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FEDERAL AID TO NON-PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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INTRODUCTION

FEDERAL AID TO NON-PUBLIC SCHOOLS

INTRODUCTION

A. The Subject

1. The Subject Introduced and Explained

"America is a Land of Magic." This is the statement of two men who have observed America working.¹ When one asks what makes America a Land of Magic, there are many answers. Raymond M. Hughes and William H. Lancelot aver that it is not natural resources, nor is it democratic freedom or racial superiority that makes the United States great or that gives her the magical power that was displayed in the Second World War when America was girding for war, equipping her allied friends, and defeating her enemies. They suggest that it is the system of universal education that gives this country magical power.²

With the crisis caused by the Great Depression

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1. R. M. Hughes and W. M. Lancelot, Education, America's Magic, p v
2. Ibid., p 5

of 1929-1939 came many innovations in government. Some old ideas were revitalized and were put into operation due to the severity of the crisis. Some were suggested but were not put into operation. Among these was the idea of Federal Aid to Education. President Franklin D. Roosevelt suggested and put into operation the "C.C.C." (Civilian Conservation Corps),¹ to give young men training in the conservation of natural resources, at the same time cutting down the number of unemployed by occupying the time of the young men with worthwhile tasks. The "N.Y.A." (National Youth Administration),² was also a means of conserving the youth of our nation, seeing to it that they remained in schools and colleges through a program of Federal Aid and self-help. More and more the idea of Federal Aid took hold. It was like a contagion. Public works, including road building and rebuilding, bridge construction and the construction of new public schools, libraries, post offices, hospitals, were all subsidized by Federal Grants in Aid.³ Federal Aid became a part of the thinking of a great many Americans; resistance to it led to the name "Reactionary" being hurled at the opposers. It became the accepted thing

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1. The Federal Government and Education, by the Advisory Committee on Education Appointed by the President of the United States, September 19, 1936, p 16
2. Ibid., p 16 Also, Charles and Mary Beard, A Basic History of the United States, p 460
3. Charles and Mary Beard, op. cit., p 460

for the Federal Government to take over in practically every field of life, and it did.¹

The number of agencies and programs seeking Federal Aid became very great. It was not long till the public schools of the nation resumed their cry for aid. Julia E. Johnsen says of the earlier struggle of the schools for aid:

"Beginning in 1918 proposals took shape through the N.E.A. and its Committee on the Emergency in Education to secure National legislation that would help to stimulate education in the States. The early Bills known as the Smith, Smith-Towner, Towner-Sterling, and Sterling-Reed Bills endeavored primarily to secure two leading provisions, federal financial aid for education and a department of education. It was proposed to allot one hundred million dollars to be apportioned to such projects as the equalization of educational opportunities, the reduction of illiteracy, Americanization, teachers training, and physical education and training. No legislation was obtained, and in the years 1926-27 the provision of Federal Aid was eliminated and the proposals centered upon the department of education with a secretary in the Cabinet and increased funds for the purpose of carrying on Federal Educational Research. By 1929 bills again appeared before Congress providing for one hundred million dollars to be distributed to the States for aid to the schools. The new bills proposed to extend aid to elementary schools alone, or to both elementary and secondary schools without specifying any particular project to which it would be applied save only that its disposal should be left to the discretion of the state authorities."²

The cry for Federal Aid was taken to the parents in Parent Teacher Associations, and great publicity was given

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1. Ibid., p 461

2. Julia E. Johnsen, Federal Aid to Education, p 3, 4.

to it by many organizations.¹ A powerful lobby in Congress was fighting for the passage of a Federal Aid Bill, and the lobby know well its vote-getting ability and demonstrated it forcefully to the Senators and Representatives.²

During the Second World War specialized training programs of the Army and Navy made it possible for Federal Aid to be granted to colleges and universities as men were sent back to them from the troops to be trained in such specialized fields as medicine, aviation, engineering, dentistry, radio, etc.³ A similar program had been attempted in World War One, the S.A.T.C. (Specialized Army Training Corps), but it was not too successful. The newer program in which over 150,000 men were in training at one time became the first successful venture of the Federal Government in education, other than in military education.⁴

The A.S.T.P. (Army Specialized Training Program) of World War Two helped the colleges when they were without men and to a large degree without money. Though it was not direct aid to Education, it had the same effect.⁵

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1. Conrad H. Moehlman, School and Church: The American Way p 88
2. Ibid., p 88. See also, Newsweek Magazine, July 28, 1947 Vol. 130, p 27
3. I.L. Kandel, The Impact of the War Upon American Education, p 151
4. Ibid., p 152
5. J. Weston Walch, Complete Handbook on Federal Aid To Education, p 7

Since the War, the G.I. Bill of Rights granting veterans educational benefits has been a program of Federal Aid to various educational institutions, schools, colleges, universities, and vocational schools. Just as in the A.S.T.P., this cannot be called direct aid, but it is aid to education.¹

During the Eightieth Congress, Representative Graham Barden of North Carolina introduced a bill which granted Federal Aid to public schools.² One of the Amendments added to it was designed to also grant Federal funds to Non-Public Schools. Since nine-tenths of all the Non-Public Schools are under the direct control of the Roman Catholic Church,³ there was immediate protest from Protestants and from those who do not wish the Government to enter into the support of religion.⁴ The objections were so loud and severe that they succeeded in tabling the Bill for that session of Congress.⁵

Federal Aid to Education legislation had left the sphere of the public school and had been caught between the forces of religion and those forces which endeavor to protect the idea of states' rights, government economy, and the separation of church and state.

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1. Ibid., p 7
2. J. M. Dawson, Separate Church and State Now, p 207
3. Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1945-46 of the Federal Security Agency, Chap. 1, p 12
4. Dawson, op, cit., p 205-211
5. Walch, op. cit., p 3

2. The Subject Justified,

There are few struggles that have produced such bitter, tragic conflicts as the struggle for separation of church and state, the struggle of religious intolerance and freedom of conscience. In America a way of life has been established in which no religion has held power over the nation, and in which all religions receive permission to exist side by side without receiving the support of the nation and the title of the national religion.

Whenever some legislation or some action on the part of an executive of the United States government appears which tends to support one religion against all others, it seems to be customary for most Americans to fight against it vigorously, believing that if they permit one religion, whether it be Catholic, Protestant, Jewish or any other, to get a foothold in the public treasury or the special favor of the powers that be, that the end of the American dream of freedom for all religions is near at hand.

In recent months all have been made more conscious of this matter as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was observed in the public newspapers dueling with the Primate of the Roman Catholic Church in America, the Cardinal of

New York, Francis Cardinal Spellman.¹ Mrs. Roosevelt opposed Federal Aid to Non-Public Schools in her daily column, "My Day" and in an interview she granted to the press.² She was quickly called on the carpet by the Cardinal, accused of being narrow, and called "bigoted."³ Mrs. Roosevelt did not recant, but she clarified her position by saying that aid should be granted all children regardless of their school connection in the matter of health and welfare.⁴

The recent decision of the United States Supreme Court in the New Jersey School Bus Case has also served to heighten the interest in the subject of Federal Aid to Non-Public Schools, especially in those states which have a large number of Non-Public Schools.⁵

The matter of fairness to all citizens and taxpayers also enters into the discussion, making it very relevant. Should those who send their children to Non-Public Schools be forced to pay such high taxes, (especially during this season of expensive living), and be expected to carry the full load of supporting the Non-Public Schools?⁶

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1. New York Times, July 22, 1949 p 1
2. New York Post, June 23, 1949, "My Day" by Eleanor Roosevelt
3. New York Times, July 22, 1949, p 1
4. The Survey, "Has the Nation a Stake in Its Schools?" by Everett B. Sackett, October 1949, p 525
5. A. W. Johnson and F. H. Yost, Separation of Church and State in the United States, p 152 Also, Dawson, op. cit., p 52, 53
6. J. A. Burns and Others, A History of Catholic Education in the United States, p 169

A great number of citizens are asking the question, "Is it necessary to support two educational systems? Is it not a waste of money to have two schools where only one is necessary?" The answer to this question also makes this study worthwhile.¹

While all this discussion and questioning is taking place, the representatives of the people in Washington are trying to determine just what the mind of the people is in order that they may vote intelligently on the matter.² The subject is indeed important, and its study is justified.

3. The Subject Delimited.

It is the intent of the writer to discuss Federal Aid primarily, not bringing in the matter of State or Local Aid to Non-Public Schools except where such aid is used as a criterion for granting aid to Non-Public Schools from the Federal Treasury.

The term "Aid" shall refer to all money, help, support, or material whether in form of cash grants that is given to the Non-Public Schools or in the form of books, facilities, supplies, etc. Services granted to the schools, such as transportation, book service, health service, etc., shall all be considered "Aid".

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1. Walch, op. cit., p 7, 8
2. Saturday Evening Post, "Paul Jones in Washington Can't Cure Everything" November 18, 1944, p 112

Non-Public Schools are all schools which are not freely open to the general public without tuition or membership in some organization as the basis of attendance. Non-Public Schools are schools that are not under the direct control of the government, Federal, State, or Local.

It will be necessary to speak often of the Roman Catholic Schools as Non-Public Schools in this study. This is not to be considered an attack upon them, for such is not the intent of the writer. However, inasmuch as nine-tenths of all Non-Public Schools in America are under the control of the Roman Catholic Church,¹ they will receive the greatest amount of treatment.

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1. Ante pxii note 3

B. The Sources of The Study

The writer has investigated quite a few sources in order to complete this study. A number of works written by Roman Catholic writers have been used. These were used in order that the work might not seem lop-sided, and in order to present all sides of the question. They are indicated in the Bibliography with asterisks.

Some of the data was collected from tables prepared by the Government Office of Education. The Presidential Committee on Education set up by President Roosevelt contributed much material also.

Since the Supreme Court Decision of the New Jersey School Bus Case, there have been a number of books written by men who were interested in the legal precedents set by the Court in the matter of church and state, and these have been referred to liberally.

In order to be as objective as possible about the matter, the writer has documented carefully. This is a controversial subject, and the writer does not claim to have all the facts on it. However, the varied foot notes will indicate to the reader that the subject is by no means cut and dried or of easy solution.

C. The Method of Procedure

The problem of Federal Aid to Non-Public Schools falls naturally into three parts. One group of people hold that Aid should be granted; a second that limited Aid should be granted; and a third, that no Aid should be granted. To these sections the writer has pre-faced a chapter dealing with the status of the Non-Public School in order that the reader may know more fully the situation as it has been and as it is today.

In the main, the concern will be with five emphases in the three chapters dealing with the argument: (1) the relation of the Federal Government to education; (2) the relation of the Federal Government to religion; (3) a dual or a single system of education in the nation; (4) Federal Aid and Control; and (5) the fairness or unfairness of Federal Aid to Non-Public Schools.

Of all the objections and supporting allegations, these five seem to reveal the main lines of the argument.

In conclusion, the writer will sum up the debate and present his conclusions in the matter.

