issue bonds for the erection of schoolhouses. But the extreme difficulties in selling these bonds in the open market and the excessive discount at which they had to be offered led to the practical nullification of the law. Under these circumstances few places availed themselves of the privilege. As soon as the new law of 1901 permitted the investment of the permanent school fund to purchase such bonds at par a strong impetus was given to the voting of bonds. This result can be seen by a study of the following statistics :

VALUE OF BUILDINGS CONSTRUCTED DURING THE YEAR	
1899-00	\$152,687
1900-01	160,775
1901-02	370,309
1902-03	430,709
1903-04	504,123

Another result of the change just mentioned was the immediate increase in the number of independent districts which organized in order to secure better school advantages.

INCREASE IN INDEPENDENT DISTRICTS

1897-98	. . . . .	223
1898-99	. . . . .	229
1899-00	. . . . .	258
1900-01	. . . . .	272
1901-02	. . . . .	288
1902-03	. . . . .	342
1903-04	. . . . .	381
1904-05	. . . . .	451
1905-06	. . . . .	459
1906-07	. . . . .	498
1907-08	. . . . .	535

An increase in the number of districts levying a local tax also took place. In 1901, out of 272 independent districts only 142, or 52 per cent, had voted a local tax for school purposes. By November, 1904, about 90 per cent of the independent districts had taken this step. A corresponding development along other lines also took place in these schools.

Discrimination against the common schools. To the educational surveyor the schools of Texas at this time present a startling contrast. In the cities and towns the schools measured well up with the best in the nation; those in the country were among the poorest. In 1900 the scholastic population in cities and towns was 157,681; in rural districts, 571,536. For each scholastic in the rural districts \$4.97 was expended for education; for each child in the towns, \$8.35. The average length of term in the one case was 98 days; and in the other, 162. The value of school property in the towns was \$5,046,461; and in the country, \$2,648,180. The school buildings in the towns represented eight times as much investment per child as those of the rural districts. The town teachers received an average salary of \$458.50; and the rural teachers, \$226.82. The towns had a fair proportion of trained teachers; the country had practically none. The town schools were well

organized and effectively supervised according to the standards of the time; the country schools were almost entirely under the management of nonprofessional officers, the ex officio county judges, who had no professional interest in education. There were 11,460 rural schools in the state, and only 930 of them were graded; all the others were one-teacher, ungraded schools.

It is well-nigh incredible that such gross inequalities should be permitted to grow up among a people who claimed to be democratic. But still more astonishing is the fact that these unjust discriminations against the country children had their foundation in the laws and constitution of the state; they were not accidental, or due merely to the unfavorable circumstances of a pioneer people. The country people were not allowed the same freedom of judgment and action in the management of their schools that was granted to the parents and citizens of the towns. Restrictions were consciously and intentionally imposed against the free development of rural education. The cities and towns where wealth was concentrated were limited in voting taxes to 50 cents on the \$100 valuation; the country districts to 20 cents. The towns were able to extend the school term to nine months or longer; the rural districts were unable to do this. The towns were privileged to vote a bonded indebtedness for the erection of the necessary school buildings, and the bonds might be paid in five, ten, twenty, or forty years. No such privilege was accorded to the country people, who were forced to provide the school buildings out of their private means in case they desired them. The urban centers were able to develop good high schools, while the rural schools were obliged to discontinue what little they had of instruction in secondary subjects.

Chief causes of lack of progress. Some slight progress was slowly taking place in the common schools, but it was by no means commensurate with the growth of population, wealth, industry, and the higher standards of living. In 1880 the total wealth of

Texas was \$825,000,000, and the school expenditure was 12.5 cents on the \$100 valuation; in 1900 wealth had increased to \$2,322,151,631, and yet only 19.2 cents on each \$100 was expended. The great trouble was that the people had been led to believe that the colossal permanent school fund was sufficient to take care of the entire educational needs of the state without resort to local taxation. This false belief which had come down from early times helped to keep the people in a state of apathy. Flattered by the boasts of office-seeking politicians that Texas had the largest school fund of all the states in the world and that her schools were inferior to none, the people were living in complacent ignorance of the deplorable backwardness of the state school system. The majority of the people had no knowledge whatever of genuine standards of educational achievement. Having attended only the makeshift schools of the rural districts and never having seen any progressive methods, it was quite impossible for them to visualize the new spirit and the technique of up-to-date instruction. They were firmly persuaded that their schools were among the best in the entire nation. It was necessary to convince the people that these notions which had been boastfully asserted by provincial politicians were wholly erroneous. To arouse in them a desire for better schools the leaders of education resorted to a series of comparisons of the school conditions in Texas with those in other states.

Comparative statistics. In his first biennial report State Superintendent Lefevre published some arresting statistics based on the educational ranking of the various states in 1900. Similarly in 1904 Professor W. S. Sutton issued a *Bulletin* entitled "Some Wholesome Educational Statistics," and two years later State Superintendent Cousins included in his report, "Ourselves as Others See Us." These facts and comparisons were widely copied in other publications, and thoughtful citizens were sharply aroused by the discreditable position which Texas occupied.

In 1901-02 this state had the largest permanent school fund and the largest income from this source of all the states in the Union. In the amount raised by direct state taxation for schools Texas stood fifth. As to the amount raised by local taxation this state was 28th in rank.

AMOUNT SPENT PER CAPITA OF POPULATION, 1901-02

Average of United States	\$2.99
Average of North Atlantic Division	4.18
Average of Western Division	4.39
Average of Missouri	2.55
Average of Texas	1.63

Texas ranked 37th in the amount spent per capita.

LENGTH OF SCHOOL YEAR, 1901-02

Average of United States	145 days
Massachusetts	185 days
California	167.4 days
Michigan	164.2 days
Missouri	143 days
Colorado	135 days
Texas	101.91 days

With respect to length of school year, Texas ranked 42d.

PER CENT OF SCHOLASTIC POPULATION ENROLLED IN SCHOOL,
1901-02

Average of United States	71.54
Massachusetts	73.79
California	79.16
Michigan	77.11
Missouri	74.57
Colorado	86.38
Texas	66.74 ¹

Texas stood 38th.

¹ The statistics above are taken from Dr. Sutton's *Bulletin*, "Some Whole-some Educational Statistics."

ANNUAL EXPENDITURE PER PUPIL IN PUBLIC COMMON SCHOOLS,
1899-1900

United States	\$20.29
Maryland	21.95
Minnesota	23.15
Missouri	16.99
Colorado	38.12
California	35.00
Texas	10.19

Texas ranked 37th.

From whatever angle one compared the school system of Texas, it was found to be below the average of the United States as a whole, and in general it ranked 38th among the states. It must be remembered, moreover, that Texas at this time was one of the first states in the Union in per capita wealth, and that her wealth was increasing with greater rapidity than that of most of the others.

The formation of the Conference for Education. At this juncture many of the leading citizens and educators reached the conclusion that a campaign of popular enlightenment was essential if greater progress was to be secured. Through the initiative of Dr. W. S. Sutton, Professor of Education at the University, the Honorable R. B. Cousins, State Superintendent, and H. Carr Pritchett, President of the Sam Houston Normal Institute, a group of representative laymen and teachers came together at Austin in February, 1907, to confer upon the educational needs of the state. As a result of this gathering there was organized the Conference for Education in Texas. It had as its purpose the study of educational conditions and needs throughout the state both for elementary and higher schools, the general diffusion of information, and the promotion of better standards and more adequate facilities.

The officers of the Conference were purposely selected from

among interested laymen as well as leading educators. The Honorable Clarence N. Ousley of the *Fort Worth Record* was elected president of the Conference. The other officers were Dr. H. H. Harrington, President of A. & M. College, vice president, Superintendent A. N. McCallum of the Austin Public Schools, recording secretary, Dr. W. S. Sutton, corresponding secretary, and Mr. E. P. Wilmot, President of the Austin National Bank, treasurer. An executive board was composed of the following members :

Clarence N. Ousley, Chairman

David F. Houston, President of the University of Texas

H. C. Pritchett, President of Sam Houston Normal Institute

Oscar H. Cooper, Abilene

Theodore Harris, San Antonio

R. B. Cousins, State Superintendent of Public Instruction

J. L. Long, Superintendent of the Dallas Public Schools

Mr. F. M. Bralley was appointed general agent of the Conference with an office in Austin. In addition to the holding of a mass meeting each year for the discussion of educational conditions, the Conference scattered information throughout the entire state and promoted local progress by stimulating building, the consolidation of schools, and the purchase of better equipment. Its main achievement lay, however, in bringing about the two constitutional amendments which were passed by popular vote in 1908 and 1909. The activities of the Conference were financed mainly by small contributions from the teachers of the state, but there were larger gifts from wealthy laymen who were deeply interested in the work. The Conference ceased to function effectively about 1912. So long as it remained active, it performed a remarkable service in advancing the school interests of Texas. In this respect it must be associated with the potent influence of the Peabody Fund at the earlier crisis in the life of the free school system. During the first years the Conference had the coöpera-

tion of the teachers, laymen, and the various civic organizations of the state. It was purely nonpartisan in politics. In the later years of the organization there was a less hearty response to its influences. The functions performed by the Conference were largely taken over by the state department of education, which about this time greatly broadened its sphere of leadership, by the extension departments recently organized in the University of Texas and in the Agricultural and Mechanical College, and by the Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations. But while in existence the Conference gave a new and greatly needed impetus to the progress of education in this state.

Amendments to the constitution. The most signal feature of educational progress during the first two decades of the twentieth century is indisputably the amendments which have been voted to the state constitution. Four times the people have voted by large majorities to change the most vital sections of our organic law. Two of these changes took place at the end of the first decade, and the other two at the close of the second decade of the new century. The latter two will be treated later in the chapter. All of these amendments had to do with the methods of financing the common schools.

As we have already seen, the amendment to the constitution in 1883 provided for the district school system and for local taxation. But it limited the local tax to 20 cents on the \$100 valuation and required that it be submitted to an election and carried by a majority of two thirds of the property tax-paying voters of the district. After twenty-five years of trial it had become clear that these restrictions formed the greatest barrier to the progress of the schools. To secure a two-thirds majority on a tax issue was usually quite impossible, partly because of the extreme conservatism of the rural population, but also because of the influence of the large percentage of absentee landlords, who cared little for the education of the children of their tenants. Numerous efforts

to vote a local tax had failed for these reasons. Moreover, in those districts where the tax had already been adopted, further progress was rendered impossible because the tax was limited to 20 cents on the \$100, which was not sufficient to help the schools in any adequate way. Through the leadership of the Conference for Education in Texas a vigorous campaign was carried on for some months, and in November, 1908, the amendments were carried by a decisive majority of 138,440 to 55,185. Three changes were made: One permitted the use of school funds derived from taxation for the equipment of the buildings in common school districts. Formerly only the maintenance of schools and the erection of buildings were permitted. Second, the two-thirds rule was abolished, and only a majority of the qualified property tax-paying voters of the district was necessary to carry the tax. But of even greater importance was the increasing of the limit of taxation from 20 cents to 50 cents on the \$100 valuation in the common school districts. The next year a further amendment was approved by popular vote validating the formation of a number of school districts lying in two or more counties.

The backwardness of the rural schools. The backwardness of the rural schools continued through the first decade of the century. The conditions were succinctly set forth by State Superintendent F. M. Bralley in his first *Biennial Report*:

The seating capacity of the desks accommodates only 373,027 children, while there are 598,618 children of scholastic age. This means that if all the children of scholastic age should attend school on the same day, 225,591 of them would be compelled to do without desks and would have to sit on benches. The apparatus, including maps, globes, etc., is valued at \$30,168, or less than \$2.80 per school. Although there are 10,842 different country schools in Texas, only 938, to which belong 49,960 children, have libraries, leaving 9904 country schools, to which belong 548,648 children, in which there are no libraries. There are 58,277 volumes in the 938 libraries, or an average of 62 volumes per library.

In an address before the State Teachers' Association in 1913 Mr. Bralley presented the following view of the rural schools:

Of the 8500 country schools in Texas today 6500 are one-teacher schools, 2000 of which run less than five months each year, and 300 of which run less than three months of each year; while the average term of the State at large is substantially six months. It is recognized by everybody that the country schools are not as efficient as the town and city schools; and it is easily apparent that the one-teacher country school, as a rule, is the most inefficient and unsatisfactory of the country schools. Not only are the country schools poorly organized, and in many cases inefficiently taught, but the attendance upon the country schools is not at all what it should be. There are more than 50,000 white children in the rural districts of Texas, of scholastic age, who do not annually matriculate in our public schools; and 46 of every 100 children of scholastic age in the rural districts are absent every day the public schools are in session. In other words, more than 300,000 children of scholastic age in the rural districts of Texas are absent every day the schools are in session, and only 54 per cent of the scholastic population of the rural districts are in average daily attendance. It should also be remembered that high schools in sufficient numbers have not been established in the rural districts of the State, notwithstanding 70 per cent of the total scholastic population of Texas reside in the country. . . . It is, therefore, evident that the country schools of Texas are not rendering to the people of the State that vitalizing, effective, and positive service which must be rendered if the country children are to acquire a common school education, and are to be prepared in the country schools for the responsibilities of life and for entrance into the institutions of higher learning.¹

One of the chief reasons for the backwardness of the rural schools lay in the deplorable amount of farm tenancy which existed at this time. The following table shows the growth of this condition in Texas:

¹ *Proceedings and Addresses of the Texas State Teachers' Association*, November, 1913.

1880	37.6 % of all the farmers were tenants
1890	41.9 % of all the farmers were tenants
1900	49.7 % of all the farmers were tenants
1910	52.6 % of all the farmers were tenants
1920	53.3 % of all the farmers were tenants

In 1920 there were six counties with 70 per cent or more of farms with tenants: Navarro, 73 %; Caldwell, 72 %; Ellis, 71 %; Karnes, 70 %; Nueces, 70 %. When we remember that the absentee landlords are averse to the imposition of taxes, it will be readily understood why conditions were so bad.

Increase in local taxation in rural districts. The passage of the constitutional amendments in 1908 led to a more rapid increase in local taxation among the rural districts. From the year 1904-05 to 1905-06 local taxation in the rural districts increased 7 %; the next year, 11 %; the next, 21 %. The first year after the operation of the amendment the increase was 35 %. During the five-year period 1905-06 to 1909-10 the increase in local taxation in common school districts was 152.9 %; in the independent districts only 107.3 %.

Rural school buildings. The method of financing the building of rural schoolhouses had been for half a century one of the most perplexing and insoluble problems. As late as the year 1900 State Superintendent Kendall in his report complained:

In the matter of buildings, the cities and towns can vote upon themselves a bonded debt for the erection of school buildings, which bonds can be made payable in five, ten, twenty, or forty years. No such privilege is accorded by the law of the state to the country school districts. The school patrons and citizens of the country districts must provide out of their own private means the necessary buildings for the use of the public schools.

In the year 1905 a notable step was taken. Common school districts were then for the first time granted the privilege which

the independent districts had enjoyed for over twenty years; they were permitted to vote bonds for building public schoolhouses. But even this did not properly solve the difficulty, for there was little sale for such bonds except at a ruinous discount. Finally in 1909 a new law was passed which permitted the state board of education to invest the permanent school fund in common school district schoolhouse bonds, as had been done for independent districts eight years earlier. This proved to be the final element in the solution of the problem of how to finance schoolhouse construction. Immediately a response came in the voting of bonds for building purposes and a large increase in the amount of funds devoted to this purpose. At the same time the extension department of the university, the Conference for Education, and other agencies offered plans for model buildings and published information on proper lighting, heating, ventilation, and other aspects of school architecture. The rural school buildings in Texas are not yet everywhere what they should be in a wealthy and enlightened state, but there no longer exists any barrier to construction, and gratifying progress is taking place. The state department now furnishes plans for model rural school buildings and has fixed a standard to be met by schools asking special assistance from the rural aid fund.

Changes in the course of study. The past two decades have seen an enrichment of the course of study in the common schools. Under the influences which followed in the wake of the Spanish-American War there was a deepened sense of national dignity and patriotism. As a consequence, in 1901, United States history, Texas history, and civil government were required in all the elementary schools of the state. Moreover, for some years utilitarian conceptions had begun to influence educational views, and it was realized that Texas was preëminently an agricultural state. Persuaded by the "back to the farm" movement which had spread over the entire nation, many people felt that the country boys

and girls should be trained to remain on the soil. They should be educated to appreciate the benefits of farm life and be specifically trained to pursue this vocation more successfully. For these reasons agriculture was added to the curriculum of all public schools in the year 1907. In 1917 a new sense of patriotism was engendered by the World War, and in consequence the legislature passed a new law requiring Texas history to be taught in all the schools of the state and specifying the amount of time to be given to it.

Important developments in the curriculum of the common schools came in connection with the World War. The entrance of the United States into the conflict everywhere affected the schools most vitally. Early in the conduct of the war it was wisely decided that the schools should be continued throughout the duration of the war at maximal efficiency and should be utilized to contribute to the war-time morale and spirit. Very generally teachers turned aside from the ordinary routine of classwork to inform the pupils in regard to the causes of the struggle, and its progress, and to inspire each "to do his bit" to bring about ultimate victory. The schools played a heroic part in the Thrift Campaign, War Stamp Sales, Liberty Bond Campaigns, Red Cross Activities, Food Conservation, Health Crusade Work, War Gardens, Canning, and all similar movements.

The effects wrought by the introduction of these great nationwide movements can never be accurately measured. They brought freshness, enthusiasm, coöperation, patriotism; and above all they threw needed emphasis upon the doing of things rather than on the mere learning of abstractions.

The war revealed the fact that large groups of foreign peoples living in Texas were lacking in loyalty to their adopted country. They had not been Americanized. The startling amount of illiteracy, the lack of physical vigor among a large proportion of the soldiers who were drafted, and other weaknesses were a revela-

tion of the inefficiency of our educational work. A deepened sense of the importance of the school in human affairs was felt. A new emphasis was given to patriotism, the study of history, government, American ideals, American literature, and physical training. The enfranchisement of women likewise tended to emphasize these aspects of popular training.

Rural school consolidation. The district system which at the time of its adoption in 1884 appeared to be the final element necessary to perfect an ideal school system almost immediately began to exhibit grave weaknesses. Too many small districts with independent jurisdiction over the schools were organized so that they were inefficient and unable to bring about concerted progress. Sporadic discussion of the consolidation of small districts began early, but little importance was attached to it by the people generally. At the meeting of the State Teachers' Association in 1903 State Superintendent Lefevre endeavored to raise the question to front-rank importance. He stated:

The idea that each little school and its teacher should have its separate district and separate board of trustees is the most disorganizing mistake in which our public school system has been involved. . . . The consolidation of rural school districts, both with and without transportation of pupils, is the most prominent school question of the day throughout this country.

The following year a *Bulletin* on consolidation was issued by the University of Texas, and the President of the University, David F. Houston, publicly advocated the benefits of consolidation. But in spite of these and other efforts nothing was accomplished, and only in a few scattered cases was consolidation effected. In the year 1907 a study revealed that only 351 small schools had been abandoned, and in their places were 165 consolidated schools. From 1910 to 1914, by the best statistics obtainable, we are informed that in 123 counties 148 consolidations were effected, and

155 schools abandoned. There could be no question of the many great advantages of consolidation. But in the face of all arguments and efforts the number of common school districts in Texas had continued to increase, and very few districts were being consolidated.

In 1918-19 State Superintendent Annie Webb Blanton stated that up to that time there were 491 consolidations in the state. Three years later she reported 757.

STATISTICS OF TRANSPORTATION

	NUMBER OF WAGONS	NUMBER OF CHILDREN
1915-16	109	1416
1917-18	148	2016
1919-20	106	1996 ¹

In 1901-02 there were 5946 common school districts, 2500 community schools, and 288 independent districts. Twenty years later there were 7369 common school districts and 858 independent districts. After twenty years of effort comparatively few schools and districts in Texas have been consolidated. In fact, the movement has largely proved a failure. What are the reasons for this failure, considering the great benefits to be derived by such a development? The following are declared to be the chief obstacles to consolidation: bad roads, community feuds, local prejudices, the excessive cost of transportation, rivalry in relocating the schools, opposition of the absentee landlords, sparseness of settlement, bonded school districts, opposition of the commissioners' courts, distance to the consolidated school, and the jealousy of local boards in regard to their authority.

While there have been comparatively few cases of rural school consolidation when we take into account the large number of

¹ Transportation to Independent District Schools excluded.

rural school districts in the state, on the other hand there have been a considerable number of small rural districts absorbed by the towns and cities to which they were contiguous. These cases will be considered in connection with the development of the town and city schools.

The compulsory attendance law. Popular interest in education had been greatly increasing during the first decade of the new century. The Conference for Education in Texas, the Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations, the State Teachers' Association, and other organizations had aroused much greater enthusiasm. Attention was focused especially upon the rural school situation, which in spite of much discussion remained backward. A number of times bills had been introduced into the legislature looking to the enactment of a compulsory attendance law, and sporadic discussion had taken place in educational circles. In 1914 the Interscholastic League chose for debate in all their contests throughout the state the subject of compulsory education. This brought the question home to many thousands of people more directly than had ever been done. They learned that Texas enjoyed the distinction of being one of the five backward states which had failed to enact a compulsory measure. The other states were Alabama, South Carolina, Florida, and Georgia, all of which were among the lowest educationally. A strong committee of the State Teachers' Association urged the compulsory law and Governor James E. Ferguson recommended its enactment in his initial message to the legislature. As a consequence of these influences the legislature passed a compulsory attendance law in 1915. By this measure children from 8 to 14, unless properly excused, were required to attend school. The law went into effect at the opening of the schools in the fall of 1916, with an attendance of 60 days as a minimum; the next year the period was 80 days, and thereafter 100. The reasons for excusing children were numerous, and the law was rather weak in several other

particulars. However, since going into effect the enrollment and the average attendance have increased. The facts that no great campaign was waged and that there was but little genuine opposition to the adoption of this important feature of public education are evidence that the free state school policy had become firmly accepted by the popular will. The compulsory law must be considered the greatest step of progress since the amendment of the constitution in 1884.

There was considerable laxity in the enforcement of the law during the first several years of its existence. Many of the judicial officers of the state were not in sympathy with this policy of compulsion. During the later years it has been more effective. In 1918-19 the actual school enrollment was 87.4 % of the number of children enumerated in the scholastic census; in 1921-22, it was 93.4 %.

The kindergarten movement in Texas. The first kindergarten in the state of which we have a record was a private undertaking in El Paso. In 1889 a group of young mothers formed a kindergarten association, provided equipment, and secured Miss Lula H. Jones and an assistant to conduct the work. The association two years later induced the city school board to introduce the kindergarten as a part of the public school. For many years the growth of this kindergarten was slow, but during the past decade more children have been attending and kindergartens have been established in several other ward schools.

A private kindergarten was established in Galveston in 1890, and from this sprang the first free charity kindergarten in the state. This free kindergarten was organized in 1892. A number of prominent people conceived the thought of such a school for the poor children, and under the leadership of Mrs. Johanna Runge they were brought together and an association was formed. The kindergarten was opened in the factory district. So great was the enthusiasm that two free kindergartens as well as one

private one were soon put into operation. This is the first awakening of interest of the mothers of any community in Texas in the education of the children of their city.

A similar interest in kindergarten training soon sprang up in other centers. In 1896 the Kindergarten Association was formed in Fort Worth, and in 1900 a kindergarten training school was established. About the same time two organizations undertook to promote charity kindergartens in Dallas. These consolidated in 1901 into the Dallas Free Kindergarten and Industrial Association. Temple, Waco, and other cities soon had similar associations, and private kindergartens were to be found in quite a number of the larger places. The association in Houston was organized in 1902 as the outgrowth of the woman's club movement in that city.

The kindergarten made slow progress even in the large centers, and there was a difficult struggle to maintain the work in most instances. The organization of the Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations in 1909 gave momentum to the growth of kindergartens. Through this influence in 1911 city school boards were given permission to incorporate the kindergarten in the public schools provided they were maintained by local school funds. In 1917 the law was changed and boards were required to establish a kindergarten when 25 of the patrons of the school petition for its establishment. During the year 1923-24 there have been in operation 122 kindergartens, taught by 127 teachers with an enrollment of 5935 children. These kindergartens were located in 31 cities and towns and in six state colleges. Ten training schools are authorized by the state department of education.

More constitutional amendments. If it appears that the history of education in Texas has been more a matter of laws and constitutional changes than in most states, it must be understood that this has been largely due to peculiar conditions in the state. The prolonged and intensified conflict between the various traditional policies caused a greater importance to be at-

tached to the constitutional guarantees and limitations than in most states. The numerous restrictions put into the article of the constitution have been insuperable barriers to the success of the school system. Progress can be marked by the liberating of the people from these barriers, which they themselves imposed from fear of irresponsible elements among the voting population.

In November, 1918, a constitutional amendment was passed for the adoption of free textbooks and for a state tax for the purchase of these books. The ad valorem school tax was raised from 20 to 35 cents on the \$100 valuation; 15 cents of this may be used for textbooks, but any of this amount not used for textbooks is added to the available school fund. Since the year 1919-20 more than two million dollars have accrued to the available fund from this source. At the same time the wording of the amendment made legal the appropriation of funds direct from the state treasury for special purposes or to supplement the state apportionment. Appropriations of various funds had been made for some years, but there was always a feeling of insecurity that these appropriations might be attacked and declared unconstitutional. This amendment was carried by a vote of 86,788 to 38,616.

The latest and most significant of all amendments was carried in 1920 by a majority of 221,223 to 126,282. This finally abolished the limit of taxation which independent and common school districts may levy against property for school purposes. The limit for common school districts had been raised to 50 cents by the amendment of 1908. The conditions which confronted the schools during the war rendered the problem of financing the schools more difficult than ever. A study of the situation had convinced the leaders that the state was bearing an undue proportion of the burden and was supplying too large a share of school funds. Moreover it was clear that if the local support should be brought up to an equitable proportion, it would be necessary to free the school districts from the constitutional limit of 50 cents.

