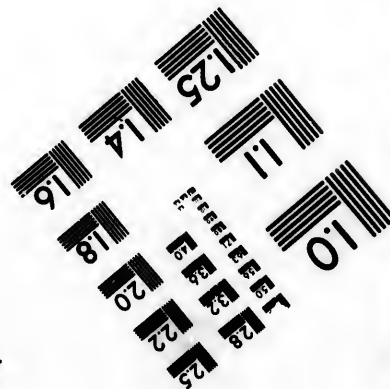
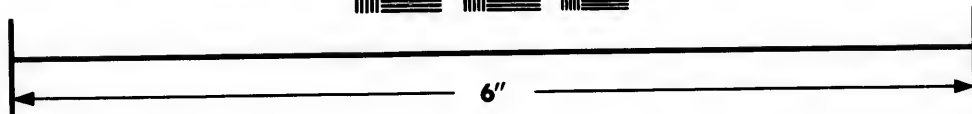
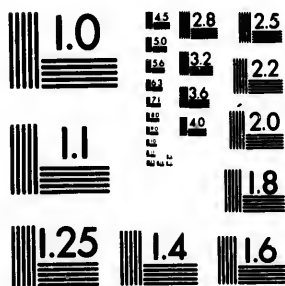


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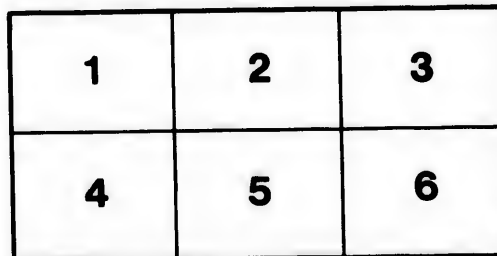
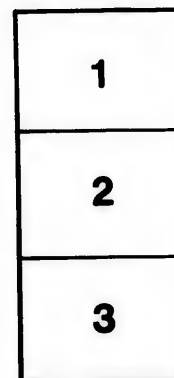
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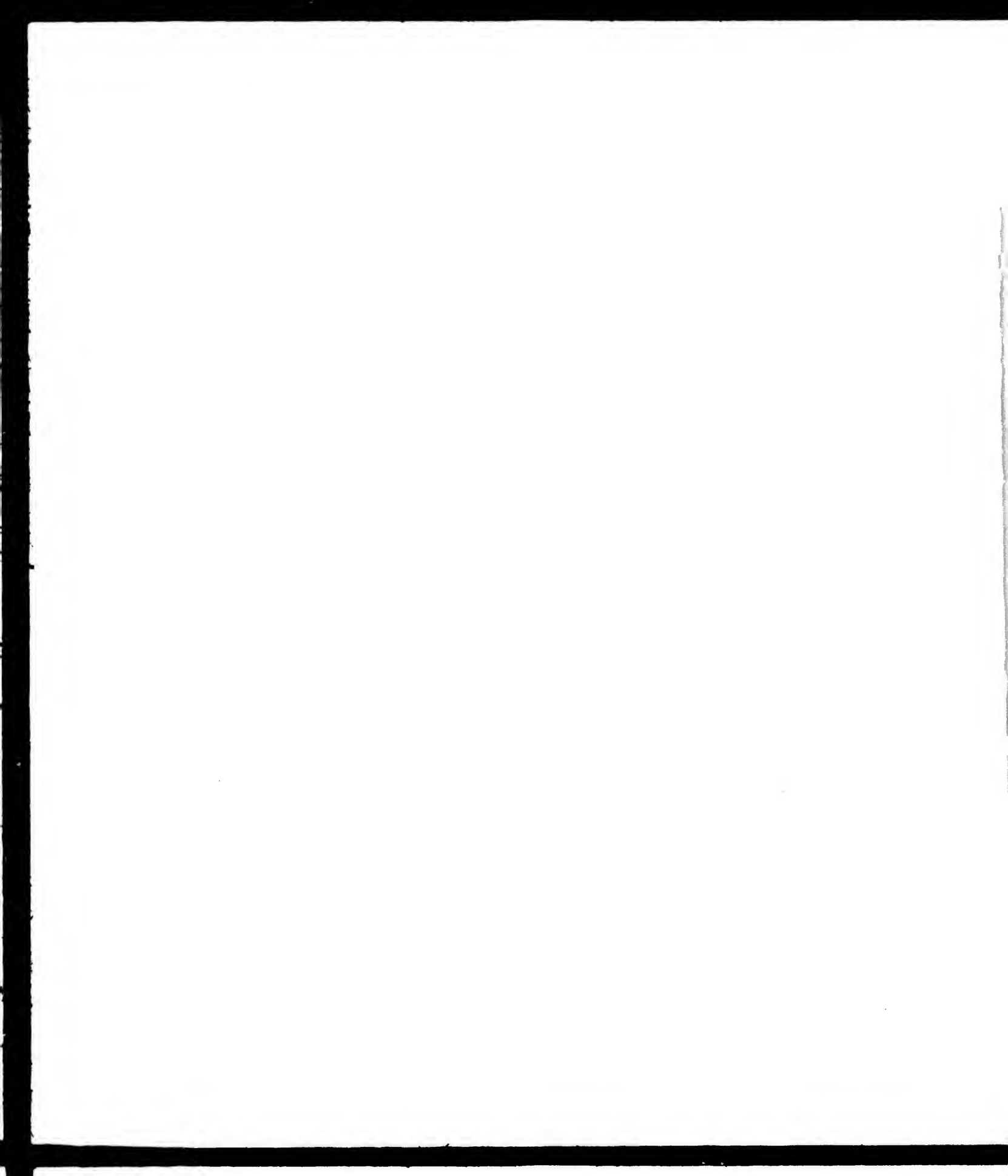
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PREFACE.