CHAPTER I

THE STATUS OF THE NON-PUBLIC SCHOOL

CHAPTER I
THE STATUS OF THE NON-PUBLIC SCHOOL

A. The Number of Non-Public Schools

1. The Period of Early American Developement

Originally America had no Public Schools as such. All schools were private. All schools were limited to the children of those who could afford to pay the tuition fess. Education was considered a church responsibility, not the state or public responsibility.¹ In the early days of the nation, schools were set up chiefly to train men for the ministry. In 1647 a law was made in Massachusetts making it necessary for each town of 20 families to have established a beginning grammar school, and this law seems to be the first intervention of the state in the matter of education in America.² It is true, however, that in 1636 a town meeting in Boston ordered support of the Boston Latin School to come from the public taxes, but the Latin School was more on the level of the college of our day, not the grammar or public school.³

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1. A. W. Johnson and F. H. Yost, op. cit., p 17
2. Ibid., p 19, 20
3. Ibid., p 18, 19
4. L. A. Weigle, American Idealism, p 259

The oldest elementary school in America is still in existence, It is the Collegiate School operated at 241 West 77th Street, by the Dutch Reformed Church in New York City, founded in 1638.¹

In 1751 Benjamin Franklin founded the Public Academy in Philadelphia, a school about the level of Senior High School.² In 1760 the German Lutheran Church in Philadelphia founded a Parochial School.³ Puritans, Presbyterians, Moravians, Quakers, Mennonites, and Catholics all maintained schools in connection with their churches in this period.⁴ The first Roman Catholic Parish School in the eastern portion of the nation seems to be the Saint Mary's Parish School in Philadelphia, founded in 1782.⁵ There were Catholic Schools in the Southwest, however, at a much earlier date than this.⁶

For a while the number of Non-Public Schools was much greater than the number of Public Schools, and the various localities supported the denominational town-schools as there were no public schools available. This gradually changed, and the public school began to predominate. There was then a multiple establishment of

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1. L. A. Weigle, American Idealism, p 259
2. A. W. Johnson and F. H. Yost, op. cit., p 26
3. Weigle, op. cit., p 259
4. Ibid., p 259
5. Ibid., p 259
6. Burns, op. cit., p 141-142

school systems in some towns, and it caused a number of debates and finally led to the withdrawal of support of the Church Schools by the communities.¹ This was a gradual process, however, and Non-Public Schools received aid from the public treasury in many communities for many years after this, and in fact, some still receive aid today.²

In 1818 a law was passed in Boston establishing the first free Public High School taking its support from the public treasury.³ The growth of the Public High School in New York City and the Grammar School in the first half of the Nineteenth Century is rather spectacular,⁴ and such men as Mann, Barnard, Pierce, Stowe, Brooks, Stevens, Clinton Lewis, Wiley, Ruffner, and Armstrong led the procession of Americans championing the Free Public School.⁵ Before long, the Public School was far outdistancing the Non-Public School as far as their numbers was concerned.

2. Later Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Development of the Non-Public School.

At the outset, the number of Roman Catholic Schools in America was not as great as the number of

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1. R. F. Butts, The American Tradition in Religion and Education, p 26
2. Dawson, op. cit., p 40-56
3. A. W. Johnson and F.H. Yost, op. cit., p 27
4. L. A. Weigle, op. cit., p 259
5. Ibid., p 276-287 also, C.H. Meehlman, School and Church: The American Way, p 65-82

Non-Roman Catholic Parochial Schools. This is easily understandable since the Colonies were for the most part settled by Protestants in the early days.¹ It is also understandable, that the number of Roman Catholic churches and their parish schools should increase as the new population entering the country during the Nineteenth Century came more and more from Roman Catholic countries of Europe such as Ireland and Germany.² The Roman Catholic Church in America began to take firmer root in the Thirteen Colonies, and it began to organize itself and set up a strategy to evangelize the whole nation.³ Under the leadership of Bishop John Carroll, 1735-1815, the early plans were laid for the Church in America.⁴ Mother Elizabeth Ann Seton, (1774-1821), led in the early establishment of Catholic Schools in America.⁵ Bishop John Hughes, (1797-1864), led in the establishment of teaching communities, nunneries or monasteries for preparing Catholic orders of teachers, and establishing schools.⁶ Cardinal Gibbon, (1834-1921), lived to see his Church increase in member-

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1. A. W. Johnson and F. H. Yost, op. cit., p 26, 27
2. Ibid., p 26, 27. Also, C. H. Moehlman, School and Church: The American Way, p 65-82
3. Unpublished Thesis of J. P. Worthington, The Influence of James Cardinal Gibbon Upon the Roman Catholic Church in America, The Biblical Seminary in New York., p 2. Also Paul Blanchard, American Freedom and Catholic Power, p 10
4. Weigle, op. cit., p 158. Also Cf. Moehlman, op. cit., p 62
5. Weigle, op. cit., p 159
6. Ibid., p 169, 170.

ship ten-fold in his sixty years of ordination.¹ He was especially active in the work of education, and had a passionate desire for the youth of his Roman Catholic church.²

Figure 1. on page 7 illustrates the increase in population caused by the flow of Roman Catholic immigrants into America. The line increases, nearly doubling itself every twenty years, a phenomenal growth!

It is rather difficult to present figures and data showing the number of Roman Catholic Schools during the latter part of the Nineteenth Century, just as it is rather hard to fix the number of public schools for the same period. This is in large part due to the fact that the United States Bureau of Education was not initiated until 1867, and its work of calculating the scope of education in the nation, collecting statistics, and showing the progress of education in America was not easily accomplished.³

The Table I on page 9 shows that in the period 1895 to 1924 the total number of Private Secondary Schools decreased by 56 schools. However, the number of Roman Catholic Secondary Schools increased in that period from

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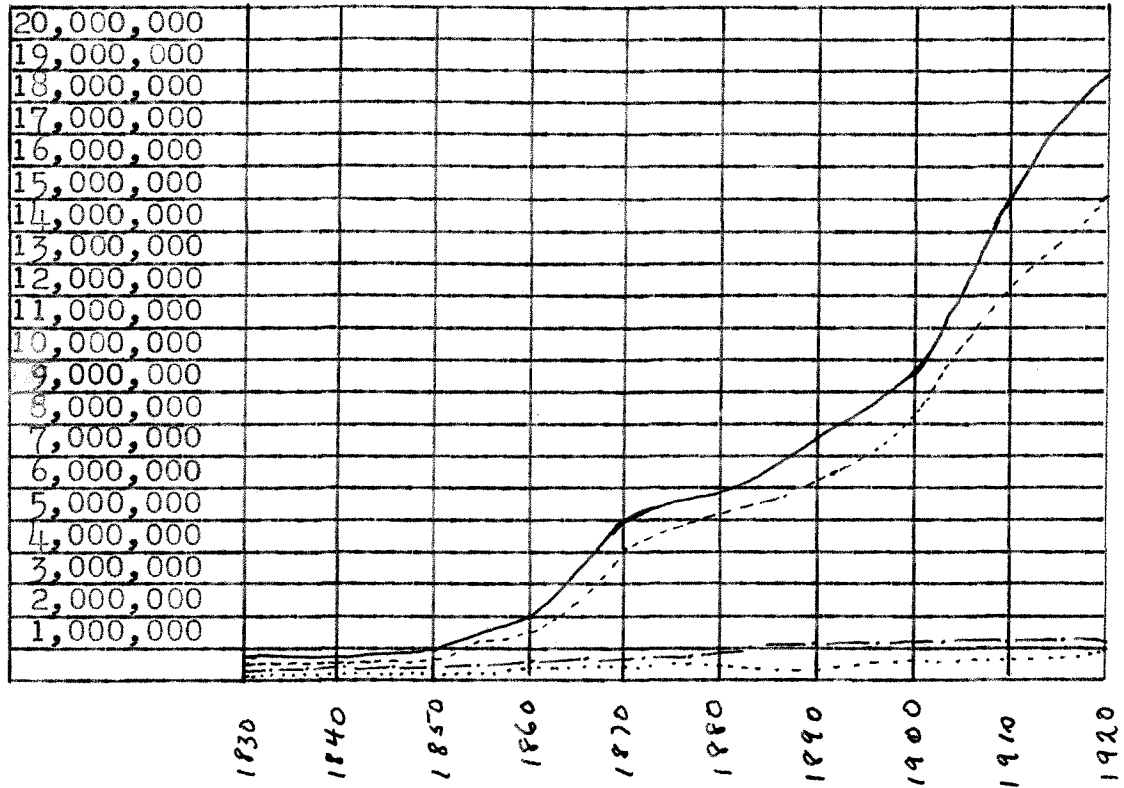
1. Weigle, op. cit., p 218

2. Worthington, op. cit., p 23, 63, 64, 92

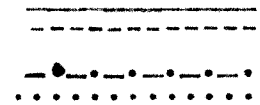
3. Weigle, op. cit., p 296

Figure 1.

Catholic Immigration in the United States
1830-1920¹



Total Catholic Population
 Catholic Immigrants and Their Descendants
 Original Catholics and Their Descendants
 Catholic Converts and Their Descendants



1. L.A. Weigle, op.cit., p 168

280 to 1021. The number of Non-Catholic Private Secondary Schools decreased from 1900 to 1103.¹ The conclusion one must make is that the number of Catholic Secondary Schools was steam-rolling, and the number of ordinary, Non-Catholic Secondary Schools was declining very fast.

Therefore, glancing back over the history of the nation, one sees that in early times the Church-Related-Non-Public School was in the majority;² further, that about the time of the Revolution, the Academy and the public school began to take precedence over the Non-Public School.³ The latter part of the Nineteenth Century shows a period of great growth for the Public School and for the Roman Catholic School, at the same time showing a decline for the Non-Catholic Private School, until finally nine-tenths of all the Non-Public Schools are controlled by the Church.⁴

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1. Weigle, op. cit., p 296. Also, Cf. Moehlman, op.cit., p 62-65
2. Ante, p 3
3. Ante, p 4
4. Biennial Survey of Education, 1945-46, Chap.I, p 12

TABLE I

PRIVATE SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN AMERICA¹
1895-1924

	1895	1924
Total Number of Private Secondary Schools	2180	2124
Total Number of Catholic Secondary Schools	280	1021
Total Number of Non-Catholic Secondary Schools	1900	1103

1. L. A. Weigle, op. cit., p 293, from Figures supplied by the U. S. Bureau of Education in 1924.

3. The Present Number of Non-Public Schools

Since the turn of the century the number of Non-Public Schools has increased, and the large majority of the increase is due to the increase of Roman Catholic Non-Public Schools.¹ Table II on page 11 shows that the total number of Non-Public Schools is 12,157, or 6.2% of the total number of schools in America today. Of this number 10,136 schools are under the control of the Roman Catholic church.² The remainder are controlled by other churches and private organizations.

B. The Enrollment of Non-Public Schools

1. Review of Past Enrollments

As was stated above, it is very difficult to ascertain the exact number of Non-Public Schools prior to the inception of the U. S. Bureau of Education in 1867.³ The enrollment in Non-Public Schools is even more difficult to arrive at. Burns says:

"It is not, unfortunately, possible to carry the examination back farther than about sixteen years, for the data furnished by the older Directory are too incomplete, the reports from some dioceses being lacking."⁴

Burns' book was written in 1912, and going back sixteen years takes one to 1896, the earliest date one can really count on for figures about Non-Public Schools.