A vigorous campaign was waged for some months under the leadership of Miss Annie Webb Blanton, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, which was known as "The Better Schools Campaign." Approximately \$50,000 was raised to conduct the campaign. An organization was effected in almost all counties of the state, literature was distributed, and speakers informed the people of the needs of the schools. This campaign did much to deepen the interest of the people. By the passage of this amendment the common school system was finally liberated from the shackling restrictions imposed in 1876, and progress made possible, but during the several years which have elapsed since the new amendment went into effect the districts have not taken adequate advantage of their freedom in voting taxes to support the schools. The habit of depending upon the state to supply all the means necessary for maintaining the schools has, it is to be feared, robbed the people of the initiative to help themselves.

Interscholastic League. What is known as the University Interscholastic League was first originated by the authorities of the University of Texas as an association to encourage athletics in the secondary schools of the state. At the suggestion of President Sidney E. Mezes, E. D. Shurter, sometime Professor of Public Speaking, organized the league at the meeting of the State Teachers Association in December, 1910, to promote debating contests among the high schools affiliated with the university. The following year membership was thrown open to all schools in the state below college rank, and contests in declamation were added. The growth in membership proves that the league fills a real need in the educational life of the state. Beginning with 28 schools, the membership is now between four and five thousand.

With the growth in numbers there has gone a development of the league until it has become the largest and most highly organized in the United States. Its purpose, as recently stated, is "to foster in the schools of Texas the study and practice of public

speaking as an aid in the preparation of citizenship; to assist in organizing, standardizing, and controlling athletics in the schools of the state; and to promote county, district, and state interscholastic contests in debate, declamation, spelling, essay writing, athletics, and music." Any public white school below collegiate rank is eligible for membership. The work of the league has been of the highest benefit to the children of the state in giving a broader significance to the various activities which it fosters, while the debates which are heard by several hundred thousand people each year have had no little influence in shaping public opinion on several issues.

The Texas Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations. Among the important agencies in the promotion of better schools in Texas during the past decade have been the Mothers' Clubs and the Parent-Teacher Associations. These originated in the widespread feminine movement for intellectual and social expression during the closing decade of the 19th century. The pioneering movement in bringing about the organization of mothers came from the early kindergarten associations. We may regard the beginning of the kindergarten work in Galveston as the real origin of the mothers' club movement. It is the first time of which we have the record of the awakening of the mothers of any community in Texas to the demands of child welfare. But other factors leading to the influence of mothers in education must also be mentioned. In 1894 the Woman's Congress of Texas, meeting in Dallas in connection with the State Fair, discussed questions of education. In 1897 there was organized the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs, which later became a rather influential body. Education has always formed one of the important interests of this organization. But of still greater significance was the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. This organization was instrumental in forming mothers' clubs as a special department of its work because the leaders had been convinced that

education was the only certain method of destroying the liquor traffic. However, the formation of mothers' clubs did not assume large proportions until after the organization of the National Congress of Mothers in Washington, D. C., in 1897. Following this meeting Dr. A. Caswell Ellis, of the University of Texas, and Mrs. Ella Caruthers Porter of Dallas became active in promoting mothers' clubs. From 1902 onward there was a fairly rapid growth. In 1909 the Texas Congress of Mothers was organized in Dallas at a meeting of great importance, and later there evolved the Texas Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations. To-day there are about 1200 local bodies with approximately 50,000 members.

Accomplishments. The first interest of the Mothers' Clubs was the improvement of the school buildings, equipment, walks, sanitation, libraries, music, and musical instruments. As a result of their study of play and its influence in the life of the child, there has been a wonderful increase of appreciation of play activities. Larger attention has been given to playgrounds and playground apparatus. Supervisors in many instances have been introduced, some being supported by the Parent-Teacher Associations.

In recent years the conditions affecting the health of children have been taken up. Sanitary drinking fountains, daily lunches, free dental service, school nurses, free medical clinics, and health conferences have been promoted by these organizations. Interest in educational reforms has now broadened out to take in all aspects of education such as the enrichment of the course of study, the establishment of kindergartens, increased revenues, and better teachers. The coöperation of these associations with the teachers has tended to bring the home and the school more closely together.

State department of education. The office of state superintendent was created by law in 1884 as a result of a strong demand

from the educational leaders. But the functions of the office were comparatively few and secretarial in character. In 1893 provision was made for the first time for the issuance of state certificates. As a consequence, the superintendent was authorized to appoint a state board of examiners composed of three competent teachers. In 1911 the state department was instructed to classify high schools. This work resulted in the employment of high school visitors. The compulsory attendance law passed in 1915, the classification of colleges in 1917, the schoolhouse building law in 1913, the rural school aid and classification in 1915, the acceptance of the Smith-Hughes aid in 1917, the inspection and accrediting of the high schools, and finally the administration of the free textbook law in 1919 have vastly expanded the activities and powers of the state department. As a consequence of this development, the department has been organized in the following divisions :

1. Division of administration, with general supervision over the entire state school system ;
2. Division of high school supervision ;
3. Division of rural schools ;
4. Division of negro schools ;
5. Division of vocational education ;
6. Division of statistics ;
7. Division of credits and accounts ;
8. Division of certification of teachers ;
9. Division of textbook administration ;
10. Division of correspondence and supplies ;
11. State board of examiners.

Special state aid. Texas had always adhered to the policy of distributing state educational funds on the per capita basis. In 1903 the 28th Legislature made the first departure from this plan. To stimulate an interest in the introduction of manual

training it offered to double any amount not exceeding \$500 for the establishment of such a department in any high school. Sixteen towns availed themselves of the offer and \$8000 of the \$10,000 set aside was utilized. No further funds, however, were voted for this one object. The 31st Legislature appropriated \$32,000 for the year 1909-10 and a similar amount for 1910-11, and the state board of education was empowered to duplicate any sum not less than \$500 and not more than \$2000 set apart by trustees for the equipment of a department of agriculture, manual training, or home economics. A similar provision was made by succeeding legislatures to encourage vocational training by requiring the districts to meet certain specified conditions before aid was granted by the state department.

AMOUNTS APPROPRIATED FOR VOCATIONAL TRAINING

	YEAR	AMOUNT
32d Legislature	1911	\$50,000 for each of two years
33d Legislature	1913	\$100,000 for one year
34th Legislature	1915	\$50,000 for each of two years

The 35th Legislature (1917) set apart \$1,000,000 for each of two years for the purpose of promoting the rural schools of the state. The state department of education was authorized to distribute this large fund, not more than \$500 to be given to any one school during one year. The award was made to schools reaching a certain standard of excellence in location, building, equipment, teachers, and the attendance of pupils. The various forms of aid have resulted in much good to the schools in general, but there has been noted a tendency on the part of some districts to lower taxation after aid has been assured, and other criticisms have also been made.

ADDITIONAL READINGS

- AYRES, LEONARD P. — *An Index Number for State School Systems.*
- BLANTON, ANNIE WEBB — *A Handbook of Information as to Education in Texas, 1918-1922.*
- COUSINS, R. B. — *Five Years of Progress of the Common Schools of Texas, 1909.*
- SUTTON, WILLIAM SENECA — *Some Wholesome Educational Statistics, 1904.*
- *Texas State Teachers Association Reports of the Committee on Educational Progress within the State during the Scholastic Years 1904-05, 1905-06.*
- *Proceedings of the Conference for Education in Texas.*

CHAPTER XI

THE EVOLUTION OF THE TEXAS HIGH SCHOOLS

Importance of secondary education. In several respects the growth and development of the secondary school system furnish the best index of the progress of education among any people. It is true that elementary education touches larger numbers, but it is always more or less formal, furnishing merely the bare beginnings of culture, while higher education is confined to a very small percentage of the population. On the other hand secondary schools mold the youth who are to become leaders during their most impressionable and vital period, the years of early adolescence. It is during this period that they acquire the more accurate habits of social adjustment and of vocational skill on which modern civilization rests. A system of education which does not furnish adequate secondary instruction fails to develop in any extensive way the latent potentialities of its people. For this reason we must now investigate what Texas has accomplished in this important field in the training of her citizenship.

The period of private secondary schools. Following the example of other states the fathers of the Republic of Texas provided for the establishment of public academies. As we have seen, they had in view an articulate system of institutions including primary schools everywhere for the enlightenment of the masses, an academy in each county for those who desired to proceed further with their studies, and two universities for the highest cultivation of the arts and sciences. In planning for academies educational statesmen chose the one instrument which was in that day doing most for the enlightenment and cultivation of the people, combining as it did the training of the grammar grades with a broad and prac-

tical education in more advanced branches. Among the other purposes held in view was the desire to promote the county academy in order to train teachers for the elementary schools. These plans were embodied, as we learned, in the school laws of 1839 and 1840. So far as the maintenance of these secondary schools was concerned, it was expected that the teachers in them would be supported by the fees paid by the pupils; for the founders of our school system did not plan the academy as a free high school. As a matter of fact the idea of free secondary instruction did not generally appear in this country until after the Civil War and was not accepted in Texas until the later decades of the century. So far as has been discovered, no effort was ever made in any of the counties to put the provisions of the laws of 1839-40 into effect by establishing public academies.

The private academies. With a few brilliant and far-seeing exceptions the people of the Republic did not view education as a civic or public duty. They preferred to depend upon private initiative, religious interest, and community enterprise to provide institutions of learning for all grades. Accordingly, numerous academies, institutes, seminaries, and even so-called high schools arose and flourished to a greater or less extent up to the time of the Civil War. The Federal Census of 1850 reported 97 academies in Texas with 137 teachers and 3389 students. In 1860 the report shows the same number of academies with 236 teachers and 5916 students. We are warranted in believing that these figures do not represent the total number of such institutions attempting to do some secondary teaching. On the other hand there is grave doubt whether the number of students here reported were all of secondary rank, for the academies consisted largely of elementary departments and we do not know but that the children enrolled in these were included.

Course of study in the academies. That the spirit and purpose of all the academies were quite similar can be readily seen by

a study of their curricula. The following are typical examples of the early courses of study followed in some of the better schools :

SECONDARY COURSES OF STUDY

<i>Rutersville College</i>	<i>Wesleyan College</i>
<i>Preparatory Department 1841</i>	<i>Preparatory Department 1846</i>
Spelling	Modern geography
Grammar	Arithmetic
Geography	Geography of the Bible
History	English Grammar
Arithmetic	Bookkeeping
Algebra	History of the United States
Geometry	Natural history of the Bible
Ancient geography	Composition
Greek	Compend of history
Latin	Ancient geography
Elements of chemistry	Mythology
Natural philosophy	Algebra
Geology	Latin
Mineralogy	Greek
Botany	
Astronomy	
	<i>Guadalupe High School 1850</i>
<i>Second Department</i>	<i>Third Department</i>
Arithmetic	English literature
Geography	Mathematics
English grammar	Classics
History	
Natural philosophy, etc.	

The revival of private academies. The war and the yellow-fever epidemic, which followed soon thereafter, destroyed most of the private academies, especially those for boys only. But after the war they sprang up again in greatly increased numbers. The Federal Census of 1870 reported no less than 535 academies,

with 649 teachers and 22,276 students. The school system set up by the radical government made provision for elementary education only. Their efforts were attended by so much irritation, and so rapid were the changes, that little development was possible, and no attention was given to higher aspects of training. In the reactionary law of 1873 provision was made by which higher private institutions might be used as "high schools" in conjunction with the district elementary school. This was the first and only recognition of secondary education in Texas school law for many years. The people were antagonistic to the radical system and continued to patronize private teachers. Under these circumstances private academies and high schools flourished in almost every town. Gradually, after the reorganization of the school system from 1876 onward, and especially after the rise of the municipal high schools, these private academies and high schools disappeared until in more recent years only a few remain in the larger centers of population.

The rise of municipal high schools. The first municipal high school in Texas was established in the town of Brenham in 1875. Some years after its organization the superintendent gave the following account of its origin :

On the twenty-sixth day of April, 1875, the city council in response to a petition from citizens, passed a resolution accepting the benefits of the act of the Legislature of March 15, 1875, and pledged the city to the maintenance¹ of a good system of public free schools. At the time of the passage of the act, and of the resolution of the city council, school districts under the State law were authorized to levy a tax of one-fourth of one per cent in addition to the pro rata received from the State. The act of March 15, 1875, authorized cities and towns accepting its benefits to levy a tax of one-fourth of one per cent in

¹ This act authorized the cities to "assume control of the public schools within their limits, to build schoolhouses, and provide for the gratuitous education of all children therein, for such time as their constituted authorities may deem expedient."

addition to the tax authorized by law to be raised. The city then entered upon the administration of its schools with an authorized fund of one half of one per cent taxation and the pro rata distribution of the State fund. This was hardly sufficient to run the schools ten months for the first year, but it was supplemented by a subscription by the citizens and teachers, and the schools were opened for the full term of ten months, giving almost universal satisfaction.

The authorities of the city gave a liberal construction to the law, and on August 16, 1875, passed an ordinance establishing a system of public free schools in the city, giving free tuition to all children between the ages of six and eighteen years residing in the city, or whose parents, or guardians for them, pay taxes on property situated in the city. The right to extend the scholastic age beyond that prescribed by the State was held to accrue from the local tax.

The schools were organized September 1, 1875. There were three general divisions, to wit: high school, grammar schools and primary schools; and each divided into three grades, making a course of nine years.¹

The high school of the city of Houston had a somewhat similar origin, though there are some important differences. The Houston city council by ordinance passed May 4, 1877, assumed control of all public schools and schoolhouses within the confines of the city. On the 12th of April of the following year the school board resolved to establish "a normal and high school" and at the beginning of the next session this institution was added to the educational system. In the absence of sufficient funds the board was obliged to require the payment of a tuition fee of \$4 a month. This arrangement continued for several years, or until 1881-82, when the fee was abolished, and the high school was made in fact what it had been in effect, a part of the free educational system of the city. When originally opened, the high school employed five teachers and had an enrollment of 45 pupils.

¹ *Texas Journal of Education*, August, 1880.

High schools, an extension of the grades. Only in a few instances were the high schools launched as independent units of organization as in Brenham and Houston. In other cases they burgeoned by a more natural process of growth out of the lower grades as an expansion upward of the elementary course of study. It had all along been a common practice of the teachers of private and semiprivate schools to offer instruction to the brighter and more advanced students in the higher branches. In this way algebra, geometry, Latin, and other subjects had long been taught in the private schools. Upon the inauguration of the public school system the teachers merely turned their institutions into public schools and continued to teach the higher branches to the more advanced children. Special fees were charged the pupils over the scholastic age.

Examples of schools which taught subjects beyond the elementary were frequent. In 1882 Navasota had 181 pupils studying history, algebra, geometry, and natural philosophy; Honey Grove had 125, Greenville had 90, Ennis had 57, Cleburne had 131, Palestine had 24, and New Braunfels had 150. But none of these had organized a high school, or added special grades, nor did they do so for several years after this time. The reports of Superintendent Baker for 1884-85 and 1885-86 do not list any high schools, but show a large number of pupils in towns and cities studying higher branches, indicating that the practice was rather general.

	1882 12 TOWNS	1884-85	1885-86	1886-87 55 TOWNS
Algebra	227	1,356	1,823	1,865
Geometry	109	499	624	607
Natural philosophy	153	966	1,069	1,095
History	905	6,036	7,848	8,447
Physiology	—	—	—	2,079
Other studies	—	—	—	4,430

Most of the larger towns followed a different course in their development. In conforming to the requirements of the Peabody Board many of them organized their pupils into graded classes and appointed superintendents to manage and supervise them. The rise of the high schools was closely related to these developments. To meet the needs of the older and more mature students who wished to continue in school, and also of those who desired to fit themselves for college, the secondary branches were offered, higher grades being added for this purpose, and after a time these grades were segregated and later developed into high schools. In 1885 Galveston had 10 grades, but all the work was elementary in character. By 1888 there were 11 grades, and the 9th, 10th, and 11th were designated the high school. In 1887 Dallas had 10 grades, and the 8th, 9th, and 10th formed the high school. Similarly the high schools in Waco, San Antonio, El Paso, and other places evolved by the addition of higher grades. The municipal high schools were not a new creation. They merely took the place of the old private academies. As it existed in Texas, the academy formed a complete school system, teaching all children from the primary grades through advanced and sometimes even collegiate studies. The establishment of state elementary schools cut off the patronage which had supported these private establishments. The teachers gladly transferred to the public schools and carried with them, as far as possible, the curricula and spirit of the old institutions. They taught advanced or secondary subjects whenever there was a demand for them. They were the more eager to do this because they were permitted to collect fees from those students who were beyond the scholastic age. The need for training beyond the elementary grades was felt especially in the growing towns, where the well-to-do and the ambitious desired to keep their children in school for a longer period of time. The high school did not arise as the successor of the New England Latin grammar school, or as a preparatory

course for college; on the contrary it replaced the academy and inherited a broad and fairly practical course of training fitting the youth for life.

LIST OF EARLY MUNICIPAL HIGH SCHOOLS

YEARS	PLACES
1875	Brenham
1878	Houston Denison
1879	San Antonio
1880	Sherman
1881	Austin Weatherford
1882	Cameron
1884	Corsicana El Paso Ft. Worth Waco
1885	Galveston Marshall

Conflict over establishment of municipal high schools. Public high schools were not accepted without opposition. A sharp, but fortunately short, struggle against their establishment as an integral part of the state free school system took place. From 1880 to 1886 a vigorous discussion was carried on by various leaders over the justification of spending state funds and revenues derived from local taxation for the support of secondary education. The controversy centered around the question of the limit of the obligation of the state for the enlightenment of her future citizens. The main argument for public free education had always been the demand for sufficient elementary schooling in the common English branches to enable citizens to vote intelligently and to perform efficiently their other civil duties. The opponents of the high schools contended that the obligation of the state was completely

fulfilled by equipping every future citizen with a knowledge of the elements of learning, such as reading and writing.

Among the influential leaders of the opposition to public high schools were Benjamin M. Baker, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, S. G. Sneed, sometime chief clerk in the State Department of Education, and later editor of the *Texas Review*, Dr. William Carey Crane, President of Baylor University, and Judge Z. T. Fulmore, ex officio County Superintendent of Travis County. The following statements from these educational authorities were generally representative of a large group of the people :

State Superintendent Baker's view :

The object of providing free tuition for the child is to fit him for intelligent citizenship; to enable him to participate in the privileges of a citizen and discharge the duties incumbent upon him as a member of society. . . . Is the high school necessary to mould the character of citizenship mentioned? I believe not. . . . If what is termed the higher education is bestowed at the public expense the poor as well as the rich are taxed to bestow it. The children of these poor seldom go through the high school.

President William Carey Crane's view :

In conclusion, may I say that the results to which my mind has led me from reflections, study, and experience covering half a century, are:

1. That the State is under no obligation to furnish any education for the people except such as is needed to qualify the citizen for a voter or juror, and that the literary qualification ought always to be a limit to the right of suffrage.

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4. That it is unjust to tax the people to educate doctors, lawyers, farmers, mechanics, machinists, or engineers, and all such education should result from special and voluntary contributions from individuals and corporations.

Judge Fulmore's view :

The high school, therefore, is in fact a school only for the fortunate few, while the many are taxed for its support. . . . They keep out of the schools children under 8 and over 16 years, whose education the state has made itself responsible for.

Arguments against public high schools. The usual arguments offered were along the following lines :

(1) Only the wealthier class of children can afford to attend ; the children of the poor must drop out of school in order to earn a livelihood.

(2) It is essentially unjust to levy taxes upon the whole people to supply educational advantages of which only a small body of the citizens can avail themselves.

(3) The public school fund cannot support efficiently both the elementary and secondary schools. Any part of the fund devoted to secondary education must necessarily be taken from the amount available for elementary schools, thus necessitating a shorter term and less qualified teachers for the larger number of children.

(4) For the same reason the scholastic age will necessarily have to be lowered if the funds are utilized for the support of high school instruction, which is always expensive.

(5) High school education is not essential for qualifying the young for the duties of citizenship, and in furnishing such facilities the state goes beyond its legitimate sphere of educational activity.

(6) Secondary training prepares for professional and commercial pursuits ; these vocations will soon become overcrowded to the disadvantage of the trades and lower forms of labor.

Supporters of public high schools. The establishment and support of public high schools were favored by such powerful advocates as Governor O. M. Roberts, O. H. Hollingsworth,

Dr. Joseph Baldwin, Principal of Sam Houston Normal Institute, Judge A. W. Terrell, a prominent state senator, and Oscar H. Cooper, who succeeded Mr. Baker as state superintendent of public instruction. In 1882 the Texas Association of Superintendents indorsed the movement for public high schools, and four years later the State Teachers' Association adopted a resolution recommending their establishment. The organization of the University of Texas in 1883 and the policy which it adopted had much to do in bringing about the acceptance of the high school as a necessary element in a complete system of public education. But as a matter of fact no special argument was needed to convince the people of the necessity of establishing institutions for secondary training. The parents in the towns and cities were confronted with a practical condition and not an academic problem. They found that their children after passing through the elementary grades were too immature and needed further training before entering upon the duties of life. They had become accustomed to the old academies, which carried the pupils through the higher branches, and they saw no reason why the public school system should not do this just as the institution which it replaced.

The University of Texas and the high schools. The University of Texas early began to exert a strong influence upon the growth of high schools. On opening its doors in 1883, when there were as yet scarcely half a dozen high schools formally organized in the state, it aimed to be what the constitution demanded, "a university of the first class." But almost immediately it discovered that there were practically no students prepared to undertake the high standard of scholarly work proposed by this lofty aim. The university was obliged, under the circumstances, either to add a large preparatory department, or to assist in organizing the high schools to perform this function. Very wisely the university adopted the policy of fostering municipal high schools. In 1885 the regents authorized the faculty to visit and affiliate

high schools as "feeders" or "auxiliary" schools. The university catalogue for 1885-86 stated:

On request of the school board in charge of any High School, the faculty will designate a committee to visit the school and report upon its condition. If the faculty shall be satisfied from the report of the committee that the school is taught by competent instructors and that its course includes the subjects designated as requirements for admission, then its graduates will be admitted to the University without examination.

Those who are familiar with the high schools of Texas know to what a large extent the university stimulated their development by this system of affiliation and inspection. Affiliation was a prize eagerly sought by all the schools. The university supervisor's visit was a red-letter day in the annual history of the high school, both for the students and the teachers. Affiliation with the university set up the only objective standard of excellence by which the high schools might judge of their merits. The people of the community came to value this relationship with the university and proudly boasted of the number of units of affiliation. The system guided the superintendents and boards in formulating their curricula, in judging methods of instruction, and finally it measured, in the only manner then known, the results attained. On its side the university was called on to supply better trained teachers, who could keep the standard of affiliation. For these reasons the affiliated schools increased rapidly in numbers, and this in turn stimulated the formation of new high schools.

The development of the curriculum. It is commonly supposed that for a long time all high school children were compelled to go the same route, taking the same required course. This was, however, by no means the case. The Brenham high school began in 1875 with a three-year course. It included Cicero and Virgil in Latin; the Anabasis, Crito, and Iliad in Greek; a good

selection of English studies, and instruction in German throughout. This clearly resembles the traditional secondary school curriculum, except that due to local population some attention was here given to a modern language. As early as 1878, it offered an election between two courses — the classical and the scientific — each covering three years. By 1882–83 the Houston school maintained two four-year courses, the classical and the general, the latter including French and German. Dallas had three courses in 1893–94. About the same time Waco offered five courses, the classical, Latin, scientific, English, and a two-year commercial course. Galveston had a classical and a modern language course in 1893–94.

A study of typical curricula in the early years of the Texas high school shows considerable variation. The narrow traditional preparatory school curriculum was not found except in the smaller schools, which were unable to offer a variety of subjects. The larger schools conformed to no fixed curriculum, but exercised marked latitude in formulating courses of study. In general, these courses strongly resemble the subjects taught in the old academies and colleges. Examples of such subjects, some of which have since been discarded, are mental science taught in Waco, El Paso, and Galveston; moral science taught in Waco; "Seven American Classics" and "Essays" taught in Galveston; penmanship, orthography, American literature, and declamation taught in Corsicana. Some of these subjects were offered in order to prepare pupils for the examination for teachers' certificates. Greek was generally given in the larger schools, but now has disappeared entirely from all public high schools. In recent years the tendency in the better high schools of the state has been to require English, mathematics, history, and some science, and then to permit a wide election of units to fill up the number necessary for graduation. The San Antonio high school for several years has required only a course in English and permitted free

election in all other lines. Such broad election has not met with general favor among the school men of the state.

Tendency toward practical studies. With the dawning of the new century there began a decided trend toward practical subjects. In this respect Texas was following the general development of philosophical and educational thought throughout the nation. In the field of psychology and method the functional view of knowledge was prevailing and in philosophy pragmatism had become dominant. Not only educators but people generally were interested in more practical lines of training. It was indeed natural that an age of extreme mechanical and commercial activity coincident with the settling of the great West should view with critical regard the idealistic culture of the past, and demand an education which would fit the children to solve more immediate problems. This demand found expression, first, in the introduction of manual training and commercial subjects and, a little later, of domestic science, agriculture, and industrial and vocational training.