The substance of the following pamphlet was given in a Thanksgiving Discourse in the First Baptist Church, Boston, November 29 ; in a paper before the Baptist Congress assembled in Richmond, Va., December 4th ; and in an address before the Ladies' Union, of Melrose, December 10th. The whole was delivered in Music Hall, December 23d, 1888. In response to numerous requests, I print it as delivered the last time. The importance of the subject to American citizens of every class, and not the adequacy of its treatment in this pamphlet, justifies, it seems to me, this publication.

P. S. M.

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THE AMERICAN COMMON SCHOOL

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THE SECTARIAN PAROCHIAL SCHOOL.

The theme implies a certain antagonism between the Common School and the Parochial School. Unfortunately there is antagonism between the Common School and those Parochial Schools which are founded and controlled by the Roman Catholic hierarchy. This antagonism arises from the radical difference between the idea which underlies the Common School and the idea which underlies the Parochial School. The aim of the former is *to make good citizens*; the aim of the latter is *to make good Roman Catholics*. The former seeks the full rounded development of the individual in his relations to society and the state; the latter seeks the production of a drilled and scrupulously obedient servant of the Roman Catholic church.

The Common School is not in any just sense of the word irreligious; it is simply non-religious in the sense that specific instruction in religion, especially organized and sectarian religion, is left by it to the home and the church. The Parochial School is ultra-religious in the sense that knowledge of organized religion, as embodied in the creed and practices of the Roman Catholic church, is made preeminent. Cardinal Antonelli accurately expressed the spirit that dominates the Parochial School, when he said that

St., Boston.

he "thought it better that the children should grow up in ignorance than be educated in such a system of schools as the State of Massachusetts supports; that the essential part of education was the catechism; and while arithmetic and geography and other similar studies might be useful, they were not essential." *Int. Rev.*, Vol. 8, p. 293.

Both the reason and the importance of the present discussion appear when we consider that in the United States there are to-day nearly if not quite seven million adherents of the Roman Catholic church, and that the head of this church, an Italian pontiff, and all the hierarchy from the Pope down to the humblest parish priest, are committed, by the fundamental dogmas of their religious system, to a course of action which is not only hostile to the principle of education by the state, but is also logically destructive of all free popular institutions. Were the ruling ideas of the papacy with respect to education to become supreme in the United States, the Republic would cease to exist save in name. Already more than five hundred thousand children in this country are attendants on the Parochial Schools, and strenuous efforts are made by bishops and priests to increase this number. These children are to be citizens and voters, and some of them are to fill civil offices, both local and national. The bearing of their elementary training on their action as citizens is a matter of first importance. It is neither bigotry nor discourtesy, it is even our duty to state the case between Common School education and Parochial School education with entire frankness, and to set forth without fear or favor the inevitable conclusions to which a careful study of the two systems of education leads.

I question no man's right to hold the creed and to observe the religious ceremonies which his judgment and choice commend to him, provided always that the practice of a religion involves no infringement of others' rights. But an ecclesiastical organization which claims for itself the right to control the primary education of citizens, is justly subject to the most searching criticism. The Roman Catholic church does claim that right, and in pursuance thereof creates and seeks to extend the system of Parochial Schools as rivals and antagonists of the Common Schools.

Premising then, what is implied in my theme, that there is antagonism between the Common School and the Parochial School, I propose to consider and define the ground and functions of the American Common School; and then to set forth in contrast the conception of education on which the sectarian Parochial School rests, and to point out some of the practical results which the spirit and method of the Parochial School, as far as that spirit and method are effective, must produce. The whole case, in outline at least, will then be before us. In the brief time allotted me I can, of course, do nothing more than give an imperfect sketch of what properly demands a volume.

I. THE GROUND OF THE COMMON SCHOOL.

The Common School is an expression of the idea that the state has a right to assume the function of public education.

Has the state a right to educate?

This the advocates of the Parochial Schools emphatically deny, except under such limitations as practically reduce the function of the state to the task of providing the cost

of education. Father Conaty, of Worcester, Mass., at the opening of a new Parochial School in Jamaica Plain last July, said:

"The state as educator of its citizens, is a relic of barbarism."

The Tablet, a Roman Catholic journal, declares:

"We hold education to be a function of the church, not of the state; and in our case we DO NOT and WILL NOT accept the state as educator."

A Papal encyclical says:

"XLV. The Romish church has a right to interfere in the discipline of the public schools, and in the arrangement of the studies of the public schools, and in the choice of the teachers for these schools."

"XLVII. Public schools open to all children for the education of the young should be under the control of the Romish church, and should not be subject to the civil power, nor made to conform to the opinions of the age."

Similarly *The Catholic World* says:

"The church asserts and defends these principles, and she flatly contradicts the assumption on the part of the state of the prerogative of education, and determinedly opposes the effort to bring up the youth of the country for purely secular and temporal purposes. * * * While the state has rights, she has them only in virtue and by permission of the superior authority, and that authority can only be expressed through the church." *Vol. 2, p. 439.*

Many more quotations might be given as evidence of the Romanists' denial that the state has any right to educate, but these will suffice for the present.