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1. Cf. Moehlman, op. cit., p 79, 80
2. Msgr. Hochwalt, Statement before Senate Committee on Education and Labor, Feb. 1, 1945.
3. Ante, p 6
4. J. A. Burns, The Growth and Development of the Catholic School System in America, p 354

TABLE II

THE PRESENT NUMBER OF SCHOOLS, PUBLIC AND NON-PUBLIC,
1945-1946

KIND OF SCHOOL	Elementary Secondary Total		
Public Schools, Excluding Kindergartens ¹	160,227	24,314	184,531
Non-Public Schools, Excluding Kindergartens ¹	9,863	2,294	12,157
Catholic Schools ²	8,017	2,119	10,136
Non-Public Schools Not Connected with the Roman Catholic Church	1,846	175	2,021

1. Statistical Summary of Education for 1945-46, Table 2, page 3
2. Statement of Msgr. Hochwalt, Director of Department of Education of the National Catholic Welfare Conference given before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, Feb. 1, 1945, Washington, D.C.

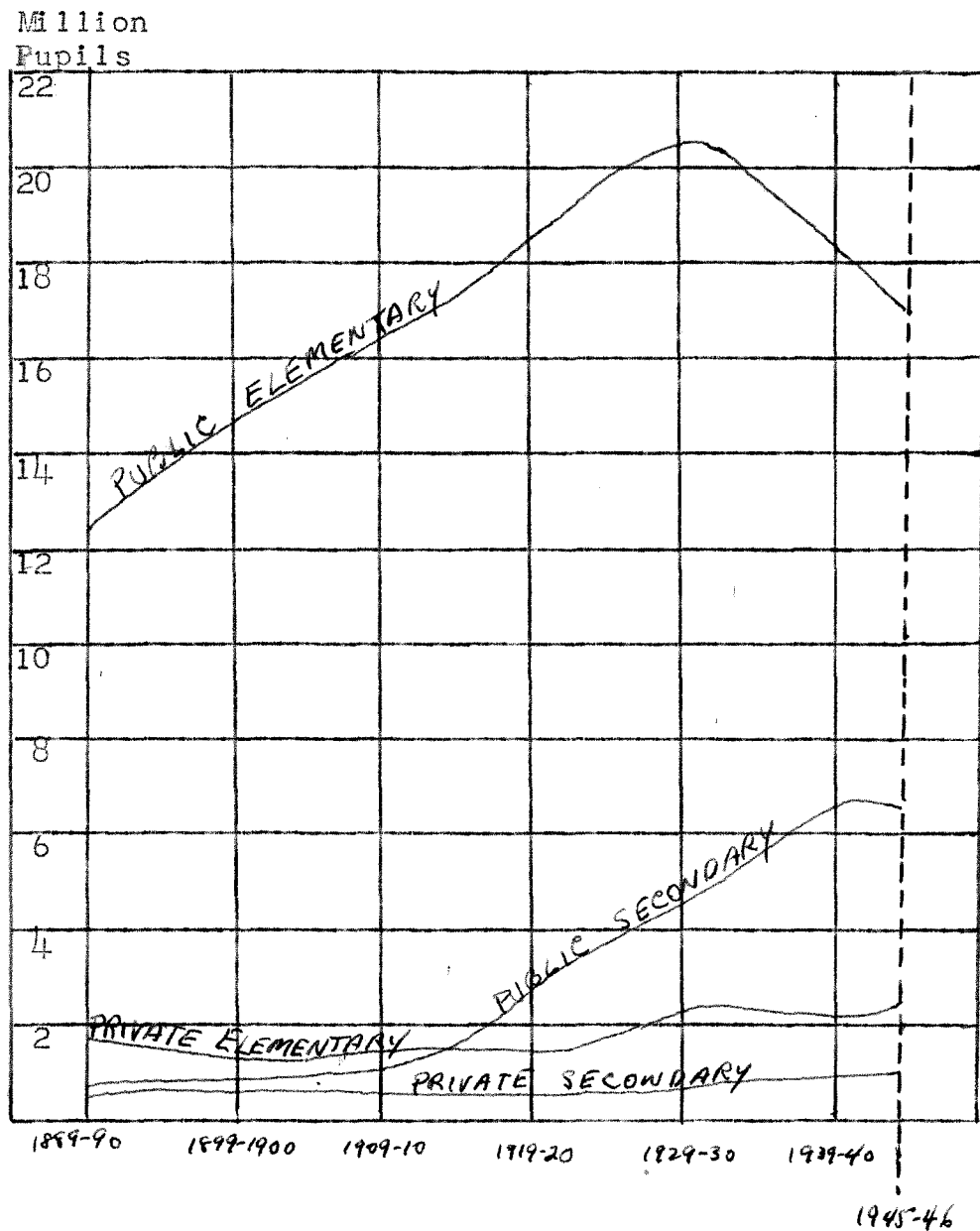
It is obvious, however, that the entire population of children who formerly attended school attended Non-Public Schools, and that with the coming of the public school, the number attending Non-Public Schools decreased rapidly. Figure 2, page 13 indicates the growth and decline in attendance to both Public and Non-Public Schools. There was a peak in attendance at Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in the decade, 1929-39, the Secondary naturally following the Elementary. There is a low point in the attendance at the Public Schools, caused perhaps by the War in 1943. On the other hand, the Non-Public School, except for a dip at the time of the Spanish American War and the First World War, shows practically a continuous increase.

2. Present-Day Enrollment

Table III on page 14 shows more revealingly than Figure 2 on page 13 the phenomenal growth of Private School enrollments in the period from 1918-1936. This shows that the greatest growth of the Public Schools was only 26.8% in the year 1934. The greatest growth of the Private Schools was 67.6% in 1932! In simpler terms, the percentage growth of the Private School enrollment

FIGURE 2

ENROLLMENTS IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS
1889-1946¹



1. Statistical Summary of Education, 1945-46. U. S. Office of Ed. Table 2, p 3.

TABLE III

ENROLLMENTS IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS¹
1918-1936

(All Enrollment Figures in Thousands of Pupils)

YEAR	ENROLLED TOTAL	ENROLLED PUBLIC	% INCREASE OR DECREASE	ENROLLED PRIVATE	% INCREASE OR DECREASE	% PRIVATE SCHOOLS
1918	22507	20845	-----	1662	-----	7.4
1920	23235	21566	+3.4	1669	+0.4	7.2
1922	24820	23239	+11.5	1581	-2.5	6.4
1924	26016	24289	+16.5	1727	+3.9	6.6
1926	27180	24741	+17.3	2439	+46.9	9.0
1928	27811	25180	+20.8	2631	+58.4	9.5
1930	28239	25678	+23.1	2651	+59.6	9.4
1932	29062	26275	+26.1	2787	+67.6	9.6
1934	29163	26434	+26.8	2729	+64.2	9.4
1936	29006	26367	+26.5	2639	+58.7	9.1

1. P. Smith and F. W. Wright, and others, Education in the Forty-Eight States, p 152

is more than twice as great during this period as the growth of Public School enrollments.

As far as the breakdown of the 9.1% enrolled in Private Schools in 1936 is concerned, the 1936 Religious Census of the United States has calculated:

"Thirty-one Protestant bodies are engaged in Parochial education. The total enrollment adds up to only 275,643, with the Lutherans accounting for 180,865. Thus only 94,775 (34% of the total) remain for distribution among thirty Protestant Bodies. Methodist bodies take 17,575; Adventist bodies, 16,472; Baptist bodies, 14,344; Presbyterian bodies, 9,509; the Protestant Episcopal Church, 7,531; the Disciples of Christ, 4,942; Reformed bodies, 4,572; Congregational and Christian Churches, 3,805; the Friends, 3,590; the Evangelical and Reformed Church, 3,105; leaving approximately nine thousand for distribution in twenty Protestant groups."¹

It must be recognized that the 2,663,357 students remaining after the Protestant Group is counted are for the most part students in Roman Catholic Parochial Schools. Sister Mary Loyola in her Visualized Church History estimates that in 1940 the enrollment in Catholic Schools was 2,500,000.² This would leave about 150,000 to 200,000 students in Non-Church Related Non-Public Schools.

C. The Wealth of the Non-Public School

1. Plants and Endowments

Those schools which are not connected with the Roman Catholic Church, but which are Non-Public in nature

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1. Moehlman, op, cit., p 68

2. Sister Mary Loyola, Visualized Church History, p 307

have considerable wealth.¹ The total plant value of all Private Elementary Schools in America is \$375,000,000. Their endowments are \$2,780,000.² The value of all Private Secondary Schools is \$650,000,000, and these are endowed with \$148,337,000.³ The endowment is principally held by Non-Sectarian Boarding Schools. In contrast to these figures, the total plant value of Public Elementary and Secondary Schools is \$7,632,100,000.⁴ In simpler terms, this means that the Public Schools which have nine times the enrollment have only seven and one-half times the wealth of the Non-Public Schools. In actuality, then, the Public Schools do not have as much property of endowments as the Non-Public Schools have, a fact which is quite startling.

2. The Current Income of the Non-Public School.

It is very difficult to list the cost of running the Non-Public Schools because nine-tenths of all the Non-Public Schools are under the control of the Roman Catholic Church which supplies teachers and principals from her teaching orders and religious congregations. Even if

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1. Arthur R. Moehlman, School Administration, 1940, p 801
2. U. S. Biennial Survey of Education, 1939-40, Bulletin. Vol. 2, Chap 1, p 26-27.
3. Arthur R. Moehlman, op. cit., p 801
4. Ibid.

one knew the salaries paid to priests, monks, and nuns, it would make little difference, as one still would not have a figure which is comparable to the total salaries paid to Public School teachers who have to face the high cost of living, have to pay rent, food, and clothing from their salaries. However, there was a report given at the Workshop of Catholic Secondary Schools, held from June 13 to 24, 1947 in Washington, D.C. by Edmund J. Goebel, in which he stated the following:

"By and large the curricular program is supported by tuition. Central High Schools, however, are often subsidized by the Diocese. . . In general, there are two sources of income, tuition and fees. The former covers the supposed cost of curricular activities; the latter, the extra curricular activities."¹

Joseph McSorley, in an article contributed to Catholic World, May, 1947, says:

"The Civil education given in the Catholic Schools represents an annual burden of some \$300,000,000 lifted from the shoulders of the taxpayers of the country and carried by the Catholic people."²

The cost of tuition in the Catholic Secondary Schools varies in each community, and is listed as being from \$2.14 per student to \$12.49 per student.³ (The length of time covered by this tuition is not stated anywhere in the article, but it is presumed that it covers one month's tuition.) This would mean that the expense for a ten month

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1. Edmund J. Goebel, The Administration of Catholic Schools, p 95
2. Catholic World, May 1947, p 134. Article by J. McSorley
3. Goebel, op. cit., p 96

school year in Catholic Schools that are not supported by the Diocese amounts to from \$21.40 to \$124.90 per student. According to the figures for 1946, the average cost per enrolled student in the Public Schools of the nation was \$124.75.¹ This is the average figure, while the preceeding figures are the extremes.