Manual training. Through the John T. Allan bequest the first manual training department in the state was established in 1896 in the Austin high school. Other cities soon followed, some with easy paper weaving and raffia work; others with iron and wood construction. Among these schools were Cleburne and Denison in 1900; Dallas, Fort Worth, and Sherman in 1903; Marshall, Belton, Beaumont, Taylor, San Antonio, Waco, and Hillsboro in 1905; Abilene, Cuero, Houston, and Paris in 1906. It was soon discovered that the equipment for this work and its maintenance was extremely expensive; so many schools were unable to install adequate plants for instruction. But so great was the interest that a special committee of the State Teachers' Association urged that assistance be provided by the legislature. In consequence of this widespread desire the legislature in 1905 offered a subsidy to assist schools which would install a manual training department. The law authorized the state board of

education to donate sums up to \$500 to duplicate local funds for this purpose. Sixteen towns took advantage of the opportunity afforded by the appropriation: Austin, Beaumont, Belton, Center, Dallas, Devine, Fort Worth, Itasca, Kaufman, Marlin, Paris, San Antonio, Sherman, Taylor, Waco, and Waxahachie. The policy of subsidizing the introduction of manual training was not long continued, and the progress of the subject again became sluggish. At the present time manual training is to be found in approximately 70 high schools and in a few rural schools. This subject has not fulfilled the great expectations of its promoters as a means of training. One of the chief difficulties has been that there has not been an adequate provision for training teachers for this work, and practically all have had to be imported from outside the state. Moreover, there has been a growing feeling that the subject has not as great value as those which are more directly vocational.

Domestic science and art. Texas was somewhat backward in providing instruction in home economics. Nothing had been done along this line prior to the establishment of the College of Industrial Arts in 1903, although many of the women's organizations had interested themselves in the new subjects, and urged their incorporation in the training of girls. The Fort Worth high school put in cooking in 1903, and the next year Austin and Dallas offered courses in domestic science and art. Other cities followed rapidly: San Antonio in 1905; Houston, Victoria, Orange, and Taylor in 1906. In 1909-10 the University of Texas began to accept domestic science for admission credit, and in 1912 a regular department was organized for the teaching of all branches of home economics. This subject has enjoyed special growth since the coming of the Smith-Hughes Law for the promotion of vocational education.

Vocational subjects. Following the introduction of manual training and home economics courses many other practical and

vocational subjects have found their way into some of the high schools. Bookkeeping was early recognized as a valuable addition and was widely incorporated. In more recent years typewriting, stenography, commercial law, commercial geography, business English, and business arithmetic have been taught in some schools. The smaller cities and towns where no private commercial colleges are in operation have been more prominent in stressing commercial lines. Among other subjects which are now found in some high schools are telegraphy, automobile mechanics, salesmanship, first aid, scouting, printing, mechanical drawing, economics, and public speaking. It must not be understood that all these subjects are to be found in any one school, and some of them are only found in a few cases. The part-time system which is now in operation in a number of high schools in the larger centers readily lends itself to the extension of credit to a widening range of vocational activities. Many of the larger schools are also offering the pupils the advantages of vocational guidance.

The United States has been the most backward of the great powers in technical and vocational training. This had long been known to the students of education, but not until the World War was the fact deeply impressed upon the leaders of the nation. Only a few states had made any provision for this kind of education, especially because it is extremely expensive. The matter appeared so urgent that the National Government felt impelled to promote vocational skill by offering a subsidy from the Federal Treasury. Accordingly the Smith-Hughes Law was passed early in 1917 and became effective on July 1 of that same year. By this law the Federal Government offered a subsidy in case the state would match the amount. The Texas Legislature accepted the benefits of the law and designated the state board of education to administer the fund. Under this work during 1921-22, 103 schools have been assisted in vocational agriculture, 161 in home economics, and a beginning has been made in trade

and industrial education. Special attention has also been directed to the training of teachers along these lines.

The junior high school movement. During the past decade a new movement has made a break in the traditional organization of the four-year high school. A number of the larger cities have begun to establish what are known as junior high schools. This new link is usually composed of the 7th and 8th grades or the 7th, 8th, and 9th grades. Several reasons have brought about this change. First, it has long been felt that the transition from the grammar grades to the standard high school was too abrupt for the ordinary pupil entering upon adolescent life, and an intermediary step was advisable. Again, others have concluded that the elementary course of study of seven or eight grades is too lengthy; this work should be completed normally in six years. Large numbers of pupils see no prospect of completing the course of the four-year high school and, consequently, drop out entirely after finishing the elementary grades. The junior high school has operated to keep them in school a longer time. Moreover, the junior high school has made it possible for students to begin the study of languages and sciences a year or two earlier.

Houston began the organization of a junior high school in 1912. It has four now in operation, embracing the 7th, 8th, and 9th grades. In 1916 Austin opened a junior high school and segregated the 7th and 8th grades. Since that time Wichita Falls, Waco, El Paso, Sherman, San Antonio, and Fort Worth have reorganized on the new basis and many of the smaller places are taking the same step.

New high school aims. The expansion of the curriculum was the sign of the coming of a new spirit and new aims. The schools as formerly organized were failing to meet the broadening needs of individuals and of the social organism. The new curriculum betokens a desire to serve the community more immediately, to fit the student for life, to bridge the gap between the school and the

practical world. The high school is realizing more and more fully that it is not merely an agency to select and train a gifted minority, the five or ten per cent who are to become the leaders and be trained for professional life. It owes as much to the boys who aim to become farmers, carpenters, salesmen, skilled mechanics, or manufacturers as to those who enter the learned professions. This new consciousness of a real community mission has developed a sense of security and independence. The high schools have now become the colleges of the people.

Tardy recognition by the university. Before 1902 the University of Texas recognized for admission credit nothing but Latin, Greek, English, and mathematics from candidates who wished to proceed to the Bachelor of Arts degree. The study of universal history was also permitted, but only for students wishing to take the course leading to the degree of Bachelor of Literature. Great dissatisfaction arose because the physical sciences and modern languages were entirely disregarded. In September, 1902, new entrance requirements became effective, recognizing for admission French, German, and Spanish, along with Latin and Greek; also botany, chemistry, physics, physiography, physiology, and civics. Most of these subjects had been taught in the better high schools of the state for fifteen years or more. In most cases they were poorly taught, especially the sciences, which were frequently given without adequate laboratory facilities. The standards of work for all these subjects were unquestionably low, and the subject matter not fully organized. At the same time some of the leading university educators did not believe the sciences could be acceptably taught to children of secondary school age. It must be admitted that the university was tardy in accrediting these studies, owing mainly to an undue devotion to the classical ideal of culture. An earlier acceptance of these subjects for college entrance would have rapidly resulted in better methods of teaching them. Moreover, the long delay in responding to

the broader function of the high school brought upon the university the charge that it was out of sympathy with the newer community aims of the secondary schools and was only interested in fostering them as preparatory schools for college. The main difficulties were that the university did not understand the origin and function of secondary education, nor did it have as yet a sufficiently broad conception of the scope of a modern state university.

Early agitation for rural high schools. In dealing with secondary schools thus far, merely those in independent districts, that is to say, in the towns and cities, have been considered. We must now come to the question of the provision for high school education for the rural children. This question has been agitated for more than forty years, and apparently we are no closer to a solution. In January, 1880, the state board of education recommended the establishment of county academies in its report as follows:

It was clearly the intention of the founders of our government that the proceeds of the sales of lands donated to the counties for school purposes should be applied to the establishment of a free county academy, a high school, where the superior students in the elementary schools could have superior educational advantages and an opportunity to prepare for admission into the State University. It is the opinion of the State Board of Education that this plan was wisely conceived, and it is respectfully suggested that legislation be had with a view to its execution at the earliest period practicable.

During the next year, Governor Roberts, who was the chairman of the board, publicly advocated a complete system of schools for Texas, "the common schools for the millions, the academies for the thousands, and the college and university for the hundreds." Seven years later Oscar H. Cooper, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, in his biennial report again forcibly brought the question to the attention of the legislature.

There should be in each county a high school in which any one within the scholastic age who desired and had the ability to go beyond the course of instruction in primary and grammar schools might fit himself for active life or for entrance into a university.

I earnestly recommend that provision be made by law for free tuition in some high school in each county for such students in the county as are shown by examination to be qualified to enter upon a high school course. If this were done, we should have connecting links between the common schools and the higher institutions, a desideratum in our school system.

While the legislature took no notice of these appeals for furnishing high school facilities for the country children, secondary school subjects were being taught in many of the common schools. From the earliest days, as has been already stated, the teachers in Texas who could do so carried the brighter and more advanced pupils on into algebra, geometry, natural philosophy, and other subjects. When the free school system was inaugurated, this practice was naturally continued. Those students who desired to study the higher branches were often beyond the free school age and paid tuition fees for this instruction. Not only did teachers encourage this practice because they were interested in teaching the higher subjects, but the extra compensation was most cordially welcomed. There is no way now of discovering how much of this unorganized secondary instruction may have been given in early days to the rural children. After 1881 the school reports show an increasing number of pupils in common school districts pursuing instruction in algebra, history, geometry, and natural philosophy. After 1887 physiology was also included; and after 1891, civil government and physical geography.

During the late nineties there is a sudden decline in the number of pupils pursuing these higher subjects in the common districts. There was also a cessation of county high schools reported. This unrecognized work was discouraged by the state superin-

tendent in order to concentrate attention upon the regular common school instruction.

The first rural high school law. Meanwhile the situation had been gradually growing more serious. State Superintendent F. M. Bralley in his report in 1911 vigorously urged the legislature to take some action. Among other things he stated :

The cold, hard fact, as borne out by statistics, is that, under unimproved conditions, ninety-nine out of every one hundred of the brightest and best of our farmer boys and girls will never have even a chance to enter a high school. No intelligent citizen, no statesman interested in the public welfare, no farmer with genuine concern for the future of his own children, and no philanthropist of enlarged altruistic views can doubt for a moment the righteousness, the wisdom, and the necessity of providing high schools adequately supported and efficiently manned for the farmer boys and girls of the commonwealth.

The 32d legislature in the year 1911 passed a rural high school law creating county boards of education and authorizing them to classify the county schools into primary, intermediate, and high schools; to establish rural high schools and to determine their location; to consolidate common school districts in coöperation with district school trustees; and to arrange for free tuition in the high schools, "thereby giving high school privileges and opportunities, as far as possible, to all children of scholastic age residing in the rural districts." At the same time \$50,000 was appropriated for each of two years to enable the state board of education to aid districts to equip and maintain departments of agriculture, manual training, and domestic economy in these public high schools. Forty-five high schools were granted aid the first year and 74 the second. To-day there are 519 high schools on the classified list of the state department and 2102 in the rural districts which are not classified.

New accrediting system. The University of Texas, as we have seen, began to standardize and affiliate high schools at an early date; so that the graduates of these schools entered the university without preliminary examination. The work of inspection and classification was carried on with great efficiency for many years, thus affording the state a correlated system of schools. With the growth of the high schools and the development of the other colleges in the state, a new condition was brought about. On the one hand, it was felt that the university was too conservative in recognizing the newer subjects of the high school curriculum; and on the other, that the close connection with the high schools gave the university a disproportionate prestige. The difficulty came to a climax at the meeting of the Texas State Teachers' Association in 1916, and a recommendation was adopted placing the duty of standardizing and inspecting the high schools under the management of the state department of education. The state department now carries on this work, though without legal sanction, through a state committee on the inspection, classification, and affiliation of schools consisting of twelve members, six representing the colleges and six representing the public schools. The state department has designated this body as the *State Committee on Classified and Accredited Schools and Colleges*. At the present time there are 460 high schools recognized by affiliation, and there are some 37 subjects accepted for college entrance.

Another accrediting agency is the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, which accepts the graduates of 76 Texas high schools.

College entrance examinations. To accommodate the pupils who cannot attend affiliated schools the state department of education has been offering entrance examinations each year. The candidate is permitted to take as many or as few subjects as he may wish. The number taking these examinations has rapidly increased, as may be seen from the following figures:

262 THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN TEXAS

1918 . . .	191	1921 . . .	1652
1919 . . .	260	1922 . . .	1657
1920 . . .	1017	1923 . . .	2396

ADDITIONAL READINGS

EBY, FREDERICK — *Education in Texas; Source Materials.*

KNIGHT, E. W. — *The Academy Movement in the South.*

CHAPTER XII

NEGRO EDUCATION

Education before the Civil War. Woodson in his *Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* claims that the Southern planters were more favorable to the instruction of the negro before the year 1830 than later. Shortly after that time several states passed stringent laws prohibiting the teaching of reading to the negroes, fearing that education might lead to discontent and revolt. In spite of this prohibition, however, many benevolent slaveholders, clergymen, and even children taught some of the colored people to read the Scriptures. It is estimated that at the time of the Civil War as many as ten per cent of the adult negro population throughout the South were able to read. Of the conditions in Texas at the time we know practically nothing. The United States Census of 1850 gives 397 free colored people in the state, with 20 in school, and 58 adults unable to read. The Census of 1860 does not materially change the condition: 355 free negroes, with 11 in school, and 62 unable to read. Of the other class we learn little. They were still in the stern and practical school of slavery, in which they, like their ancestors, acquired something of the elementary arts, together with the industry and other habits of civilized life. But practically none had acquired even the rudiments of learning.

First efforts for negro education. After emancipation the negroes were eager for instruction and made extraordinary efforts to learn to read. They thronged the Northern teachers who followed the army and, when the war closed, seized every opportunity for instruction with a remarkable enthusiasm; they flocked to

the groves, to the churches on Sunday and week days, by day and by night, to attend the impromptu schools which sprang up. According to Booker T. Washington, "the whole race started to school." Many of them put forth these exertions in the belief that it was ignorance which caused their degradation and that education would speedily place them on an equality with the whites. When the negroes were freed, they believed that they were freed from all labor. Many organizations either of a purely benevolent or religious character quickly sprang up in the North to foster the education of these emancipated people, and in 1865 the Federal Congress created the Freedmen's Bureau to coöperate with these other agencies.

Freedmen's schools. Immediately after the war schools were organized in Texas by the Freedmen's Bureau under the management of E. M. Gregory. The American Missionary Society supplied the teachers. An effort was made to conduct schools on the plantations on the pay basis; but as this failed, they opened free schools in the towns, supported by voluntary contributions. By January, 1866, there were in operation 26 day and night schools, with an enrollment of 1600 pupils. In 1868-69 there were 95 day and night schools, with 90 teachers and 4188 pupils. A number of Sunday schools were also opened. All these schools were but a feeble beginning for a population of 400,000 ignorant people just emancipated from slavery, and were superseded in 1871 by the organization of the state free school system.

Early attitudes of the white people. At the beginning the white people generally were skeptical in regard to the education of the negroes so recently liberated, and they looked with extreme disfavor upon the white teachers who came from the North to conduct the freedmen's schools. Not only were such teachers socially ostracized, insulted, and harassed in securing board and lodging, but also at times subjected to harsher treatment. The bitter opposition of some of the more irreconcilable led in several in-

stances to events of a regrettable character ; schools for the negroes were burned in places, and efforts were made to intimidate and drive away the teachers.

There were, however, many of the best people in Texas who from the start laid aside their prejudices and looked with favor upon the education of the emancipated race. As early as 1866 the Texas Teachers' Convention, of which Dr. William Carey Crane was president, passed a series of resolutions strongly urging the Southern people to educate the negroes.

The negro seems disposed to seek education. Let us aid him. In every neighborhood, on every plantation, and at all suitable places, let the negro, with the aid of the Southern people, build up schools. The negroes will contribute from their own labor and small resources. But white people must also help. In every way let the negro see that the Southern whites are his best friends. We must rise above the prejudices and avarices growing out of our past relations to the negro and recent political events and be just and magnanimous.

Resolved, That justice and humanity alike demand that the negro should be educated so as to understand his duties and his privileges as a freedman.

Similarly the Reverend F. M. Law, in a report to the Baptist State Convention, among other things said : "In their present state the negroes need mental and moral elevation more than in their former condition. Their temporal and spiritual interests require it. The welfare of the whites also demands the same thing. Your committee would suggest that this people needs instruction." Up to the close of the war the negroes were members of white churches, and their religious needs were cared for by the white pastors. This report was followed by a resolution to assist in the establishment of day and Sunday schools for the colored population.

Public provision for education. The constitution of 1866 ordered that the income derived from the public school fund be

employed "exclusively for the education of all the white scholastic inhabitants." It was hardly to be expected that a more magnanimous attitude would be shown at this time when the bitterness of defeat was at its climax, and especially as this school fund had been provided long before the war. The education of the negroes was not, however, ignored. This same constitution ordered that "the Legislature may provide for the levying of a tax for educational purposes." All the money raised from negroes under such a tax was "to be used for the maintenance of a system of public schools for Africans and their children." Moreover, it was specifically stated that "it shall be a duty of the Legislature to encourage schools among these people." In the governmental disorder and changes which followed nothing whatever was done by the state, nor was private philanthropy sufficient to accomplish very much.

The radical constitution of 1869 permitted no discriminations. Even the question of separate schools for the two races was passed over in silence, though the silence was ominous. For a time wild conjectures arose as to the length to which the temporary masters of the government might go. In spite of the extreme irritation which was felt at the school system foisted upon the people by the radical régime, schools were opened; and as attendance was made compulsory many of the colored children attended, this being their first experience of public education.

The constitution of 1876 definitely separated the schools for the two races, but made impartial provision for the education of each. While the strong aversion to educating the negroes continued, the majority of the people had become reconciled and acknowledged their right to an equitable distribution of educational means just as far as they were able to profit by them. As soon as our present system was established, the colored children shared in the annual appropriations, and schools have been regularly conducted by colored teachers down to the present time.

Establishment of private institutions and funds. Meanwhile the conditions of the freedmen remained a matter of deep concern to many Northern people. It has been already pointed out that benevolent organizations early began to set up elementary schools for the negroes. It soon appeared that other institutions were needed for the fuller development of the more gifted, and various agencies of the North undertook to furnish these larger opportunities. In 1873 the Freedmen's Aid Society of the (Northern) Methodist Episcopal Church established Wiley University at Marshall in the very center of the most densely populated negro section. Four years later the American Missionary Society of the Congregational Church undertook the establishment of Tillotson College at Austin, but the institution was not opened until 1881.

This same year saw the establishing of Paul Quinn College at Waco, Bishop College at Marshall, and Fort Worth Industrial and Mechanical College (recently defunct) at Fort Worth. In 1884 Guadalupe College was established in Seguin, and the next year saw Houston College opened in Houston. In 1887 the Mary Allen Seminary for girls at Crockett was started. The fact that three of those institutions were begun and fostered by negro church organizations is significant, indicating as it does that the colored people were beginning to become more independent financially and socially. The fact that they were given financial assistance and indorsement by many white people and organizations shows, not merely that they began to enjoy the confidence of the white population, but that the white people had adopted the philosophy that the best help is to put one in the way of self-help.

This period is further marked as important by the donation of two large funds, the incomes of which were to be employed in the promotion of schools among the colored people. In 1882 John F. Slater of Norwich, Connecticut, created a trust fund of \$1,000,000 for the education of the emancipated negroes of the South "to make them good men and good citizens," not only "for their own

sake, but also for the safety of our common country." The fund has been employed chiefly to assist in preparing teachers and to stimulate industrial training. Both private and public schools may be assisted from the income of the fund, which during the years has increased in spite of large appropriations. The conditions for eligibility under the fund are the maintenance of normal and industrial departments. In the past forty years appropriations from this source for Texas schools amounted to \$96,790.

Another fund of this same character was established by Daniel Hand of Guilford, Connecticut, who gave the American Missionary Society \$1,000,000 to be used for negro education.

Colored Teachers' Association. Another evidence that the colored people and leaders were becoming interested in their own education was the organization of the Colored Teachers' Association at Austin in 1884. The association has held sessions in the principal cities and towns of the state. It has influenced the public mind to a large extent and has tended to give to the colored teachers a more reputable and influential footing among their people. The proceedings of the association were printed for several years and indicate a relatively high order of educational understanding. Some of the addresses display not only great educational insight, but that readiness of speech for which the colored race is known. Among the leaders in negro education in Texas for many years were I. C. Anderson and Edward L. Blackshear, both having served as principal of the Prairie View Normal. Another was Wright Cuney, one of the most gifted products of the race, who was for many years a leader in Republican state and national politics, and occupied high municipal and federal offices in Galveston. The respect in which he was held by all citizens was extraordinary. His interest in the education of his people was intelligent and highly effective.

Attitude of white people. The question of the attitude of the white people of Texas toward the education of the colored race

came to the front repeatedly. A memorial from a convention of colored people held in Waco in 1882 asked that more be done to assist their education. The fact that Governor O. M. Roberts presented the memorial to the state legislature and gave it his cordial approval did much to bring about popular approval. In 1889 an attack was made on the Democratic party of Texas for its lack of interest in the education of the negroes. Governor Ross replied in a small pamphlet on "Education of the Colored Race." He offered statistics to prove that no discrimination was being made so far as legislative acts were concerned. In concluding he stated:

The Democrats of Texas have agreed that the negro shall enjoy equal rights before the law, and cost what it may, they will, whether the party's majority is 165,000 or 5000, accord the negro whatever the contract calls for. The race has thus been afforded a good chance to improve, and it is known by the white people of Texas that the negro has advanced marvelously. They were for years led as so many chained slaves by their white political leaders; now they rule supremely these old chieftains. They have made rapid progress in education and personal independence. They have in Texas thousands of accomplished teachers and preachers and many political orators able to cope with the gifted speakers of the white race. Democrats have contributed largely to this triumph. It is a singular notion that the Democrats could be hostile to the negro. It would be idiotic to yearly hand out \$665,000 for the negro's advancement if the Democrats designed to suppress them.

Negro political platform. Dissatisfaction still continued among the colored people. In 1893 a convention of colored men meeting in Brenham adopted a platform in which they set forth their policies in regard to civil rights, education, and social privileges. The prime object of the meeting was, as they expressed it, "the promotion of good feelings between ourselves and our white fellow citizens." Among other complaints was this, "it must be borne

in mind that the mass of the colored people are in a lamentable state of ignorance, the result of that wicked system of bondage, which shut them out from the acquisition of all knowledge of letters and made it a penal offense to teach them to read the Word of God." They charged further that the whites opposed their education and social progress. While there still remained some opposition on the part of many white people, the leaders of the state recognized the wisdom of educating the colored people. With the establishment of the public school system, provision was made generally over the state for schools for negroes. It had become clear to all reasonable people that so long as the economic prosperity of Texas was dependent upon agriculture, especially cotton growing, so long would Texas people be tied by indisseverable bonds to the negro. Neglect, oppression, and violence, with their consequences of ignorance and irritation, could only result in injury to both races.

Movement for industrialization of education. During the early nineties industrial education attracted widespread interest throughout the United States generally. Studies of the various vocations at this time disclosed the fact that the great majority of men everywhere were engaged in agricultural pursuits and in the more common forms of unskilled labor; the most of the women in domestic and personal service. Then began a movement to make education fit the young for practical life by teaching manual training and the domestic arts. It soon came to be the general view that this type of training was more suitable for the colored population because it would fit them for more efficient service in the basic industries of the country. This view was adopted by Booker T. Washington, the most gifted educator produced by the negro race. His institution at Tuskegee, Alabama, led the way and gave popularity to the movement for industrial training for the colored people. But even before this a convention of negroes meeting at Waco in 1882 drew up a memorial to the legislature to

encourage schools, train negro teachers, and to add an industrial department to the Prairie View Normal College. They charged that the whites did not wish to let the negroes acquire skill in the industrial arts for fear of competition. The introduction of industrial work into the colored schools came slowly, however, for there was powerful opposition on the part of many of the negroes themselves.

Opposition to industrial education. Colored leaders in Texas, as well as elsewhere, were bitterly opposed to the drift of education toward practical lines. They saw in it only an effort to hinder their intellectual and social progress and to keep them in a position of industrial peonage. This view was voiced in the Report of a Committee on Industrial Education in 1900 at the Colored Teachers' Association. The view that practical training is most suitable for the colored man was pronounced as " unjust, illogical, spurious, and antagonistic to American peace and prosperity, and entirely out of harmony with the soundest philosophy of the age. We disagree with those who hold that conditions force us to take the lower order of occupations exclusively." There was a strong feeling among the colored people that they should have the same cultural training as white people. They wished to speak the same language and declined to be excluded from the highest forms of knowledge. This is probably the reason that the negro institutions in the state continued to require Latin and to teach Greek in the secondary school curricula long after the schools for whites had ceased to do so.

Industrial training prevails. In spite of the fear and opposition to industrial training, it has prevailed to a very large extent in the state schools and has been included in some of its forms in all the private institutions as well. The extent to which industrial education has grown during the past twenty years is remarkable. In addition to the staple subjects of the old academic school we find many new lines attempted. All the better secondary

schools for girls now include cooking and sewing. In some it is compulsory for every student. Practically all schools now include woodwork, manual training, or carpentering for the boys. Agriculture is another subject generally offered. Among the newer subjects are manicuring and hairdressing in the San Antonio High School, mechanical drawing in three high schools, iron work, or blacksmithing in three, shoe repairing or making in two, bookkeeping and typewriting in two, tailoring in three, printing in three, millinery or hat making in two, gardening in four, canning, animal husbandry, basketry, pipe fitting, broommaking, each in at least one school. It is apparent from this list that considerable experimentation along trade and industrial lines has been going on for several years. However, still more attention should be given along these lines. Better equipment is needed in the private institutions and high schools, and more opportunity for the students to specialize in particular trades.

The status of higher education. Eight colleges are now attempting to do work of standard grade, but only three of these are recognized by the state department of education and their courses accepted for the certification of teachers. The Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College, Bishop College, and Wiley University at Marshall, Mary Allen Seminary for girls at Crockett, Texas College at Tyler, Paul Quinn College at Waco, and Samuel Huston College at Austin are the only senior colleges offering four full years of work. Tillotson at Austin, Guadalupe at Seguin, and Houston College at Houston confine their work to junior courses. The total number of college students in 1914-15 was 129. Inasmuch as a number of these institutions have been in operation for over a generation it is surprising to find the number of students of college grade so small. The attendance for 1921-22 shows a marked increase, the enrollment reaching over 600. This increase is due to the same causes which have operated in institutions for white students: high wages after the war furnishing more

with the means for higher culture, the broadening of the curricula in offering more industrial training, Federal aid in assisting ex-soldiers, and the acceptance of the work of negro colleges for teachers' certificates.