The Common School stands or falls with the right of the state to educate. Now, in a Republic, at least, the state is not a thing apart from the people. Materially it is the commonwealth. Politically it is *the whole people exer-*

cising the functions of self-conservation and self-government. The state is the organic people, and as such has not only rights, but also duties — for rights and duties are always correlatives. The ground of the Common School is the right and duty of the state to educate the whole people to such extent as will secure the preservation of the state and the full development of its life. Popular intelligence and popular morality are vitally related to each other. They are practically inseparable. Both intelligence and morality are essential to the preservation of the state. No dangers to the integrity and development of the state that can possibly arise are equal in magnitude to the dangers that spring from these twin evils, ignorance and immorality. The right of the state to educate its citizens is the right of self-preservation. But mere self-preservation does not exhaust the right or duty of the state. The right to live carries with it the right to seek and to attain the ends of life through growth along the lines of true national development. This is but to say that the state, equally with the individual, is under obligation to live and to unfold its powers to the utmost for the good of the world. To the question, then, "Has the state a right to educate?" we may answer: Yes; the state not only has the right, but it also is under obligation, to educate its citizens in just so far as is necessary to secure the two great ends of self-conservation and self-development. Daniel Webster is credited with saying that:

"The power over education is one of the powers of public police belonging essentially to the government. It is one of the powers, the exercise of which is indispensable to the preservation of society with integrity and healthy action: it is the duty of self-protection."

To put the answer still more explicitly, we may say:

1. *The state must educate because political efficiency and strength are dependent upon general intelligence.* The conservative and guiding forces of a republic are not outside and above the people,—they are *in* the people—in the minds and wills of the many who by their opinions and their votes, determine what shall be the character and policy of the government. Wide-spread ignorance is a perpetual invitation to anarchy with its torch on the one hand, and despotism with its sceptre on the other. In this country it is the ignorance of many voters which makes opportunity for the demagogue and the political charlatan and corruptionist.

2. *The state must educate because commercial and industrial prosperity and material progress of every sort depend on general intelligence.* Education produces thrift, skill, and enterprise. The mastery of material resources is an intellectual triumph. An ignorant people is an unprogressive and impoverished people. The necessity of general education to economic prosperity appears most clearly when we examine the relation of intelligence to efficiency in labor and to general thrift. Walker, in his *Political Economy*, says:

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

In 1870, the Commission of Education, at Washington, sent out a series of carefully drawn, comprehensive, and

searching questions to the great centres of labor in all parts of the United States. These centres were so selected as to represent every kind of labor, from the rudest and simplest up to the most skilled. The object of the questions was to determine the relative productiveness of literate and illiterate labor. The answers brought to light the following facts:

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

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

3. That the average Collegiate or University education adds from 200 to 300 per cent. to the worker's average annual productive capacity,—to say nothing of the vast increase to his manliness.”

With equal clearness and cogency statistics demonstrate that education is the surest preventive of pauperism, and that the expense of providing and applying in season this preventive, would not be one-tenth of that now brought upon society by pauperism. A careful examination of the census of the British Isles, indicates that, other things being equal, pauperism is in inverse ratio to the degree of education given to the mass of the people. That is, as education increases pauperism decreases, and as education decreases pauperism increases.

The Board of Charities for the State of New York, in the report for 1877, gives the following significant facts:

The total number of paupers examined over sixteen years of age, exclusive of unteachable idiots, was 9,855. Of these, 6,937, or more than 70 per cent., were substan-

tially illiterate; and of this number 3,106 could neither read nor write, and 1,447 could read only.

In 1870 a special investigation was made in fifteen states, of 7,398 inmates of almshouses and infirmaries. Of these, 4,327, or nearly 59 per cent., could not read and write; while in those fifteen states the average percentage of illiterates was only 6 per cent. of the whole population. From this 6 per cent. came that 59 per cent. of the paupers.

Similar results are obtainable from the census of almost every country in Europe or America. It seems to be well established that, even under our present industrial system, an illiterate person is from twenty to thirty times as liable to become a pauper and an expense to the community, as one who has received a Common School education.

3. *The state must educate because the integrity and health of the nation depend on its morality*, and morality is vitally dependent on diffused intelligence. Occasionally a doubt is expressed as to the importance of education to the moral well-being of a people, but a careful study of facts destroys the doubt. Moreover, education is not simply an intellectual process; it is also a moral process. The very effort to acquire knowledge necessarily involves a degree of moral discipline. It is the rule that the moral life of individuals as well as of communities, rises *pari passu* with a rise in intellectual life. But merely intellectual training is only a part of education; which, properly defined, and to some extent exemplified in our Common School system, is an unfolding of the whole nature.

Speaking of a very great, if not the greatest, problem of our times, President Woolsey has said:

"The laboring class [if uneducated] will have no mobility, will be in the power of the employer, will have no

hope of bettering its condition of life by change of place, [and] will be given to low pleasures. Crime and ignorance go together, and the prospect for the children of such a class is dark indeed. For the industry, morals, loyalty and quiet of this class, for the safety of all classes, some kind of education is necessary." *Pol. Sci., I., 227.*

The abundant statistics on the relation of crime to illiteracy which already have been gathered teach an unmistakable lesson. Some of these statistics I give from the accumulations made by Senator Blair, of New Hampshire, to whom I am much indebted for the statistical material in this paper.

In France, in 1868, one-half of the inhabitants could neither read nor write. From this half came 95 per cent. of the persons arrested for crime. From the other half came only 5 per cent. In a word, a given number of children suffered to grow up in ignorance produced nineteen times as many criminals as the same number produced who were educated at least to the extent of the elementary branches.