If one takes an average of the figures presented by Goebel, one can estimate the cost of the operation of Catholic Schools as being \$203,384,000. The estimated cost given by McSorley in the above quoted article² of operating Catholic Schools in America is \$300,000,000. Therefore, one can assume that the actual per capita spent on children in the Catholic Schools is in the neighborhood of \$98.00 per student per year.

As was stated above, these figures are of necessity artificial, because the teachers of the Catholic Schools do not receive the same sort of remuneration as the teachers of the Public Schools receive.³

D. The Efficiency of the Non-Public School

1. In Respect to Physical Plants

In the matter of the efficiency of Non-Public

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1. World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1949, p 375
2. Ante, p 29 note 2
3. Ante, p 28, 29

Schools there is much debate. It is held by some that they are more efficient than the public schools. On the other hand, there are those who criticize the quality of the teachers, the lessons, and teaching methods of the Non-Public School. Roy J. Deferrari, a great Catholic education specialist, says:

"Catholic Schools are the result of 1900 years of experience in education. They are not mere laboratories or clinics for the trying out of half-baked theories, or testing crude experiments on your children. The dissatisfaction everywhere apparent with the public schools is largely due to the introduction of so many fads every year. In many places it seems as if the public schools had given up the three "R's" entirely. Each new term brings something novel to enrich the curriculum, and the course of studies is in a constant state of change and is being continually adjusted and re-adjusted after every fresh educational convention. Teachers no sooner get settled in the plan devised for this year's work, then it is unsettled by a newer plan, the outcome of a later conference of so-called educational theorists. . . .Not so, however, in our Catholic Schools. We are past the experimental stage. Our Catholic Schools are built according to standard plans and specifications; they conform to all the requirements of the most enlightened building construction; they are scientifically lighted, heated, and ventilated; they are provided with playgrounds; they have vocational training; physical culture is a part of their regular course. The curriculum is supervised by a body of educators as learned as any in the wide world, men and women who have devoted their immense erudition and their great abilities to the enormous task of teaching children, and they do this for the pure love of God, expecting no salary in return. They leave no stone unturned to keep abreast of every solid improvement that will in any way enhance the spiritual, moral, intellectual, and physical welfare of the children. This intensive work on the part of Catholic educators has in many cities of the United States placed our Catholic Schools ahead of the Public Schools."¹

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1. R. J. Deferrari, Vital Problems of Catholic Education in the United States, p

With no malice toward the Catholic Schools, or the Non-Public Schools of any group, the readers should know that some of the generalities of the preceding statement bear much investigation. The inuendo is quite apparent, and the issue cannot be argued out here. However, statements of this kind which speak of "mere laboratories" using "half-baked" theories and "fads" would seem to intimate that the rivalry between the Public Schools and the Non-Public Schools is present not merely between basketball and football teams, but also between leaders of the schools. In the matter of buildings and equipment, it is difficult to state the efficiency of the Non-Public School over the Public School, for a certain amount of prejudice usually enters into the discussion seeing that every adult is the product of either a Public or a Non-Public School, and objectivity is somewhat colored by personal prejudices and preferences.

The St. Paul's Lutheran Grammar School in Paterson, New Jersey is a Non-Public School. Two classrooms serve eight grades in the same fashion as they have for seventy-five years.¹ Whether this is a mark of inefficiency or not is a matter of fine debate, even today. In the same city, the Roman Catholic Church has systematically purchased old public schools over the years, and four of

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1. Building at 47 Smith Street, Paterson, N.J. was observed by the writer.

them which had previously been condemned by the State as unsafe and too old were bought by the Church and were rehabilitated by the addition of new fire escapes, etc., and were turned into Parochial Schools.¹

At a conference called by the National Council of Christians and Jews in Princeton, New Jersey, I. L. Kandel stated:

"As the whole concept of a system of public education, including not only changes in the scope of primary education but also the increase in educational opportunities, developed, many of the Church controlled schools were unable to keep up with the demands either for improved buildings or for equipment. It was recognized that the dual system could no longer fit into the scheme of a National Public School System."²

Luther Weigle shows a photo of the Cathedral High School in New York City in his Pageant of America as an illustration of modern Parochial Schools.³ This is no mean building, and is surely not the only such Catholic School in America. The figures shown above indicate that the Non-Public School actually has greater wealth per child than the Public School.⁴ It is therefore, safe to assume that Non-Public Schools for the most part do not have the worst possible buildings for physical plants.

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1. Buildings at Cross and Ward Streets, Main and Slater Streets, Main and Mary Streets, Getty Avenue and Grove Street, are now occupied by St. Michael's, St. Boniface's, St. Agnes' and St. George's Catholic Grammar Schools respectively. Observed by writer.

2 I. L. Kandel, What We May Learn from Other Countries, American Council on Educational Studies, Ser.I, Vol IXX

3. Weigle, op. cit., p 295

4. Ante, p 28

2. Efficiency with Respect to Teachers

Figures presented by Sylvester Schmitz in 1927 show that 49.3% of the Public High School teachers possessed college or Normal School diplomas, while only 25.8% of the Catholic High School teachers possessed them.¹ The fact that most states demand that their teachers in all schools possess standard educational qualifications does to a large measure restrict the possibility of teachers in Non-Public Schools being unqualified to teach.

There has been much agitation, however, about the teaching of monks and nuns in Public Schools in New Mexico, and the charge has been hurled that they are not educationally qualified to teach.² A certain amount of the charge may be correct. However, the wholesale condemnation of any group of teachers on the basis of the scholastic degrees they possess is an unwise thing. It is not in accord with fair play or scientific analysis to say that all teachers in Non-Public Schools are sub-standard.

It is deplorable that derogatory remarks have been hurled by both sides, the public and the Non-Public. The truth of the statement of R. J. Deferrari as shown

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1. Sylvester Schmitz, The Adjustment of Teacher Training to Modern Educational Needs. p 11
2. Johnson and Yost, op. cit., p 124. Also Dawson, op. cit., p 44. Also Butts, op. cit., p 184-186

above that "Catholic educators have devoted their immense erudition and their great abilities to the enormous task of teaching children, and they do this for the pure love of God, expecting no salary in return"¹ should cover up a good deal of the scholastic unpreparedness of any Catholic teachers in Non-Public Catholic Schools.

3. Efficiency with Respect to Teaching

All too often the supporters of the public schools have their objectivity colored by their prejudice when it comes to the matter of the efficiency of the Non-Public School in respect to teaching. The large number of public schools and their enormous outlay of money often over-shadow the fact that the Non-Public School does a good job. This is not as it should be.

Weigle says of the Non-Public School:

Especially desirable is the experimentation with new educational methods which private schools are more often free to undertake than schools controlled by public policy."²

Arthur R. Moehlman in his book, "School Administration, 1940" says:

"Many of the eastern universities, including Harvard, Yale, and Princeton, have discovered that the graduates of Non-Public Schools are NOT superior in achievement to the Public School graduates. . . There is practically no difference in achievement."³

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1. Ante, p 19

2. Weigle, op. cit., p 297

3. A. R. Moehlman, op. cit., p 803

There has been some objection to the Parochial Schools using time to teach subjects such as religion and the catechism.¹ Also, there is an objection to teaching as the Catholic teachers do, incorporating their beliefs in every subject they teach wherever it is possible. In answer to the first objection, Burns shows by means of two tables that according to the time schedule of parish schools in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, that regardless of the time spent in Catholic Schools studying religion, more time was spent studying all the other subject taught than was spent in the Washington, D.C., schools learning the regular Public School subjects.²

With regard to the second objection, the National Catholic Almanac for 1950 says:

"Since the child is endowed with physical, intellectual and moral capacities, all these must be developed harmoniously. An education that quickens the intelligence and enriches the mind with knowledge, but fails to develop the will and direct it to the practice of virtue, may produce scholars, but it cannot produce good men. The exclusion of moral training from the educative process is more dangerous in proportion to the thoroughness with which the intellectual powers are developed, because it gives the impression that morality is of little importance, and thus sends the pupil into life with a false idea which is not easily corrected."³

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1. Johnson and Yost, op. cit., p 115-131, Also Dawson, op. cit., p 42-48.
2. J. A. Burns, The Growth and Development of the Catholic School System in the United States, p 352, 353
3. The National Catholic Almanac, p 352, 353. (1950)

On the other hand, such statements as these by leaders of Non-Public Schools should be questioned by readers:

"We deny the competency of the state to educate, even for its own order, its right to establish purely secular schools, from which all religion is excluded."¹

Or:

"No moral principle can be taught without religion."²

Or:

"The common schools of this country are sinks of moral pollution and nurseries of hell."³

Or:

"The public schools have produced nothing but a godless generation of thieves and blackguards."⁴

If it is allowed that the previous remarks about the public school are true, would it not be at least partially allowed that damning remarks by priests about their own Parochial School System might also be true?⁵ One, therefore, ought to be cautious lest such passionate declarations change the question into one of religious significance only.

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1. Moehlman, op. cit., p 81

2. Ibid., p 75

3. Dawson, op. cit., p 65

4. Ibid.

5 eg. The Parochial School, A Curse to the Church and A Menace to the Nation, by Jeremiah J. Crowley.

E. Summary

Chapter I has shown the situation in the Non-Public School as it was and as it is today. Though America early had the Non-Public School, it soon lost out in the rush for supremacy to the public school, in a measure due to the Westward expansion of the nation, the love of liberty and the multiplicity of religions and denominations. As far as wealth is concerned, the Non-Public School is far from being poverty-stricken. At present the tendency seems to be for the Non-Public School, though the possibility of it ever reaching the public school again is somewhat dubious. The end-product of the Non-Public School is pretty much as good as the end-product of the public school, and educated graduate.

CHAPTER II
FEDERAL AID SHOULD BE GIVEN TO
NON-PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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FEDERAL AID SHOULD BE GIVEN TO NON-PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A. Introduction

Chapter II will present the cause of those who are in favor of Federal Aid for Non-Public Schools, looking especially on the plea of the Roman Catholic Church inasmuch as nine-tenths of the Non-Public Schools are under the direct control of the Roman Catholic Church. The argument of States' Rights will begin the chapter, with the consequent answer of the historical picture of States' Rights. Then the Separation of Church and State argument will be met. The Dual System argument follows, and the Aid Means Control argument climaxes the discussion. Finally, the Catholic plea of "Fairness" winds up the chapter with an appeal to the readers.

B. Non-Public Schools a National Concern

1. Before the Nation Was Established

As the history of education was viewed in Chapter I it was stated that Non-Public Schools received aid from the public treasury prior to the founding of the nation. Therefore, the argument that schools are only a State and Local concern can trace its origin only as far back as the Constitution, if it can go that far.