Growth of the curricula. The curriculum of the Prairie View Normal has undergone a marked change during the past thirty years and has been expanded and enriched particularly along industrial lines. The older independent schools, however, show a more conservative attitude. Until recently all continued to emphasize the cultural work, and several still make Latin compulsory in all their courses. Seven continue to teach Greek in the preparatory department, a subject which has long disappeared from every white secondary school in Texas. Bible teaching is usually found, and frequently a department of music. Due probably to some isolation of these institutions from the main currents of educational progress, they have continued to cling to the old ideals of culture and classical training. Since the war, under the new system of classification by the state department, and the Federal aid for vocational work, a radical alteration has been taking place.

Secondary education. Secondary instruction is now given in 14 regular city high schools, 6 or more county training schools, all the senior and junior colleges, a number of denominational schools, and over 125 other institutions offering one or more years of high school work. The number of schools giving secondary instruction has increased considerably during the past decade. A survey of conditions was made by the special supervisor of negro schools of the state department and standards of classification established for the first time in 1920-21. Some special state aid has been given, and this has greatly stimulated these schools. In 1921-22 there were at least 6369 enrolled for secondary work, the large majority of them being in the public high schools.

Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College. The establishment of the Agricultural and Mechanical College at Bryan in 1876 under the Federal system of aid called for some provision for colored youth. An agricultural institution was planned, and \$20,000 was set apart for the establishment of what was first known as the Alta Vista Agricultural College. Owing to the lack of students the school failed completely. The negro of that day had not the faintest notion of scientific farming and could not understand a school that taught the things with which he was already familiar. In 1879 Governor Roberts, at the suggestion of a friend, proposed that the institution be converted into a normal school for the training of teachers for the colored children. The legislature acted favorably upon the recommendation and the institution was accordingly reestablished as the Prairie View Normal School. A number of free scholarships were made available from the state treasury. As a result of these changes the institution has grown rapidly through the years and has been rendering lasting service to colored education.

When the interest in industrial education was aroused during the latter part of the nineteenth century among all classes of the population throughout the United States, the colored people began to ask for an industrial annex at Prairie View. This movement was finally successful in 1899, and an agricultural and mechanical department was added for the boys, and an industrial department for the girls. This change of emphasis to practical lines of training has led to a very rapid increase in enrollment. Down to 1895 the number of students was never more than 140. After that time it greatly increased, until in 1916-17 there were 825 in attendance, the largest enrollment secured so far. Since that time the standard of work has been raised and the attendance has slightly decreased. Prairie View does more for industrial and trade training than any other institution of the kind in the state. The college department has been offering four regular courses

extending over four years each. These are the normal arts course, the household arts course, the agricultural course, and the mechanical course. In addition to these the following trade courses are offered, extending over a period of only one year: blacksmithing, wheelwrighting, cabinet making, carpentering, steam laundering, dry cleaning, hat making, shoemaking, printing, tailoring, power-plant machinery, plumbing, automobile repairing, broom and mattress making, trucking, dairying, sewing, millinery, and canning. The library facilities, chemical and physical laboratories and museum of natural history are among the best in the state in colored institutions. Its departments of agriculture, mechanics, cooking, and dressmaking are well equipped and efficiently conducted.

The Prairie View College is under the management of the board of regents of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas of which it is a part. It is located near the town of Hempstead in Waller County and has 1435 acres in woodland, pasture, and farm. About 365 acres are under cultivation, producing the crops that usually grow in that section of Texas.

Prairie View has trained approximately 2000 graduates, 4000 who have received trade certificates, and many others who have received teachers' certificates. It has produced many good teachers, for the character of the teacher training has been high for this part of the country. In 1922 eight men and six women were granted degrees. However, the ranking of the institution is now in doubt, and at present it is listed by the state department as a junior college.

Wiley University. Wiley University was established in 1873 and chartered in 1882. It is located at Marshall, in a territory where the negroes form as high as 50 to 75 per cent of the population. It is under the control of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which has in all more than twenty colored institutions under its charge in the South, and

has selected Wiley as one of the three schools of its system to offer full college work. This school is recognized by the board of examiners of the state department of education as a college of the first class, and in consequence those who complete the professional requirements are awarded state certificates valid not only in this state, but in several contiguous states.

Like all the colored institutions in Texas, many of the students are of elementary rank. Until recently the secondary course was designed wholly to prepare for college and required Latin for four years of all who wished to work for the A.B. degree. Students for the B.S. degree must take two years Latin, and the same requirement is made of those pursuing the normal course for teachers' certificates. A commercial course and a special course for students of music are offered. The King Industrial Home for girls affords instruction in sewing, dressmaking, millinery, and some domestic science. Not much industrial training is afforded the boys.

The campus consists of 60 acres, with 14 buildings. The total valuation of the property and equipment is approximately \$200,000. About 15,000 students have attended Wiley University since its inception in 1873. In 1921-22 it had 541 students, 233 being below the tenth grade. The institution is held in high esteem by all the people who have known of its work. The president and faculty all belong to the negro race.

Tillotson College. This college owes its existence to the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Church, which fostered a number of institutions for the education of colored people throughout the South. Chartered as early as 1877, it did not open until 1881. Located at Austin on the western edge of the colored belt, its student body has never been large. The courses of study for both the collegiate and secondary departments, while fairly narrow in range, are more modern in requirements than in some of the other schools. Industrial work in some

form is required throughout both the elementary and secondary grades. Courses are offered in woodwork, forging, mechanical drawing, printing, agriculture, domestic science, domestic art, and home nursing. All instructors belong to the white race. About 275 students have been graduated from the secondary department and 25 from the college. It is now ranked by the state department as a junior college. In 1921-22 it enrolled 242 students, 165 being below the tenth grade.

Paul Quinn College. This institution was established in 1881 at Waco. It owes its existence to the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which received aid from the Freedmen's Bureau of the Northern Methodists. The campus consists of 20 acres, part of which is used for truck gardening. The great body of the students are of elementary grade, only a few taking secondary work, while real college work is lacking. The president and faculty are colored. The institution has not yet been recognized by the state department.

Bishop College. Established in 1881 at Marshall, this institution is controlled by the American Baptist Home Mission Society. The campus consists of 23 acres, on which are ten buildings. The college has a good library and more than 20 teachers. The work of the college is now recognized by the state department of education. Three courses are offered, the classical, the scientific, and the course in education. In 1921-22 there were 287 students in all, 88 taking regular degree work.

Samuel Huston College. Named in honor of Samuel Huston of Iowa, who was the main contributor, this school was founded in Austin in 1900 and is under the management of the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It has a large elementary and secondary enrollment and a number of students of college grade. The Eliza Dee Industrial Home for girls is connected with the institution and does a high grade of work. Industrial training is also maintained for boys, especially in tailoring and

manual training. The institution is seeking recognition from the state board of examiners in training teachers. The faculty, all of whom are graduates of the best institutions of the North, has won the confidence of white and colored people generally.

Guadalupe College. This school was founded in 1884 by the Guadalupe Baptist Association and located at Seguin. Since 1887 it has been engaged in higher education. It has a campus of 250 acres. This school is the product of the work and interest of colored people, though it has received aid from some white people as well.

The training of teachers. The Special Report of the Federal Bureau of Education on the investigation of negro education in 1914-15 summarized its recommendations by the statement, "The most urgent need of the colored schools of Texas is for trained teachers." Up to that time little attention had been given to this important matter. The supply of teachers had come from the Prairie View State Normal, the various private institutions, the city high schools, and the summer normal institutes, but only a few had any professional training. The standard of colored teachers was, therefore, very low. Since the publication of the Report emphasizing this question, considerable progress has been made. The state department of education has set a definite standard for colleges preparing teachers and has brought these institutions under inspection and classification. Aid under the Smith-Hughes Fund has also greatly stimulated the development of these schools. The Slater Fund, the General Educational Board, the Jeanes Fund, and private individuals have likewise directed their attention to this work and supplied means for training teachers. Due to these combined agencies great progress is being made; the private institutions have all organized normal departments and are now making the training of teachers one of their chief functions; summer schools for teachers have been opened; six or more county training schools have been placed in operation;

and the summer normal institutes have been given careful supervision by the state department. Prairie View, Wiley University, and Bishop College have been authorized by the state department to conduct courses for which state certificates are granted.

Special funds aiding negro education. Ever since the Civil War various foundations have been taking a special interest in promoting the education of the American negro. We have already noted the creation of the Slater and the Daniel Hand funds. In recent years the efforts of the Slater Fund have been directed toward the training of teachers. During its existence it has expended \$96,790 in the cause of negro education in Texas. Other funds have been created during the past few years. In 1903 the General Education Board was chartered by Congress and endowed by John D. Rockefeller with more than \$50,000,000. The charter sets forth the general object of the corporation as "the promotion of education within the United States, without distinction of race, sex, or creed." This board has given donations for the equipment of the negro institutions, has promoted the training of teachers by subsidizing their salaries and by assisting promising students to attend institutions for training in vocational subjects, and has provided for the office of the special supervisor of negro schools under the state department of education. In all the board has expended \$88,346.14 in the promotion of negro education in Texas. In 1908 Miss Anna T. Jeanes of Philadelphia set aside \$1,000,000 for the improvement of rural education among the negro population. This is known as the Jeanes Fund. This has supplied rural supervisors and industrial teachers to a number of counties in Texas and has expended \$52,970.16. The Phelps-Stokes Fund chartered in 1911 by the bequest of Caroline Phelps Stokes does not confine its work to the negroes of the South, but takes in the negroes of Africa as well, and also other peoples. It has been engaged especially in collecting information on negro educational conditions. The Rosenwald Fund, estab-

lished about ten years ago by Julius Rosenwald, confines its work to assisting in the building of schoolhouses for the negro children. During the past three years it has assisted in building and equipping 136 schools at a total cost of \$454,547, of which \$104,033 was contributed from this fund.

Recent conditions. In general, the colored population of the state is more numerous in the eastern and south central portions where cotton growing is the chief industry. In many counties in these sections the negroes form from 25 to 50 per cent of the population, and in a few from 50 to 75 per cent or more. There is practically no negro population in west and southwest Texas. In 1910 the colored population was 690,049 or 17.7 per cent of the total population; in 1920 it was 741,694 or 15.9 per cent, a relative decrease. The population is divided as follows: 223,373 live in the towns, and 518,321 in the country. The negroes in the cities and towns are relatively well provided with educational facilities, but the reverse is true in many of the rural communities. In recent years an effort has been made to build rural industrial high schools and to provide rural supervision. During the forty years since the negroes have enjoyed public education, vast progress has been made in culture. The statistics for illiteracy are reassuring.

DECREASE OF ILLITERACY

1880	. . . . .	75.4%
1890	. . . . .	52.5%
1900	. . . . .	38.2%
1910	. . . . .	24.6%
1920	. . . . .	17.8%

ADDITIONAL READING

“Negro Education: A study of the private and higher schools for colored people in the United States,” Vols. I and II, United States Bureau of Education, *Bulletin*, No. 39, 1916.

CHAPTER XIII

HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS

General changes following the Civil War. The development of higher education since the Civil War has been largely determined by changes in the distribution of population in the settling of Texas which took place after the conflict. The communities and towns of earlier prominence had been located in the eastern and southern portions of the state. After the war the density of population shifted to the rich area known as the black-land belt which girdles the middle of the state north and south. The building of railroads assisted greatly in concentrating the population in this fertile section where the chief cities have grown up. Most of the older as well as the new institutions of learning naturally located in these rapidly expanding and enterprising centers of population and wealth. At a later period came the settlement of the great area of West Texas and the Panhandle and in more recent days of the Rio Grande Valley.

Another determining factor was the development of the state system of education which brought about a considerable change in the agencies fostering institutions of learning. Before the Civil War all schools were promoted by private effort or by organizations of a purely local character. During that period it was comparatively easy for an individual, or a local body, to open and maintain an institution in which pupils of all grades from the primary grade to the college would be accommodated. But when the state took over elementary education and attendance was made compulsory, the chief source of revenue for all schools of

this character was seriously impaired. A little later the growth of the municipal high schools operated to drive out practically all the remaining private institutions. Meanwhile the state had begun to establish her own higher institutions. Thus it came about that the institutions fostered by local and private effort were superseded by institutions maintained by the state itself and by a few denominational institutions fostered by organizations state-wide in scope.

Denominational readjustment. The religious bodies which were ambitious to foster higher institutions of learning were forced to readjust to the new conditions. First of all they were obliged to confine instruction to the secondary and higher branches, which were naturally more costly. The need of larger revenues for the support of their colleges resulted in the establishment of fewer schools by each body and the necessity of forming state or interstate bodies for their maintenance. This brought a new and powerful force to bear upon the members of each denomination to unite their efforts in a state-wide program for the maintenance of its institutions. Furthermore, the shifting of the population to the new centers also affected the situation. In 1869 the Cumberland Presbyterian Church organized Trinity University to take the place of Larissa and Chappell Hill Colleges, which had ceased to exist. In 1902 the institution was located permanently at Waxahachie. In 1876 the Southern Presbyterians moved Austin College from Huntsville to Sherman in the heart of the most flourishing section of the state. The Baptists, having united in a state organization, consolidated Baylor University at Independence with Waco University at Waco, the one contributing the name and the other the location to form the present Baylor University. The consolidation took place in 1886. At the same time Baylor Female College was moved to Belton. After repeated attempts to establish a permanent institution, the various Methodist Conferences united in the establishment of Southwestern University

at Georgetown in 1875. It became the successor of Rutgersville, Wesleyan, and McKenzie Colleges and Soule University.

New institutions. A number of new institutions have been founded and located in the central area of population. In 1873 two brothers, Addison and Randolph Clark, both ministers of the Christian Church, united in establishing Add-Ran Christian College at Thorp Springs. After some years at Waco it was moved to Fort Worth in 1909 and is now known as Texas Christian University. Quite recently this institution was endowed with a large estate which will eventually make it one of the wealthiest institutions in Texas. In 1881 the Northern Methodists established Fort Worth Polytechnic. In 1898 the Baptists founded Decatur Baptist College at Decatur and Burleson College at Greenville.

The increase of population in the western half of the state after 1880 produced a vigorous crop of towns, many of which have endeavored to become the seat of a college. The Southern Presbyterians established Daniel Baker College in 1889, and the Baptists founded Howard Payne College the same year, both located in Brownwood. In 1891 Simmons College was founded under Baptist auspices and located at Abilene. The most important of the institutions more recently established was Southern Methodist University at Dallas, opened in 1916. This is one of two universities fostered by Methodists of the entire South.

Rice Institute is the only highly endowed nonecclesiastical higher institution now in the state. It was founded by the late William Marsh Rice, who willed it his estate, the present value of which is estimated at approximately ten million dollars. The institution is located on a three-hundred acre campus at Houston. Its resources enabled it on opening in 1912 to aspire "to university standing of the highest grade." The faculty consists at present of about 65 members. Courses are offered leading to the following degrees: Bachelor of Arts, Master of Arts, Doctor of Philosophy, and Doctor of Engineering.

The adoption of coeducation. In many respects the most potential change following the Civil War was the adoption of coeducation by the higher institutions. This new policy of teaching both sexes together in college classes was first accepted by the trustees of Waco University upon the recommendation of President Rufus C. Burleson in 1865. As other institutions arose they universally followed the new plan. For a time the question of degrees for the women graduates perplexed the leaders and was variously settled. Keachi College offered the Maid of Arts and the M.E.L. (Mistress of English Literature); Chappell Hill Female College gave the A.B., the M.E.L., the L.I. (Licentiate of Instruction), and B.P. (Bachelor of Painting). Waco University conferred the degree of Maid of Arts and upon graduate students the Mistress of Arts. Marshall Masonic Female Institute provided for the M.E.L. and M.E. and Cl. Lit. (Mistress of English Language and Classical Literature). Before the War Andrew Female College conferred the simple degree Graduate of the College, but later this was changed to Mistress of Polite Literature. With later developments, all these discriminations fell away and the women were accorded the same academic recognition as well as the same privileges as the men.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

Original projection of the university. The question has been raised whether public institutions dedicated to the highest and most liberal scholarship can flourish in a democracy? Do the masses of the people sufficiently appreciate the value of learning and scholarly research to be willing to support adequately a state university of the highest rank? There can be no doubt that the founders of the Republic of Texas aimed to make the most princely provision not for one only, but for two such institutions. In 1839 they set aside by law 50 leagues, or 211,400 acres, of land for "the establishment and endowment of two colleges and universi-

ties." It was in their thought to locate one in the east, and the other in the west, so as to accommodate students in all parts of the vast territory. The men interested in this early movement had various precedents before them. Some, with the recently established University of Virginia freshly in memory, desired to emulate the noble example of Jefferson as patron of the sciences and arts. They visualized a university devoted to the highest and ripest learning along all the lines of science, medicine, law, civil government, and *belles-lettres*. Others looked for the establishment of conventional colleges similar to those which flourished in other states where a general education of a purely classical type might be acquired. Still others had largely in view training schools for teachers for the growing towns of Texas.

First steps to establish the university. In 1849 Wm. Holland, a member of the House of Representatives, brought in a resolution requesting the committee on education to consider the practicability and expediency of establishing a college or university. In 1851, and also two years later, Governor Bell in messages to the Legislature, suggested that two universities be established. His successor, Governor Pease, was even more urgent. He declared in 1853 "the want of a good university in the State, where a liberal education can be obtained, is a serious inconvenience. . . . The present seems to be a favorable time to lay the foundation for such an institution."

The motives making for the establishment of a university at this time were various: 1. There was a strong and increasing desire to prevent the youth from going to Northern institutions to be educated "among those who are hostile to the policy and institutions of the state." 2. Many saw an opportunity to endow the university with a large sum from the United States Indemnity Bonds which still remained in the state treasury. 3. The business interests of the state desired to have the youth educated at home in order to save the large sums they expended in attending schools

outside the state. 4. Struggling private school interests were bringing powerful influences to bear upon the legislature to distribute the funds of the state among themselves. The opponents of these measures desired the state university to be established to take the place of these church colleges which were not only inadequate for the expanding needs of the state, but quite jealous of one another.

A lengthy and heated debate took place over the issue in the legislature. Some desired two universities, others wanted but one, many wanted none. Ardent rivalry between East and West Texas arose. A powerful group opposed the establishment of any university at this time, alleging that elementary schools should first be made a success over the state before the higher should be established. Others opposed any university, charging that universities are "for rich men's sons," and "hot beds of immorality, profligacy, and licentiousness." A large element of opposition came from the friends of private colleges who were seeking to secure financial aid from the state for their struggling institutions. They advocated the system practiced in the State of New York, where there was no state university, but all the higher institutions were granted a measure of support from the public treasury. Among the chief advocates of this policy were General Sam Houston and Dr. Daniel Baker before the Civil War and President Wm. Carey Crane and President Rufus C. Burleson after that time. It may be a question how far the vigorous opposition to higher education has persisted among certain social groups down to the present and has hampered the progress of the university all along.

In spite of the combined opposition to the state university, a bill was finally passed in 1858 establishing the University of Texas, and \$100,000 in United States Indemnity Bonds and a new grant of land were set apart for that purpose. The approach of the great civil conflict between the states, however, caused all further

consideration of this project to be postponed for another twenty years.

Constitutional provision for the university. The constitution adopted in 1876 was not unmindful of the long-delayed project of the founders of the Republic. The exalted vision of the university had been effectively thwarted by the friends of private colleges and those who stood in opposition to higher education generally. The new constitution directed the legislature "as soon as practicable to establish, organize, and provide for the maintenance, support, and direction of a university of the first class." The Agricultural and Mechanical College authorized in 1871 and about to be opened when the constitution was being framed was declared a part of the university for "instruction in agricultural arts and the natural sciences connected therewith." The constitution directed that no money from the general revenues of the state should be used for buildings for the main university when it should be organized. However, a grant of 1,000,000 acres of land was set aside, for the university and its branches, for buildings and maintenance.

Organization of the university. The final impetus for the organization of the university came at the time of that general quickening of educational interest imparted to the Texas people by the noble secretary of the Peabody Board, Dr. Barnas Sears. Through his efforts in 1879 the first normal school for the training of teachers was established in Huntsville. The conspicuous and unqualified success of this institution inspired Governor Roberts, as well as many legislators and educators, to call for the immediate establishment of two more normals. But it was felt that the organization of the university would be more fitting, as it would be able to train teachers for the growing high schools of the state. In June, 1880, the State Teachers' Association, in session at Mexia, appointed a committee to present to Governor Roberts "the views held by the teachers of Texas concerning the

establishment of a state university, and to submit . . . a plan for the organization of the same." A committee was named consisting of Oscar H. Cooper, a recent graduate of Yale College, who had published an article in the *International Review* for 1880 urging the establishment of the university, chairman; Wm. Carey Crane, President of Baylor University; S. G. Sneed, chief clerk of the board of education; Smith Ragsdale, one of the oldest college instructors in the state; J. G. James, President of the Agricultural and Mechanical College; R. W. Pitman, public school leader; and O. N. Hollingsworth, secretary of the board of education.

This committee drew up a memorial with twelve recommendations touching the organization and management of the university. Governor Roberts included the memorial in his message to the 17th Legislature and heartily indorsed the movement. An effort was made by some members of the legislature to bring about the establishment of the two proposed normals, but the friends of higher education persuaded a majority of the members that the university "when properly established will be the proper source from which to draw a supply of competent teachers." The law finally organizing the university was passed March 30, 1881, and the institution was opened in the fall of 1883 for the instruction of students in academic studies and law at Austin, and in 1887 for instruction in medicine at Galveston.

The expansion of the university. For a long time the institution was only a small college of high standard, but in more recent years it has expanded its organization so as to become a genuine university. Many departments have been added. The college of engineering developed from a department in the college of arts, inaugurated in 1894. It will be remembered that the university had always been planned as a training school for teachers. It was accordingly quite natural that a strong demand should arise from the superintendents and other school leaders of the

state for the organization of a special department for the professional training of teachers. The development of the high schools still further accentuated the need and, as a consequence, a department of pedagogy was opened in 1892 with Dr. Joseph Baldwin, formerly President of the Sam Houston Normal Institute, as the professor. After an interregnum from 1895 to 1897, W. S. Sutton, Superintendent of Public Schools at Houston, was made professor. The department of education with a dean at its head was formed in 1909. During the years this work has gradually grown and it was made a school of education in 1922. Another means for the training of teachers at the university was the beginning of the summer session in 1897. No feature of the university has contributed to the scholarship of the state more directly and effectively than this. The School of Mines and Metallurgy, located at El Paso, was begun in 1911, the bureau of extension in 1910, and the school of business administration in 1922. During recent years there has been a considerable increase in the amount of graduate work, and in 1910 this was put in charge of a dean and graduate council. In addition to these various departments there have been organized the bureau of economic geology, the bureau of municipal research, and the bureau of educational standards and measurements, and finally the college of physical education in 1924. All these developments have grown out of the rapidly expanding needs for professional education.

THE AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE

The origin of the college. The Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas is a land-grant college; one of those state institutions which owe their origin to the celebrated Morrill Bill passed by the Federal Congress in 1862. This Act came as the result of the Pestalozzi-Fellenberg movement looking toward a more practical form of education which was introduced into America early in the 19th century. In accordance with the Morrill Bill 180,000

acres of land were granted each state in the Union for colleges for the promotion of the study of agriculture and mechanical arts. The offer of Congress was accepted by the Legislature of Texas at the close of the war in 1866, but as the state was in no condition to begin building new institutions, advantage was taken of the five-year period of intermission allowed for fulfilling the conditions of acceptance. Just prior to the expiration of this five-year period, the legislature made an effort in 1871 to organize the college as a branch of the University of Texas. A fund of \$75,000 was appropriated to erect buildings, and a committee of three members of the legislature was authorized to select a location for the institution. The committee decided upon a tract of 2416 acres of land in Brazos County near the town of Bryan. After further delay the college was at length opened in October, 1876, with six students. Interest rapidly increased, and the enrollment reached 248 during the third year of operation.

Early progress and reconstruction. At its beginning the work of the college was wholly literary rather than scientific and vocational as was originally intended. Down to 1879 it was in reality like an ordinary high school giving a general cultural course, but operated along military lines. This condition led to criticism. The Texas State Grange demanded that an experimental farm be established at the college, and that the study of agricultural and mechanical arts be emphasized. This criticism resulted in an investigation by Governor Roberts and the legislature. The investigation showed that the college had not been at all adequately equipped for teaching agriculture and the mechanical arts and sciences. The difficulty was remedied, and the institution was enabled to enter more fully upon its specified function. It is a school for men only, and in accordance with the conditions of its foundation, it retains the military feature.

Connection with the university. According to the state constitution, the Agricultural and Mechanical College is a branch of the

University of Texas; in reality, however, it is wholly independent in its management. It is governed by its own board of regents and enjoys its own land and endowments granted by the Federal Government. Moreover, it is free from the constitutional restrictions which have hampered the university so greatly in the matter of securing buildings. The anomalous situation of the A. & M. college and the university has been the cause of much friction and is regarded by many as highly unwise, if not illegal. Either the two institutions should be placed under one control and their activities strictly coördinated, or they should be separated by law as well as in fact, and the functions of each more definitely set forth.

Organization. The work of the institution has expanded greatly in recent years. In addition to teaching agriculture and engineering, it has extended its operations throughout the entire state through the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station system. The college has charge, also, of John Tarleton Agricultural College at Stephenville, the North Texas Junior Agricultural College at Arlington, both of junior college rank, and the Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College for colored youth.