In the six New England States, in 1870, only 7 per cent. of the inhabitants above ten years of age were unable to read and write; yet this 7 per cent. produced 80 per cent. of the criminals. That is, the proportion of criminal illiterates to criminal literates was as 53 to 1. This fact sufficiently vindicates the moral effect of the New England system of public education against Cardinal Antonelli's implied charge.

Mr. Dexter A. Hawkins, of New York, has shown from the United States census of 1870, the comparative number of illiterates, paupers and criminals, to every 10,000 inhabitants, produced respectively by the Roman Catholic Par-

ochial School, the Public Schools in twenty-one states, and the Public Schools in Massachusetts. The following table is significant, to say the least:

To every 10,000 inhabitants:—

	Illiterates.	Paupers.	Criminals.
Rom. Cath. Schools produced	1400	410	160
Public Schools of 21 states,	350	170	75
Public Schools of Massachusetts,	71	49	11

In the State of New York, in 1880, the illiterates produced eight times their proportion of the criminals in that state. In the city of New York, in 1870, among the illiterates one crime was committed for every three persons; while among those who had received a Common School training, even as far as the elementary branches, there was only one crime to every twenty-seven persons. That is, the ignorant classes in that city produced nine times as many criminals as they would have produced if they had been educated in the Common Schools.

One-thirtieth of the population of Pennsylvania, in the years 1879 and 1880, was illiterate. That one-thirtieth produced one-third of all the crime, or fourteen times more than its numerical proportion.

A careful examination of statistics gathered from twenty states, gives the following average results:

- (1.) One-sixth of all the crime in the country is committed by persons wholly illiterate,
- (2.) One-third of the crime in the country is committed by persons wholly or substantially illiterate.
- (3.) The proportion of criminals among the illiterate, is, on the average, ten times as great as it is among those who have received at least the elements of a Common School education.

After even so limited a survey of facts we cannot help feeling the truth there is underlying the extravagance in Carlyle's characteristic words:

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

4. *The state must educate because the distribution of wealth is as yet so unequal that a majority of the people want the means to provide adequate facilities for education.* The total wealth of the United States was estimated in 1880 to be a little more than \$43,600,000,000. If this were equally distributed among the people the amount per capita would be about \$750. As a matter of fact, the majority have much less than \$750 per capita, and multitudes have no wealth at all, save that which is represented by their power to do unskilled labor. Under any system of private schools, a large proportion of the people would be left without any education save that furnished by the home and the streets. Private benevolence, though it is more abundant in this country, perhaps, than in any other, can not meet the needs of the people. Nor would the moral effect of education provided solely by private benevolence be as good as is the moral effect of the Common School system, which is immediately created and supported by practically the whole people, and thus produces in the people at large the wholesome sense of self-help.

As long ago as 1820, Daniel Webster declared:

"New England early adopted, and has constantly maintained the principle, that it is the undoubted right and the bounden duty of government to provide for the instruction of all youth. That which is elsewhere left to chance or to charity, we secure by law. For the purpose of public instruction, we hold every man subject to taxation in proportion to his property, and we look not to the question, whether he himself have, or have not, children to be benefited by the education for which he pays. We regard it as a wise and liberal system of police, by which property and life, and the peace of society are secured." *Works, I., 42.*

Again, in 1837, he said:

"Education, to accomplish the ends of good government, should be universally diffused. Open the doors of the school-house to all the children in the land. Let no man have the excuse of poverty for not educating his own offspring." *Ibid., 403.*

5. *The state must educate because many people want the motive to educate.* Appreciation of the necessity and value of education rises with the rise of individual intelligence. A problem with which the state must deal, is the intellectual and moral inertness of the ignorant and bestial and, in low forms, vicious class. In general this class lacks the internal motive to educate. In simple self-defence the state must apply to such the stimulus of an external motive. To prevent crime, which is as much its function as to suppress crime, it must prevent the needless production of criminals by forcibly dissipating that ignorance which is the largest source of criminal life. The equity of laws compelling the attendance of children at school during certain years of their life, is based not only on the sovereign right of the state to protect itself, but also

on the duty of the state to conserve the rights of its defenceless subjects and wards. The parental right of control over children is not absolute. It has certain clear moral limitations. The father who will not give his children at least an elementary education infringes upon fundamental rights of those children which the state is bound to guard.

6. *And finally, the state must educate because only under state control can there be an equable and equitable distribution of the means and instruments of education.* Private benevolence and individual enterprise inevitably favor certain sections. But the need of educational opportunities and facilities is universal. The state knows no favoritism. The poorest wards in our cities are as well provided with buildings, instruments and teachers, as the richest wards. At least this is approximately true; and this principle of equable distribution belongs radically to the idea of the Common School.

To sum up this part of my argument: The ground of the American Common School is the right and the duty of the state to provide for and, as far as possible to secure, at least an elementary education of all the people, irrespective of locality, social standing, and economic condition.

The right and the duty of the state to educate are sufficiently demonstrated by the right and the duty of the state to protect and conserve and develop itself as a national body comprehending the whole people. Whoever questions this right questions the fundamental right of the people to self-government. The Common School is a natural and significant expression of the genius of Democracy. It is rooted in the necessities of that state in which love of liberty and reverence for law combine to form the organic and conservative principle of permanent democratic society.

II. THE FUNCTION OF THE COMMON SCHOOL.

The American Common School has at least two functions. The larger and probably more important, is:

1. *The Teaching Function.* How wide a field of knowledge the teaching of the Common School shall cover, and how high a grade of mental discipline in the pupils that teaching shall seek to attain, have not yet been decided. These are still matters both of debate and of experiment. But this much, at least, is not doubtful.