In New Jersey schools were supported by the citizenry, and the mass of the citizenry determined just what sort the schools were to be. That is to say, if the majority of the populace was Reformed, the school was Reformed in nature; if Baptist, then the school was Baptist in nature.¹ In Massachusetts the schools were controlled by the Puritans; in Virginia the Episcopalians ran the schools. The founding of schools was an important concern of each community, partly due to the religious situation, the great need of ministers and the lack of interest on the part of those in Europe to flock to America to shepherd the people. Before the convening of the Constitutional Convention, the problem of the control of schools and the support of schools was greatly discussed among the Colonies. At the beginning of the Revolution the Anglican and Congregational Churches held control over nine of the Thirteen Colonies.² The experience of the Anglican Church in Ireland and the Presbyterian Church in Scotland impelled them in America to oppose the establishment of a State Church School.³ The fact that Roman Catholics were excluded from some of the colonies⁴ is probably the reason why the Roman Catholic Church did not succeed in establishing a State Church School;

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1. Weigle, op, cit., p 259

2. J. M. O'Neil, Religion and Education Under the Constitution p 22

3. Johnson and Yost, op. cit., p 24

4. R. J. Deferrari, Vital Problems of Catholic Education, p 61

but the matter of State control of education was far from a closed issue, and many desired that the Consitution would grant the power of controlling education to the Federal Government.¹ This is well seen by the fact that the Constitution did not have the Amendment One a part of it; it had to be added. Freedom of Religion was hotly debated at the Constitutional Convention.

This fact, that Non-Public Schools were the concern of the nation prior to the establishment of the Constitution, is also brought out by the fact that two years before the Constitution was adopted there was legislation passed, the Northwest Ordinance, which was seriously debated on the grounds that it contained no ruling on the establishing of a State Religion.² It did contain a ruling that the sixteenth section of each township should be set apart for the use of schools. The Federal Government, therefore, considered schools one of its concerns.

2. The Constitution and Schools.

There are those who claim that there can be no Federal interference in education because that power is left up to the States as a "Reserved Power" in the Constitution.³ Naturally, if this is true, it will make

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1. Moehlman, School and Church: The American Way, p 30-50
2. Butts, op. cit., p 69-70
3. Charles and Mary Beard, op. cit., p 125-137

Federal Aid to any school impossible, let alone to Non-Public Schools. However, as was shown above, that was not the intent of the founding fathers, or else they never would have allowed the Northwest Ordinance to stand,¹ nor would they have delivered over to the States the surplus of the Treasury at the end of a fiscal year as they did in 1837.² The Federal Government was concerned with education in all forms in the nation.

The one clause of the Constitution that has been a stronghold of the Non-Public School is the "General Welfare" clause. It reads:

"We the people of the United States. . . promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty, do establish this constitution."³

Though this comes in the Preamble, and not in the Body of the Constitution, it establishes beyond all doubt the intent of the founding fathers, namely that they wanted to take care of the General Welfare of the nation, and therefore, they established the Constitution. It seems inconcieveable therefore, that some would like to do away with the possibility of the Federal Government helping Non-Public Schools on the basis of the fact that the Constitution does not delegate the powers of education to the Federal Government.

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1. Charles and Mary Beard, op. cit., p 181
2. A. F. MacDonald, Federal Aid to the States, National Municipal Review, October 1928, p 651
3. Preamble to the Constitution of the United States.

3. A National Contribution.

One of the features of the Non-Public School that is commonly overlooked by many Americans is the fact that they do make a definite contribution to the educational program of the nation, and in so doing, they become a national concern. Too often the Non-Public School is dismissed from the consideration of those who discuss education with a nod, inferring that the Non-Public School does not mean very much. One need only look at the figures of pages 16 and 17 to see that the Non-Public School makes a very large contribution to the nation. Urban H. Fleege says:

"Last year, (1944), Catholics were taxed \$416,000,000 for the support of public education, an average of about \$89. per Catholic family, - - Many of them, rather than sacrifice their religious freedom, dug down into their pockets a second time that they might provide a form of education which would satisfy their conscience, and thus saved the public over \$284,661,000 for current expenses, interest, and capital outlay, in addition to a building program that would have cost the public nearly a billion dollars, had their children attended public school."¹

The national contribution is larger when one considers that the Catholics who support 90% of the Non-Public Schools paid \$416,000,000 in taxes, and then paid another \$284,661,000 to support their own Catholic Schools. . . A total of \$700,661,000. Catholic enrollments are only 10% of all enrollments

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1. Urban H. Fleege, Catholic Schools and Government Aid, an article in "America", February 17, 1945, p 386

in the Nation, but Catholic parents pay \$700,661,000 of the grand total of \$3,153,212,036,^o or about 23% of the total cost of education.

Aside from the financial aspect of the picture of the contribution of the Non-Public School to America, the statement of Arthur R. Moehlman² that "there is practically no difference in achievement" between graduates of Public and Non-Public Schools should be evidence enough to prove to us that the Non-Public School is doing a good job.

John B. Sheerin writes of the Parochial School:

"There are many non-Catholics who prefer the parochial school to the public school in the education of their children. There are many reasons for this. . . there is the undoubted fact that Catholic schools inculcate reverence for authority - so many of the public school educational fads belittle the role of authority. . . A few years ago in Washington, a U. S. Army Colonel asked the pastor of a Catholic church if he could enter his children in the parochial school, even though he and the children were non-Catholics. Permission was given, and the pastor was surprised to find five children appearing the next day at the school. The Colonel felt that there was no substitute for parochial school discipline. Many other non-Catholics' children will be found in Catholic schools because their parents do not wish them to become guinea-pigs for one of the latest pedagogical experiments."³

There is a definite contribution to the American way of life in the Non-Public School. It is hard to calculate its worth in dollars and cents or in graduates; nevertheless,

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1. World Almanac for 1949 p 374, 375
2. Ante, p 23 note 3
3. John B. Sheerin, In Praise of Parochial Schools, The Homiletic and Pastoral Review, Vol XLIX, No.12, Sep. 1949, page 924.

the size of the contribution deserves the concern of the nation even more than in a complementary way. It is reasonable to expect that since the Non-Public School has made such a great contribution to the nation that the nation is only being fair by aiding the Non-Public School.

C. Non-Public Schools and Separation of Church and State

1. Their Curriculum.

There are some who maintain that the Non-Public School does not give an adequate education and therefore it does not deserve aid from the government. They feel that the main subject taught in religious Non-Public Schools is religion. For them a look at the chart on page 47 will be quite startling. While the chart does not cover the Private High Schools by themselves, but rather groups them together with the Public High Schools, it does show what 90% of all the Private High Schools teach, for it shows the Catholic High School subjects.

This chart is drawn after the chart in F. S. Burns' Book "A History of Catholic Education in the United States" and the writer does not vouch for the accuracy of

TABLE IV

Comparative Subject Enrollments in Public and Private High Schools and 250 Catholic High Schools in 1930.

Subjects:	Public and Private High Schools		Catholic Schools	
	Number Students	Per Cent of Students	Number Students	Per Cent of Students
English	2,930,153	93.2	54,702	100.0
Latin	777,081	24.7	40,954	75.0
French	480,120	15.3	11,954	21.0
Spanish	296,009	9.4	6,425	11.7
German	62,184	2.0	3,764	6.8
Algebra	1,133,930	36.1	7,090	13.0
Geometry	641,603	20.4	17,331	31.0
Physics	224,233	7.1	7,700	14.0
Chemistry	230,020	7.3	6,951	13.0
Physiography	81,807	2.6	1,594	3.0
Zoology	24,184	0.8	318	1.0
Botany	50,611	1.6	14,414	3.0
Biology	418,121	13.3	6,661	12.0
Hygiene and Sanitation	237,760	7.6	- - -	- - -
Gen. Science	532,314	16.9	4,836	9.0
Psychology	32,455	1.9	- - -	- - -
Amer. History	559,517	17.8	9,578	18.0
English "	34,811	1.1	560	1.0
Med. & Mod. "	369,139	11.7	11,458	21.0
Ancient "	353,141	11.2	13,626	25.0
World "	182,611	5.8	601	1.0
Civics	619,202	19.7	92,249	18.0
Sociology	80,375	2.6	768	1.5
Economics	153,858	4.9	1,908	3.0
Problems of Democracy	31,964	1.0	490	1.0
Agriculture	108,713	3.5	90	0.2
Home Econ.	449,835	14.3	- - -	- - -
Man. Trng.	263,669	8.4	- - -	- - -
Art & Drawing	359,444	11.4	- - -	- - -
Mech. Drawing	206,561	6.6	- - -	- - -
Adv. Arith.	75,835	2.4	1,087	2.0
Comm. "	221,194	6.7	- - -	- - -
Bookkeeping	328,205	10.4	- - -	- - -
Geology	2,816	0.1	35	0.06
Physiology	85,276	2.7	1,168	2.0
Greek	- - -	- -	1,481	3.0

Brother Francis DeSales, F.S.C. The Catholic High School Curriculum. Its Development and Present Status. Ph.D. Dissertation, Catholic U. of America, Wash.D.C. (1930) pp 41-42.

Burns, F.S.A. History of Catholic Education in the United States

Benziger Brothers, New York, New York, 1937

all the figures on the chart. On the English History line, 560 students in Catholic High Schools do not equal 1.0% if the total number of students is 54,702 (the number found on the English line.) Neither do 490 students on the Economics line equal 1.0% or 318 students on the Zoology line. Note further, that the percentages for the Public and Private High Schools are in error to their harm. In Economics 31,964 students are more than 1.0% of 2,930,153.

The writer does not mean this chart to show percentages, but rather wants it to show that Non-Public Schools teach practically all the subjects that are included in the curriculum of the Public High School.

2. Religion in the Public School

For those who do not realize the place of religion in the Public School today, the following should be important:

"In recent years the campaign to bring religion back into the schools has received the vigorous support of a group of religious liberals, who challenge the place of the secular school in American life as well as an interpretation of the principle of separation of Church and State which leads to the exclusion of religious instruction from public education."¹

Also:

". . . since 1900 and especially since the First World War, the demand has grown insistently that some form

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I. V. T. Thayer, Religion in Public Education, p 90

of religious instruction should be given in the Public school classrooms and a new emphasis upon released time for sectarian religious instruction."¹

The seriousness of the charge in the above is apparent to the reader when it is considered that in all fairness, religious teaching is being given in the Public Schools.² Therefore, there should be no real difference between the Parochial School and the Public School in many States where this is being done. The ones who cry "Separate Church and State" have not a leg to stand on, so to speak. There never has been real separation of Church and State in America, any more than there has been separation of Church and School.