COLLEGE OF INDUSTRIAL ARTS

Origin and function. This institution was a result of the deepening interest in the education of women which grew out of the feministic movement of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The feeling arose in Texas that a state college exclusively for young women should be provided to parallel the work of the Agricultural and Mechanical College for young men. It was created by the legislature in 1901, located by a commission at Denton, and opened in September, 1903. The bill designated the college "The Texas Industrial Institute and College for the Education of White Girls of the State of Texas," but it has been commonly called the College of Industrial Arts. The law provided specifically for training along domestic and practical lines,

as well as literary. Accordingly the college was required to furnish literary education, kindergarten instruction, training in telegraphy, stenography, photography, drawing, painting, designing, engraving, needlework, including dressmaking, bookkeeping, scientific and practical cooking, including the chemical study of foods, practical housekeeping, nursing, and the care and culture of children. It is supported directly by state appropriations and has been furnished a large plant of fine buildings for instruction and dormitories. The faculty maintains a high grade of instruction and have made it one of the very largest colleges for women in the entire country. Under the Smith-Hughes Law it has become an important center for the training of teachers in home economics and industrial arts.

TEXAS TECHNOLOGICAL COLLEGE

In 1923 the legislature provided for the establishment of the Texas Technological College. This grew out of the demand of the western portion of the state for an institution of higher practical learning closer than the older institutions. A commission has recently located the school at Lubbock, where it will open in 1925.

THE STATE TEACHERS' COLLEGES

First plans for training teachers. The leaders of the Republic felt a profound concern for the character and training of the future teachers of the youth. Along with the early plans for a school system there were many proposals for securing better instructors. No subject received more discussion in the first famous report on education in the Congress of the Republic in 1838. The chief purpose in the first law in providing academies was to secure trained teachers for the primary schools. Similarly in planning the establishment of the university, these same men had in view the equipping of teachers for the academies. As early as 1839 A. J. Yates proposed the establishment of a special de-

partment of public instruction in the university, but these dreams remained unheeded, and forty years more passed before the Texas people took the first step toward the training of teachers for their schools.

Lack of training among early teachers. The teachers of Texas before the Civil War were mainly of three kinds; there were itinerants who undertook to teach school for a time until they could find a suitable opening in some more lucrative vocation. These men had usually meager scholastic equipment and cared little for their task as instructors of youth. A second group, fewer in numbers, consisted of scholarly men, trained in the universities of the United States or of the Old World, who possessed a genuine love of culture and had some real interest in teaching. Many German, Scotch, Irish, and American teachers belonged to this group. The third class, as we have already seen, consisted of those who were primarily missionaries but turned to education as the most effective means of accomplishing their purposes. In the state teachers' convention of 1866, eighteen of them were ministers, and only seventeen were laymen.

Founding of the first normal school. The first effort of the state to provide training for teachers brought about the establishment of the Sam Houston Normal Institute at Huntsville in 1879. Such an institution had frequently been suggested and was the subject of wide discussion. In July, 1878, Secretary Hollingsworth wrote to Dr. Barnas Sears as follows:

I am clearly of the opinion that the trustees would best advance the interests of popular education in this state, if, instead of aiding a few cities, they would appropriate \$10,000 for the support of a good normal school. I am confident that the state would liberally coöperate with them in such a work.

Among the many who favored this proposal were R. C. Burleson and William Carey Crane, both of whom had made a similar suggestion to Dr. Sears.

Shortly before his death, Mr. Peabody, founder of the fund bearing his name, expressed a special desire that something be done to assist the schools of Texas. In consequence of this wish Dr. Sears visited the state early in 1879, eager to undertake some constructive plans. He attended the meeting of the teachers held in Austin, January 28-30, at the invitation of Governor Roberts to "investigate the present school law and suggest such practicable improvements as can and should be made in our system of education." Dr. Sears took an active part in the discussions of the sessions, at which, it may be added, the Texas State Teachers' Association was formed. Despairing at the situation, he was about to give up all hope and return to his home when it was suggested that the Peabody Board assist the state in establishing a training school for teachers. Believing that the failure of the public school system was mainly due to the deplorable lack of qualified teachers, Dr. Sears immediately acted on the proposal, and on the day following the session sent Governor Roberts an offer of \$6000 for the establishment of a normal school if the state would provide an equal amount. The governor recommended the acceptance of this generous offer in a powerful message to the legislature. On April 21, 1879, the anniversary of the Battle of San Jacinto, Governor Roberts put his signature to the noteworthy bill creating our first state school for the training of teachers. The legislature set apart \$14,000 in addition to the \$6000 donated by the Peabody Board. The town of Huntsville offered the buildings which had formerly been occupied by Austin College. The institution was named in honor of the great patriot, Sam Houston, who had spent the last years of his eventful life in Huntsville. The control of the school was lodged with the state board of education together with a local committee of three citizens.

In undertaking this new venture along a line with which they were wholly unfamiliar, the state authorities feared it might prove a failure. Many doubted that students would spend years in pre-

paring for a profession which returned so small a remuneration. To provide against this contingency, it was decided that "not less than two students from each senatorial district, and six from the state at large," 76 in all, should be appointed to scholarships in the institution. These students were to receive tuition, board, and lodging free. They were obliged to sign an agreement "binding themselves to teach in the public free schools of their respective districts at least one year after leaving the normal." At the same time that the Sam Houston Normal was established, \$6000 was appropriated by the legislature for the maintenance of normal work for training colored teachers at the Prairie View Institute.

Bernard Mallon of Atlanta, Georgia, was appointed principal of the normal, but died a few weeks after the opening of the school. He was succeeded by H. H. Smith, the principal of the Houston high school, who remained about two years. In 1882 Dr. Joseph Baldwin, for fourteen years president of the Kirksville Normal in Missouri, accepted the principalship. So far was this experiment in training teachers from being a failure that its success was immediate and beyond the expectations of its friends. The institution was well attended, the work was of fairly good standard for the time, and the effect upon educational interest throughout the state was pronounced and far-reaching. The deep interest in education engendered by the success of the normal was a large factor in forwarding the educational revolution which was taking place at this time. The governor and educational leaders generally became highly enthusiastic and began to lay plans for the establishment of two new normals. It was at this juncture, as we have already seen, that attention was turned to the organization of the university.

North Texas and Southwest Texas State Normals. By the beginning of the present century, 12,000 white teachers were needed yearly. The population of North Texas and of the south central area had increased greatly. Only with much difficulty

could teachers from these sections attend the normal school at Huntsville. In any case, the number of students attending that institution was small, and facilities were wholly inadequate to prepare teachers for all of Texas. As a result of these conditions, two new normal schools, one at Denton, the other at San Marcos, were opened in the fall of 1901.

Other normal schools. Similar needs have in recent years brought about the establishment of a number of other normal training schools. The West Texas State Normal at Canyon was opened in 1910, the East Texas Normal at Commerce in 1917, the Sul Ross Normal at Alpine in 1920, and the Stephen F. Austin Normal at Nacogdoches in 1923. The South Texas State Normal to be located at Kingsville is now in process of organization.

The evolution of the normals. The state normals have undergone a rapid transformation during the past few years. Until 1911 all these institutions were directly under the control of the state board of education and the state superintendent. At that time they were placed under the control of a special state normal school board of regents appointed by the governor. The board immediately proceeded to bring about the following important changes :

1. Entrance requirements were made uniform in all these schools.
2. The courses of study were made more uniform and raised from three to four years.
3. The old general course of study made up of certain prescribed and certain elective subjects was abolished. For this there were substituted five distinct curricula for the training of teachers. These were as follows : 1. Agriculture, 2. Industrial Arts, 3. Language, 4. Science, 5. Primary and Art.

Further developments have recently taken place. The normals have begun to train teachers for home economics, manual training, music, the kindergarten, and other special lines. Practice schools

have been added, and observation as well as practice teaching has become possible.

Originally it was thought that the Sam Houston Normal would be in a position to furnish teachers for the rural schools as well as the town schools. The university was considered the organ for training teachers for the growing high schools. The original objective of the normals is well expressed in the statement of the North Texas State Normal in 1903 :

The Normal is neither a college nor a university. The statute creating the institution declares its purpose to be "for the special training of teachers," and any marked deviation from the course thus plainly set forth would be a violation of legislative intent as expressed in this law. Accordingly, in its course of study the school must hold in view the needs of the twelve thousand white teachers required annually for the public schools of Texas. Using the public school branches as a basis, it must deal with and seek to develop these fundamental principles which underlie all education. Therefore, the Normal has its own sphere of work apart from the high school and academy on the one hand and the college and university on the other.

Normals become teachers' colleges. During the last five years these institutions have broadened the scope of their work so as to become regular colleges for the training of teachers of all grades from the kindergarten through the high school. As organized at present, they combine the following departments of work :

The training school includes the kindergarten and the first nine grades of standard school work. This department is used for demonstration, observation, and practice teaching.

The subcollege department offers two years of work for the training of elementary teachers. This department is now in process of elimination.

The teachers' college comprises the full four years of regular college work leading to the degree of bachelor of arts or bachelor of science.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Standardizing the colleges. Only within the past two decades has a genuine effort been made to measure the higher institutions in Texas by a common standard and to bring them up to the level of genuine college work. The former standards were not only low, but requirements for degrees were rather lax. The chief agencies which have been instrumental in elevating the standard of college work have been the Association of Texas Colleges, the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, and the state board of examiners. The state department of education is interested in the standardization of all the higher institutions owing to the fact that certain privileges in training of teachers for the schools of the state have been granted. The board of examiners employs a college visitor whose duty it is to visit all the colleges which desire to have their work accepted for teachers' certificates.

Minimum requirements for college. The state department of education specifies certain fixed requirements for the standard on which it accepts the colleges applying for recognition under the certificate law. A standard college must require fifteen units for admission and offer a regular four-year curriculum leading to a recognized degree. It ought to be separate from an academy or preparatory school and have at least seven separate departments. The faculty should consist of properly qualified instructors, and each head of a department "shall hold at least a master's degree." Each college should have an annual income of fully \$30,000 for maintenance of the regular academic work. The library should contain "at least 7500 volumes bearing specifically upon the subjects taught." The chemical apparatus shall cost not less than \$4000, the physics \$5000, and the biological \$4000. The institution must be able to prepare its graduates to enter recognized schools as candidates for advanced degrees.

The following standard colleges are now recognized by the state board of examiners :

STATE COLLEGES

University of Texas, Austin
Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, College Station
College of Industrial Arts, Denton
North Texas State Teachers College, Denton
East Texas State Teachers College, Commerce
Sam Houston State Teachers College, Huntsville
Southwest Texas State Teachers College, San Marcos
West Texas State Teachers College, Canyon
Stephen F. Austin State Teachers College, Nacogdoches
Sul Ross State Teachers College, Alpine

PRIVATE COLLEGES

Abilene Christian College, Abilene
Austin College, Sherman
Baylor College for Women, Belton
Baylor University, Waco
Incarnate Word College, San Antonio
Daniel Baker College, Brownwood
Howard Payne College, Brownwood
Our Lady of the Lake, San Antonio
Rice Institute, Houston
Simmons College, Abilene
Southern Methodist University, Dallas
Texas Christian University, Fort Worth
Texas Presbyterian College, Milford
Texas Woman's College, Fort Worth
Trinity University, Waxahachie
Southwestern University, Georgetown

The junior college movement. Beginning first in Michigan and California, the junior college movement appeared in Texas about a dozen years ago. A junior college is an institution which offers only the work of the freshman and sophomore years of the standard four-year curriculum. It may or may not have secondary-school instruction immediately correlated with it. The way in which this new type of institution originated in Texas may be readily explained. All along, a number of the small struggling colleges had been attempting under difficulties to offer standard college work to meager groups of students while the most of their students were of high-school grade. These institutions lacked endowments to furnish income for a college faculty. When the movement for standardizing the colleges arose, they were unable to meet the standards as to endowment, faculty, and facilities. To dispense with their preparatory departments meant to cut off their chief source of income. Under the new circumstances these struggling institutions found it best to eliminate the junior and senior years of college work which had been the chief expense and smallest source of income. Under the changed conditions they were enabled to operate more successfully, and to-day there are over twenty junior colleges in the state belonging to the various religious bodies as follows: Methodist 8, Baptist 6, Christian 3, Presbyterian 2, Catholic 1, and private 1. A number of others are organized, but have not yet been classified by the state board of examiners.

About three years ago several of the city school systems began to lay plans for the addition of junior college instruction. There are now seven municipal junior colleges. At about the same time the Agricultural and Mechanical College was empowered by the legislature to organize under its control the John Tarleton Agricultural College at Stephenville, and the Grubbs Vocational College at Arlington now known as the North Texas Junior Agricultural College.

Junior college requirements. Requirements adopted by the state board of examiners and by the Association of Texas Colleges for a junior college are as follows:

1. Before being classified, a junior college must have had its preparatory department affiliated by the state department of education to the extent of at least fourteen units.

2. It should require for full admission not fewer than fifteen units but may admit on fourteen units with a condition of one unit, affiliated by the state department of education.

3. It should offer two years of college work, the equivalent of fifteen sixty-minute hours per week of recitations each year.

4. If courses are offered in science above the academy, it should have laboratory equipment sufficient for all the experiments called for by such courses, sufficiency to be measured by the value of the apparatus, which shall be, in chemistry not less than \$1500, in physics not less than \$3000, in biology not less than \$2250.

5. It should have a library of not fewer than 2000 volumes bearing specifically upon the subjects taught.

6. It should maintain at least five departments with a professor giving his full time to each. Teachers other than heads of departments may teach in more than one department. As speedily as possible such schools should go from five to six and seven, and even more, full professors.

7. No teacher should be required to do more than twenty-five hours per week of classroom work.

8. All the teachers shall be graduates of standard colleges. The head of at least three departments shall hold an M.A. degree from a standard college, and the heads of the other departments shall have the work for their M.A. degree actively in progress.

INDEPENDENT JUNIOR COLLEGES

Burleson College, Greenville

Carr-Burdett College, Sherman

Cisco Christian College, Cisco
Clarendon College, Clarendon
College of Marshall, Marshall
Decatur Baptist College, Decatur
Jacksonville Baptist College, Jacksonville
Kidd-Key College, Sherman
Lon Morris College, Jacksonville
McMurry College, Abilene
Meridian Junior College, Meridian
Rusk Junior College, Rusk
St. Edwards College, Austin
Texas Military College, Terrell
Thorp Springs Christian College, Thorp Springs
Wayland Baptist College, Plainview
Weatherford College, Weatherford
Wesley College, Greenville
Westminster College, Tehuacana
Westmoorland College, San Antonio

MUNICIPAL JUNIOR COLLEGES

South Park Junior College, Beaumont
College of the City of El Paso, El Paso
Hillsboro Junior College, Hillsboro
Wichita Falls Junior College, Wichita Falls
Paris Junior College, Paris
McKinney Junior College, McKinney
Gainesville Junior College, Gainesville

STATE JUNIOR COLLEGES

John Tarleton Agricultural College, Stephenville
North Texas Junior Agricultural College, Arlington

ADDITIONAL READINGS

BENEDICT, H. Y. — *A Source Book Relating to the History of the University of Texas; Legislative, Legal, Biographical, and Statistical.*

EBY, FREDERICK — *Education in Texas; Source Materials.*

LEFEVRE, ARTHUR — *Organization for the Enlargement by the State of Texas of Its Institutions of Higher Education.*

CHAPTER XIV

PRESENT PROBLEMS AND THE SURVEY

Fundamental features. There are eight fundamental features which are essential to the successful operation of a system of public education. So long as any one of these is unsatisfactory, the system will prove to be weak and ineffective. By these prerequisites it is possible to measure to a high degree of accuracy the success of the schools. These essentials are as follows :

1. Provision for public education in the state constitution which shall fully guarantee efficiency in every part of the system and the right of taxation for all school purposes.

2. A definite method for providing adequate financial support for all parts of the system.

3. Buildings and equipments sufficient to meet the current needs of all the children to be accommodated.

4. A trained body of teachers.

5. An expert body of school officers to administer and supervise the system.

6. A satisfactory compulsory attendance law.

7. A well-rounded curriculum to foster the physical, social, and intellectual development of the young in harmonious relations.

8. A public vitally interested in education, well informed as to standards and organization and capable of ready mobilization when necessary.

Most problems unsolved. After the labor of more than eighty years, and with the largest endowment for public education possessed by any single state in all the world, it is strange that education in Texas has not yet reached a satisfactory basis and has not provided sufficiently for any one of these prime essentials.

About the only part of the system which is permanently satisfactory after these years is the method of financing school buildings by voting bonds due to mature in future years. In all other points, so far as the common schools are concerned, Texas education is still in a disappointing and backward condition. It must not, however, be supposed that public education has been entirely unsuccessful. On the contrary, great progress has taken place, and much excellent educational work accomplished; especially during the past twenty-five years substantial development has been brought about. But considering the wealth, potentialities, and needs, the system of public education is still far from what it ought to be.

Ayres' index number. The low relative rank of Texas educationally has all along been a matter of more or less common knowledge. But the actual status of the system was sharply accentuated in 1920 by the publication of *An Index Number for State School Systems* by Leonard P. Ayres in connection with the Russell Sage Foundation. Taking the ten aspects of a school system which he believed to be the most important, Mr. Ayres formed a scale by which he could rank the various states. On this scale Texas ranked only 39th among the states. Coming at a time when there existed widespread dissatisfaction in regard to her schools, many people in Texas became alarmed. The feeling was general that the entire system should be studied by experts so that its weaknesses might be properly exhibited and a constructive program adopted. The main problems confronting education in this state will now be explained in some detail, together with the events which finally led to the survey of the Texas school system which is now being made.

1. THE RURAL SCHOOL PROBLEM

General conditions bad. The conditions of the rural schools have been deplorable throughout the entire history of Texas. It

cannot be said that the situation at present or during the past decade is any worse than formerly. As a matter of fact, certain improvements have taken place, but, nevertheless, this part of the state system still constitutes the greatest problem which the people of Texas must face. The deepened interest in education everywhere produced by the World War increased the dissatisfaction with the state system. Low salaries caused many well-qualified teachers to desert the rural schools, and these were usually replaced by the incompetent and untrained. Lack of funds threatened to cut down the school term, which has never been adequate in rural schools. It is probable that for some years past the rural children have not been receiving as effective training as their parents received thirty to forty years ago.

Social conditions changing. Social conditions in rural Texas are still undergoing transformation. Farm tenancy has continued to increase in certain parts of the state, and where it obtains to any large extent social life as well as economic conditions decline. The rural church and school have been seriously affected, and there has been a marked drift of the more intelligent and virile population to the towns and villages. Road building has been very general in the past few years, and the improvement in roads is considerable. In consequence of better highways consolidation of schools and transportation of children have begun to increase a little more rapidly.

Rural education still the greatest problem. The rural schools of Texas are still far below those of most of the states. The school term is generally only about six months, and in many cases less, although the constitution requires that length of term. In Texas 16 per cent of the children 7 to 13 years of age are not in school, while the proportion in the United States generally is only 9 per cent. The teachers, except for a small percentage, are lacking in general scholarship and professional equipment, while few are trained as experts in rural education. School buildings have

improved, and much progress is being made, but a recent survey shows that 80 per cent of them are inadequate for the demands made upon them. Equipments are poor, libraries are lacking, and special facilities for teaching manual training, agriculture, home economics, and rural projects are unknown except in a few places. There yet remain 4831 one-teacher schools. In most of these we find teachers attempting to offer instruction to from 40 to 75 or more children distributed in 40 or more classes of seven grades of work. A bare five or ten minutes apiece can be given to the various classes. With six months or less of such instruction no genuine intellectual progress can be expected, the children forgetting during the vacation most of what they have so poorly learned. Conditions are further complicated in certain sections by large numbers of negroes; in other sections by Mexicans and other foreign elements.

Especially to be deplored is the want of high-school opportunities for the children of rural districts. Fully half a million of the children have no facilities provided for secondary instruction.

The problem. These backward conditions in rural education have been constantly under discussion in the last few years. Efforts have been made to improve them by special rural-school aid, by amending the constitution to permit higher local taxation, by compulsory attendance laws, and numerous other measures. But the problem still remains. The tendency of legislation to place the responsibility for the improvement of school conditions upon the local district may be entirely plausible as a policy politically but will probably not result in an efficient system for years to come. For this reason many of the leading educators of the state have been advocating more centralization of authority by taking the schools from local management and placing them in the hands of county boards. This so-called county-unit system has been stoutly opposed by the more conservative element, who are wedded to the tradition of democratic government.

2. THE TEACHING PROFESSION

The status of the profession. The lack of a stable and qualified body of teachers is another of the outstanding needs of Texas education. The qualifications for teaching have always remained low in spite of the fact that the necessity of training teachers was advocated from the earliest times. Progress in raising certificate requirements has been gradually taking place, but, outside the cities and towns, which insist on higher standards, there are practically no teachers with either scholastic equipment or professional training. Statistics for the year 1921-22 show that out of 32,137 teachers in Texas 38 per cent had no previous teaching experiences; 16 per cent had one year of experience; 13 per cent two years; 11 per cent three years; and only 22 per cent had four years. It is generally agreed that a teacher with less than 4 years' experience has not reached highest efficiency. From these facts it is seen that more than half the teachers of the state are not experienced and that about 40 per cent each year are raw recruits. Out of 32 states in the Union, none had so low a percentage of inexperienced teachers. This vast "overturn" in the profession is a grave detriment to the schools, not to mention that it is a serious financial loss to the state.

Condition of professional preparation. In 1921-22 only about 22 per cent of the teachers had any normal college training; 13 per cent were graduates of colleges or universities; about 40 per cent were high-school graduates; 24 per cent were not graduates of any school, not even of a high school; 34 per cent held certificates below the first grade.

The low standard of the teaching profession in this state is due to a number of causes; among these are low salaries, low requirements for certificates, lack of a sufficient number of institutions for professional training, and the lack of a proper conception of what constitutes professional equipment and teaching skill on the part

of the school boards which select the teachers. As a result the profession is on a lower plane in Texas than in the United States as a whole, or in most of the contiguous states. A new certificate law, passed in 1921 and now beginning to operate, will greatly raise the standard of the teachers. Hitherto most of the teachers obtained certificates by taking state examinations in certain prescribed subjects, and little attention was given to professional knowledge. Under the new law, which finally goes into effect in 1925, except for very elementary certificates, all certificates will be based upon college training. Much greater emphasis will also be given to the study of subjects which deal directly with the art of teaching.

Low salaries. The following table gives the average salaries of teachers of Texas for four years. These averages include salaries of superintendents, principals, supervisors, and teachers. These salaries are several hundred dollars below the average for the United States in each case.

AVERAGE SALARIES OF TEXAS TEACHERS

Average salary, 1918-19	\$570.73
Average salary, 1919-20	643.07
Average salary, 1920-21	895.20
Average salary, 1921-22	879.83

For the session of 1921-22 average salaries of teachers were as follows :

Average salary in common school districts	660.35
Average salary in one-teacher schools	608.89
Average salary of elementary teachers	764.08
Average salary of high-school teachers	1151.79
Average salary of principals	1023.95
(This includes principals of rural schools)	
Average salary of superintendents	1574.41
(This includes superintendents of rural schools)	

The problem. At the present time from 10,000 to 12,000 teachers leave the profession each year and must be replaced by raw recruits without experience and without much professional training. This large overturn is due mainly to the fact that the profession is now composed of about 85 per cent women and only about 15 per cent men. Many women marry and leave the profession, and the men leave to enter vocations which offer a better living. All the institutions in Texas, both public and private, are unable at present to furnish a sufficient number of teachers well equipped to supply the annual overturn. At the present time approximately \$1,500,000 is spent by the state in training teachers, nevertheless the total number of graduates with professional equipment is less than 1000 annually. If the standard is to be raised, several changes are necessary; especially must there be a greater permanency in the teaching work. The vast overturn each year would wreck any public institution. To accomplish this, it may be necessary to continue well-trained women after marriage and to discourage those classes which are making the profession a stepping-stone to some other employment. To bring about these developments, it will be necessary to select teachers with greater care, to measure their teaching skill more efficiently, and to pay them better. The chief trouble at the present time is that the salary which may confidently be expected by the experienced teachers is too low to hold people permanently in the profession.

3. THE PROBLEM OF LOCAL SUPERVISION

More competent county supervision. The efficiency of local supervision is in general the soundest single index by which to estimate the character of a school system. Down to 1887 there had been no provision for supervising the common schools of the state. The cities and towns on the other hand had employed superintendents, and in consequence, their schools quickly attained

a large measure of success. In 1887 the law authorized the county commissioner's court to establish the office of county superintendent, but the office was merely permissive, and not mandatory. The employment of county judges as ex officio county superintendents, which has all along been the practice, has been a most effective means for retarding the schools of the state. These officers are not trained to supervise, and they are not interested directly in, this kind of professional work; they are too much occupied with their own judicial duties to attend to the schools, and they are not equipped to lead the people in educational work. At the present time, 101 of the 253 counties in Texas are still manacled by this primitive and outworn excuse for supervision. Moreover, the office of county superintendent until recent years has frequently been inefficient. Adequate clerical assistance has not been provided, and salaries have been too small to attract the most capable leaders. Compared with the treatment of other departments of the county government, the attitude toward this important work has been little short of contemptuous. But the supreme weakness of the office has been its elective character. The present policy which necessitates that a candidate engage in a political campaign for office and the strong prejudice against a tenure longer than four years have robbed the county superintendency of any real vitality and reduced it to a function chiefly clerical and political. Repeated efforts have been made to put this office on a professional basis by making it an appointive position. But all these attempts have been successfully resisted. On every occasion that the matter has been brought to the legislature the members have been persuaded that the appointment of county superintendents is undemocratic — this in spite of the fact that all the superintendents in the independent school districts are appointed by school boards. Not until a radical change is effected in the office of county superintendency can there be hope of more than a perfunctory supervision over the common schools of the state.