It is the function of the Common School to teach:

(1) *The Elements of Knowledge.* Of these elements the primary and fundamental are *Reading*, which is the art of acquiring; *Writing*, which is the art of expression; and *Arithmetic*, which is the art of reasoning. On this broad basis is reared the whole structure of human education as a purely intellectual achievement. To these fundamental elements, and by the progressive utilization of these elements which immediately become elements of power, may be added the theory and practice of vocal music; the rudiments of various natural sciences, especially such sciences as have an immediate bearing on practical life; history, especially history of the English race and of the United States; language, and literature, especially the English language and literature, and composition; the primary principles and the outlines of political economy; and the organization, institutions and history of civil government, especially of American civil government, local and national. The importance of teaching elementary civics can scarcely be exaggerated.

It is the function of the Common School to teach:

(2) *The Elements of Industry.* On this point I anticipate, to some extent, the results of tendencies which

are working with increasing force and breadth, at the present time, in so much of the public mind as is seriously turned to the study of general educational and social needs. Industrial training, as to its elements at least, logically belongs to the scheme of education which a Common School system properly contemplates. Our schools must produce not only *knowers*, but also *doers*. Training the mind to think has its true correlative in training the hand to execute. The foundation of productive power and technical skill must be laid in the primary training which all the children of the land should receive, (*a*) in the use of the eye and hand in drawing and simple construction; (*b*) in the knowledge and use of tools and materials; and (*c*), for advanced classes, the rudiments of a trade and the principles of domestic economy. That all this properly belongs to the function of the Common School will be perceived more and more widely as the industrial problem of our time and civilization discloses its ominous magnitude. It will be seen, also, how intimate is the connection between crime and the want of industrial knowledge and skill. Illiteracy alone, as has been proved, is a prolific source of crime; but illiteracy combined with technical incompetency is still more baleful. Skilled artisans never become tramps, and very rarely become criminals. Industrial training is needed, further, in order to destroy that utterly vicious idea of industrial pursuits as socially inferior to professional and mercantile pursuits, which pervades the minds of many Americans. Too many boys and girls graduate from the High Schools with the feeling that they would lower themselves by adopting a trade or by doing honest housework for hire.

It is the function of the Common School to teach:

(3) *The Elements of Morality.* In the nature of the case, religion, as commonly conceived, rightly is excluded from the Common School. Our definition of religion is, as yet, sorely defective. But morality — the principles of right conduct in the various relations of life, and the universality and imperativeness of moral obligation — that broad moral basis on which society and commerce and government must rest, or fall in hideous ruin, belongs in the sphere of that teaching which is the proper function of the Common School. The teaching of morality contemplated here is (a) a careful and persistent discipline of children in moral habits. For the most part elementary moral training must be in this form. A child can acquire a moral habit before it can grasp intelligently a moral principle. It is a vital part of Common School education to produce in the pupils the moral habits of obedience, order, cleanliness, courtesy, truthfulness, honesty, self-control, and scrupulous regard for the rights of others. To these may be added unselfishness, and reverence for all that is good and sacred. But along with discipline in moral habits there must be (b) careful instruction in elementary moral principles. Habits will thus be justified and reinforced. Such instruction is not yet provided for, save to a degree, in the personal character and influence of teachers; but elementary text-books of practical ethics will be forthcoming for use in the Grammar, if not in the Primary Schools. Certain studies, as history and political economy, both of which belong far earlier in the course of study than they usually have been placed, can not be pursued without involving very impressive instruction in morality. History is the record as much of the moral as of the social, industrial

and political progress of the race. History cannot be taught intelligently without giving some pretty clear knowledge of the inevitable sequences of moral law and the influence of spiritual forces on human society. It is, indeed, one continuous and tremendous illustration of the working of moral causes and a perpetual witness to the dependence of human weal on conformity to the sovereign right. Similarly, political economy cannot be taught either historically or critically without involving a careful consideration both of moral principles and the moral sentiment.

2. A second and very important function of the Common School, and one which it discharges by virtue of its very constitution and aims, I will designate *the Social Function*. A school is a great social force. Its influence works upon childhood, when mind and heart are most plastic, and is felt through all the after life. The Common School belongs to the fundamental idea of a Republic as much because of its social significance as because of its educational aims. Aristocracy intrenches itself and perpetuates itself in private schools. I shall not be misunderstood here. Some private schools are as broad and humane in their spirit as even the Common School. But the aristocratic spirit, in various stages of its development, creates schools which organize and inculcate, if not openly, at least effectually, the instincts and traditions of aristocracy. Examples abound to illustrate and justify this statement.

In the Common School the children of rich and poor meet on a common level. From the day the school opens a certain equalizing social process goes on. The result of this process is not that the children of the more refined class are dragged down, but that the whole school is socially lifted toward the level of the best. There may be rare

exceptions, but this is the rule; for the entire influence of teacher, methods of work and instruction tends to this end. The aim is steady at the best. The Common School is the natural foe of caste, and it fosters that social spirit which belongs to the very life and is essential to the enduring integrity of the Republic. The process of social assimilation which goes on in the Common School is of immense importance in this country where population is annually increased by the arrival of from five to eight hundred thousand immigrants coming from many foreign lands. This heterogeneous mass of foreign life must be assimilated to the organic life of the nation, or remain as a perpetual source of peril. Assimilation naturally takes place most rapidly among the young. The Common School system of our land furnishes the chief assimilative force. It is the great Americanizing institution. More than any other, it unifies thought and interest, implants the germs of wide social sympathies, and creates and cultivates a healthy patriotism. This it does in part by its methods of training, but still more by force of what it is, as being, in a special sense, a thoroughly popular and Republican institution.