3. Extreme Separation and Extinction

All sects and religious bodies are given the opportunity to have their own schools in America. This is a very important freedom, and one that has been kept only with dilligent watchfulness. About the time of the First World War several states passed laws which forbid the teaching in any language but English. This was probably the result of the hatred of the Germans engendered by the War. Some German speaking Lutherans in Nebraska opposed this law, and when it reached the United States Supreme Court in 1923 it was declared unconstitutional.³

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1. Butts, op. cit., p 187

2. Dawson, op. cit., p 50

3. Johnson and Yost, op. cit., p 132-136

In 1922 at a general election in Oregon, the electorate passed a referendum by a vote of 115,506 to 103,685 to have all schools public schools, and subsequently the Legislature of Oregon passed laws in line with the will of the majority.¹ A Roman Catholic Society of Sisters opposed the law as unconstitutional, and the United States Supreme Court held that the law was unconstitutional because it violated the rights of denominational and private schools and interfered with the rights of parents and guardians to direct the education of the children under their control.²

But even these decisions mean little freedom for the Non-Public School if they are inseparably coupled with the 'bigoted' notion that all Non-Public Schools must forever be barred from receiving help from the government. Listen to McGucken:

"... in the matter of education it is the duty of the state to protect in its legislation, the prior rights of the family as regards the Christian education of its offspring, and consequently also to respect the supernatural rights of the Church in this same realm of Christian education. . . . the State, too, should encourage and assist the Church and the family in their educational work, supplementing it whenever this falls short of what is necessary, even by means of its own schools and institutions."³

Those are the translated words of the encyclical of Pope Pius XI. He could see that extreme separation would eventually mean the squeezing out of all Non-Public Schools, and he is pleading for a more tolerant attitude of all

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1. V. T. Thayer, op. city., p 159-160

2. Wm. J. McGucken, The Catholic Way in Education, p 94

3. Ibid., p 101

Americans toward the Non-Public School.

But the plea for aid is not alone for the benefit of the Catholic Schools, for if aid does not come extinction may. The plea is for all Non-Public Schools. How can there be separation of Church and state, or school and state, or school and religion if there is no Non-Public School because of bankruptcy?

D. Non-Public Schools and Public Schools

1. Their Complementary Relationship.

It is sometimes found that where only a few people live the erection of a Public School to teach the children is impractical. Sometimes there has been a Non-Public School in that location, and it makes the building of a new school unnecessary. Children are able to study at the Non-Public School for a while until it is possible for them to be enrolled in a Public School.

The senior Senator from Vermont, George D. Aiken, in a recent article said:

"In such states as Maine and Vermont, the law leaves authority for the expenditure of educational funds pretty much in the hands of school officials. In these states it is only through a combination of private and public funds that many small towns are enabled to maintain high-school facilities. Should expenditures for public funds for the payment of tuition to private schools be prohibited, many

secondary schools in the smaller towns, of Vermont would be forced to close their doors."¹

It is not a question of competition between Public and Non-Public Schools, for the facts displayed in the Selective Service during the last War showed that the nation has a great need of more and more education. The nation is far from the saturation point as far as the number of schools is concerned compared with the number of eligible children.

The Christian Century said, "One-half this nation is ill-educated."²

Benjamin Fine says: "Public confidence in the schools has dropped sharply. As a result, parents are turning in increasing numbers to the parochial and religious schools in the hope of getting a decent education for their children."³

The two systems can and are working together in this emergency to see to it that all American children are given a fair education. They complement each other.

2. Public Schools and Secularism

In recent years Protestants have been awakened to the fact that the Public School has lost much of the

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1. George D. Aiken, The Case for Federal Aid to Schools, The Education Digest, March 1948, p 19
2. The Christian Century, Vol 63, June 5, 1946, p 710
3. Benjamin Fine, Our Children Are Cheated, p 1

spiritual emphasis that it once had. The results of this secularism are seen on every hand. A lack of discipline in the minds of our young people, and a disrespect for the moral or orderly or lawful is very apparent in society in a far greater degree than formerly.¹ Leo Pfeffer, a leading Jewish lawyer says:

"With increasing frequency and intensity, churchmen and lay religious bodies expressed alarm at the growing irreligion of the American people, and particularly of the younger generation. . . One possible solution which suggested itself was the establishment and maintenance of parochial schools parallel with but independent of the public school system. . . . groping about for other solutions, Protestant leaders first suggested releasing children from public school one or two hours weekly to enable them to attend weekday church schools for religious instruction. . . . released time instruction over a period of more than thirty years has reached such a small percentage of the total school population of the public school that no substantial progress has been made in eliminating the religious illiteracy of American Youth."²

The Roman Catholic Church has called the Public School "godless" and "atheistic" as well as "secular".³ Even with the feeling associated with the Catholic epithets all must admit that the Public School is secular.

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1. Cf. John B. Sheerin, op. cit., p 923
2. Leo Pfeffer, Religion in the Public Schools, Jewish Affairs, Vol II No.3, December 15, 1947, p 4, 19
3. Cf. Dawson, op. cit., p 64, 65

3. The Non-Public School's Contribution

There are generally speaking two kinds of Non-Public Schools, the Church Related School and the Non-Church Related School. As we look at American History one can see that the Church Related Catholic School did much for the immigrants coming to the New World by helping them learn English. Cardinal Gibbons spoke of this and averred that Catholic Schools afforded a much easier pathway for the foreigner to enter the American life than the public schools. He claimed that their sympathy was more complete, that the teachers taught the idiomatic English to the immigrants more easily, and that the immigrants assimilated the American ideals and customs more rapidly from Catholic School teachers.¹

The Non-Church Related Non-Public School still performs a fine function in the American School System. While less than one per-cent of the enrollment is in these schools, they often have in them fine testing laboratories for new ideas in education.²

Above this, the individual emphasis of the Non-Public School, the student-teacher relationship which is so important is more solidly built between the

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1. Burns, Growth and Development of the Catholic School System in the United States, p 298, 299
2. Weigle, op. cit., p 297

students and teachers of the Non-Public Schools.¹

It is seen then, that the argument that there is already one system of schools, namely the public school system, is invalid inasmuch as the Non-Public School System does complement the public school system very effectively; secondly the Public School has become so secular that it needs the influence of the Non-Public School to enrich the spiritual life of the nation; and finally, because the Non-Public School has a concrete contribution to make to the public school and whole school system in America.

E. Aid and Control

1. Control

It is only natural for Americans to be afraid of controls. From earliest times Americans have sought freedom from control, in fact, that was one of the reasons why they came to America in the first place. The jealous guarding of liberty, however, is not the work of those alone who oppose Federal Aid to Non-Public Schools. Catholics and others are just as deeply interested in liberty. In fact, Catholics have expressed themselves as opposed to Federal Aid for their schools

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1. Theodore Maynard, The Story of American Catholicism, p 469-481

if such aid brings with it control of teaching or policy. The Pittsburgh Catholic said:

"There are weighty reasons why Catholics should not seek the state contributions for the education furnished by their schools, to which, in all justice they are entitled. These reasons have been repeatedly set forth by leaders of the Church in this country; they have dictated the position taken by the Catholics thus far, and their importance is strongly confirmed by recent developments. When state funds are accepted some measure of state interference and control must also be accepted. State money for Catholics' Schools means close dealings with public officials; it means political connections; it means dictation regarding the manner in which the schools are to be conducted. Under favorable conditions, assistance from the public treasury is a handicap and a difficulty; under unfavorable circumstances it can become a catastrophe. The entire history of the church, come at too dear a price. Mexico had state aid, and it proved a weakening, demoralizing connection. Better the sacrifice and the limitations which independence requires than the unsound edifice built on the deceptive, treacherous basis of state aid."¹

2. Past Experience

There has been a steady growth of Federal and State cooperation since 1911. This has been brought about to a large measure by the succession of laws which granted federal aid to the States upon the condition that they match the Federal Funds dollar for dollar, and allow the Federal Government to supervise to some degree the

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1. The Pittsburgh Catholic, March 17, 1938, from Johnson and Yost, op. cit., p 112

agencies aided.¹ The Federal Forest Service is an example of such mutual cooperation. In this program each state submits a planned program of forest protection, and these plans vary with the states' needs, no uniformity being necessary for aid to be granted. The central agency gives information when needed and helps with bulletins and the like, but does not exercise strong-arm control on each State Forest Department. Walch says:

"All in all, the Forestry Service has interfered less in local control than any other federal organization for the aid of the States."²

In an article in the Catholic Education Review, William E. McManus says:

"Experience with varied forms of federal aid to states and even to private agencies has not provoked any unwarranted control of the internal affairs of the agencies assisted."³

3. Future Expectations

J. W. Studebaker, a man well qualified to offer an opinion about Federal Control says:

"I am convinced on the basis of my experience in administering some of the existing Federal Aid Statutes that if Congress is clear and determined in its purpose to do so, it can make increased appropriations for the support of education which will provide adequate safeguards against Federal interference with State administration of education."⁴

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1. J. Weston Walch, Complete Handbook on Federal Aid to Education, p 11
2. Ibid., p 12
3. William E. McManus, Federal Aid for all School Children, Catholic Education Review, Vol 43, April 1945, p 198
4. Remarks of J. W. Studebaker before Senate Subcommittee of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, April 9 to May 2, 1947, p 528

As part of the debate on the Federal Aid question Senator Robert Taft of Ohio said:

"Section 2 of S 472 expressly prohibits any interference whatever with the state in the method of determining or choosing the personnel or of dealing with the personnel."¹

We see, therefore, that it is not the mind of the legislators to harness education, but rather to help it.

Senator Elbert D. Thomas said of Federal Aid legislation in 1945:

"This bill creates no new federal administrative agency. It provides no system of federal patronage. It creates no new federal jobs. This bill is the antithesis of bureaucracy. It sets up no machinery for new school administration. It utilizes the existing, regularly established educational agencies in the states and localities. It channels federal aid through the U. S. Office of Education without giving to the federal agency any authority whatever to determine state or local educational policy."²

It is the expectation, therefore, of those who advocate Federal Aid to Non-Public Schools that such aid will not bring the injurious controls, but rather will make it possible for the work of the Non-Public School to be carried on further to greater goals.

F. The Unfairness of No-Aid

1. To the Nation

At a time when the nation is pressed for teachers, school-rooms, school plants in operation, it

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1. Robert Taft, Senator of Ohio, Congressional Record, Vol 94, p 3440, March 24, 1948
2. Elbert D. Thomas, Senator of Utah, Congressional Record, "We Oppose Federal Control of Education" NEA Journal Vol 34, Feb. 1945, p 33

is unfair to the nation as a whole to withhold Federal Aid to Non-Public Schools. The Catholic Schools are American Schools. The students there are American students. They want to do their part and in the past they have done their part for the nation in time of crisis.¹ To shorten their arm by refusing to grant them aid is not only to hinder them, but also to hurt the nation. Had the Catholic Schools not been built, it would be another matter. But, when there is an entire system of schools awaiting fuller use, it is a crime against the nation to let them be only partly or poorly used.²

2. To the Students

It is rather difficult to express fully the feelings of the students in Non-Public Schools as they see their fellows in the Public schools walking down the street with a fine armful of text books, or see them going to the school dentist, or cafeteria. The children in Non-Public Schools are citizens also. They are born "free and equal" just as much as the students in the public school. When it comes to education, however,

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1. The National Catholic Almanac, 1950, p 363-367
2. E. Boyd Barrett, Rome Stoops to Conquer, p 22,23

students in Non-Public Schools are discriminated against. While the Non-Public School does have good equipment, Federal Aid would make it possible for it to have better equipment, thereby helping the student to become a better equipped citizen of the future.