County supervisors of the highest efficiency are peculiarly needed, particularly because of the fact that Texas is so backward in its ideas and appreciation of good rural schools. The people generally must be educated to desire an adequate system of schools. Local leadership by expert, well-trained county superintendents appointed by local boards must accomplish this task. Moreover, the vast size of Texas and the great variation in different portions of the state make it impossible for a central administrator, however progressive, to accomplish much in awakening the people. The influence of the state superintendent's office in creating and developing educational interest is not thoroughly felt in a territory so enormous. Unless the local superintendent can persuade the people to support efficient schools, progress must necessarily be slow. Texas must look to the county superintendents to be leaders of educational sentiment and endeavor, and under the present conditions they are not in a position to exercise a powerful influence over the people whose votes they must seek every two years.

4. THE PROBLEM OF HIGHER STATE EDUCATION

Phenomenal growth. The growth of higher state institutions in Texas during the last few years has been phenomenal, in fact, out of all proportion to the growth of population and wealth. In 1900 Texas had only three institutions of higher learning supported by the state, in 1920 there were nine, and now there are eleven. During this time the enrollment of students increased 582 per cent, while the population increased only 53 per cent; legislative appropriations for biennial periods increased approximately 2185 per cent, while wealth increased only about 265 per cent.

Increased cost of higher education. The great per capita cost of higher education in comparison with the elementary has been the subject of much public discussion in Texas. The constant

ENROLLMENT OF STUDENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

	UNITED STATES	TEXAS
1900	110,912	2,148
1920	<u>521,756</u>	<u>14,663</u>
Increase	370%	582%

POPULATION

1900	75,994,000	3,048,710
1920	<u>105,708,000</u>	<u>4,663,228</u>
Increase	39%	53%

WEALTH ¹

1900	\$ 88,517,000,000	946,320,258
1920	<u>375,000,000,000</u>	<u>3,455,360,089</u>
Increase	323%	265%

demand for increased revenues for the support of the higher institutions has brought on acrimonious comparisons. There has been, however, too little discussion of the real reasons for the increased expenditures for higher institutions. A number of causes may be assigned, such as the large increase in the number of students, the higher cost of living for teachers, and higher standards of scholarship. But the real explanation has not been given. The chief reason is found in the development of those practical and professional subjects which are to-day so urgently demanded by the public. The older cultural subjects can be cheaply taught, but the utilitarian, more practical subjects are in the very nature of the case always highly expensive. It is curious that those very people who denounce the cultural subjects as useless and for the wealthy class of citizens, and who object stoutly to the increased cost of higher education, strongly favor the practical subjects, which are very expensive both in the high schools and colleges. A comparison of the cost of various types of subjects will show

¹These figures are not as accurate as one could desire; the wealth of Texas is here based upon taxable values and is, therefore, low.

how much more expensive are the scientific subjects and the technical subjects which both require laboratory work and necessitate close supervision of a few students by an expert. The old cultural branches, such as English, mathematics, philosophy, economics, and the languages cost about \$120 to \$130 a year per student. In these cases the classes are large, and the instructors are not highly paid. The laboratory subjects, such as geology, chemistry, zoölogy, and physics cost approximately \$200 to \$250 per student per year. But professional and highly technical subjects, such as law, medicine, engineering, home economics, and library science cost from \$350 to \$450 per student.

Lack of coördination. The phenomenal and rapid expansion of the higher institutions of Texas was not guided by any rational plan so as to secure harmonious coöperation among them as a state system of higher instruction. Rivalry for expansion of departments, for students, for public favor, and for legislative appropriations arose. Not only was little effort made to compose these differences which had grown up through the years between the older institutions, but new institutions were constantly being created without any regard for their adjustment to those already in existence. In place of a single unified and coördinated system for higher instruction, by 1920 Texas had developed no less than four, with four separate and distinct boards of regents.

LEGISLATIVE APPROPRIATIONS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION FOR
BIENNIAL PERIODS

1909	\$1,527,900	1915	\$3,927,931
1911	1,871,544	1917	4,895,802
1913	3,854,032	1919	7,362,169
	1921		\$8,233,027

Duplication and competition. The danger of overlapping of function and of financial loss was the inevitable consequence of the loose method of organizing the higher schools. The state normals

rapidly developed the standard of their work to become regular teachers' colleges. The University, the Agricultural and Mechanical College, the College of Industrial Arts, and the normal colleges evolved along parallel lines in place of fulfilling their separate and distinct functions. The rivalry for students led to a rather pronounced similarity in courses of instruction and organization. Scattered as these institutions are over the broad areas of Texas, it was inevitable that each school should attempt to meet the cultural needs of the students in the districts in which it is located. The question arose whether there was not an undue amount of duplication in these institutions.

The most serious conflict arose when the four boards of regents sought appropriations from the legislature to maintain and equip their various institutions. The situation reached its most acute stage following the World War for a number of reasons :

1. There was a sudden and great increase in the number of students enrolled in all the colleges.

2. Owing to the enormous increase in living expenses, the total maintenance of these institutions had jumped from \$4,895,802 in 1917-19 to \$8,233,027 in 1921-23.

3. Many of these institutions required new buildings to care for the increased number of students.

4. Taxation, both state and national, had become a serious burden, and the people demanded retrenchment and economy. Huge as the increase in the appropriation had been, it failed to provide for the needs of these institutions.

The problem of higher education became so grave that finally the legislature in 1921 authorized by resolution the appointment of a special committee of citizens to study the questions of duplication, coördination, and method of support. No provision being made for expenses, the committee was unable to do much. However, it led to the survey of the entire school system, and its creation was, therefore, an important event.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING APPOINTMENT
OF A COMMITTEE

WHEREAS, It has been repeatedly stated that there is a large amount of unnecessary duplication in the work of the institutions of higher learning in the State of Texas, thus incurring an annual expense to the people of Texas, which should, if possible, be avoided; and

WHEREAS, It has been held that much of this duplication and unnecessary expense is due to the fact that the work of higher education in the State of Texas has not been properly systematized and coördinated; and

WHEREAS, The present methods of providing for the maintenance and support of the institutions of higher learning in this State are both unsatisfactory and highly inefficient; now, therefore, be it

Resolved that a committee of nine citizens be appointed . . . to make a thorough examination into the questions above raised, and such further examination into the whole problem of higher education in Texas, as may by the committee be deemed advisable . . . and it is hereby instructed to report . . . a method of systematizing the work of higher education in Texas, together with an efficient plan for their adequate support and maintenance.

The committee reported to the succeeding legislature recommending that inasmuch as the schools of the state constitute a unity a general survey of the entire educational system of the state should be made as soon as possible.

The committee appointed was as follows:

Dr. O. H. Cooper, Abilene, Chairman
Mrs. Percy Pennybacker, Austin
Mrs. J. K. Baretta, San Antonio
Dr. H. T. Musselman, Dallas
Mrs. Florence G. Floore, Cleburne
Representative R. M. Chitwood, Sweetwater
J. K. Wiley, St. Joseph
Senator A. E. Wood, Granger
Louis J. Wilson, Ft. Worth

5. THE FINANCIAL PROBLEM

An assured and adequate fund. For a public-school system to be successful it must possess above all else an assured income adequate for all the ordinary needs of the schools. This must be assured and therefore known in advance in order that trustees may be able to plan the work from year to year with foresight. The finances for the schools of Texas have never been entirely stable, and consequently uncertainty and inefficiency have usually characterized the operation of the system.

Sources of income. The chief sources of income for the state common-school system are as follows :

1. The permanent school fund amounting approximately to \$75,000,000, invested in land notes, in bonds on school buildings, and in other securities.

2. The county permanent school funds amounting to about \$13,000,000, the income from which is distributed.

3. An ad valorem state tax of 35 cents on the \$100 value, part of which must be used for purchasing free textbooks. This furnishes by far the largest part of the available fund.

4. One fourth of the occupation tax.

5. Special state taxes on oil, sulphur, automobiles, and other forms of wealth.

6. Local district taxes for school maintenance.

From these and some other minor sources, the available school fund in 1922-23 received \$20,576,298. In addition to these funds the state legislature has at times of special stress voted large amounts to supplement the available fund in order to increase salaries because of the increased cost of living. Special appropriations for rural school aid and for other purposes have also been made, but these are not distributed on the per capita basis.

Variableness of income. A critical situation arose at the close of the World War. Living expenses increased enormously, while

there was no corresponding increase in the available school fund to bring up the salaries of the teachers. Teachers, especially in the common schools, found it impossible to live on salaries which remained at the level of pre-war times. As a result, many of the best teachers left the profession for more remunerative employment, and in places the school term, already too short, had to be curtailed.

To meet this critical situation, the legislature took a step new in the history of state support of schools in Texas; it made a special appropriation of \$4,000,000 out of the general revenues to be distributed on the per capita basis as part of the available school fund. The next biennium \$3,000,000 was provided, but no further amounts were voted.

These special appropriations were made at a time when the state treasury had a surplus, and when the school system was facing a critical emergency. One of the results of these special appropriations was to increase the old tendency of trustees to rely complacently upon the legislature to provide means for the maintenance of their schools. The state apportionment has, therefore, varied greatly during the past ten years.

SPECIAL RURAL AID

1918-19	. . . . \$1,000,000	1921-22	. . . . \$1,500,000
1919-20	. . . . 2,000,000	1922-23	. . . . 1,000,000
1920-21	. . . . 2,000,000	1923-24	. . . . 1,500,000

Local taxation. It took the people of Texas many decades to reconcile themselves to the principle of local taxation for school purposes, and even yet the ancient prejudice against such taxation is one of the most powerful forces opposing educational progress. Not until the constitutional amendment of 1920 were the people in the rural districts free to vote local taxes without restrictions, which hampered the building of strong schools. In 1918 Texas

ranked 44th among the states of the Union in local support. Since the passing of the amendment considerable increase in local taxation has taken place. In 1922-23, out of approximately 7227 common school districts, only 6452 had voted a local tax for maintenance.

TOTAL AMOUNTS RAISED BY LOCAL TAXATION FOR MAINTENANCE

1918-19	\$10,106,774.92
1919-20	11,230,442.29
1920-21	13,591,905.57
1921-22	15,775,945.48
1922-23	17,149,943.81

AVERAGE FOR PUPIL ENROLLED RAISED BY LOCAL TAX

1918-19	\$10.54	1920-21	\$12.10
1919-20	10.38	1921-22	13.02

Tax inequalities. The constitution requires that taxation shall be equally distributed upon all the property of the state. But the burden of taxation for school purposes varies extremely in the different counties. Many forms of property and wealth are not taxed at all, or very slightly. There is, moreover, a wide variation in the rendition of property in the various counties. So far as local taxation for the maintenance of schools goes, it varies in different counties and in different districts in the same county. In 1921-22 some counties did not raise any funds by local taxation, while one county with four children raised \$217 for each child. The problem of the equalization of taxation for schools and the problem of equalizing the opportunity of education for all the children of the state are now being more generally discussed.

THE EDUCATIONAL SURVEY

Immediate causes of the survey. We have already learned that the special commission, authorized in 1921 by the legislature to

study the needs of the higher institutions of the state, concluded that any adequate study was impossible without financial provision, and urgently recommended that a general survey of the entire system should be made. This accorded with the consensus of opinion among the educational leaders of the state. The State Teachers' Association, the various women's organizations, and other groups had urged it. Finally, convinced of the desirability of such a general study of the school system as a whole the legislature in 1923 appropriated \$50,000 to defray the expenses of a survey. In order to insure the strictest impartiality, the law provided that a large and representative committee of state officers, educators, and citizens should select a commission under whose direct charge the survey should be conducted. This survey commission consists of the following: Governor Pat M. Neff, chairman; Dr. T. D. Brooks, Baylor University; Dr. P. W. Horn, Southwestern University; Burl Bryant, County Superintendent, Wichita Falls; Mr. Gus Taylor, Tyler; Mr. Tom Finty, Jr., Dallas; Representative R. M. Chitwood, Sweetwater; Senator A. E. Wood, Granger; Mr. G. D. Staton, Canton; Mr. B. F. King, Douglas; Mrs. Henry Redmond, Corpus Christi; and Mrs. Chalmers W. Hutchinson, Forth Worth. The law provided that at least six of the members of this commission should not be engaged in the teaching profession. It was made the duty of this body "to employ an educational expert as a survey director, who shall with the assistance of such a survey staff of experts as he may select subject to the approval of the said educational survey commission, make a thorough and impartial survey of the public educational system of the state, including all schools and educational institutions supported in whole or in part by public taxation, and all administrative departments connected therewith." The survey director and his staff must not be residents of Texas, but the director was empowered to use the assistance of any one in the state as he desired.

Personnel of the survey. Dr. George A. Works of the College of Agriculture, Cornell University, who has had a broad experience in making school surveys in this country and Canada, was appointed director. He called to his assistance a number of the leading specialists from other states and from Texas. President L. D. Coffman of the University of Minnesota has had charge of the survey of higher education. Dr. Margaret Noonan of New York University and Dr. O. G. Brin of Ohio State University have studied the elementary-school curriculum. Among others who took some part may be mentioned A. C. Parsons, superintendent of the Oklahoma City Schools; H. B. Wilson, superintendent of the schools of Berkeley, California; and Dr. Charles H. Judd, Professor of Education in the University of Chicago.

ADDITIONAL READINGS

AYRES, LEONARD P. — *An Index Number for State School Systems.*

BLANTON, ANNIE WEBB — *A Handbook of Information as to Education in Texas, 1918-1922.*

“Conference upon the Teacher Problem in Texas,” *University of Texas Bulletin*, No. 2209, March 1, 1922.

QUESTIONS

CHAPTER I

LESSON 1

1. Why is it necessary to study the sources in order to understand the development of education in Texas?
2. Along what lines did the Greek education develop?
3. What was the source of our idea of religious training?
4. Tell about the two most important educational institutions of the Middle Ages.
5. What was the Renaissance?
6. Discuss the effects of the Reformation on education.
7. Explain the views of Martin Luther and John Calvin in regard to the relation of Church and State.
8. How did these views affect the organization of school systems?

LESSON 2

1. What was the general attitude toward education in the South during the colonial period?
2. What was the attitude of the people in the Middle Atlantic colonies?
3. What types of schools were first founded in New England?
4. Describe the evolution of the district system.
5. What was sense realism, and how did it influence the schools?
6. What bearing did the English poor law of 1601 have upon American education?
7. How did the academy movement originate?

LESSON 3

1. What new philosophical principles did John Locke proclaim?
2. Outline the life and experiences of Rousseau.
3. What four institutions of society did Rousseau attack, and why?
4. How did Rousseau think the child should be educated?
5. What was the influence of Rousseau's ideas?
6. How did the European enlightenment affect America?
7. Tell about the growth and work of the academies in America.

LESSON 4

1. State the three influences which were most prominent in popularizing the idea of state control of education.
2. In what ways did French educational ideas influence the American people?
3. Give a brief statement of what Jefferson did for education in Virginia.
4. What did the Federal Government do to promote schools?
5. Account for the secularization of public education in America.
6. Discuss the three different views which were held in regard to the organization, support, and control of education.
7. What was meant by "pauper schools," and where did the system develop?
8. Give the chief facts in regard to the beginnings of free schools.

LESSON 5

1. Discuss briefly the life and work of Pestalozzi.
2. Give the chief educational doctrines of Pestalozzi.
3. Who introduced these doctrines into our country?
4. Who was Froebel?
5. What was his doctrine of self-activity?
6. What was his doctrine of development?

7. What was his doctrine of unity?
8. What was his doctrine of social education?
9. State Froebel's views of the curriculum.
10. In what particulars has Froebel influenced American education?

LESSON 6

1. Give a brief account of the two men who did most to make public education effective.
2. Name the things which Horace Mann did to promote the progress in schools.
3. Trace the steps in the evolution of compulsory education.
4. Why were the Southern States so late in adopting compulsory attendance?
5. State the important facts in the development of our American high schools.

CHAPTER II

LESSON 7

1. What different attempts did the Spanish make to train the natives of America?
2. Why did they select the "mission," and for what purposes did they use it?
3. Tell about the first missions in Mexico and Texas.
4. Explain the kinds of industrial training given in the mission.
5. Discuss the religious and social training.
6. Why did the Texas missions not have the same results as the others?
7. What were the first schools for Spanish children in Texas?
8. Who promoted these schools? Why did they not succeed better?

CHAPTER III

LESSON 8

1. What provision was made in the state constitution for the promotion of schools?
2. What provisions were made by laws for the establishment of schools?
3. Describe the efforts to promote a school at San Antonio.
4. What other schools were opened?
5. Discuss the protests of 1832 against the neglect of schools.
6. What new legislative provisions were made to promote education?
7. Describe the condition of education as reported by Almonte.
8. Set down the reasons for the educational failure of the Mexicans.

LESSON 9

1. Give a brief account of Anglo-American colonization in Texas.
2. Name some of the earliest teachers in Texas.
3. What was the nature of the first schools?
4. State the training of Thomas J. Pilgrim.
5. In what places did Pilgrim teach? Tell about his school work.
6. Tell about his character.

CHAPTER IV

LESSON 10

1. State the charge made against the Mexican government in regard to education. Was the charge justifiable?
2. Review what the Mexicans had done to promote schools in Texas.

3. Describe the general character of the Texas people at this time.

4. Name six of the leading men of Texas of this period, and state whence they came.

5. What education had each received?

6. What had the Constitution of the Republic to say in regard to education?

7. Compare this with the provision in the Constitution of the State of Texas-Coahuila.

8. How influential was the New England educational tradition at this time?

LESSON 11

1. Describe the first effort to have a law passed establishing a public-school system.

2. Why was there a delay of several years before action was finally taken?

3. Give a full account of the attitude of President Lamar toward education.

4. Outline the report of the first committee on education.

5. State the chief provisions of the Bill of 1839.

6. What changes were made by the Bill of 1840? Why were these changes made?

7. Did Texas do as much proportionately for the endowment of public education as was done for other states?

LESSON 12

1. Did the Texas leaders who passed the laws of 1839-1840 have in view a state-supported free-school system such as we have to-day?

2. What was accomplished under these laws?

3. Describe the instruction which was commonly given at this period.

4. Give the history of Rutgersville College.

5. Tell the history of the University of San Augustine.

6. State what other schools were in existence at this time.
7. Name the most prominent educators and tell what they did.

LESSON 13

1. Write an account of the first educational association in Texas.
2. What was the general condition of culture at this time?
3. The Constitution of 1845 made provision for two types of educational organization. What were they?
4. State the four views of educational control and support which were current at this time.
5. Explain the origin of these views.
6. List the arguments used against taxation for education.
7. What provisions were made for the establishment of schools in the towns of Texas?

CHAPTER V

LESSON 14

1. Describe the social, economical, and political conditions in Texas about the middle of the century.
2. Why had transportation become so essential?
3. Discuss the chief reasons why attention now turned to the establishment of a system of public education.
4. Give a short sketch of the career of Governor Pease, stating his attitude toward education.
5. List the leading features of the school law of 1854.
6. Explain why it was a compromise.
7. Discuss the character of the system which was put into operation and its success.

LESSON 15

1. Name as many as you can of the most prominent schools which existed before the Civil War, giving their location.

2. State the chief agencies which promoted schools, telling what each accomplished.
3. Write an account of McKenzie Institute.
4. Tell the important facts about the New Braunfels Academy.
5. Give an account of the origin of Baylor University.
6. Outline the history of Austin College.
7. Write an account of the educational work of Daniel Baker.

LESSON 16

1. Find out what you can about any important schools existing in your county or section of the state before the Civil War.
2. What were the general characteristics of the schools at this period?
3. Name the foremost educators before the Civil War, and write a statement of their professional equipment, their ideas of education, and their general characteristics.
4. Write a few notes on the first schools for girls.
5. Name the chief girls' schools from 1850 to 1860.
6. In general how did the education of girls and boys differ at this time?
7. What was the progress in other lines of culture during the decade?
8. About what proportion of the children received any training, and how much did they usually receive?

CHAPTER VI

LESSON 17

1. State briefly the effects of the Civil War on social and economic conditions in Texas.
2. How did the war affect the public-school fund?
3. How far did the schools suffer? Which survived?
4. State the reasons why so few schools survived the war.

5. Tell about the reëstablishment of schools. What changes occurred in the ideas of the people?

6. What general provision was made for public education in the Constitution and Law of 1866?

CHAPTER VII

LESSON 18

1. Explain the reason for the radical government from 1870 to 1873.

2. State the chief elements of the system of education set up by the radical régime.

3. Set down the functions of the state superintendent, of the district supervisors, and of the people.

4. What was accomplished by the system?

5. Discuss in full the reasons for the opposition to the system.

6. What defense of the system was given?

CHAPTER VIII

LESSON 19

1. Describe the struggle over the article on education during the constitutional convention in 1875.

2. Compare the article in the new constitution with that of the Constitution of 1869.

3. Describe the operation of the community system.

4. What were the disadvantages of this system?

5. Explain the origin and nature of the crisis of 1879.

6. State the chief problems confronting education at this time.

7. Compare the educational provisions for towns and rural sections at this period.

LESSON 20

1. Write a short essay on the services of the Peabody Board in promoting schools in Texas.
2. What were their guiding principles?
3. Write a biography of Governor Roberts, telling his chief services for the schools of Texas.
4. Give an account of the life and work of O. N. Hollingsworth.
5. Name other leading educators at this time, and tell of their contributions to the advancement of education.

CHAPTER IX

LESSON 21

1. Describe the revolution in educational sentiment from 1878 to 1884.
2. State what changes were voted in the constitution.
3. What important changes were made in the school law in 1884?
4. What was the weakness in the law adopting the principle of local taxation?
5. What were the chief changes in the curriculum and organization of the school system from 1884 to 1900?
6. Discuss fully the struggle for supervision.
7. Why did the private schools cease to exist?

LESSON 22

1. Before the Civil War education was religious; how did the people of Texas adjust to the secularization of education?
2. Discuss the condition of the permanent school fund at this period.
3. Trace the progress in the provision for education in cities and towns.
4. Why was there so little progress in the common-school system at this time?

5. Explain the cause of the textbook problem.
6. Name the leaders of education from 1880 to 1900, and tell what positions they held.

CHAPTER X

LESSON 23

1. What caused a revival of interest in educational progress at the beginning of the new century?
2. Review the privileges granted to the towns in school affairs which were not granted to common-school districts.
3. How did the Texas school system rank at this time among the state school systems of the country?
4. Tell what you can about the organization and work of the Conference for Education in Texas.
5. Describe the backward condition of rural education, and give reasons therefor.
6. Why was it so difficult to secure good schoolhouses?
7. What changes have been made in the course of study in the common schools during the past twenty years?

LESSON 24

1. Discuss the progress of consolidation in Texas. Why has it been so slow?
2. Tell what you can about the adoption of compulsory attendance in Texas.
3. Give an account of the present status of the kindergarten movement.
4. Why were the last two constitutional amendments so important?
5. Discuss the origin and work of the Interscholastic League.
6. Write the story of the rise of the Mothers' Club movement.
7. Outline the enlargement of the work of the state department of education.
8. What is meant by special state aid?

CHAPTER XI

LESSON 25

1. What facilities for secondary education were there before the Civil War?
2. Discuss the curricula of the academies.
3. State the facts in regard to the founding of the first two high schools.
4. What is meant by "high schools, an extension of the grades"?
5. List the ten earliest high schools in Texas.
6. What reasons were given against public support of high schools?
7. What men opposed, and what men favored, public high schools?
8. Justify public support of high schools.

LESSON 26

1. Discuss how the university affected the growth and development of high schools.
2. Discuss the development of the curriculum of the high schools.
3. What progress has been made in manual training, domestic art, domestic science, and the vocational branches?
4. Write a paragraph on the junior high school movement in Texas.
5. State the present aims of the high school.
6. What efforts were made to furnish secondary instruction to children in the rural districts before 1900?
7. What efforts since 1900?
8. What is meant by affiliation?
9. In what different ways may one satisfy the admission requirements of the colleges?

CHAPTER XII

LESSON 27

1. What was the attitude toward negro education before the Civil War?
2. Tell about the efforts to educate negroes during and after the war.
3. Were the whites favorable or unfavorable?
4. What legal provision was made for educating the colored people?
5. List the special endowment funds for assisting colored education.
6. Give the origin of the leading private institutions.
7. Name the most important of the colored educators of Texas and other states.

LESSON 28

1. What governors have favored negro education?
2. Discuss the attitude toward industrial education.
3. Why do some oppose it?
4. What is the condition of higher education for negroes?
5. Describe any three of the higher institutions.
6. What provision has been made for the training of colored teachers?
7. Prove that negro education has been successful so far as illiteracy is concerned.
8. What is the present condition of negro education?

CHAPTER XIII

LESSON 29

1. Outline the changes in the development of higher education since the Civil War.
2. Trace the progress of higher education for women.

3. Write the story of the founding of the University of Texas.
4. Describe the development of the university.
5. Tell the origin and functions of the Agricultural and Mechanical College.
6. For what reasons was the College of Industrial Arts established?
7. Name the three teachers' colleges nearest to you, and state when they were established.

LESSON 30

1. Give the story of the founding of the Sam Houston Normal Institute.
2. Outline the growth and development of the training of teachers in Texas.
3. State the chief requirements in the standard for a regular college.
4. Name all the state colleges and five private colleges, and tell where each of them is located.
5. Discuss the development of junior colleges.
6. State the requirements for a standard junior college.
7. Name all the state and municipal junior colleges and five private colleges, and tell the location of each.

CHAPTER XIV

LESSON 31

1. Name the more important essentials for an efficient system of public education.
2. Why has Texas not solved more of its educational problems?
3. State as clearly as you can the reason for the rural-school problem.
4. What is the condition of the teaching profession in Texas?
5. In case you should wish to become better equipped as a teacher, what would you do?