To sum up the whole discussion on this point in a few words — it is the function of the American Common School:

- (a) To furnish a wholesome and thorough primary mental training for every child in the land;
- (b) To develop thrifty, skilful and productive workers;
- (c) To make good citizens by inculcating those principles of morality, patriotism and true social life, without which a Republic, however rich its resources, and however favorable its natural situation, cannot long endure and prosper.

III. THE GROUND OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PAROCHIAL SCHOOL.

The Parochial School is based on the assumptions that the Roman Catholic church is the infallible representative of God on earth; that the end of education is to make obedient and capable servants of the church; and, therefore, that the church must have supreme control of the means and methods of education. The state, if it carries on popular education at all, must do it under the control and direction of the ordained representatives of the church. From this position the Roman Catholic hierarchy has never receded. In this position it stands to-day as uncompromisingly in the United States as in Spain. Whatever slight adaptations to their environment in this land the Roman clerics may have felt compelled to make, they certainly never have made any concession in their avowals of principle. American institutions have only superficially modified official Roman Catholicism. Its essential spirit is unchanged and unchanging.

That I may not be suspected of misrepresenting, something I do not fear from any intelligent and well instructed Roman Catholic, I will quote from official authorities.

In the Ninth Article of "A Full Catechism of the Catholic Religion," may be found the following:

"45. By whom is the Divine doctrine always preserved pure and uncorrupted in the Church?

By the *Infallible* Teaching Body of the Church.

46. Who composes this Infallible Teaching Body?

The Pope and the Bishops united with him."

This alleged "Infallible Teaching Body" explicitly, constantly and consistently affirms the principle that the Roman Catholic Church is the supreme authority in education.

The Catholic Review, for April, 1871, said:

"We deny, of course, as Roman Catholics, the rights of the civil government to educate; for education is a function of the spiritual society as much as preaching."

A Catholic Dictionary, edited by William E. Addis and Thomas Arnold, a standard and conservative work, bearing the *nihil obstat* of Edward S. Keogh, censor, and the *imprimatur* of Henry E. Manning, Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, declares that:

"The first and highest authority in all that regards education is the Church. With her sanction it should be commenced, and under her superintendence it should be continued."

The article on "Education," from which I quote, recognizes three authorities in education, namely: the church, the state, and the parent; but it entirely subordinates the state and the parent to the church; so that really there is but one authority. "The claims of the state," says this article, "become unjust and oppressive when, ignoring the still more sacred right of the church to secure in education the attainment of man's highest end, it compels or tempts Catholics to place their children in schools which the ecclesiastical authority has not sanctioned." "Catholic parents," it continues, "are bound to see that the teaching in the schools to which they send their children has ecclesiastical sanction, and to resist all attempts to make them patronize schools without that sanction."

The ends of education, the article thus defines:

"Education has three principal ends—the first religious, the second political, the third domestic; but among these the religious end takes the lead and dominates over the other two, on account of its intrinsically greater importance. And

since, as explained above, we cannot walk securely in religion one step except in unison with and obedience to the church, every well instructed Catholic understands that the church must preside over the education of Catholics at every stage and in every branch, so far as to see that they are sufficiently instructed in their religion."

In the Roman Catholic idea of education, religion and God are identified with the Roman Catholic church; reverence for the church, therefore, and unquestioning devotion to her interests, are the chief ends at which education aims. The purpose of the Parochial Schools is not to educate, in the broad and high sense in which the modern cultivated mind conceives that word, but to make firmly loyal and obediently docile Roman Catholics. Patriotism, knowledge of history and science, culture and skill, are secondary to knowledge and service of the church. The one thing insisted on and emphasised above all others is the absolute, infallible authority of the church. The Roman Catholic idea of education determines, of course, the character of the text-books which are used in the Parochial Schools, and the character as well of the teachers in those schools. The whole system of Parochial education is organized about religion, not as a spiritual and universal principle, but as defined by the doctrines and expressed in the organization and ritual of the church of Rome. It remains for us to consider:

IV. SOME OF THE PRACTICAL RESULTS WHICH THE SPIRIT AND METHODS OF THE PAROCHIAL SCHOOL MUST PRODUCE.

The regulative principle of Parochial School training being the infallible authority of the church, it must follow that this system:—

1. *Destroys intellectual liberty.* The pursuit of knowledge and the search for truth cannot be disinterested when the mind works under the rule of such a principle as that of papal infallibility. The facts of history cannot be critically investigated and impartially weighed, for they cannot be suffered to contradict this principle. The phenomena of nature, also, must be studied subject to interpretations of the world which are ecclesiastical and dogmatic. The mind is not toned up and stimulated to a full and systematic development; for it is compelled to fit a certain unyielding mould. The conception of the infallible authority of a human organization not only fetters the mind by setting limits to enquiry, but also prevents that unflinching sincerity in thinking without which intellectual liberty is both meaningless and impossible.