3. To the Parents

As was mentioned above, the parents of children in Non-Public Schools carry a double share of the tax load for education.¹ When the cost of living is so high, one can scarcely fail to see the tremendous burden placed on the shoulders of these parents. If selecting the teacher of one's children must carry with it a double share of taxation, then they will continue to pay double; for they consider that the careful selection of the teacher for their children is of more importance to their children than money itself.²

4. To Any Thinker

It is almost impossible for one to consider the load carried by the Catholic parent, or the parent of a child in a Non-Public School without feeling a partial sense of guilt. Anyone who thinks about the matter who has a keen sense of fairness is bound to ques-

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1. R. J. Deferrari, Vital Problems of Catholic Education,
p 54
2. Bertrand L. Conway, The Question Box, p 213-215

tion, if even just a little bit, the situation in which citizens pay for something they do not receive.

G. Summary

The writer has attempted to show in Chapter II the answers that are given by those who support Federal Aid for Non-Public Schools. Those who consider that education is a state affair only are met with the statement that education was a National affair even before the nation was established under the Constitution, and those who argue for the separation of Church and State face the odd situation that public schools have mixed Religion and Education all along. There is a need of the Non-Public School, even though we have a fine system of public schools, and Aid to the Non-Public School will not carry with it the "Boogey-man" of absolute control. Therefore, in all fairness, America should provide aid for the Non-Public School.

CHAPTER III

LIMITED FEDERAL AID SHOULD BE GIVEN TO
NON-PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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A. Introduction

There seems to be an in-between position in the argument, a position which compromises to a certain extent the very difficult situation. This position has come more and more into prominence since Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt indicated her position is in favor of health and welfare benefits for all children regardless of the school they attend. Some feel, however, that if a compromise is effected that it will only be a matter of time till the Aid is complete Aid, rather than limited aid, and therefore, they refuse to admit the validity of this argument.

This chapter will not repeat all the arguments developed in Chapter II in favor of aid being granted, inasmuch as that would become rather repetitious. It will be assumed for the time that Limited Aid should be granted, and the current popular reasoning will be examined along three lines: (1) for the health and welfare of all children; (2) for the Nation's Benefit; and (3) in

order that justice may be carried out.

B. For the Health and Welfare of All Children

One of the more provocative statements in America is that statement found in the Preamble to the Declaration of Independence, "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, . . ." One wonders sometimes just how equal we are. It is a far cry from the hut of the sharecropper of the South to the swank penthouse of Park Avenue, and yet children are born in both places, endowed with certain inalienable rights. Is it possible that some take these rights away from others? Is it possible that such a logical system of laws might be enacted that by law and precedent some of one's fellows are deprived of these rights?

Recently a new law was passed, the School Lunch Act.¹ This Act made it possible for many children to have hot lunches during the school noon-hour instead of cold sandwiches, half warm from being in coat pockets. Even as it was being passed there were those who said that such an act would mean more government interference.

The claim is made, however, by those in favor of this limited form of aid, that the health and wel-

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1. The Education Digest, p 57, Vol XII, No.7, March, 1947

fare of all children is a concern of the Federal Government, and they base the claim upon such things as this: "During the last War we saw the low health standard of the nation. We should see to it that the standard is raised." From a mere mechanistic viewpoint this is a well taken stand. If America were only to concern herself with wars, this would be the main point of the argument. It is a point, however, and it is well taken. On the other hand, is the argument that children are growing up; they did not seek to be born, but are born; they did not bring poverty upon themselves; that all children deserve help regardless of what school they attend or what church, or anything. It seems this argument carries a weight that no rebuttal can refute.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt held to her position on Health and Welfare long before the Cardinal Spellman incident. In her book *The Moral Basis of Democracy* she says:

"Democracy does not imply, of course, that each and every individual shall achieve the same status in life, either materially or spiritually; that is not reasonable because we are limited by the gifts with which we enter this world. It does mean, however, that each individual should have the chance, because of the standards we have set, for good health, equal education, and equal opportunity to achieve success according to his powers; and this opportunity should exist in whatever line of work, either of hand or head, he may choose to engage in."¹

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1. Eleanor Roosevelt, *The Moral Basis of Democracy*, p 70-71.

C. For the Nation's Benefit

It is rather odd that those who cry loudest against Limited Federal Aid for Health and Welfare Purposes are also the ones who feel that they are doing the most to preserve the American Way, the tradition of State's Rights, and Separation of Church and State, and the Public School. In reality, though, these ones are playing on pet peeves and are not thinking of the great benefit it would be to the nation, if the level of health were raised.

Norway set a fine example of health service for everyone. There, school children are examined each year when school opens and at the end of the year, and oftener if necessary. The physician also selects the more delicate ones for summer camps and health activities. All children have tuberculin tests, and an eye, ear, nose and throat specialist is available to check for defects. This has been going on now for fifty years.¹ While it is difficult to list the excellence of the health of the Norwegian children over American children because of the multitude of uncontrolled factors entering into such a comparison, it is safe to say that for Norway this plan has benefited the nation greatly.

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1. Anna Kalet Smith, Norwegian Schools Offer Health Services to Children, The Education Digest, Vol XIII, No.9 May, 1949, p 23-25.

D. In Order That Justice Will Be Carried Out

Limited Aid should be granted to Non-Public Schools if for no other reason than that in so doing the parents of children in Non-Public Schools who are taxpayers will be receiving some value for their taxes. One of the reasons for the founding of our nation, and for the Revolutionary War was that the Colonies were being taxed without being represented. Americans have always gloried in that slogan, "Taxation Without Representation is Tyranny." In this case, however, the shoe is on the other foot. The American Way is the fair way. The children of the public school do not deserve any health and welfare services if the children of the Non-Public Schools are excluded from them.

It matters little how the services are given out. Some have made the suggestion that the children of the Non-Public School could use the doctors' rooms of the Public School, and immense difficulties have been conjectured up about the matter. There is bound to be some simple way in which no embarrassment to either Non-Public School Children or Public School Children will be involved. According to the intent of the Constitution's Preamble the Government has the right to be interested in the general welfare of the children of the

nation as well as in that of the adults. The question remaining is only this, "Does the Government want to look after the health and welfare of all children?" If the answer is yes, then justice must be carried out.

E. Summary

In this chapter there has been taken for granted most of the argument for Federal Aid to Public Schools in order that the study might not become too tedious. The material is brief, but very pertinent. There has been shown those reasons which say that aid should be granted in a limited way in order that all children might benefit, in order that the whole nation might benefit, and in order that justice to all might be carried out.

CHAPTER IV

FEDERAL AID SHOULD NOT BE GIVEN TO
NON-PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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NON-PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A. Introduction

Chapter IV will present the cause of those who are opposed to any Federal Aid to Non-Public Schools. This group is composed for the most part of those who are opposed to any aid to any schools. Those who favor Federal Aid to Public Schools in the National Education Association were at first against any appropriation for the benefit of Non-Public Schools. When the possibility that Federal Aid would not be granted at all loomed on the horizon, a goodly number of these people swung their legs over the fence to the side of those crying for aid for the Non-Public School, leaving then, mainly the three groups, (1) Those who support aid to all schools, (2) Those who favor limited aid, and (3) Those who oppose all aid. The first two positions have been studied. It is the purpose of this chapter to study the third.

Without going into too much detail the writer will have occasion to show the muddled condition of the water since the New Jersey School Bus Decision, February 10, 1947. Prior to that time the National Education Association had come out strongly against any Federal Aid being given to Non-Public Schools. This was the national

policy of the N.E.A. After the New Jersey Decision, the Bill in the Senate was amended so as to grant Federal Aid to Non-Public Schools also. This was in opposition to what the N.E.A. policy had been, but in order to get what they wanted, namely, the passing of a Federal Aid Bill, unofficially some of the leaders of the N.E.A. put their tongues in their cheek and continued to campaign for the Bill, keeping very silent about the amendment!

Chapter IV will deal with the position of those who are opposed to all forms of aid to Non-Public Schools. It will naturally be patterned in similar fashion to Chapter II, that is to say, the chief argument will be recounted from the negative viewpoint.

B. Schools are a Local Issue

1. The Local School

One of America's most cherished heritages is the Local School. While many things handed down from our forefathers have changed, the horse and buggy, the gas lamp, the ice house, and the old dirt road, the local school with its school board of fellow citizens remains. Those who live in huge cities do not always realize that the local school and its board still exists.

The power to control the educational policies of schools is still close at hand. In the smaller municipalities the school board handles usually over 50% of all the tax proceeds. With this money the education of the children is taken care of. How it is spent becomes a matter of great importance to those who have to pay it in taxes, and not infrequently one reads of school boards advertising for painter, plumbers, etc., to refurbish the old school house. As the settlers had crossed the nation they set up schools and elected school boards to run them. Though the first schools in America were religious in tone, it was not long till the public school appeared on the scene. With the moving of the populace from one city to another across the continent and with the great mixture of religions and nationalities in the one whole, the local public school became, while not completely divorced from religion, still half-way separated from her. In 1827 a law in Massachusetts forbid the use in the common schools of any books that favored one particular sect.¹ Little by little the school became secularized. The great scientific discoveries of the Nineteenth Century also served to help secularize education, and not without great value. The immigrants came from all nations and all religions, and in the Public School their children learned to live and work together.

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1. Weigle, op. cit., p 280

Gradually, the problems of the public school were ironed out till finally the great system which exists today was the product, the greatest system of education in the world.¹

2. The Reserved Rights

There are those who scoff at the idea of reserved rights today. So much has happened in the last eighteen years with respect to states' rights that they are trodden underfoot regularly. This is not as it should be. The government derives its power from the states, and the states in turn from the people. Whenever the states' rights are abridged, the people are the ones who suffer. While citizens are protected, so to speak, by the Supreme Court of the United States from the infringement of the federal power on rights, the human element always is capable of entering into the decisions, and a close or split decision is possible.² The recent School Bus Decision in New Jersey now makes it a function of government to transport children to Non-Public Schools as well as to Public Schools; also, the McCollum Decision forbids the teachers of religion the use of the public school building.³

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1. Weigle, op. cit., p 255-300.

2. Moehlman, School and Church: The American Way, p 88

3. Dawson, op. cit., p 52, and 50

The right of education, however, is a right not delegated to the Federal Government in the Constitution, and as such should not be considered the primary concern of the Federal Government. The only support in the Constitution for such action is the General Welfare Clause, and that is not a very positive statement in favor of federal intervention in the educational program of states.

3. Non-Centralized Education

In recent years the whole world has seen what happens when the central power of the state takes over the means of education. Germany is a perfect example of such a case. C. R. Morris tells very vividly how the totalitarian state takes over the educational facilities and then the nation.¹ The situation in Russia and Japan prior to the end of the last war, and now in Russia should make every American fight to keep the right to educate in his own hands, as close to his home as possible.² Whether such a thing could happen in America as has happened in those countries is a matter of great debate. However, American should be guided by the lesson of history, especially history in our own time. The wisdom of the local school in a country where the rights of the states are reserved to the states and people is readily observed.

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1. Fred Clarke, and others, Church, Community and State in Relation to Education, p 87-117.

2. Ibid., p 192, 193

While all other nations seem to be centralizing their authority, America should be watchful lest such a catastrophe befall her as did Germany and Japan.