6. What provision is made to-day for supervision in the towns?
In the country?

7. What steps must be taken to insure better supervision in the country?

LESSON 32

1. Sketch the growth of higher state education during the past twenty years.

2. Explain how the problem of higher education arose.

3. Name the chief sources of income for public education in this state.

4. How does this income compare with what is expended in other states?

5. It is claimed that more should be raised by local taxation. Discuss this claim.

6. Give the reasons for the educational survey.

7. What are the chief criticisms made by the Survey Commission?

INDEX

- Academies, establishment of, 19; movement in America, 25-26; University of Georgia empowered to recommend, 28; state should assist in supporting, 33; endowment for, in Georgia, 35; unable to meet need, 36; Austin undertook to establish, 77; land granted for, 88-89; functions of, 91; ten established, 94; forty chartered, 126; New Braunfels Academy, 133-134; Bastrop Military Academy, 139; term employed, 140, 154; Roberts advocated, 189; private, established, 240-243; board recommended, 258
- Add-Ran Christian College, 283
- Agencies, cultural, 102-103; promoting schools, 127-131; affecting progress, 181; accrediting, 261
- Agricultural and Mechanical College, 188, 222, 274, 287, 289-291, 299, 300, 315
- Agriculture, taught in missions, 59; revolutionized, 150; equipment of a department, 238; vocational, 255; promotion of study, 290
- Algebra, 25, 145, 242, 245, 259
- Allen, W. Y., 87-88
- Almonte, Colonel Juan, 73
- Amendment. *See* Constitutional amendment
- Anderson, I. C., 268
- Andrew Female College, 146, 284
- Anglo-American schools, 74, 75-78
- Arithmetic, introduced, 3; taught in academies, 25; Pestalozzi on, 40; Froebel recognized, 46; required to be taught, 66, 69, 198; taught in junior class, 145; taught in graded schools, 162
- Article on education, 104, 105, 116, 170-171, 233
- Association, Mann advanced, 48; the first educational, 101; education, formed, 131; Colored Teachers', 268
- Astronomy, introduced, 3; taught, 97, 145, 242
- Attendance. *See* Compulsory attendance
- Austin, 67, 109, 142, 146, 147, 155, 247, 253, 254, 256, 277
- Austin, Stephen F., attended convention, 71; first colonists brought by, 75; Pilgrim won respect of, 77; as student, 80
- Austin College, 119, 126, 128, 131, 136-137, 152, 153, 154, 282, 299
- Austin Female Collegiate Institute, 146
- Ayres, Leonard P., 305
- Ayuntamientos*, responsible for establishment of schools, 66; required to establish schools, 68; land grant to be made to, 71; requested grant of land, 72; schools to be established in all towns by, 72
- Bailey, President Rufus W., 128
- Baker, Benjamin M., 196, 199, 200, 245, 248
- Baker, Daniel, sought subvention, 119; founded Austin College, 136; life and work, 137-138; among leading educators, 142; among advocates of state subvention, 286
- Baldwin, Dr. Joseph, 200, 201, 208, 250, 289, 295
- Baretta, Mrs. J. K., 316
- Barnard, Henry, 47, 49, 143
- Bastrop, 67, 96, 131

- Bastrop Military Academy, 139
 Bayland High School, 154
 Baylor Female College, 126, 144, 152, 154, 282, 299
 Baylor, R. E. B., 101, 134, 143
 Baylor University, 94, 99, 102, 119, 126, 131, 134-135, 140, 143, 151, 152, 214, 282, 299
 Bell, Governor P. H., 285
 Belton, 152, 185, 253, 254
 Berkeley, Sir William, 12
 Bexar, department of, 66; report on, 73
 Bible, instrument of culture, 10; special study not required, 129; required, 137; reading permitted in schools, 204; teaching usually found, 273. *See* Scriptures
 Bishop College, 267, 272, 277
 Blackshear, E. L., 268
 Blanton, Annie Webb, 229, 234
 Board of Education, state, authorized, 159; advocated amendment, 181, 194; called the infidel, 203; recommended county academies, 258
 Bookkeeping, 25, 242, 255
 Books, Mann advocated more, for children, 48; scarce, 102; use of 103. *See* Textbooks
 Borden, Gail, 76
 Boston, Latin school in, 13; first high school established in, 51
 Botany, 145, 242, 257
 Boyd, Dr. William, 22
 Bralley, F. M., 221, 223, 224, 260
 Brazoria, 70, 73
 Brazos, department of, 66; report on, 73
 Brenham, 185, 187, 243, 245, 247, 251, 269
 Brin, O. G., 321
 Brooks, T. D., 320
 Bryant, Burl, 320
 Buildings, Congress petitioned to supply funds for, 69; erected, 70; no provision for securing, 120; several districts constructed, 133; in New Brunfels, 134; Austin College, 137; new style in construction, 140; state superintendent and, 160; local taxation for, 168; constructed during year, 208; value of, 215; rural school, 225-226; improvement of, 236. *See* School-houses
 Burleson College, 283, 301
 Burleson, R. C., sought subvention, 119, 186; view of pauper system, 124; life and work, 135-136; discipline of, 139; among leading educators, 142; view of radical system, 167; letter to Roberts, 174; local Peabody agent, 183, 192; and coeducation, 284; favored state normal, 293
 Burnet, David G., 82, 84
 Calvin, John, 9, 13, 15
 Carlisle, Superintendent J. M., 213
 Catechism, instrument of culture, 10; special, printed for Texas Indians, 58; required, 66; bought by governor, 69
 Census, State, of 1847, 111; first Federal, 111; United States, of 1850, 114, 241, 263; of 1860, 263; Federal, of 1870, 242-243
 Certificates, commissioners to examine candidates for, 88; grading of, 168; provision for issuance, 237; subjects offered for, 252
 Chappell Hill Female Institute, 145, 284
 Charity movement, 18; children trained as public, 33, 106-107. *See* Education
 Chemistry, 25, 145, 242, 257
 Chitwood, R. M., 320
 Church, and learning, 4, 8; authority of, over schools accepted, 9; retained authority, 10; control continued, 11, 13, 15; state superseded, 27; withdrew, 34; missions as an instrument of, 56; interest in education, 106; sphere of state and, 203

- Civics, rights and duties to be taught, 66; recognized for admission, 257; included, 259
- Civil War, until after, 26; schools before, 126, 131-135, 138-139; general effects of, 148-152; negro education before, 263; changes following, 281-282
- Clark, Addison, 283
- Clark, Horace, 144
- Clark, Randolph, 283
- Classification, of schools, 162, 168; of high schools, 237, 260
- Coeducation, limited form of, 144; the adoption of, 284
- Coffman, L. D., 321
- Colburn, Warren, 41
- Cole's Settlement, 76, 144
- College of Industrial Arts, 214, 254, 291-292, 299, 315
- Colleges, William and Mary, 12, 29; Harvard, 13-14; thirty chartered, 126; use of term, 140, 154; classification of, 237; standard, 299; junior, 300-302
- Columbia, report on, 73; located school in vicinity of, 77
- Comenius, 17, 39
- Committee on Education, report of, 87-88
- Common schools, three, 74; provision for organization of, 116; funds for, rather than for higher institutions, 119; operation of, 120-121; private schools utilized as, 121, 139; Roberts advocates, 189; discrimination against, 216-217; advocated, 258; secondary subjects in, 259
- Community system, 171-174; fifty-three counties retain, 195; district and, 210-211
- Composition, instruction given in, 78, 145; English, required, 162, 198; in secondary courses, 242
- Compulsory attendance, among Jews, 4; Mann advanced idea of, 49; discussed, 49-51, 164; adoption of, 51; judges to compel, 62; appeared an intolerable tyranny, 91; constitution required, 158; supervisors to report delinquents, 160; directors to enforce, 161; eliminated, 170; law discussed, 230-231
- Compulsory establishment of elementary schools, 14, 15, 49, 90
- Conference for Education (in Texas), formation of, 220-222; led campaign, 223; aroused enthusiasm, 230
- Congress of Coahuila-Texas, 66; petitioned to supply funds, 68; protests made to, 70-72; took action, 72; lands donated by, 127
- Congress of Mothers' and Parent-Teacher Associations, 222, 230, 232, 235-236
- Congress of Texas, memorial to, 81; duty of, to provide system of education, 83; first, silent on popular education, 84; indifference of, aroused criticism, 86; Lamar's message to, 86-87; one of first acts of, 94; Rutersville chartered by, 95; San Augustine University chartered by, 96; Marshall University granted four leagues by, 99; discussed training of teachers, 292
- Congress of the United States, made provision for schools, 30; set aside land, 83; created Freedmen's Bureau, 264; passed Morrill Bill, 289
- Consolidation, Mann advanced, 48; rural school, 228-230; law authorizing, 260
- Constitution of Coahuila-Texas, to be taught, 66; subjects required by, 72; restricted freedom of teaching, 83
- Constitution of Texas, of 1845, 104-105; of 1866, 155, 199, 265; of 1869, 158, 169-170, 266
- Constitution of the United States, and education, 30; on separation of Church and State, 31; to be taught, 162

- Constitutional amendment, the first, 194; of 1891, 206; of 1908 and 1909, 222-223; of 1918 and 1920, 232, 234
- Constructive activities, we learn by doing, 40; is man's being, 42; unity in, 44; Froebel recognized, 46
- Convention, General, 71; Texas Teachers' State, 143; Texas Teachers', 265
- Cook, Gustave, 203
- Cooper, Oscar H., views on supervision, 200; on community system, 211; on school buildings, 212; member of Executive Committee, 221; on high schools, 250, 258; chairman of Committee on University, 288; chairman Survey Committee, 316
- County lands, laws setting aside, 88-89; handed over unconditionally, 90; surveys of, 92; rental from, inadequate, 115; returned to the county, 170; fund from, 317
- County superintendent, judge, ex officio, 172; office created, 201; problem of, 310-312
- Course of study, of monastic schools, 5; of elementary schools, 10; state board to define, 159; changes in, 226-228; in the academies, 241-242; too lengthy, 256. *See* Curriculum
- Cousins, R. B., 218, 220, 221
- Crane, Wm. Carey, criticized salaries, 165; work of, 192; views on high schools, 248; on education of negroes, 265; advocated state aid, 286; on committee, 288; favored normal, 293
- Crisis in 1879, 175-176
- Cubberley, E. P., 31
- Culture, contributions of ancient, 2-4; fusion of Greek and Christian, 4-5; the monastery as an instrument of, 5; of Texas leaders, 80-82; progress of general, 147
- Cuney, Wright, 268
- Curriculum, of Greeks, 3; of academies, 25; of University of Virginia, 30; of Froebel, 45-46; of Pilgrim, 78; of Austin College, 136-137; of Marshall Masonic Female Institute, 145; of radical schools, 162; broadening of elementary, 198; affiliation and, 251; development of, 251-253; of high schools, 256; growth of, of negro colleges, 273-274, 275, 276, 277; of College of Industrial Arts, 292; of state teachers' colleges, 296
- Curry, J. L. M., 182
- Dabney, R. L., 203
- Dallas, 232, 245, 252, 253, 254, 283
- Daniel Baker College, 283, 299
- Davis, Governor E. J., 161
- Decatur Baptist College, 283
- Declaration of Independence, American, 20; Texas, 79, 84, 86
- Defoe, 19
- Degrees, in Rutgersville College, 95; in Austin College, 137; conferred before Civil War, 141; authority to grant, 142; in female schools, 147; legislature declined right to grant, 154; in Wiley University, 276; conferred upon women, 284; granted by state teachers' colleges, 297
- De Gress, Jacob, on pauper system, 124; state superintendent, 161; urged law, 164; report of, 165; defended salary scale, 166; defended system, 167
- De la Mata, Don Francisco, 61-62
- Denison, 185, 247, 253
- Denominational colleges, 118-119; readjustment of, 282-283
- Department of education, growth of power of state, 168; training schools authorized by, 232; discussed, 236-237; and inspection of high schools, 261
- Departments, Texas divided into, 66; reports on, 73-74
- Development, Pestalozzi's doctrine of

- organic, 39; influence of Pestalozzi's doctrine of organic, on American education, 41; Froebel's doctrine of, 44-45
- Dewey, John, 47, 214
- De Witt, Green, 75
- Directors, district boards of, 160-161
- Discipline, in public free primary school, 69-70; Pilgrim exercised rigorous, 78; McKenzie noted for, 132; much more necessary, 139
- District system, evolution of, 15-16
- Districts, commissioners to divide counties into, 88; board to divide county into, 117; few, could meet requirement, 120; law a failure, 121; several, constructed buildings, 133; supervisors to divide counties into, 160; formation of permanent, 177-178; permission given counties to form, 194; counties to be divided, 195; local taxation in, 225; number of, 229. *See* Independent districts
- Domestic economy, taught, 145; science and art, 254; state aid for, 260; in College of Industrial Arts, 291-292. *See* Home economics
- Drawing, Pestalozzi on, 40; Froebel recognized, 46; offered, 145
- Education, sources of our, 1-2; Greek, 2-3; as religious training, 3-4; a charity, 11, 106-107; colonial, 11-14; compulsory, 27; universal, needed, 36; social, 45; failure of Mexican, 74; Lamar discussed, 86-87; strongly religious, 102; a parental function, 105-106; cause of popular, 115; no longer a charity, 196; broadening of state, 198-199. *See* Department of Education; Higher education
- Educational conditions, 157-158
- Edward, D. B., 76
- El Paso, 231, 246, 247, 252, 256
- Elementary instruction, women better adapted to, 48; radical system provided only, 243
- Elementary schools, origin of, 8; taught reading, etc., 10; the New England, 14-15; religious bodies and, 32
- Elguezabal, Juan Bautista, 62
- Ellis, A. Caswell, 236
- English, 252; business, 255; admission credit for, 257
- Enlightenment, Locke and, 19-21; effects of, in America, 24
- Equipments, 103-104
- European influences, in seventeenth century, 17-19; effects of, 24-26; new, 37-38
- Examination, public, held, 140, 145; provision for, of teachers, 159, 160; college entrance, 261
- Extravagance of radical system, 165-166
- Federal Government, education not function of, 26, 30; guaranteed religious liberty, 31; concentration of power in, 50; boundary dispute with, 110; nullified constitution, 156; Republican party controlled, 157
- Female department, in Rutgersville College, 95; in San Augustine University, 96; McKenzie included, 133; most institutions conducted, 139, 144
- Ferguson, James E., 230
- Finances, increased, a necessity, 179-181; problem discussed, 317-319
- Finty, Tom, Jr., 320
- Floore, Mrs. Florence G., 316
- Flóres, José Enrique, 63
- Fort Worth, 232, 247, 253, 254, 256
- Fort Worth Polytechnic, 283
- Franklin, Benjamin, 25, 27, 82
- Free school, policy discussed, 33-34; establishment of, systems, 36-37; group believed in, 118; advocates of, 119-120; Roberts popularized, 188-189
- Free School Association, German, 131
- Free School Society, 37

- Free schools, none in Virginia, 12; bill to provide, 29; in Georgia, 35; appeared an intolerable tyranny, 91; legislature shall establish, 104, 105; public schools and, 107; in San Antonio, 127; only free academy, 133-134; leaders believed in, 157; constitution required system of, 158; slogan, "away with," 169
- Freedmen's Aid Society, 267, 275
- Freedmen's Bureau, created, 264
- Freedom, of press and speech granted, 66; Anglo-Americans jealous of, 83
- French, medium of conversation, 97; recognized for admission, 257
- French educational influences, 27-29; free schools and, 32
- Froebel, doctrines of, 41-47
- Fulmore, Z. T., 248, 249
- Fund, *mestenas*, 63; General Convention requests, 71; special school, set aside, 116; the school, 122; effects of war upon, 150-151; available fund, 158, 160, 233; Daniel Hand, 268, 279; Jeanes, 279; Phelps-Stokes, 279-280; Slater, 267-268, 279. *See* Permanent school fund
- Funds, state, distributed among private schools, 34; for tuition of indigent, 34; school to be supported by public, 63; *ayuntamientos* to raise, 67; Congress petitioned to supply, 68; school supported by private, 70; one half of income set aside for, 72; prejudice against donating, 119; an excuse for distributing, 120; more confined to indigent, 121-122; appropriation of, made legal, 233
- Galan, José, 64
- Galveston, established free school, 109; association in, 131; schools in, 155; received assistance, 185; kindergarten in, 231, 235; all work elementary, 246; high school in, 247; courses in, 252
- Galveston University, 99
- Gama y Fonseca, José Antonio, 69
- Garner, T. J., 76
- General Education Board, 214, 279
- Geography, in academies, 25; Pestalozzi on, 40; introduction of, by Mann, 49; required, 72, 198; taught, 145, 162; in secondary courses, 242; physical, taught, 259
- Geology, taught, 97, 145, 242
- Geometry, introduced, 3; in academies, 25; Pestalozzi on, 40; Froebel recognized, 46; in secondary courses, 242; number studying, 245, 259
- Georgia, provided for academies, 26; first state university in, 28; pauper system in, 35-36; adopted compulsory attendance, 51; set aside land in each county, 89
- German, instruction in, 252; recognition for admission, 257
- Germans, colonies of, 93, 133; in favor of free schools, 119; formed districts, 121; took progressive measures, 130-131
- Gillett, Charles, 101, 142
- Gillette, Henry F., 134
- Girls, admitted in academies, 25; bill to provide training for, 29; high school for, 51; first schools for, 76; Independence Academy for, 94; schools for, 129-130; education of, 143-147; needlework to be taught to, 162; needed in homes, 164; College of Industrial Arts for, 291-292. *See* Female department
- Goliad, school taught in, 64, 70; conditions bad in, 68; report on, 73
- Gonzales, block set aside in, 67; school at, 70; report on, 73; secondary at, 76; Pilgrim located in, 77, 78; permitted to incorporate, 108; received assistance, 185
- Government, theocratic, 9; in New England, 15; free, rests on knowledge, 24; different philosophy of,

- 50, 193; petition to, 71; education a function of, 196; study of, 228; national, 255
- Grading, of subject matter, 40; of schools, 162, 186, 209
- Grammar, rules of, formulated, 3; taught in academies, 25; Froebel recognized, 46; principles of, to be taught, 69; offered, 145; required, 162, 198, 242
- Grammar school, 29, 96, 244
- Graves, Henry L., 135
- Greek, instruction in, 7, 78, 97, 133; used by church, 14; in secondary courses, 242; in high schools, 251, 252; admission credit for, 257; in negro institutions, 271, 273
- Gregory, E. M., 264
- Guadalupe Academy, 94
- Guadalupe College, 267, 272, 278
- Guadalupe High school, 242
- Hall, G. Stanley, 47, 214
- Halsey, W. G., 142, 145
- Hand, Daniel, fund, 268, 279
- Harrington, H. H., 221
- Harrisburg, report on, 73
- Harris, Theodore, 221
- Harris, Wm. T., 214
- Helm, Mrs. Mary, 76
- Higher education, church took interest in, 11; for training the ministry, 33; Mexico provided for, 66; institutions of, 94; status of, for negroes, 272-273; problem discussed, 312-315
- High schools, rise and development, 51-52; three chartered, 126; term used, 140; state education to include, 198; effect on private schools, 202; state department to classify, 237; new aims of, 256-257; agitation for rural, 258-260; no facilities for rural children, 307. *See* Secondary education
- History, Mann introduced, 49; instruction given in, 78, 97, 145; United States, required, 162; emphasis on study of, 228; in secondary courses, 242; number studying, 245; in high schools, 252; admission credit for, 257
- Holland, William, 285
- Hollingsworth, O. N., view of radical system, 167; urged local taxation, 181; work of, 190-191; views on supervision, 201; favored high schools, 249; on University Committee, 288; views on normal school, 293
- Home economics, embroidery offered, 145, 147; needlework required, 162; for equipment of a department of, 238; assisted, 255
- Horn, P. W., 320
- Houston, received assistance, 185; model school at, 187; kindergarten association in, 232; high school in, 244, 245, 247, 252, 253, 254; junior high school in, 256
- Houston College, 267, 272
- Houston, David H., 221, 228
- Houston, Sam, 86, 286
- Howard Payne College, 283, 299
- Huckins, James, 134
- Huntsville, Austin College located in, 126, 137, 152, 282; Melinda Rankin taught at, 146; Sam Houston Normal at, 293, 294
- Hutchinson, Mrs. Chalmers W., 320
- Illiteracy, least in German kingdoms, 49; amount of, in 1850, 93; in 1870, 157; among negroes, 263, 280
- Immigration, rapid increase in, 92; objections to, removed, 110; increased, 111
- Indemnity Bonds, United States paid, 110; proposed to set aside, 115; to endow University, 285, 286
- Independence, first girls' school at, 76; Baylor founded at, 126, 136
- Independence Academy, chartered, 94; Baylor College superseded, 126, 144; organized, 135
- Independent districts, how formed,

- 178, 206-207; privilege of requiring other subjects, 199; increase in number, 208; progress in, 215-216; number of, 229
- Indiana, provided for academies, 26; constitution of, 28; adopted free schools, 37; adoption of compulsory attendance, 51; received sixteenth section, 89
- Indigent children, may be trained at public expense, 33; fund to pay tuition for, 34; state might pay tuition, 90-91; tuition for, paid by state, 107; paying tuition of, marks new era, 108; provision for tuition of, 117; those who advocated provision for, 118; state fund confined to, 121-122; difficulties in operation of law, 122-124; reference to, 155. *See* Poor; Pauper schools
- Industrial training, in missions, 58-59; for negroes, 270-272
- Ingram, Ira, 71, 81
- Institutes, Mann promoted, 48; Roberts promoted, 188
- Instruction, mutual, 37, 67; moral, 56, 70; gratuitous, not thought of, 91; state could assist all grades of, 91; home, 93; rising generation destitute of, 114; elimination of sectarian, 198
- Internal improvements, two discussed, 111-112; the two great, 115
- Interscholastic League, 230, 234-235
- Ireland, John, 199
- Ives, C. S., 99, 101, 142
- James, J. G., 288
- Jeanes Fund, 279
- Jefferson, Thomas, adopted French philosophy, 27; and education in Virginia, 29; proposed free-school policy, 33; views of, copied, 82
- John Tarleton Agricultural College, 291, 300
- Johnsboro, school established at, 70; report on, 74
- Jones, Anson, 82, 84
- Jones, Lula H., 231
- Judd, Charles H., 321
- Junior high school, movement discussed, 256
- Junta*, 72
- Kaufman, David S., 82
- Keachi College, 284
- Kendall, Superintendent J. S., 215, 225
- Kindergarten, origin of, 42; and social education, 45; in America, 47; movement in Texas, 231-232; Mothers' Clubs and, 236; in College of Industrial Arts, 292; in teachers' colleges, 97
- King, B. F., 320
- Laboratory, work required, 96-97; high schools without adequate facilities, 257; equipment for standard colleges, 298; equipment for junior colleges, 301
- La Grange, 95, 131, 155
- La Grange Female Institute, 100, 144
- Lamar, Mirabeau B., president of philosophical society, 82; message on education, 86-87; powerful appeal from, 88; what, had in view, 90; on county lands, 92
- Lancasterian system, introduced, 37; law establishing schools, 67-68
- Land, Federal, grants for education, 30-31; General Convention requests, 71; Lamar recommends appropriation of, 87; Section 16 was granted, 89; efforts to establish schools by, a failure, 91; futility of setting aside, 108; bills to grant, 118-119; large tracts granted, 155; constitution granted, 171; money from sale of, 205; sale of, discussed, 205-206; granted for university, 286; Congress granted to colleges, 289-290. *See* Public domain
- Languages, Pestalozzi on, 40; Froebel on, 46; school for Castilian and English, 71; school needed where

- Spanish may be taught, 74; modern, taught, 95, 133, 145, 162; English required, 109, 198; in junior high schools, 256
- Larissa College, 131, 138, 282
- Las Casas, 53-54
- Latin, to speak and write, 7; an instrument of the church, 14; taught, 78, 97, 133; Brenham high school course in, 251-252; admission credit for, 257; negro schools required, 271, 273
- Latin grammar schools, discarded vulgar Latin, 7; were largely deserted, 8; taught classical languages, 10; organized in Boston, 13, 14; academies took place of, 25; supported by taxation, 37; high school not successor to, 246
- Law, F. M., 265
- Leagues, four, granted to Nacogdoches, 72; three, of land for each county, 88; fourth granted, 88-89; wisdom of appropriating, 92; Ruttersville College endowed with, 95; Marshall University was granted, 99
- Lefevre, Arthur, 218, 228
- Legislature, debarred from commercial enterprise, 115; no provision made by, for buildings, 120; institutions chartered by, 126; declined right to grant degrees, 154; empowered to levy tax, 156; board to act in place of, 159; refused to pass measure, 164; restricted amount of tax, 180; passed state aid, 237; accepted Smith-Hughes Law, 255; passed rural high school law, 260; founded normal, 294
- Lesassier, Luke, 71, 76, 80
- Libraries, town progressive in promoting, 16; Michigan University to have charge of, 28; Mann advocated, in every school, 48; among cultural agencies, 102; New Braunfels, 134; Austin College possessed, 136; Sunday school, 147; number in schools, 223; Mothers' Clubs improved, 236; for standard colleges, 298; for junior colleges, 301
- Linden Male and Female Academy, 129
- Literature, formed school course, 3; new emphasis given to American, 228; in secondary courses of study, 242; taught, 252
- Live Oak Seminary, 146
- Local taxation, people opposed, 108; towns given right to vote, 109, 119; not permitted, 120; Germans adopted, 130-131, 133; authorized for schoolhouses, 159, 168; rendered impossible, 170; towns permitted to vote, 179; forced to consider, 181; the vital issue, 195-198; amount of, collected, 209; increase in number voting, 216; constitutional amendment for, 222-223; increase in, in rural districts, 225; source of income, 317; discussed, 318-319. *See* Taxation
- Locke, John, as source of new principles, 19-21; effects of philosophy in America, 24; on sense training, 39
- Logic, rules of, formulated, 3; taught, 97, 145
- Long, J. L., 221
- Luther, advocated compulsory education, 8; and state control, 9
- McCallum, A. N., 221
- McHenry, L. A., 76, 144
- McKenzie, John W. P., 132, 140, 142
- McKenzie Institute, 94, 131, 132-133, 151, 283
- McLean, John H., 203
- Mallon, Bernard, 295
- Mann, Horace, contact with Pestalozzianism, 41; work of, 47-49
- Manual training, discussed, 253-254; subsidized, 260; in colored schools, 272
- Marshall, schools in, 152, 155; received assistance, 185; high school in, 247; colored schools in, 267
- Marshall Collegiate Institute, 152