2. The principle of Parochial School training *promotes deficient and dishonest teaching.*

An examination of the text books now in use in the Parochial Schools will abundantly substantiate this confessedly grave charge. The teaching in these books is *deficient*, because vital facts of history are either omitted, or given in such disproportion that their meaning is obscured. The teaching is *dishonest*, because these books are marked not only by suppressions of the truth, but also by misstatements by which sound knowledge is prevented and false ideas are inculcated in the interest of the Roman Catholic church. I have examined "A Full Catechism of the Catholic Religion," "Saddler's Excelsior Introduction to Geography," Gazeau's "Modern History," "The Young Catholic's Illustrated Fifth Reader," "The Third Reader" of the Catholic National Series, and Bishop Gilmour's Bible and Church History, all of which are widely used in the

Parochial Schools of the United States and Canada. All of these books are thorough advocates of Roman Catholicism, so much so indeed, as to deserve the name of apologetic works. In the preface to *The Third Reader of the National Series*, the author naively says: "The Third Reader, in common with the other books of the CATHOLIC NATIONAL SERIES, has one chief characteristic, viz.: a thoroughly Catholic tone, which will be found to pervade the whole book." Imagine a school-book commended to our approval, even by the statement that it has "a thoroughly Baptist," or "Methodist," or "Episcopalian tone." The table of contents prefixed to "*The Third Reader*," contains, among others equally suggestive, the following titles: "Bessie's First Mass," "St. Germaine Cousin," "The Weight of a Prayer," "Pope Leo XIII. and the Brigands," "The Legend of the Infant Jesus Serving at Mass," "How to be a Nun," "St. Bridget," and "St. Francis of Assisi." "The Weight of a Prayer" relates that a poor woman went into a butcher-shop and asked for meat. When the butcher inquired what she had to give for it, she answered, "nothing but my prayers." The butcher says that prayers will not pay rent and buy cattle. But, inclined to joke, he says he will give her as much meat as her prayer will weigh. Thereupon he writes the poor woman's prayer on a slip of paper and puts it on one side of the scale and then puts a tiny bit of meat on the other side. To his astonishment, the paper does not rise. He puts on a larger piece. Still the paper remains down. Then in fright he puts on the scale a large round of beef, and turning to the woman acknowledges the evident hand of God, and in penitence promises her in the future all the meat she may want. In this book are

several other instances of modern miracles similar in character.

Bishop Gilmour's Bible and Church History contains such extraordinary misrepresentations as the following:

"Not only the church [of Rome] has been no obstacle to progress, either in science or art, but to Catholics is due the discovery of nearly all the valuable inventions we have. Carefully examined it will be seen that with the exception of the steam engine and the railroad, little that is really new has been discovered other than by Catholics." *P. 298.*

Again:

"In 1517, Pope Leo X. published a Jubilee, and directed that the alms to be given should be sent to Rome to help complete the great Cathedral of St. Peter, then being built. Tetzl, Superior of the Dominicans, was appointed to preach this Jubilee throughout Germany, which greatly displeased Luther, because of the slight, as he supposed, that had thus been thrown upon the Augustinians by not inviting them to preach the Jubilee." *P. 300.*

Still again:

"With the exception of 'The Bible Alone as the Rule of Faith,' Luther and Calvin but repeated the heresies of Huss and Wycliffe, and the earlier heresiarchs. Calvin adopted the heresies of Pelagius on grace and original sin." *P. 301.*

This last statement will be interesting to theologians.

We are told:

"John Knox died in 1572, revered by the Scotch, but known in history as the 'Ruffian of the Reformation.'" *P. 302.*

Comparing Catholicism with Protestantism, the Bishop says:

"To make converts, Catholicity has ever appealed to reason; Protestantism, like Mohammedanism, to force and violence. * * * * * Protestantism began with 'an

open Bible and Free Interpretation,' and has ended [sic] in division and disbelief. By the above principle, everyone becomes judge of what he will or will not believe. Hence, amongst Protestants there are almost as many religions as there are individuals, the churches divided and torn into pieces, ending in infidelity and Mormonism. On the other hand, Catholicity remains ever the same, because Catholicity is truth, and truth changes not." P. 304.

From Gazeau's "Modern History," I quote but two or three selections. These will serve as samples of the whole. On the Inquisition, the author says:

"Ferdinand and Isabella, honored by the Holy See with the title of 'Catholic Sovereigns,' resolved to prove themselves worthy of it by maintaining among their subjects the faith in all its purity. To this end they had revived the ancient tribunal of the Inquisition. * * * Its chief aim was to detect every crime and delinquency in religious matters, especially among the converted Jews and Moors, many of whom simply professed conversion, and were often secretly engaged in treasonable practices. If the accused was found guilty and manifested some repentance, he was sentenced to make a public reparation, or act of faith, *Auto-da-fe*, holding a lighted taper in his hand. If he persisted in his error he was handed over to the secular arm, and lay judges pronounced sentence and applied the laws of the state. The Spanish Inquisition, like all human institutions, was not always restricted within just limits, and the Head of the Church more than once interposed his authority; but if, later, other sovereigns made of this tribunal a political instrument, Ferdinand should not be censured for confiding to it the mission of prosecuting infidels who by their sacrilegious profanations were subjects of scandal to Catholics." P. 42.

