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fess to a profound wish that all the children of the Republic should be bred in the schools which are controlled and maintained by the state; but I must be content often to let my own wishes and preferences remain unfulfilled rather than resort to violence to attain them.

The only country that has a law similar to the proposed initiative measure, so far as I know, is France. Under the stress of the Royalist threat against the struggling republic, the republican government became convinced that the church schools were actively anti-republican and royalist. I suspect that anyone knowing the history of republicanism in France will agree to the reasonableness of this conviction. Catholic republicans shared it fully, and voted in immense numbers in support of the government. Moreover, the clerical schools constituted a large fraction of the whole educational system, and enrolled a predominant majority of the aristocracy and elite of the nation. A petition of French Catholics to the Pope refers to these disloyal elements in the strongest terms, speaking of them as "the irreconcilable and systematic opponents of the government of the Republic" and as the "recognized supporters of royalism, imperialism and anti-Semitism."

The government, as is well known, finally took drastic means to abolish the church schools entirely. I cite this as an illustration of the inevitable course of events when the welfare of the modern state seems to be threatened, and when private aims and preferences, even of the most intimate and personal character have to be sacrificed: also to point out the total contrast between the situation of the French republic striking at a system of schools whose every tradition was hostile and which had breathed the air of autocracy and monarchy for centuries, as compared with our own situation in Oregon and the United States today.

Finally, have we exhausted the measures which can be put into effect without violence and without giving any place for just resentment on the part of those affected? If Oregon has done this, she is the only state in the Union that has. So far as I know there is no effective supervision, and indeed practically no supervision, of private schools; the laws almost entirely ignore them; the educational officials of county and state have neither mandate nor time to visit them effectively, the official reports of the State Department of Public Instruction hardly recognize their existence. The teachers in these schools are not required to hold certificates, as are teachers in the public schools. All this is subject to prompt and effective reform by the legislature, or by initiative measure; no one can effectively deny in advance its efficacy, and any educator would naturally expect definite and admirable results from it. The cost of such measures would be a small fraction of the cost of taking these pupils into the public schools, for in the latter case the state would have to supervise just the

same, and teach in addition. Note that with thorough supervision by the State we shall at least know what is going on in the private schools; and if un-Americanism is being inculcated the state can act with vigor and have the support of all right-minded citizens, which is certainly a consummation devoutly to be wished for.

Taking everything into account, this bill would rush us into a major surgical operation, even before the case has been diagnosed, and before any milder remedial measures have been tried. Why not lay our hands vigorously upon these peaceful measures, which we should have done long ago, and give them a reasonable trial before proceeding to the more violent policy?

What are the great, persistent problems in democratic education? They are the problems of educational wisdom and efficiency on the one hand, and adequate public support on the other. We educators must do a better job, and keep on bettering it all the time. But to that end the educator must have freedom and resources. The professional educator must get out of the awful ruts of blind tradition: even now China, of places, is actually building a wiser and more truly democratic curriculum than we have; yet fifteen years ago she had not emerged from Cimmerian darkness. They sent clear to America for the wisest educational thinker in the world, John Dewey; and today the wisdom of Dewey is affecting Chinese schools more than it is American: "a prophet is not without honor?" Let us stop harping on our good schools, and scratch gravel to get better schools!

I have already referred to the bill for schools, and its pitiful smallness compared with other things that we really want, but certainly do not need as much as we do better schools. One of the most tragic and menacing symptoms is the vanishing of men from the teaching staff of the United States: in the 70's and 80's we had over forty per cent of men; the proportion has swiftly dropped until we have now 16 per cent (according to the latest figures available). This is a hopeless and guilty situation: a profession that is not good enough for good men to enter and stay in, is an inferior calling: until the public correct this situation, and resolutely jack up the profession until we have again a modest admixture of men, say the 40 per cent of the eighties,—let us stop bragging about our devotion to education and to the public schools.

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