- Marshall Grove Academy, 152
 Marshall Masonic Female Institute, 129, 131, 145, 152, 155, 284
 Marshall Republican Academy, 152
 Marshall University, 94, 99, 131, 138-139
 Marvin College, 133
 Mary Allen Seminary, 267, 272
 Mason, Lowell, 41
 Masonic order, in favor of free schools, 119; among effective agencies, 129-130
 Massachusetts, passed first school law, 14; free schools in, 37; reforms realized in, 49; compulsory attendance adopted, 51, 164
 Matagorda, report on, 73; school at, 76; fortune for education, 81
 Matagorda Academy, 99, 139, 142
 Mathematics, introduced, 3; department of, in Rutgersville College, 95; Montrose taught, 97; in secondary course, 242; admission credit for, 257
 Memorial, on public education, 81; presented to Congress, 84-85; on organization of University, 288
 Mental philosophy, 145, 252
 Methodists, chartered institutions, 128; established Soule University, 138; established female institutions, 145-146
 Methods, of Pestalozzi, 40; Mann advocated improved, 48; project, 58; to be uniform, 66; monitorial, 67
 Mexican education, reasons for failure, 74-75
 Mexican government, Sunday school and, 77; charged with neglect of public education, 79, 127; had done all practicable, 83; charge made against, 86
 Mexico, mission work in, 55; the Republic of, 66; charged with neglecting education, 79-80; settlement with, 110; pathway to, 128; Baker penetrated, 138
 Michigan, scheme for University of, 28; adopted compulsory attendance, 51; decision of Supreme Court, 52; received sixteenth section, 89
 Milam Masonic Female Institute, 129
 Miller, James W., 146
 Ministry, higher education to recruit, 11, 33; Harvard and, 14; institutions interested in, 129; courses for, 133; training for, leading motive, 137
 Monastery, as instrument of culture, 5; overthrown, 8; mission copied organization of, 56
 Montrose, Marcus A., 96, 97, 99-100, 142
 Moral instruction, Mann advocated, 49; mission and, 56; good morals and manners to be taught, 70
 Moral philosophy, instruction given in, 78; science, 95, 145, 252
 Morrill Bill, 289
 Moving schools, origin of, 16; Pilgrim's school not unlike, 77
 Music, theory of, introduced, 3; instrument of culture, 10; Pestalozzi on, 40; Mann introduced vocal, 49; was taught in Mexico, 55; instruction in violin, 127; instrumental taught, 145, 147; contests in, 235; Mothers' Clubs and, 236; in colored schools, 273
 Musselman, H. T., 316
 Mutual instruction, introduced, 37; in Texas, 67; Montrose employed, 96. *See* Method; Lancasterian system
 Nacogdoches, town of, 56; military garrison at, 60; department of, 66; school came into existence, 68, 70; requested land, 72; four leagues granted, 72; report on, 74; Garner to teach in, 76; University of, 94, 99, 100, 139
 Natives, training of, 53-60
 Natural philosophy, in academies, 25;

- instruction given in, 78; taught, 97, 145; in secondary courses, 242; number studying, 245; taught, 259. *See* Physics
- Natural sciences, study of, 3; Mexico provided for, 66; department of, 95; emphasized, 96
- Neff, Pat M., 320
- Negroes, education of, 157, 165; separation of white and, 170; Chapter XII
- New Braunfels, 130, 133, 185, 245; Academy, 131, 133-134, 154, 157
- New Danville Masonic Female Academy, 129
- New England, educational beginnings in, 13-14; elementary school of, 14-15; free schools first realized in, 34; compulsory attendance in, 50; comparison of achievements of, 64; free school policy in, 106; educational tradition of, 157; domineering, 164; tyranny which had origin in, 169
- New Jersey, settled, 12; adopted pauper system, 34; abolished rates, 37; adoption of compulsory attendance, 51
- New York, Dutch in, 12; school organization in, 34; adopted free schools, 37; adoption of compulsory attendance, 51; Lancasterian method in, 67; salaries, in, 166
- New York City, took over schools, 37; opened high school, 52
- Newspapers, 102-103, 147
- Noonan, Margaret, 321
- Normal schools, Mann advanced, 48; Peabody Board encouraged, 184. *See* Higher education; Sam Houston Normal; Prairie View Normal
- Officers, county, not interested in culture, 92; civil, gave slight attention, 120; supervisory, employed, 168
- Old field schools, were private, 77; discussed, 93; retained, 126
- Olmsted, F. L., 102-103
- Organization, three forms of group, 10-11; French plans for, 27; three policies in regard to, 32-34; Mann advocated larger unit of, 48; plan for, of school, 69-70; plan of, by Yates, 88; conceptions of educational, 105-107; organizing the system, 116; divergent types of, 118; state ceased to function, 150; wrecked entire, 170; community method of, 171-173; two systems of, 210-211
- Orphans, tuition of, 107, 117; group advocated provision for, 118; state fund more confined to, 121-122; Masonic interest in, 130
- Orr, Dr. G. A., 35-36
- Orthography taught, 145, 162, 198
- Osage Academy, 154
- Ousley, Clarence N., 221
- Paez y Colomo, José Nicolas, 63
- Paine Female Institute, 146
- Painting, Froebel recognized, 46; offered, 145, 147
- Paris Academy, 131
- Parish schools, after twelfth century, 5; in Middle Atlantic colonies, 13; church continued to maintain, 32; state should assist in supporting, 33
- Parker, Francis, 214
- Parsons, A. C., 321
- Paul Quinn College, 267, 272, 277
- Pauper schools, compromise discussed, 34-36; system of, in operation, 107; feature, 117, 118; none in Texas, 123; opinions of system, 124-126. *See* Poor; Indigent children
- Peabody, George, 182, 294
- Peabody Board, 178; influence of agents, 181-183; rules governing, 183-185; work in Texas, 185-187; and founding of the first normal, 294
- Pease, Governor E. M., on county lands, 92; quoted, 113; platform

- of, 116; on district system, 121; among those interested in education, 142; urged establishment of University, 285
- Pennington, Isaac M., 76
- Pennsylvania, settled, 12; adopted pauper system, 34-35; abolished rates, 37; adopted compulsory attendance, 51; Lancasterian method in, 67; pauper schools in, 107; salaries in, 166; supervision in, 201
- Pennybacker, Mrs. Percy, 316
- Permanent school fund, proposed, 115; set aside, 116; how constituted, 158-159; state superintendent to invest, 160; amount of, 171, 317; discussed, 204-206; to invest in building bonds, 215. *See* Fund
- Pestalozzi, principles of, 21; life and principles discussed, 38-41
- Peter of Ghent, 55
- Phelps-Stokes Fund, 279-280
- Philosophical Society, discussed, 81-82
- Physical training, among Greeks, 2; new emphasis upon, 228
- Physics, 257. *See* Natural philosophy
- Physiology and hygiene, introduction of, 49; required, 199; number studying, 245; recognized for admission, 257; included in report, 259
- Pilgrim, Thomas J., 77-78, 80, 99
- Pitman, R. W., 288
- Policy, family-charity, 32-33; Christian education, 33; free school, 33-34, 106; social changes influence, 92-93
- Political science, an axiom in, 79; taught, 97, 145
- Poor, and charity education, 11; in Virginia, 12; education of, 33; may be taught gratis, 35; children of, received gratis, 109; children suffered under pauper system, 124; sacrifice to assist, 143. *See* Indigent children
- Population, increase in, 36; Mexican, decreased, 73; became heterogeneous, 93; increased, 111, 149; too much scattered, 114, 121; sparse, 177; migratory, 213; changes in, 281
- Population, scholastic, at San Felipe, 76-77; assessor to take census, 117; counties reported, 120; in 1871, 161-162; was increasing, 205; outran income, 206; in 1900, 216; per cent of, enrolled in school, 219
- Port Sullivan College, 154
- Porter, Mrs. Ella Caruthers, 236
- Prairie View Normal, 268, 271, 272, 274-275, 279, 291, 295
- Preparatory school, Latin grammar school was, 10; academies to be, 91; McKenzie included, 133; course of study of department, 242; high school did not rise as, 246
- Primary department, converting, into common school, 118; institutions organized with, 139; subjects taught in, 145
- Primary schools, supported by taxation, 37; effort made to establish public, 63; were to be established, 66; *ayuntamientos* to establish six, 67, 68; ordinance for public free, 69-70; land requested for future encouragement of, 71; endowment of, 72; for offering learning to masses, 91; Peabody Board and, 183; in Brenham, 244
- Pritchett, H. Carr, 220, 221
- Private schools, in Virginia, 12; state funds distributed among, 34; to pay tuition in, 35; unable to meet situation, 36; people believed in, 92; convertible into common, 117-118; influence, 118-119; people resorted to, 120-121; triumph of, 121; utilized as common schools, 139; effects of war on, 151; reasons for failure of, 152-153; revival of, 153-154; as public, 155; decline of,

- 202; secondary, 240-241; for negroes, 267-268
- Protests, against neglect of education, 70-72, 79
- Public domain, revenues from, to be used, 72; suggest reservation of, 85; one half of, granted to schools, 171; portions of, set aside, 180. *See* Land
- Public free schools, Galveston, established, 109; German settlers demanded, 130-131; opened for first time, 161; tax to support, 195. *See* Free schools
- Public schools, provision for support, 104, 105; establishment of, required, 107; census report on, 114; Peabody Board and, 183
- Public school system, struggle to make efficient, 47-49; conceptions of, 90; early provisions for, a failure, 114; not seriously missed, 150; state played fast and loose with, 177; firmly established, 197; in Brenham, 244. *See* System of schools
- Pueblo, mission to be replaced by, 57; no permanent, 60
- Puritans, Calvinistic views of, 10; reasons for coming to America, 13; educational ideas of, 14, 15; growth of, 18; required parents to teach, 49; had richest traditions, 64
- Radical school system, 159-160; defense of, 167-168
- Ragsdale, Smith, 288
- Railroads, need of, 111-112; desire to build, 115; schools and, political issue, 116; hope school fund might be loaned to, 119; progress in building, 149; unable to meet interest, 150
- Rankin, Melinda, 100, 114, 146
- Rates, poor, a fixed principle, 33; children required to pay, 34; origin of, 107
- Raymond, James H., 121
- Reading, to be taught, 8, 66, 69; elementary school taught, 10; teaching of, required, 14, 162; 198; to be taught natives, 53; institute offered, 145
- Red, Mrs. W. K., 146
- Redmond, Mrs. Henry, 320
- Reformation, discussed, 6-8
- Religious liberty, adoption of, 26, 31-32; jealous of rights of, 83; proclaimed, 85; state school contrary to, 169
- Religious teaching, Christian doctrine to be taught natives, 53, 57; constitution required, 66; doctrines to be taught, 69; forbidden, 77; all, not excluded, 203
- Religious training, education as, 3-4; aim of elementary school, 10; no attention until child is fifteen, 24; Pestalozzi on, 41; Froebel recognized, 46; church interested only in, 74; people believed in, 92; the basis of education, 128-129; relation to education discussed, 203-204
- Reports, school, required every six months, 67; are surprisingly complete, 70; remissness in filing, 120
- Republic, diffusion of learning throughout, 81; purely democratic, 82; constitution of, 83; sacrifice to win liberty for, 107; dangers which confronted, 110
- Republican government, spread principles of, 24; power of education needed in, 27; education essential for preservation of, 32, 86
- Revenue, one tenth of, legislature to set aside, 104-105; allowed to accumulate, 114; tuition paid out of, 117; one tenth of, abolished, 155; one fourth set aside, 159; set apart, 170-171; cut from one fourth to one sixth, 175-176; restricted to one sixth for schools, 180; one fourth of, from occupation tax, 194
- Revolution, in 1811-1812, 63; schools ceased during, 64; immigration

- followed, 92; in educational sentiment, 193
- Rhetoric, rules of, formulated, 3; in academies, 25; instruction given in, 78; taught, 97, 145
- Rice Institute, 283, 299
- Richardson, Chauncey, 95, 100-101
- Richardson, Mrs. Chauncey, 144
- Richmond Seminary, 154
- Rio Grande Female Seminary, 146
- Roads, few good, 12; had no, 164; and consolidation, 229
- Roberts, Oran M., Montrose and, 97, 100; on pauper system, 124-125; and crisis, 175-176; chairman of board, 181; educational services of, 187-189; amendment advocated by, 194; favored supervision, 199; on secularization, 203; urged selling lands, 205; favored high schools, 249; advocated complete system, 258; on negro education, 269; on Prairie View Normal, 274; favored organization of University, 287-288; on Agricultural and Mechanical College, 290; established first normal, 294
- Ross, Governor L. S., 269
- Rousseau, life and principles, 21-24; influence over Pestalozzi, 38
- Runge, Mrs. Johanna, 231
- Rural schools, contrast of town and, 178-179, 208; backwardness of, 223-225; problem of, 305-307
- Rusk Masonic Institute, 128-129
- Russell, James, 97-98
- Ruter, Dr. Martin, 94
- Rutersville College, 94-96, 100-101, 131, 138, 142, 144, 145, 242, 283
- St. Paul's College, 142
- Salaries, schedule of, criticized, 165-166; restricted, 178; towns pay higher, 209; table of, 309
- Salcedo, Manuel de, 63
- Salcedo, Nemesio, 63
- Sam Houston Normal Institute, 187, 189, 192, 200, 293-294
- Samuel Huston College, 272, 277-278
- San Antonio, missions at, 59; schools at, 60-62; school opened in, 63; school ceased, 64; capital at, 66; without instruction, 68; new school at, 68-70; provided with rentals, 72; report on, 73; permitted to incorporate, 109; academy at, 126; mentioned, 131, 190; received assistance, 185; model school at, 187; high school work at, 246, 247, 252, 253, 254, 256
- San Augustine, 74, 75, 94, 96-98, 128
- San Augustine Masonic Institute, 130
- San Felipe de Austin, capital at, 66; school established at, 70; convention held at, 71; report on, 73; schools at, 76-77; mentioned, 153
- Santos, Christobal de los, 61
- Saucedo, José Antonio, 68
- School, first in Texas, 61; others established, 70; nowhere flourished, 71; new provision for, 72; characteristic of, 139-140; contrast of town and rural, 178-179; progress in city and town, 215-216
- School fund, hope might be loaned, 119; sacred, lost, 158; must never be diverted, 170; provision for, 171; to be invested in bonds, 195.
- See Fund*
- School law, first in 1642, 14; of 1827, 16; of 1839 and 1840, 88-91, 177, 241; of 1854, 112, 116-118, 177; a compromise, 118, 119-120; of 1856, 121; difficulties in operation of, 122-124; of 1870, 159; of 1871, 159-160, 177; of 1876, 171, 198; rewritten, 195; of 1884, 198, 210, 236; for incorporated cities, 207-208; first rural high school, 260
- School system, legislature pledged to provide, 116; operation of, 120-121; evolution of, 121-122; radical, 159-160, 167-168; separate, for two races, 161. *See System of schools*
- Schoolhouses, Mann advanced, 48; to

- be provided, 53; character of, 103; districts must provide, 117; could not meet requirement of, 120; only two or three counties built, 121; constitution provided for, 155; tax for, 159, 161; building of, 162, 211-212; taxes collected for, 163; taxation for, impossible, 170; to towns built, 179; bonds for erection of, 215; building law, 237, 243
- Schools. *See* Common schools; Elementary schools; Free schools; High schools; Kindergarten; Parish schools; Pauper schools; Preparatory schools; Primary schools; Private schools; Public schools; Rural schools; Secondary schools
- Sciences, taught in academies, 25; at Austin College, 136; with coming of, expense increased, 153; tendency to require, 252; in junior high schools, 256
- Scripture, individual reading of, 8; Latin and Greek and, 14; teaching of, 14; colored people and, 263. *See* Bible
- Sears, Barnas, 182, 183, 184, 185, 187, 189, 193, 287, 293, 294
- Secondary education, academy chief instrument of, 26; importance of, 240; recognition of, 243; for negroes, 273. *See* High schools
- Secondary schools, courses in, 3; more, with state aid, 49; athletics in, 234. *See* High schools
- Secretary of state board of education, 171, 186, 190
- Sectarian, institutions, 119; none teach sectarian doctrine, 128; action to prevent, influences, 203; ruling on, schools, 204
- Secularization, events leading to, 26; process of, triumphant, 31; viewed with distrust, 33; opposition to, 34; of education discussed, 202-204
- Self-activity, doctrine discussed, 42-43; unity and, 44
- Sense training, Locke on, 20; Pestalozzi on, 39-40; introduction into America, 41
- Sherman, 126, 152, 185, 247, 253, 254, 256, 282
- Sherwood, Sidney, 27
- Shurter, E. D., 234
- Simmons College, 283, 299
- Slater Fund, 267-268, 279
- Smith, Ashbel, 82, 101, 116, 142, 192
- Smith, H. H., 295
- Smith, Henry, 76, 81
- Smith, J. B., 142, 146
- Smith-Hughes Law, 254, 255, 292
- Sneed, S. G., 192, 248, 288
- Social conditions, improved after 1850, 110-111
- Social education, study of, sciences, 3; Froebel's doctrine of, 42, 45; Dewey and, 47; virtues to be taught, 70
- Societies, educational, 36
- Society, break with medieval, 7; feudal nature of, 12; theocratic, 13; aristocratic type of, 23; aristocratic ideas of, 36; Free School, 37; school trains for, 43; revolutionized Southern, 149
- Soule University, 138, 142, 145, 283
- South, Colonial education in, 11-12; slow in adopting compulsory attendance, 50; revival of interest in, 214
- Southern Association of Colleges, 261, 298
- Southern Methodist University, 283, 299
- Southwestern University, 282, 299
- Spanish language, dominated New World, 54; insisted on, 57; well nigh universal, 59; Pilgrim taught, 78; required, 83; recognized for admission, 257
- Spanish régime, education under, 53-64
- Spanish settlement, schools in, 60-61
- Standards, lack of, 140-142; for senior colleges, 298; for junior colleges, 301
- State aid, special, 237-238

- State interest in schools, 8-10
- State system, of education, Greeks gave idea of, 3; transition to, 32; a complete, 91; new motives to establish, 112-116; Peabody Board to improve, 184. *See* School system; System of education; System of public education
- State Teachers' Association, 192, 194, 201, 203, 224, 228, 230, 234, 250, 253, 261, 287, 294, 320
- Statistics, comparative, 218-220
- Staton, G. D., 320
- Stuart, Rebecca K., 146
- Suffrage, adoption of universal, 31; extension of manhood, 36; citizens direct life of state by, 50; universal, 83; of women, 228
- Sunday school, churches turned to, 32; first in Texas, 77; Pilgrim superintendent of, 78; instruction in reading in, 102; only means of instruction, 114; Union Association, 147
- Superintendent, state treasurer ex officio, 116; and county reports, 120; on district system, 121; office authorized, 158, 199; duties of, 160; autocratic powers of, 166; office abolished, 170; Peabody Board favor, 184; to be elected, 195. *See* County superintendent
- Superintendents (city or town), Peabody Board required, 185, 246; employed, 186
- Supervision, University president to visit schools, 28; of pastors, 31; state exercised no, 35; Mann advanced, 48; committees to visit schools, 67; *junta* given charge over, 72; commissioners to supervise, 88; local trustees exercised, 117; state superintendent to have, 195; struggle for, 199-202; in towns and country, 208; of high schools, 250-251; problem of local, 310-312
- Supervisor, functions of, 160; towns employed expert, 179
- Survey, Federal, 72-73; educational, 319-321
- Sutton, W. S., 218, 220, 221, 289
- System of education, law for a general, 28; duty of Congress to establish, 83; memorial on establishment of, 84-85; beginnings of, 87-90
- System of public education, French plans for, 27; Mexicans failed to establish, 79; memorial to establish, 81; delay in establishing, 84-85; only, feasible, 120; necessary element in, 250; essentials of, 304. *See* School system; System of education; System of schools
- System of schools, articulate, 27, 28; Lancasterian, 37, 67-68; method of organizing, 116-118; operation of, 120-121; opinions of, 124-126; how supported, 158-159; antagonism to radical, 162-166; legislature to establish efficient, 171; income not sufficient to maintain efficient, 180; newspapers became advocates of, 193; people could not visualize, 197; condition of common, 210. *See* State system; System of education
- Taylor, Gus, 320
- Tax, parent obliged to pay, 16; for poor relief, 18; for education of poor, 33; for the poor as a fixed principle, 35, 107; Lamar on, 87; Galveston obtained privilege of voting, 109; New Braunfels empowered to levy, 133-134; legislature empowered to levy, 156; poll, 159, 194; of one per cent, 161; people had to pay, 161; school, war, 162-164; restricted to one fourth, 170-171; one fourth occupation, 194; ad valorem, 195; constitutional amendment for, 223; for free textbooks, 233; sources of, 317
- Taxation, supported schools by, 37; support of free schools by, 104;

- principle of, 108; municipalities had privilege of, 119; system supported by, 159; local, for buildings, 168; schoolhouses built by, 179; right of, established, 195; limit of, abolished, 233; a serious burden, 315. *See* Local taxation
- Teacher training, Peabody Board and, 186-187; for manual training, 254; for negroes, 278-279; at University, 288-289; in state teachers' colleges, 292-297
- Teachers, dearth of, 37; employment of women, 48; impossible to secure qualified, 74; early, 76; need for well-qualified, 88; academies to furnish, 91; personal factor, 142-143; appointment and salary of, 159; examination of, 160; employees and, discussed, 164-165; better equipped, needed, 176-177; training of female, 184; prefer public schools, 191-192
- Teachers' Colleges, 292-297, 315
- Teaching profession, Mann advanced, 48; problem of, discussed, 308-310
- Teichmueller, H., 203
- Tenancy, 222, 224-225
- Term, Mann advocated longer, 49; no uniformity in, 103-104; length of, 179, 219
- Terrell, A. W., 250
- Texas Baptist Educational Society, 134
- Texas Christian University, 283, 299
- Texas College, 272
- Texas Federation of Women's Clubs, 235
- Texas Journal of Education*, 191
- Texas Literary Institute, 100-101
- Texas Monument and Military Institute, 96
- Textbooks, Pestalozzi did not use, 40; Mann advocated uniform, 49; first free, 69; were lacking, 103; board to select, 159, 166; problem discussed, 212-213; adoption of free, 233; administration of law, 237
- Theology, study of, 3; none teach, 128; at McKenzie, 133
- Tillotson College, 267, 272, 276-277
- Towns, few in South, 12; in New England, 15-16; increased in population, 36; free schools in, 37; control of schools, 108-109; contrast of town and rural schools, 178-179, 216-217; progress in, 206-210; progress begins in, 215
- Transportation, means of needed, 111-112; state had to secure, 114; statistics on, 229
- Trask, Miss, 76, 144
- Trinity University, 282, 299
- Trustees, functions of, 117; state superintendent to approve, 160; functions of, 161
- Tryon, Wm. M., 101, 134, 143
- Tuition, academies supported by, 26; shall be gratis, 28; public funds for, 34, 35; absolutely free, 69; state might pay, 90-91; tax for indigent, 107; provision made for, 117; defraying, of those unable to pay, 122; in Marshall Masonic Female Institute, 145
- Universities, founding of, 5-6; awoke to activity, 7; attendance at, fell, 8; furnished liberal culture and professional training, 10; seven chartered, 126; Roberts recommends, 189, 258
- University of Eastern Texas, 98
- University of Texas, influenced by Virginia, 30; Lamar recommends establishment of, 87; land set aside for two, 88; Roberts and, 188; high schools and, 250-251; tardy recognition by, 257-258; began to affiliate, 261; development of, 284-289; a branch of, 290, 291; evolved along parallel lines, 315
- Upshur Masonic College, 129
- Ursuline Academies, 126, 152
- Victoria, block set aside in, 67; report on, 73; permitted to incorpo-

- rate, 108; Casino Society in, 131; domestic science in, 254
- Vocational training, appropriation to encourage, 238; subjects discussed, 254-256; in negro institutions, 272, 273; in College of Industrial Arts, 292
- Waco, 232, 246, 247, 252, 253, 254, 256
- Waco Classical Institute, 136
- Waco University, 126, 152, 154, 282, 284
- Waggener, Leslie, 203
- Washington, Booker T., 264, 270
- Washington College, 94
- Waxwork offered, 145, 147
- Weightman, E. R., 76
- Wesleyan College, 94, 98, 138, 242, 283
- Wharton College, 142
- Wharton, Wm. H., 71
- Wilbarger, Josiah, 76
- Wiley, J. K., 316
- Wiley University, 267, 275-276
- William and Mary College, 12, 29
- Wilson, H. B., 316, 321
- Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 199, 235
- Wood, A. E., 316, 320
- Woodbridge, Wm. C., 41
- Woodson, C. G., 263
- Works, George A., 321
- Writing, taught to natives, 53; taught, 66, 69; penmanship, 162
- Yates, Andrew J., educational leader, 81; memorial signed by, 84; plan presented by, 88; on county lands, 92; proposed department of public instruction, 292-293
- Yoakum, F. L., 138

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