Of Luther we are told:

"Wicked men are always disposed to rebel against authority. The sale of indulgences and the word 'reform'

were simply made the pretext by the able but unprincipled Luther for the onburst of the storm that was to devastate Europe and break up the spiritual unity of Christendom." *P. 62, 63.*

Concerning the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, the author says:

"As to the solemn *Te Deum* sung at Rome by order of Pope Gregory XIII., it was done under the impression that the massacre was begun on the part of the Calvinists, that the King's party acted in self-defence, and that the affair grew out of an unsuccessful conspiracy against the French government and the Catholic church. This *Te Deum* belonged to the same category as the one sung shortly before for the victory gained at Lepanto over the Turks." *P. 106, 107.*

Of Alva's mission to the Netherlands, the author says:

"The King of Spain resolved to wreak signal vengeance on the 'Beggars' [the Protestant confederates of Breda]. His most experienced general, Alvarez of Toledo, Duke of Alva, entered the Netherlands at the head of twenty thousand men and pursued the rebels with extreme severity. It is asserted that out of hatred to the new governor nearly one hundred thousand of the inhabitants went voluntarily into exile." *P. 119.*

The dominant purpose of these text-books is to exalt and glorify the Roman Catholic church, and to this end the truth of history and the moral lessons which history is meant to convey, are shamelessly sacrificed. Nor is this the worst result of such dishonest teaching. Those who are taught are wronged in the deepest way, by having essential falsehood incorporated with all their thinking upon human experience and human destiny. At best history is imperfect, but, as the record of human experience sincerely set forth, it is the wisest teacher of each genera-

tion as it comes on the stage of life and action. To make the record not only still more imperfect but even dishonest and false, is a crime of the first magnitude.

3. A third result of Parochial School training is, naturally, *the development of an intense and bigoted sectarianism.* In the ninth article of "*A Full Catechism of the Catholic Religion,*" may be found the following:

"64. If the Catholic Church is to lead all men to eternal salvation, and has, for that purpose, received from Christ her doctrine, her means of grace, and her powers, what, for his part, is every one obliged to do?"

Every one is obliged, under pain of eternal damnation, to become a member of the Catholic Church, to believe her doctrine, to use her means of grace, and to submit to her authority."

No real knowledge is given of any church other than the Roman. Protestants are condemned and villified. Religious liberty is represented as a deadly error, and the claims of the Roman church are set forth as absolutely supreme. The result of such teaching can be of but one sort. As there is no fairness in the instruction, there can be no fairness in the judgments of those who receive the instruction, and the worst form of caste, namely, the religious, is created and perpetuated. Social life is thus invaded and its benignity, freedom and solidarity are destroyed.

4. Finally, the Parochial system of education is *a perpetual menace to political integrity,* because it inculcates not so much a divided sovereignty as a temporal supremacy in the Roman church and its earthly head of which the authority of the state is scarcely in any sense a rival. Fortunately even Roman Catholics do not always carry out in action the logical results of their system. Many of

them are larger than their creed and better than their system. But this can be true, only in very small degree, of those who receive their entire training in the Parochial School. A government cannot be stable if a large number of its subjects conscientiously hold allegiance to a foreign potentate. I have little fear for the government of the United States, for the forces of intelligence and patriotism in the mass of the people are too strong, I believe, to be overcome. Yet, the teaching of such a system as Romanism, by such methods as prevail in the Parochial Schools, is a continual threat against our political integrity and freedom. The tendency of the whole Parochial system is to dwarf and misrepresent the significance of political institutions and political progress. That the system is inimical to the CONSTITUTION has been shown with clearness and cogency by Bishop Coxe. The CONSTITUTION, as he says, implies:

- (1) Liberty of the press.
- (2) Liberty of conscience and of worship.
- (3) Liberty of speech.
- (4) The power of the state to define the civil rights of ecclesiastics.
- (5) That the church may not employ force.
- (6) That the civil law must prevail over papal laws.
- (7) That the free exercise of religion ought to be allowed in all countries.
- (8) That civil marriages are valid.
- (9) That the domain of morals may be treated apart from the decrees of pontiffs.
- (10) That civil duty and allegiance may be taught and treated with similar freedom.

Yet every one of these principles has been condemned by the "infallible" head of the Roman church, and all who hold these principles have been declared to hold them at the peril of their eternal salvation. He who accepts the creed of the Roman Catholic church accepts the dicta of its head.

Are we to turn out the Constitution from the Common Schools as well as the Bible?

In conclusion, I urge no argument and present no inferences drawn from the contrast between these two systems — the Common School system and the Parochial School system. The contrast itself is argument invincible and overwhelming. The fortunes of the Republic are bound up with the maintenance and the continuous upward development of that broad, beneficent and most precious institution, the AMERICAN COMMON SCHOOL.

The idea of the American Common Schools which is sedulously inculcated in the minds of Catholics by ecclesiastical authority, may be found expressed at length, and with sufficient vehemence, in a pamphlet by Thomas J. Jenkins, and published by John Murphy & Co., of Baltimore. The full title of this pamphlet is as follows:

CATHOLIC EDUCATORS' MANUAL ON SCHOOLS.

THE

JUDGES OF FAITH:

CHRISTIAN *vs.* GODLESS SCHOOLS.

Papal, Pastoral and Conciliar Rulings the world over, especially of the III. Plenary Council of Baltimore, with retrospective essays on the Struggle for Christian Education.

ADDRESSED TO CATHOLIC PARENTS.

BY

THOMAS J. JENKINS, Author of "Six Seasons on our Prairies."
John Murphy & Co., Publishers, Baltimore.

In this pamphlet, the following sentiments are copiously and variously expressed:

"The Public Schools are infidel and Godless, and must therefore be avoided." *P. 87.*

"Sad experience has made it evident, that Catholic Youth, by the frequentation of the Public Schools, are almost without exception, exposed to great danger, not only of corruption of morals, but also of losing faith itself." *P. 88.*

"The line is drawn, and pastors cry to their flocks: 'Are you Catholics? Come over to me and send your children to Catholic schools. Are you not Catholics? Then go away about your business; we want no such black, scabby sheep to infest the flock of Christ.'" *P. 101.*

I forbear quoting further, but Americans who would understand the real animus of the Roman Catholic attack on the American School system, should read this pamphlet.

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