C. Non-Public Schools and Separation of Church and State

1. A Religious Curriculum

It is a matter of record that the Roman Catholic Non-Public School glories in the fact that all the subject taught in her schools are related in some way or another by the teacher to religion.¹ This raises the question whether such a curriculum ought to be supported by the taxation of all citizens. The principle of Separation of Church and State guarantees to each citizen that he will not be called upon to support the beliefs of a religion which he does not subscribe to! If Federal Aid is given to schools that teach religion in "every class", the intent of the founding fathers will be lost, and the dream of separation will be ended.²

The right of the citizen to be protected from those who would like to force him to support one religion which he opposes is fundamental to the American way of life.

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1. The National Catholic Almanac, p 363

2. Thayer, op. cit., p 148

2. Buildings and Teachers Religiously Identified

When one goes into a Roman Catholic Schoolroom one is struck first of all by the images. In practically every Catholic Schoolroom there is an image of some sort or other, and the teacher and the pupils take time out during the day to venerate this image. Such a building is obnoxious to one not brought up in such matter, and is an affront to his sense of right and wrong.¹

The matter of teachers appearing in religious garb to teach classes is also a matter of great concern to many. In New Mexico it led to a revolt among the Protestant and other citizenry.² In former years rulings had been made concerning the teaching of Indians in reservations while in the garb of some order. Granting Federal Aid to such a school would be a gross insult to thousands of taxpayers and ought not be done unless the nation changes the Constitutional provision about the establishment of religion.

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1. Dawson, op. cit., p 114

2. Johnson and Yost, op. cit., p 115-124

3. The Great Number of Public Schools

The argument that sometimes there are no public schools available, and it is necessary to use Non-Public Schools holds only in an emergency. As a general rule there are enough public school buildings to go around and to spare. Kyle Crichton reports that in October 1944 there were 10,000 closed classrooms in our public schools.¹ For all ordinary purposes there are enough public schools to handle all the children who need to go to them.

D. A. Dual System

1. No Representation on Non-Public School Boards

It is difficult to see how America can give money to Non-Public Schools if she is not to be represented on their school boards in some way or other. This becomes "taxation without representation" in reverse. The money that is now given to public schools by the states is given to a representative group of board members who are chosen by the people to operate the schools. However, in the case of Non-Public Schools, rich benefactors, friends of the school, ministers, priests, doctors, etc., are appointed to the boards, -

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1. Kyle Crichton, Our Schools Are a Scandal, Colliers, April 13, 1947 p 32

not democratically, but autocratically. Such a system is far from the democratic public school board, and as such it could not be tolerated by the granting of Federal Aid to it.

2. The Inefficiency of Two School Systems

It may seem rather inefficient, to be supporting two different schools which are located close to each other, when both schools are running under capacity, but overhead costs must be met for both. Such a condition would be multiplied by the thousand if Federal Aid to Non-Public Schools became a reality. If the public school system is not good enough for those who will not send their children to it, perhaps it should be scrapped and the Non-Public School should be completely supported by the government. It is rather dubious whether the Non-Public School System is so much greater than the public school system. The North College Hill Case in Ohio seems to be a case like that.¹ In 1940 a Parochial School was taken over and was run as the public school. However, the teaching was so poor and the non-Catholic group became so dissatisfied that the matter was taken to court to have the unhappy relationship severed. The St. Louis Post Dispatch said of the union:

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1. Dawson, op. cit., p 30

"If North College Hill is not to be a preview of divided America, as one writer has described it, this disturbing tendency will have to be halted. Roman Catholics, Protestants, Jews and others will have to join together in greater number than ever before in a common effort to protect the religious freedom of all from the involvements, and hence the regulations of the state."¹

3. Competition with Ourselves

Supporting two school systems will mean competing with ourselves in many cases. The complementary relationship that is said to exist between the Non-Public and the public schools at present would be forgotten as each school tried its hardest to attract the most students, get the largest grant, and spend the most money. It would be like having two mints instead of one in a city; each would be trying to produce more coins than the other with the result that the citizenry would be left in the middle with lots of coins but no money!

4. A Divisive Tool

There is little doubt that should Non-Public Schools gain their point that they become a tool to break up the nation into little segments. The number of denominations and groups seeking to establish schools and asking for Federal Aid would be legion.

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Thayer, op. cit., p 30. Also NEA Journal, Sept. 1947 p 432.

E. Aid Means Control

1. Educational Control Objectionable

Government control is one of the things all educational specialists dread, for whenever such control comes in the realm of education, all research and private initiative is cut off. The mind is the greatest weapon of freedom. That is the reason why one of Hitler's first acts when he came into power was to gain control of all the education of Germany. The numbing effect of control is far greater than we suppose in this free country. A look at Argentina today, or Czechoslovakia, or Poland, or East Germany, or Italy, or any number of other nations will show the end result of centralized state control of education.

2. Aid without Control Means Waste

As much as control is feared, it is known that unless there is some control on Federal Aid the end product is not worth very much, and much waste ensues. The Forestry Service in America is the least controlled Federal Granting Agency, and it is also one of the slowest agencies to show improvement of them all.²

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1. Fred Clarke and Others, op. cit., p 54
2. Walch, op. cit., p 12

3. Control is Certain

It is only wishful thinking to think that there can be Federal Aid to Non-Public Schools without Government control. John C. Tigert of the University of Florida says:

"Eight years of service in the United States Bureau of Education convinced me that federal support in public education would not be desirable. The most important considerations in this were:

1. Federal money would be followed by federal interference. Public education is, and should remain, a state responsibility.

2. The use of federal money for support of schools would decrease local support. The net amount available to schools would be no greater as local support would vanish about as fast as federal money became available. There would be a diminishing interest in local responsibility and other evils always attendant on paternalism.

3. Every state in the Union has adequate resources to provide a satisfactory uniform system of schools."¹

If Mr. Tigert worked with the Education Bureau eight years, he should know something about it. Senator Byrd of Virginia says about the same thing;² Ray Lyman Wilbur concurs;³ Dean William F. Russell of Teachers College, Columbia University avers that power will eventually grow at Washington.⁴

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1. Nation's Schools, Feb. 1934, p 34
2. Congressional Record, Vol 94, p 4028, April 1, 1948
3. School and Society, June 29, 1929, p 845
4. School and Society, March 10, 1934, p 292

F. The Fairness of No Aid

1. To the Majority of the Citizens

It is not difficult to see that granting aid to Non-Public Schools benefits a small minority who can use the public schools, but are unwilling to do so. Granting the aid would not be so difficult or expensive, if the money were not being used for a repetition of the activities already granted to the public school, and therefore a pre waste. As shown above, the inefficiency of such aid is enormous. It is therefore not fair to the large mass of the nation to spend the funds collected for the benefit of the majority and to spend them wastefully on the minority.

2. To the Teachers of Public Schools

In all fairness to the teachers of the public schools, this aid should not be granted, for aiding the Non-Public Schools set up a competition with the public schools which is uncalled for. It is enough that the public school teachers give so much of their time in the service of their profession, without being forced to compete for their children's attendance, and that is what would happen in the not too distant future. As stated above, many denominations and groups would set up private schools expecting liberal grants in aid. There is no

need to start such a second system.

3. To the Constitution

Granting Federal Aid to Non-Public Schools does do violence to the intent of the Constitution. Even if the Supreme Court allows such aid, it will be in the face of the restriction placed on the support of religion and in the face of the reserved powers. If the majority of the nation wants to aid non-Public Schools, then an amendment ought to be added to the Constitution making it possible.

4. To the Non-Public Schools Themselves

As was shown above, Federal Aid will bring with it control. It will not be long after such aid is granted till the Non-Public Schools are completely under the thumb of Washington. In fairness to themselves, the leaders of the Non-Public Schools should look more closely at the issue and see the involvement that they will find themselves in, if Aid is granted.

G. Summary

The writer has tried to show in Chapter IV the reasons why Federal Aid should not be granted to Non-Public Schools. The fact that schools are a local issue, and not a federal one, has many deep implications and should not be passed over as not being applicable here. The freedom which citizens enjoy in the separation of

church and state is far too precious to jeopardize by taking aid from the government. From a logical standpoint, the nation already has one system of education, the Public School System. It is a truly representative system with great efficiency and a unifying power that has made America one nation out of many.

Granting aid is certain to carry with it control, and control may lead to a centralized government which is all powerful. As a matter of fairness to all concerned, aid should not be granted to Non-Public Schools. It is the duty that all citizens have, to protect the nation from anything that might lead her back to a position which will cause division, strife, hate, and religious intolerance in any degree.

CHAPTER V
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

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A. Summary

The question of whether Federal Aid should be given to Non-Public Schools is not one that can be categorically answered by any student or teacher. It becomes a question only answerable by one's self. Perhaps, some day there will be new legislation or a new Amendment to the Constitution that will enlighten us and will make it possible to arrive at a conclusion. For the present, however, one must be content to read all the arguments and attempt to put one's self in the place of the arguers. One must be sympathetic and "feel" with them as they try to prove their points. All the while one must remember that there are certain facts that cannot be altered, and that if one course is followed, just as surely as night will follow day, these results will happen.

Those who favor Federal Aid believe that the Non-Public School is also a concern of the Federal Government. They believe that granting such aid would not harm the concept of separation of church and state. They feel that Non-Public Schools have been worthwhile, that they have made a fine contribution to the American

way of life. They sincerely believe that such aid will not bring the control that is dreaded by all, and in all honesty they feel that they deserve the aid if justice is to be done.

In the center there is the party that feels that Limited Federal Aid should be granted to all children regardless of their religion or school; that in granting aid the nation as a whole would benefit; and that granting aid in a limited form will be the most just way of doing it. This group is a growing group, and it deserves much watching.

Finally, there are those who oppose all forms of aid on the grounds that schools are not a national concern, but a local matter. They base their ideas in history also, and claim that the Constitution and precedent back their position. This group opposes a dual system under one government as being inefficient, wasteful, and competitive to a harmful degree. They claim that aid will bring control, and therefore aid should not be given. As a matter of fairness, they sincerely think that such aid would be harmful to the majority of the nation, to the Public School teachers, to the Constitution, and even to those who plead the cause of the Non-Public School.

B. Conclusion

In the light of current literature on this subject and the facts presented above, the writer would direct the reader to the following conclusions. First, this matter is of supreme importance to all Americans. It should be carefully investigated by all as it is a matter that can greatly change our present system of separation of Church and state and the universal system of free Public Schools. Second, America has no right to legislate against one section of the nation, if denying public funds to Non-Public Schools is to be considered as legislating. It must be decided whether supporting Non-Public Schools abridges the establishment of religion clause and whether it is possible to differentiate between money appropriated for health and welfare purposes and outright salary and general expense grants. Third, there is an obligation to all children, regardless of which school they attend. However, the method by which such an obligation is to be carried out may well determine the policy of the government with regard to the very way of living. That is to say, whether a strongly centralized government as was seen in the Third Reich, or is now in control in Russia is more desirable along with equalized support for all children, or the present set-up which is bemoaned by many in America

of unequalized educational opportunity under forty-eight individual state governments.

It is the hope of the writer that this study will lead to further investigation on the part of the reader causing him to look further into this problem uncontrolled by any position, group, or opinion. In so doing, the study will have accomplished its purpose.

CHAPTER VI
BIBLIOGRAPHY

CHAPTER VI

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